The Perfect Ambassador

The profile and code of conduct of the medieval ambassador in Lucas de Penna's *De legationibus* (1348-?) and Bernard de Rosier's *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* (1436)

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Medieval diplomacy is a complex and dynamic phenomenon, existing of a combination of all sorts of envoys being sent by and to different kinds of rulers: emperors, kings, popes, and a variety of regional and local authorities, such as French nobles and Italian *condottieri*. There was a toing and froing of diplomats with various functions and ranks: legates, *nuncii*, ambassadors, and procurators.[1] A diversity of sources have been preserved that assist us in developing an understanding of how medieval diplomacy functioned, developed, and was perceived. For example reports like the Venetian *Relazioni*, written by ambassadors at the end of their mission, give an insight in the relations between political authorities, and the corresponding diplomatic culture between the thirteenth and seventeenth century.[2] Documents with instructions for ambassadors are also still available to us, providing us with an insight in the motives underlying these missions. Furthermore, we have access to records, tales, journals, and historical descriptions about diplomacy, and (although limited) legislation for diplomats, in for example city statutes.[3] Another source of knowledge on medieval diplomacy are the works of legists – Lucas de Penna was one of them, who were important in the development of thinking about ambassadorship. In their commentaries on the *Codex* and *Digesta* they transmitted ideas from Roman and common law about what ambassadorship should entail.[4] Using these different types of sources, historians have already written extensively on medieval diplomacy and the ambassador.

1.1. Design of the project and research question

This research paper adopts, however, a different angle to the study of medieval diplomacy, aiming to shed light on the office of the medieval ambassador by examining a kind of source that has been studied only to a limited extent: instruction books for ambassadors.[5] These books were designed to describe the profile of the ambassador, the tasks he was expected to fulfil and the way he was supposed to act. Sometimes, the instruction books also provided the ambassador with practical advice, for instance how to negotiate. This genre merits our attention because it gives us an insight in what was expected of an ambassador in terms of behaviour and background. However, throughout this paper it is important to keep in mind that instruction books portray an ideal that did not necessarily correspond to lived reality.

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[1] Donald Edward Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Age* (Princeton 1967) 26-27.
[2] Filippo de Vivo, 'How to Read Venetian *Relazioni*,' *Renaissance and Reformation* 34:1/2 (2011) 25-59, p. 25.
[3] Isabella Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict: Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350-1520* (Oxford 2015) 49-66. On the Italian city statutes, see Patrick Gilli, 'Ambassades et ambassadeurs dans la législation statutaire italienne (XIII^{e}-XIV^{e} siècle)' in: Stefano Andretta, *et al.* (eds.), *De l'ambassadeur: Les écrits relatifs à l'ambassadeur et à l'art de négocier du Moyen Âge au début du XIX^{e} siècle* (Rome 2015) online edition: http://books.openedition.org/efr/2896.
[4] For an example, Queller, *Office of Ambassador*, 30. More information on these commentaries can be found in section 2.1.2.
[5] The term office (*officium*) refers to the public function that the ambassador fulfilled, which derived from the Roman concept of public services that citizens had to fulfil. See also Dante Fedele, 'Plurality of Diplomatic Agents in Premodern Literature on the Ambassador,' in: Maurits Ebben and Louis Sicking (eds.), *Beyond Ambassadors. Consuls, Missionaries, and Spies in Premodern Diplomacy* (Leiden 2020) 38-59, 39-40.

What this research will do specifically is deal with the way the profile and code of conduct of the ambassador are described in two instruction books from the fourteenth and fifteenth century and the developments and changes that we can discern in them. The first one is a work by a Neapolitan jurist and judge, Lucas de Penna (1325-1390), who in a section of his *Commentaria in tres posteriores libros* (initiated 1348, end date unknown[6]) describes how a legate is supposed to act on his missions (see section 2.1). He lists the qualities and precautions that a legate should have or take into account.[7] The second source to be studied, the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*, is a treatise on the ambassador by the French prelate Bernard de Rosier (died 1474), written about a century later, in 1436 (see section 2.2). It starts by describing the moral characteristics that an ambassador was supposed to show. Then it discusses how to negotiate, and sets out a code of conduct, followed by the privileges and rights of the ambassador.[8]

As said, in this paper we will study the profile and code of conduct, aspects that were often discussed in didactical literature, as described by the two authors, and more specifically, we will compare them. A comparison is a very helpful way to come to a better understanding of the individual sources as well as the context in which they were written, and it helps to indicate certain differences, continuities, and developments. Thus, using this method, we will discern what kind of developments took place and what differences can be perceived between the two sources. This will lead to deeper knowledge on the profile and code of conduct of ambassadors, and the changes that took place within the office of ambassador.

The motives for the selection of the two sources are the following. Firstly, – the most important, more content-based and historiographical reason – the sources offer a useful contribution to the historiographical debate (see section 1.3.). Up to now, research on ambassadorial didactical literature is scarce, and therefore a comparison is a good method to fill a gap in the study of this subject. In addition, as we will see in the following two sections, the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* has often been seen as the first treatise on ambassadors, and lately this take has been questioned by Dante Fedele, offering the *De legationibus* as a possible alternative. The second motive is a practical one: the sources are written in Latin and have never been translated, which necessitated preparation of the translations for this paper. Therefore, a close reading of two sources is the maximum achievable given the time-frame in which this paper had to be written. Moreover, because the time period between the two sources is more than a century, it is also necessary to sketch the historical context of both authors and their work. Altogether, a targeted selection of sources is necessary, because otherwise the project would become too extensive.

[6] Dante Fedele, 'The Status of Ambassadors in Lucas de Penna's Commentary on the Tres Libri,' *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 84 (2016) 165-192, 169.
[7] Ibidem.
[8] Patrick Gilli, 'Bernard De Rosier et les débuts de la réflexion théorique sur les missions d'ambassade' in: Stefano Andretta, *et al.* (eds.), *De l'ambassadeur, Les écrits relatifs à l'ambassadeur et à l'art de négocier du Moyen Âge au début du XIXe siècle* (Rome 2015) online edition: http://books.openedition.org/efr/2896.

1.2. Structure of the paper

The paper is structured as follows. This introduction will continue with positioning this paper within the historiographical context of medieval diplomacy and didactical literature. The focus will be on the characteristics of French and Italian diplomacy in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, and on didactical literature for medieval office holders. This chapter will conclude with the goals of the paper, based on the state of affairs in historiography and niches therein. In the following chapter, attention will be paid to the selected primary sources and their authors, discussing the structure and contents of the texts, putting them into their proper historical context, and examining their later dissemination and afterlife. Subsequently, the third chapter will start with a brief, general overview of ambassadorship in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, followed by the analysis and comparison of the two sources. In this analysis the focus will be on the way the two authors describe the profile of the ambassador, the code of conduct that he had to adhere to and the tasks and skills he was supposed to fulfil. The paper will close with a conclusion about the two sources and their way of perceiving the profile and code of conduct of ambassadors, and their implications for our understanding of medieval diplomacy and didactical literature.

1.3. Historiography

1.3.1. Stages in historiography on diplomacy

Over the last century, different phases in the historical study of diplomacy can be observed. For a long time, the main focus was on the development of ambassadorship and the rise of the resident ambassador. Historians like Mattingly and Queller were pioneers in the field and searched for a notion of modern diplomacy and state-building in medieval and early modern times, claiming that modern diplomacy finds it roots in the Italian city states and their diplomatic networks.[9] Nowadays, their approach is commonly criticised for being 'Burckhardtian', 'Whiggish', and 'conservative'. In addition it is deemed neither realistic nor crediting the Italian diplomatic system and the complexity of medieval diplomacy for what it was.[10] A telling example of how this approach to the study of diplomacy has changed over time can be noted in the *Naissance de la diplomatie moderne* of Dante Fedele. Although the title might suggest a continuation of this 'traditional' approach, Fedele himself states that '*nous avons moins essayé d'établir une genèse, que de tracer une généalogie*'. It means that he does not look for a single origin or a linear course of development, but that he aims to indicate the factors that enabled the emergence of diplomatic relations, valuing them individually without trying to point out one cause of the birth of

[9] Garrett Mattingly, 'The First Resident Embassies: Mediaeval Italian Origins of Modern Diplomacy,' *Speculum* 12:4 (1937) 423-439; Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London 1955); Donald E. Queller, *Office of Ambassador*.

[10] Catherine Fletcher and Jennifer Mara DeSilva, 'Italian Ambassadorial Networks in Early Modern Europe - An Introduction,' *Journal of Early Modern History* 14:6 (2010) 505-512, 505-506; Jeremy Black, *A History of Diplomacy* (London 2010) 17, 43-44, and John Watkins, 'Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe,' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38:1 (2008) 1-14, 1.

diplomacy.[11] In this research paper this debate will not be developed in full, because the contents and purpose of the paper do not offer a base for a useful contribution to it. However, in order to provide a complete overview of the historiography this debate is mentioned here, especially because the studied sources date from the period under discussion. It is useful to be aware of the existence of this debate.

After this phase of perceiving diplomatic history as a 'grand narrative', a period of diminished interest in diplomatic history followed. When the *Annales* school became prevalent, with its emphasis on social and economic history, diplomatic history almost disappeared from the historical scenery, being considered traditional and outdated.[12] Riccardo Fubini was one of the first historians who pointed out the 'outdatedness' of the traditional approach.[13] Since then, in the last decades, a new movement in diplomatic history, 'New Diplomatic History', a term first coined by Toby Osborne, has gained in interest.[14] New diplomatic history studies a diversity of aspects of diplomacy, with more focus on the social and cultural characteristics of diplomacy, rather than on the grand narrative.[15] Catherine Fletcher and Jennifer Mara DeSilva, for example, mention gift-giving, communication, and imperialism as new subjects of interest within this type of diplomatic history.[16] Important scholars in this relatively recent movement are for instance Lucien Bély, John Watkins, and Jeremy Black.[17] This paper fits in with this movement for the interdisciplinary approach that it takes, focussing on the intersection between diplomacy studies and literature studies. It does not seek to point out major turning points or grand developments, but aims to take into consideration the didactical-ethical aspect of diplomacy by comparing the profile and code of conduct of ambassadors.

1.3.2. Studies on medieval diplomacy

To situate the sources, we first need a general understanding of diplomacy in the Late Middle Ages. Even though the studies of Mattingly and Queller are in some respects outdated, they are still of use for a general understanding of medieval diplomacy. In addition to these classics of diplomatic history, a number of more recent monographs are also very helpful in describing medieval diplomacy. To start with, Jeremy Black's introduction to his monograph gives a good first impression of medieval

[11] Dante Fedele, *Naissance de la diplomatie moderne (XIIIe-XVIIe siècles): L'ambassadeur au croisement du droit, de l'éthique et de la politique* (Baden-Baden 2017) 19.
[12] David Reynolds, 'Debate forum. International history, the cultural turn and the diplomatic twitch,' *Cultural and Social History* 3 (2006) 75-91, 77, who names Fernand Braudel as an example of this type of critique on diplomatic history: Fernand Braudel, (translated by Sian Reynolds), *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1972) 21; and Maurits Ebben and Louis Sicking, 'Nieuwe diplomatieke geschiedenis van de premoderne tijd. Een inleiding,' *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 127:4 (2014) 541-552, 541-542.
[13] Daniela Frigo, 'Introduction' in: idem: (ed.), *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy the Structure of Diplomatic Practice, 1450-1800* (Cambridge 2000) 9 and 25.
[14] Toby Osborne, *Dynasty and diplomacy in the court of Savoy. Political culture and the Thirty Years War* (New York 2002) 2.
[15] For a short and clear overview, see Albertine Bloemendal *et al.*, 'Inleiding, Nieuwe Diplomatieke Geschiedenis van de zestiende eeuw tot heden,' *Leidschrift* 34:3 (2019) 7-13.
[16] Flechter and DeSilva, 'Italian Ambassadorial Networks', 505.
[17] Lucien Bély, *L'art de la paix en Europe. Naissance de la diplomatie moderne XVIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris 2007); Watkins, 'Toward a New Diplomatic History', and Black, *A History of Diplomacy*.

diplomacy.[18] For further insight into the topic, Daniela Frigo *et al.* have done thorough research on medieval and early modern politics and diplomacy. They explore the political situation in Italy, and provide a characterisation of medieval and early modern embassies, explaining how they were organised, what their duration was, and for what reasons they were planned. Together with the monograph of Isabella Lazzarini, that also takes the previous century in consideration, the study offers an extensive insight in Italian diplomacy.[19] However, knowledge of Italian diplomatic practice is not sufficient to place the sources – and especially the work of Bernard de Rosier – in context. Therefore, the overview work on diplomacy by Jean-Marie Moeglin *et al.*, a detailed study on medieval diplomatic practice, offering an insight in the history of French diplomacy, will be of particular use to understand the background of De Rosier.[20] The work of Dante Fedele is also very informative, as it studies the development of diplomacy.[21] These works provide us with a historical framework in which the analysis of the *De legationibus* and the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* can be embedded.

Furthermore, several of the abovementioned works also mention the profile of the medieval ambassador, as it can be deduced from accounts, diaries, and instructions that have been written for, by, and on ambassadors. These works are therefore of great use as a framework in which we can fit and compare the descriptions in the two instruction books.[22]

1.3.3. Studies on didactical literature

In addition to the historiography of medieval diplomacy, it is also valuable to look at what historians – and in this case also literary scholars – have written about didactical literature, as the examined sources have a clear didactical imprint. First of all, we should define didactical literature, because the term is one that has been attributed later to a selection of sources that did not bear that characterisation when they were written. In fact, several academic researchers have claimed that every source in the Middle Ages and early modern period could in one or another way be classified as didactical literature, because the element of inserting a (moral) lesson into a book or treatise was very common in that period.[23] We will therefore use the definition of Juanita Feros Ruys, in order to demarcate our field of study. According to her, 'a text can be considered didactic if it was created, transmitted, or received as a text designed to teach, instruct, advise, edify, inculcate morals, or modify and regulate behaviour'.[24] With this definition as a starting point, we should mention two elements about didactical literature that should be kept in mind. To start with, didactical literature as a whole has received limited attention from

[18] Black, *A history of diplomacy*, 23-42.
[19] Frigo (ed.), *Politics and Diplomacy*, and Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*. Lazzarini also dedicated a chapter to Italian diplomacy in a detailed overview work on Renaissance Italy: Andrea Gamberini, and Isabella Lazzarini (eds.), *The Italian Renaissance State* (Cambridge 2012).
[20] Jean-Marie Moeglin (ed.) and Stéphane Péquignot, *Diplomatie et « relations internationales » au Moyen Âge (IXe – XVe siècle)* (Paris 2017).
[21] Fedele, *Naissance de la diplomatie moderne*.
[22] For instance, Moeglin, *Diplomatie et « relations internationales » au Moyen Âge*, 393-418.
[23] Juanita Feros Ruys, *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods* (Turnhout 2008), 4-5.
[24] Idem, 5.

academics, especially in the field of history, but also in literary studies. Secondly, ambassadorial instruction books, being a subgenre of didactical literature, have also been widely neglected, and are not even mentioned in the field of literary studies. We will now elaborate on both notions in the following two sections.

1.3.3.1. Didactical literature in literary and historical studies

As we have mentioned above, the genre of didactical literature forms an important part of medieval literature. It entails a variety of subgenres, such as *exemplum* literature, mirror literature, and treatises on virtues and vices. Works within the genre were often written for a specific audience – for instance women or monks. A famous example is *Le trésor de la cité des dames* (1405) of Christine de Pisan.

In academia, didactical literature is often perceived as artificial and too distant from reality to study it. Although several scholars have edited various mirrors, few historians have used their work in order to get a deeper understanding of them, and what they tell us as a genre about medieval society.[25] However, given the amount of sources written within this genre, we should not underestimate the impact of the mirrors on the society in which they were written, and thus what they could tell us about medieval society and government. For instance, if one looks at the extensive list of *specula* that have been produced throughout the Middle Ages, one can only conclude that it was an often used and valued genre.[26] One should therefore look beyond that what is perceived as repetitive nowadays, and consider the significance that was attributed to the genre at that time.

Within the field of literary studies, didactical literature as an overarching genre has only occasionally been studied. Therefore, we have no other option than to take into account studies that examine subgenres of the didactical genre – for instance *exemplum* literature, in order to come to an understanding of what the overarching genre typifies. The prominent series on medieval western literature, the *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental*, for instance, only dedicated a volume to the *exemplum*, a genre in which a tale or a comparison is used to convey a normative or moralistic message to the reader, and to treatises of virtues and vices.[27] Given the fact that within didactical literature the *exemplum* is often used and virtues and vices are regularly mentioned, it is useful to look at studies on these subgenres to see how didactical literature is perceived.[28] Even more so, because other subgenres of didactical literature are not taken into account in the series. This disinterest might be explained from the fact that the 'didacticism' of the genre has a negative connotation for the modern

[25] István P. Bejczy, and Cary J. Nederman, *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages: 1200-1500* (Turnhout 2007) 3-4.
[26] See Herbert Grabes, (translated by Gordon Collier), *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and English Renaissance* (Cambridge 1982) for an overview of mirror-titles that have been written in the Middle Ages.
[27] Claude Bremond, Jacques Le Goff, and Jean-Claude Schmitt, *L'"exemplum"* (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, 40) (Turnhout 1982), and Richard Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular* (Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental, 68) (Turnhout 1993).
[28] An example of an important monograph on the *exemplum* is Jean Thiébaut Welter, *L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Age* (Paris 1927).

reader, because it is seen as doctrinal, forcing the reader in the position of a learner.[29] It suggests that didactical literature is mostly perceived as synonymous for pedantic and theoretical.

Another aspect within didactical literature that has received little attention, within both historical and literary research, is the code of conduct. First, it should be highlighted that there is a difference between conduct literature, written for specific social groups (e.g. women) within society, and didactical literature for office holders, in which the author formulates a code of conduct for magistrates, notaries, or other office holders.[30] The sources that are studied in this paper belong to the latter category, but there are no specific studies on this subgenre. Therefore, because of certain similarities between the two genres, we will consider several studies on conduct literature. In the last decades, conduct literature has occasionally been highlighted, and then mostly from the perspective of gender history, pointing out the implications of such conduct books for women in medieval society.[31] Although the same focus is used in the study of Kathleen Ashley and Robert Clark, *Medieval Conduct*, their introduction to the topic gives a valuable insight in the dissemination, focus, and use of these conduct treatises, that also applies to didactical treatises.[32] The authors point out that the emphasis in historical research was mainly on 'masterpieces', and they aim to highlight works and themes that were considered of lesser importance in academia. It would be interesting to perceive the ambassadorial instruction books in the same way, as works that have been considered to be of lesser importance, but that can certainly tell us something about the role of the office in medieval society. It would be of interest to do so, because the link between diplomatic practice and instruction books with didactical literature has not been made sufficiently yet, a gap this paper aims to fill in. Also the aforementioned monograph of Juanita Feros Ruys offers a useful framework for the understanding of didactical literature.[33]

1.3.3.2. Ambassadorial instruction books

As said, the instruction books on ambassadors that are the subject of this paper belong to the same genre as mirrors for princes, mirrors for magistrates, and notary books. In these treatises an office holder is taken by the hand, presenting the steps he should take to bring his tasks to a successful conclusion. It is a subgenre in which the author offers a reflection on the *status quo* within the office and points out elements that require improvement by describing an ideal of what the office should look like. It therefore

[29] Larry Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition* (Cambridge 1994) 29-30, and John D. Lyons, *Exemplum. The Rhetoric of Example in Early Modern France and Italy* (Princeton 2014) 23.
[30] Examples of such literature are mirrors for princes and mirrors for magistrates. See for detailed studies on such works Fritz Hertter, *Die Podestàliteratur Italiens im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig 1910); Lester Kruger Born, 'The Perfect Prince: A Study in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Ideals', *Speculum* 3:4 (1928) 470-504; Wilhelm Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Leipzig 1938); Hans Hubert Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit* (Bonn 1968), and idem, *Fürstenspiegel des frühen und hohen Mittelalters* (Darmstadt 2006).
[31] See for example Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, *The ideology of conduct: essays on literature and the history of sexuality* (New York 1987).
[32] Kathleen M. Ashley, and Robert L. A. Clark, (eds.), *Medieval Conduct* (Minneapolis 2001) IX-XX.
[33] Ruys, *What Nature Does Not Teach*.

offers a critical view on reality and provides the reader with a mirror to reflect on how reality *should be*. This is – maybe to a lesser extent – what the ambassadorial instruction books also do. They do not openly express social criticism, but indeed suggest how the ideal situation should be, which makes the reader reflect on reality.

Besides the disinterest in the didactical literature as a whole that we have just mentioned, there is a lack of attention for didactical literature on ambassadors in literary studies as well. The prominent series *Grundriß der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, ambassadorial instruction books are not even mentioned one time, although a broad range of literature from the twelfth to fifteenth century is listed in thirteen volumes, of which three volumes take into account didactical literature.[34]

Even in the historical research on medieval diplomacy relatively little attention has been paid to the medieval and early modern didactical treatises on ambassadors. Often, monographs on medieval and early modern diplomacy do not dedicate more than a single paragraph to ambassadorial literature.[35] Supposedly, just as with other types of didactical literature,[36] the instruction books are often perceived as idealistic and therefore too distant from reality. An example of that stance can be seen in the work of Matthew Anderson – who has a relatively 'traditional' take on medieval diplomacy, in which he clearly voices his opinion of instruction books, calling them 'uninspiring and repetitive'.[37] As opposed to this disinterest we will here mention two examples of – rare – historians who have taken an interest in ambassadorial didactical literature, and show in their works that these treatises are worth being studied. Firstly, Dante Fedele, who has effectively studied ambassadorial instruction books, points out the neglect and undervaluation of instruction books and juridical treatises on ambassadors.[38] Furthermore, Jean-Claude Waquet raises the noteworthy question, in reaction to the critical approach of Anderson and others, whether the authors of these treatises were themselves aware of and deliberately contributing to an existing genre. With that remark he criticises the assumption that the medieval authors copied and plagiarised constantly from each other's work, therewith disapproving of the generalisation and disinterest for the ambassadorial treatises.[39]

1.3.4. Studies on the source texts

When it comes to the study of treatises on ambassadors, the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* of De Rosier has received relatively much attention in the past century compared to other ambassadorial instruction books. The reason why De Rosier's treatise is regularly referred to becomes clear in Mattingly's

[34] Jean Frappier, Hans Robert Jauss and Erich Köhler, *Grundriß der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters* (Heidelberg 1968).
[35] See for example Black, *A History of Diplomacy*, 45, and Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 64-65.
[36] Bernard Guenée, *States and rulers in later medieval Europe* (Oxford 1985) 70.
[37] Matthew Smith Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450-1919* (London 1993), 26, 45.
[38] Fedele, *Naissance de la diplomatie moderne*, 26-28. See also: Idem, 'The Status of Ambassadors', for an idea of his interest in instructional treatises for ambassadors.
[39] Jean-Claude Waquet, 'Les écrits relatifs à l'ambassadeur et à l'art de négocier : « un genere di riconoscibile omogeneità » ?' in: Stefano Andretta, *et al.* (eds.), *De l'ambassadeur: Les écrits relatifs à l'ambassadeur et à l'art de négocier du Moyen Âge au début du XIXe siècle* (Rome 2015) online edition: http://books.openedition.org/efr/2896 section 1.

Renaissance Diplomacy, in which he states that De Rosier has written 'the first textbook of diplomatic practice in Western Europe'.[40] Since then, this point of view has often been repeated and therefore, the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* regularly appears in textbooks on diplomatic history. However, as will be elaborated later on, this assumption has recently been questioned by Dante Fedele.[41]

The *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* was transcribed and published in 1905 by Vladimir Hrabar and since then, it has been frequently mentioned in academic literature on diplomatic history.[42] Betty Behrens was in 1936 the first to describe the contents of eight treatises on ambassadors from the fifteenth and sixteenth century, among which the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*.[43] In the article, she describes how both the profile and the code of conduct of the ambassador are touched upon in these treatises. Her work marked a starting point in the interest in and research on didactical treatises and diplomacy in general, and is still highly useful for this paper. Also Mattingly paid attention to De Rosier's work in the aforementioned *Renaissance Diplomacy*. He walks his readers through De Rosier's description of the course of an embassy, the ceremonial that came with it, and the negotiation strategies. Meanwhile, he connects the description of De Rosier to medieval diplomatic practice, mentioning historical facts and dates. However, as said before, most historians do not pay more than a few sentences to the instruction books, so although a lot of historians mention the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* in their work, they mostly do not elaborate on it. The historians that did substantial work on Bernard de Rosier and his oeuvre are Riccardo Fubini, Daniela Frigo, Patrick Gilli, and Dante Fedele.[44]

When taking into consideration the different works that have been written over time on De Rosier's treatise, it is interesting to discern the different perspectives of different historians. While Mattingly actively links the theory as described by De Rosier to medieval practice, Fubini points out the emphasis of De Rosier on the *officio* of the ambassadorship, the legitimacy of it as derived from the *ius gentium*.[45] Gilli accentuates the particularities that make the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* different from similar sources, for example in arguing that the practical experiences of De Rosier as an ambassador led to a more experience-based instead of a fully theoretical treatise. Fedele, in turn, stresses the public goal of embassies as underlined by De Rosier.

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[40] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 28. For another example of how the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* is mentioned in academic literature, see Black, *A History of Diplomacy*, 23 and Moeglin, *Diplomatie et « relations internationales » au Moyen Âge*, 366.

[41] Fedele, *Naissance de la diplomatie moderne*, 36.

[42] Vladimir E. Hrabar, *De legatis et legationibus tractatus varii* (Dorpat 1905) 3-28.

[43] Behrens, Betty, 'Treatises on the ambassador written in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries,' *English Historical Review* 51:204 (1936) 616-627.

[44] Riccardo Fubini, 'L'ambasciatore nel XV secolo: due trattati e una biografia (Bernard de Rosier, Ermolao Barbaro, Vespasiano da Bisticci),' *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 108:2 (1997) 645-665; Daniela Frigo, 'Prudence and Experience: Ambassadors and Political Culture in Early Modern Italy,' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38:1 (2008) 15-34; Gilli, 'Bernard De Rosier', and Dante Fedele, *Naissance de la diplomatie moderne*.

[45] The *ius gentium* is common law that is shared by all nations, as opposed to specific Roman law or canon law. For a study on this subject, see Karl-Heinz Ziegler, *Fata iuris gentium: kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des europäischen Völkerrechts* (2008).

In contrast to the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*, the *De legationibus* of De Penna has not yet received much attention. However, the *Tres Libri*, of which the section *De legationibus* is only a part, has been studied by legal historians, which is not surprising because of the legal background of De Penna, and thus of his work. The great scholar Walter Ullmann even devoted a study to it, *The Medieval Idea of Law as represented by Lucas de Penna*, in which he describes how De Penna positioned himself in terms of Roman law and *ius gentium* and how that takes shape in his commentary on the *Tres Libri*.[46] Furthermore, several scholars wrote studies on De Penna and his work,[47] but in all these studies, the relatively limited section on the legate has not caught particular attention. Since then, Dante Fedele deserves the credit for having tried to draw attention to De Penna's work and the relevance of it. He especially points at the uniqueness and how it stands out in comparison to other sources from that time. [48] More importantly for this paper, Fedele questions the 'firstness' of De Rosier's work, proposing the *De legationibus* as an alternative.

1.4. Goals of the paper

Given this state of the art, a study of the selected primary sources contributes to two fields: the profile of the medieval ambassador, and the use and evolution of medieval didactical literature. Firstly, within the study of medieval diplomacy only little attention has been paid to the profile and code of conduct as described in the instruction books. However, this paper will show that, as it cannot be stressed enough, it is indeed interesting and important to understand the medieval instruction books, because they represent the expectations that existed about ambassadors and their tasks, and they offer a critical reflection on malpractices. Additionally, it portrays something of the value that the writers attributed to the office of the ambassador. The aforementioned opinion of Anderson is therefore one that can only be disproved by this paper. As a result, this paper aims to demonstrate the added value of a deeper knowledge of how the authors of instruction books described the ideal ambassador. By comparing two different sources, this paper will not only point out differences between the two sources, but also indicate what they tell us about the medieval ambassador. Secondly, on didactical literature, this paper will shed light on a relatively marginal part of the genre. As far as it has been studied, it has almost solely been studied in context of medieval diplomacy, not as part of didactical literature. This paper aims to create a stronger link to didactical literature than has been done up to this point in either historiography or literary studies. This link will be created by pointing out similarities with other subgenres within the genre, such as mirrors for magistrates. In doing so, we can obtain more insight, although always limitedly by the inherent constraints of this paper, in how didactical literature evolved over time and

[46] Walter Ullmann, *The Medieval Idea of Law as represented by Lucas de Penna. A Study in Fourteenth-Century Legal Scholarship* (London 1946).
[47] Maria Mercedes Wronowski, *Luca da Penne e l'opera sua* (Pisa 1925); Francesco Calasso, 'Studi sul commento ai *Tres Libri* di Luca da Penne' in *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, 5 (1932) 395-459, and Cristina Gorgoni, 'L'ideale umanistico e la realtà sociale italiana del '300 nell'opera di Luca da Penne,' *Res publica litterarum: studies in the classical tradition* 10 (1987).
[48] Fedele, 'The Status of Ambassadors'.

how instruction books on ambassadors fit in with that development. In short, given the content and sources of the paper, this research will contribute to the development of a more general idea of how ambassadorship was perceived in the Middle Ages by looking at what ideals were assigned to ambassadors, and to the creation of a stronger link between the study of medieval diplomacy and didactical literature.

Furthermore, a comparison of the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* and the *De legationibus* is even more relevant considering the attention they have received in historiography. Although recently several studies have named both De Rosier and De Penna and their works, no in-depth comparison of the two sources have been made so far. Moreover, the suggestion of Fedele that the *De legationibus* might mark a starting point in the production of ambassadorial instruction books, and not the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* as has long been assumed, is one that needs further research. In that respect, it is noteworthy that the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* received more attention than other instruction books for its uniqueness and innovative character. However, apart from the manuscript in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* there is no other manuscript or publication known of this work. In addition, Fubini states that it is unknown whether the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* was known or of influence at the time of its production.[49] Supposedly, with the publication of Hrabar's transcription of the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*, the interest in the work of De Rosier has grown. Possibly, the accessibility of this source stimulated the study of it and caused a focus on the work as being the first, an assumption that might not be completely justified. With the article of Behrens, and the work of Mattingly, which has for years been the primary work on diplomacy, other historians have simply assumed its importance, because the interest in ambassadorial treatises was limited anyhow. The question arises whether the availability of published sources impacts the focus of historians on certain sources. After a study of both sources, we will come to the conclusion that the importance and dissemination of De Rosier's work should be put in perspective.

[49] Fubini, 'L'ambasciatore nel XV secolo', 645-646.

Chapter 2: Presentation of the source material

2.1. *De legationibus* in Lucas de Penna's *Commentaria in tres posteriores libros*

2.1.1. Biographical overview

The *De legationibus* was written by the Neapolitan jurist, Lucas de Penna (ca. 1305-1390). Emanuele Conte wrote an important biographical profile of De Penna, providing an overview of his life and works, which is of use to gain insight in De Penna's life.[50] As his name suggests, Lucas was born in Penne, in the Italian province Abruzzo, in south-east Italy. His date of birth as well as his place of birth have been subject of debate. We know for certain that he was born in the first decades of the fourteenth century, but the exact date is unknown. For example Walter Ullmann situates De Penna's date of birth around 1320,[51] but information from contemporaneous sources suggests that he was born a few years earlier. His friend Francesco Petrarca, born in 1304, wrote for instance in 1374: '*poiché tu vecchio a me vecchio imponesti di scrivere*', implying that they had a similar age. Next to the question of age, in the sixteenth century confusion arose about the origins of De Penna. Some thought that he grew up in Toulouse, others claimed he came from Arles. This misunderstanding can, at least partly, be understood from the fact that De Penna's work was popular and more widely diffused in France from that period onwards. However, also the question of the place where De Penna grew up can almost certainly be resolved, as the many references to the world of southern Italy in his works support the deduction that he was very familiar with that area.

De Penna studied law at the university of Naples. It is said that he finished his studies relatively late, in 1345, but that he had already obtained a position as magistrate before graduating. He never taught at the university. After his studies, he travelled to Tuscany and Umbria, and later on he encountered cardinal Pierre Roger, the future pope Gregory XI (1370-1378). To him De Penna dedicated his commentary. He became pontifical secretary in 1370, making it necessary for him to move to the papal court in Avignon. It is unclear what happened to him after the papacy moved back to Rome in 1377, but it is probable that he returned to Penne, because his tomb can still be found there. It is not entirely clear when he died, but it is assumed that De Penna died in 1390.

2.1.2. Composition of the work

In 1348, De Penna started writing his *Commentaria in tres posteriores libros* – after this referred to as *Tres Libri* – his most extensive work. The *Tres Libri* are the last three works of the *Codex* of emperor Justinian I, a codification of Roman law that was finished in 534.[52] It consists of twelve books that can

[50] Emanuele Conte, 'Lucas da Penne', in: Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, vol. 66, (2007) 251-254, online edition: https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luca-da-penne_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.
[51] Ullmann, Walter, *The Medieval Idea of Law as represented by Lucas de Penna. A Study in Fourteenth-Century Legal Scholarship* (1946) 7.
[52] For further information on the Codex of Justinian see chapter 1 of Antonio Padoa-Schioppa, (translated by Caterina Fitzgerald) *A History of Law in Europe: From the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge 2017). The *Codex* was only rediscovered in the 11th century. For an insight in the dissemination of the work in the Middle Ages, see Charles M. Radding, and Antonio Ciaralli, *The Corpus Iuris Civilis in the Middle Ages : Manuscripts and Transmission from the Sixth Century to the Juristic Revival* (Leiden 2007).

be subdivided according to the themes that they deal with. The last three books fall under the same category treating administrative issues, among which local government and diplomacy. In the Middle Ages these last three books of the *Codex* were published separately from the other parts. For De Penna it was a logical choice to write a commentary on these three books, because of his background in public law. De Penna was not the first to write a commentary on this part of the *Codex*, because it was in the fourteenth century quite common for jurists to write commentaries on the *Codex* and *Digest*.[53] For example Rolandus de Lucca wrote the *Summa Trium Librorum* (1195-1234) a century before him. It is clear that De Penna continued adding to his work for a longer period, but the end date is unknown.

His work is highly valued for its clear, erudite, and original ideas and is seen as unprecedented and unique for the period he lived in. The fact that he refers continually to the Bible, classical poets and philosophers, such as Aristotle, Tullius, and Cicero, and Boetius, and to (early) medieval theologians, jurists, and philosophers, like Hugh of Saint Victor, Giles of Rome, and Thomas Aquinas, renders De Penna's commentary a very interesting work, especially for the time in which it was written. He does not only consider the text of Justinian from a legal point of view, mentioning other juridical texts, he also takes into account philosophical and theological ideas. This makes his commentary much broader than a traditional commentary,[54] which renders his work more interesting from a wider perspective than only a purely medieval legal viewpoint. This way of approaching a text, using classical literature, caused some historians to classify De Penna's work as 'the first humanistic commentary of law'.[55] With respect to the specific section *De legationibus*, it is in the first place remarkable that he includes an extensive introduction in the text before commenting on the laws themselves. Also, his method is notable, because of his use of classical literature, in which he takes the principles as described for other offices as a model that ambassadors can make use of, like the orator as described by Cicero, and clergymen as laid down in canon law.[56] In that way he integrates an idea of profile and code of conduct from other sources into the office of the legate.

[53] There was a rich tradition in the 12th and 13th century of the so-called 'glossators', jurists, primarily from the school that had its origins in Bologna, that wrote commentaries on Roman law. This movement was succeeded in the 14th century by the movement of 'commentators', or 'postglossators', who developed a more mature take on Roman law. A famous example is Baldo degli Ubaldi. It was in this tradition that De Penna wrote his commentary. For a more detailed insight in this commentary tradition, see the introduction to the work of Walter Ullmann, *The Medieval Idea of Law*, XV-XXXIX, Hermann Lange and Maximiliane Kriechbaum, *Römisches Recht Im Mittelalter. Bd. II: Die Kommentatoren* (Munich 2007), and Padoa-Schioppa, *A History of Law in Europe*, especially chapter 12, which also shortly mentions the importance of De Penna's work.

[54] In the tradition of commentaries in that period, it was common to write from an exclusively juridical perspective, so the choice for theological and philosophical perspectives in a commentary is remarkable. A traditional commentary can more or less be defined by the *Lectura in codicem* of Cino da Pistoia, as is has been classified by Padoa-Schioppa, *A History of Law in Europe*, 156: 'The author begins by stating the intent of performing the following operation on each and every passage of the Codex: the reading (lectio), the exegesis of the text (expositio), the formulation of examples (casus), the highlighting of important points (notabilia), the discussion of contrasts between parallel passages and the ways to resolve them (oppositiones, solutiones contrariorum) and, finally, the proposition and solution of concrete or hypothetical cases and questions (quaestiones).'

[55] Ullmann, *The Medieval Idea of Law*, VIII.

[56] Fedele, *Naissance de la diplomatie moderne*, 37.

2.1.3. Structure and contents

De legationibus is a section of fourteen pages in double columns of De Penna's *Tres Libri*, which consists of about a thousand pages. In the treatise he describes the qualities that an ambassador should have and how he is supposed to act on his missions. To that end, he lists twenty qualities and twenty precautions that a legate should take into account.[57] He points out a number of virtues that a legate should possess, such as being trustworthy, wise, mature, and eloquent, speaking the truth, etc. In the description of the precautions, he mentions among others how and when a legate should speak and how he should behave, in order to achieve his goals.

We have two reasons to consider a part of a legal commentary to be a didactical treatise. Firstly, the links De Penna makes with the actuality of daily life, a method that he applies throughout the whole of his commentary, urged some authors to classify the work as a political tractate, that '*creava l'immagine di una società ideale*'.[58] This is of great importance, because this classification makes it plausible to regard the *De legationibus* as a didactical treatise, since didactical literature makes the reader reflect in the mirror of the described ideal. Secondly, it is striking that De Penna starts the section on legates with a list of qualities and precautions, that have little to do with the laws itself, in that way dedicating only a quarter of the section to the actual laws of Justinian.

2.1.4. Disseminations

Given that De Penna wrote his *Tres Libri* in the mid-fourteenth century, it is remarkable that most editions have been published in the second half of the sixteenth century, approximately two centuries later. This observation can be explained by the fact that his work did not have an immediate success. There is only one manuscript (in three volumes) known from the end of the fourteenth century that is now included in the Vatican Libraries (*Vat. Lat*., 2297-2299),[59] which is composed of three large volumes *in folio* and richly decorated. Also the fact that it has never been reproduced through the 'pecia system',[60] which was a common way of copying in the Middle Ages for the study of sources at the university, underlines the assumption that this commentary has not known a wide dissemination. Altogether, the diffusion as we know it implies that the popularity of the work was limited at first. Only when the printing press came into use, the commentary was spread more widely. On 15 January 1509 the first edition was published in Paris by Jean Chappuis. In 1512, the commentary was printed in Venice. After that, several editions followed each other in a relatively short period of time, all of them

[57] Fedele, 'The Status of Ambassadors', 169.
[58] Gorgoni, 'L'ideale umanistico', 30.
[59] See https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.lat.2297, https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.lat.2298, https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.lat.2299.
[60] The pecia system concerned 'a regulated process of manuscript production', in which parts of manuscripts were copied, after which 'the copies of the various sections being assembled and bound together to form united transcripts of the complete work which might in turn themselves be copied. Manuscripts produced in this way can be identified by the pecia marks *p* or *pij* written in the margins'. See https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/view/10.1093/acref/9780199576128.001.0001/acref-9780199576128-e-0746 for the full definition of this system.

printed at Lyon, a centre of book production on an international scale: in 1529, 1538, 1544, 1545, 1557, 1582, and 1586. Since the edition of 1582 is the most widely diffused and easily available edition, it will also be used for citation purposes in this paper.

It is not entirely clear why the work of De Penna was so successful in France from the sixteenth century onwards, where it was frequently cited by French scholars. Ullmann suggests that De Penna's work resounded ideas that prevailed in the political climate of sixteenth century France.[61] In De Penna's home country Italy, his success was more constant and was mainly limited to the Kingdom of Sicily.[62] Dante Fedele mentions an Italian and Spanish occurrence of De Penna's work: the Italian jurisconsult and politician Julius Ferretus practically plagiarised De Penna's *De legationibus* in his work published *post mortem* in 1563, and the Spanish ambassador Cristóbal de Benavente y Benavides refers to De Penna in his work of 1643.[63] It has apparently been known and used for a significant period of time.

2.2. *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* by Bernard de Rosier

2.2.1. Biographical overview

The *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* is a treatise on the ambassador by the French prelate Bernard de Rosier (1400-1475), written in 1436. Further knowledge of his life will explain some of the reasons for the composition of this work. A historian specialised in canon law, Patrick Arabeyre, wrote an informative article about De Rosier, clarifying much that had so far been unknown.[64] De Rosier was born in a relatively well-to-do family in Toulouse and he both studied and taught canon law in that city. During his career of more than twenty years, he gained a reputation as a jurist, especially after the publication of his *Tripertita consultacionum* (started in 1435). He was a doctor in canon law (1426), doctor *in utroque* (1432), and master in theology (1440) at the university.

Since he was an eloquent intellectual, De Rosier attracted the attention of cardinal Pierre de Foix the Elder, and he became his secretary, which was a boost for his career. Moreover, he was not only an academic, he was also a cleric, appointed chancellor, provost (1433), later on bishop of Bazas (1447-1450) and Montauban (1450-1452), until he was assigned the position of archbishop of Toulouse in 1452, an office he exercised until 1475.[65] It was quite usual in that period to develop an ecclesiastical career next to an academic career, as did De Rosier.[66] Moreover, he was involved in political affairs, serving at the court of Charles VII from 1432, for whom he wrote the *Miranda de laudibus Francie* (published in 1450). He became more and more engaged in politics and especially in the period 1438-

[61] Ullmann, *The Medieval Idea of Law*, 13.
[62] Conte, 'Lucas de Penna'.
[63] Fedele, 'The Status of Ambassadors' 170.
[64] Patrick Arabeyre, 'Un prélat languedocien au milieu du XVe siècle: Bernard de Rosier, archevêque de Toulouse (1400-1475),' *Journal Des Savants* 3-4:1 (1990) 291-326.
[65] Patrick Arabeyre, 'La France et son gouvernement au milieu du XVe d'après Bernard de Rosier', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 150:2 (1992) 2145-285, 246-247.
[66] Arabeyre, 'Un Prélat Languedocien', 297.

1440 he was a prominent spokesperson for Toulouse and Languedoc in affairs concerning the Great Schism and the Hundred Years' War.[67]

2.2.2. Composition of the work

It was just prior to that period that he wrote his *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* (1436). His eloquence that caught attention can also be discerned in this treatise. Interestingly, his incentive for writing on ambassadorship can at least in part be traced back to his own ambassadorial experience. Not only did he act as a spokesperson representing the Languedoc, De Rosier also had had previous experiences. Between 1427 and 1430, working as a secretary of the aforementioned cardinal Pierre de Foix the Elder, he took part in the – successful – mission to convince king Alphonse of Aragon to give up his support for antipope Clement VIII in order to bring the Great Schism to an end. Of that experience he wrote an account.[68] He also wrote a – yet unedited – treatise on the ecclesiastical legate: *Tractatus de potestate legatis a latere* (1427-1433), of which remains only one manuscript.[69] What is ultimately of interest, is that he was also appointed as an official by count Jean IV of Armagnac in his alliances with the king of Castille. This last experience stimulated him to compose the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*.[70] These practical experiences are crucial to understand the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*, because they explain the practical twist to the treatise.

2.2.3. Structure and contents

The *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* consists of thirty chapters. We could make the following distinction. The treatise starts with some general remarks on what an ambassador is, what the reasons for a mission could be, and how the behaviour of the ambassador could contribute to the success of a mission (chapter I-VII). Secondly, it extensively elaborates on the practicalities of the embassy, formulating a code of conduct for the ambassador that he should live up to during the entire mission (chapter VIII-XV). Thirdly, it gives specific advice on how to negotiate and how to act at the conclusion of the negotiations (XVI-XXI). Lastly, it presents the privileges and rights of the ambassador (chapter XXII-XXX).[71] The contents vary from more general parts on what an ambassador be and do, to specific descriptions of how an ambassador should negotiate. According to Gilli, this book is exceptional for the fact that it is written *for* the ambassador, instead of *about* the ambassador, providing the diplomat with practical tips and advice.[72]

[67] Idem, 294. The Great Schism was in fact already concluded in 1417 at the Council of Constance, but since the Crown of Aragon refused to recognise the Roman pope, antipopes continued to be chosen for a number of years until it came to an end in 1429.
[68] Idem, 298. The journal was published in Abraham Bzovius, *Annalium Ecclesiasticorum post illustriss. et Reverendiss. Dom. Caesarem Baronium S. R. E. Cardinalem Bibliothecarium*, XV (1622) 658-739.
[69] Gilli, 'Bernard de Rosier', see footnote 5 of the article.
[70] Arabeyre, 'Un Prélat Languedocien', 300. See also footnote 43 on that page.
[71] Patrick Gilli proposed another subdivision of sections that according to me did not sufficiently show the different parts of the work : Gilli, 'Bernard De Rosier', section 3.
[72] Gilli, 'Bernard de Rosier', section 4.

To obtain a better insight in the contents of the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* and to highlight the sections that are of particular interest for the analysis of the sources in this paper, an overview will be given of the individual chapters:

1. *De nomine ambaxiatorum*: a chapter on the term 'ambassador', shortly referring to the etymology of the word and the use of it by the French Christian kings. De Rosier suggests that the term derives from the fact that representatives used to travel with more ('amb' = both) instead of alone, because that was safer and was preferred in negotiations.
2. *De qualitate et moribus ambacxiatorum*: this chapter describes the qualities and moral profile of the ambassador, listing first what an ambassador should not be, followed by what he should be. This chapter is of specific interest for our research, because it is fit for a comparison with De Penna's *De legationibus*.
3. *De dignitate et auctoritate mittentium et mittendorum*: the difference between *nuncii*, procurators and ambassadors is pointed out in this section (see section 3.1.1. for a definition of these titles). The office of the ambassador is presented as more important than the other two, because he is sent for more important business.
4. *De causis mittendi ambaxiatores*: also this part is of interest for the paper, because it defines the reasons for an embassy, which implies that an ambassador should have certain skills to make an embassy a success.
5. *De provisione et apparatu ambaxiatorum*: the ambassador should prepare and present himself in such a way, that he will receive honour and complete a fruitful embassy.
6. *De officio missorum in ambaxiata*: this chapter opens with the often cited phrase 'Ambaxiatorum officium publicum est', which has been highlighted by historians as a key phrase that explains the viewpoint of De Rosier on the position of the ambassador. Furthermore, it also shows how the conduct of the ambassador serves the outcome of a mission. Together with the previous chapters, this section is of interest for the paper, because it shows that De Rosier clearly links conduct and profile to the success of an embassy.
7. *De modo et ordine procedendi ad onus ambaxiate*: this is a more general chapter on the attitude an ambassador should adopt.
8. *De forma mittendi deputatos ad ambaxiata*: this chapter deals with deputies that join an embassy.
9. *De instruccionum suscepcione*: this fairly short section mentions how instructions should be received and that these instructions should be clear and unambiguous.
10. *De forma procedendi in via per ambaxiatores observanda*: how should ambassadors proceed once they undertake their journey? What should characterise them and how should the division of tasks be between ambassadors with experience and younger participants without experience? These questions are discussed in this chapter.

11. *De forma recipiendi ambaxiatores noviter venientes*: this chapter shows how new ambassadors should be received and honoured at their arrival.
12. *De forma proponendi per ambaxiatores observanda*: when the ambassadors arrive, they should act humbly during their audience with the host, they should be moderate, not arrogant, and they should speak in a specific way. This, and other aspects of the conduct of the ambassadors at their arrival, is described in this chapter.
13. *De explicacione credencie*: this chapter describes how ambassadors should present their credentials once they have arrived. A very important advice, which is also mentioned elsewhere, is that ambassadors should adjust their behaviour to the place and people they are sent to.
14. *De discrete consertacione conferendi*: here De Rosier explains how an ambassador should negotiate. He elaborates on when an ambassador should put forward his proposals and if it does not lead to the desired result, how he should change his approach to come to a successful end.
15. *De cautela respondendi in arduis per ambaxiatores observanda*: how to use your voice? When to speak, how to speak? In diplomatic negotiations it is crucial to speak the right words at the right time, is what De Rosier stresses in this chapter. As we will see, this section is useful for the paper, because it sheds light on the code of conduct of the ambassador.
16. *De discreta instruccionum comunicacione*: this chapter is meant to instruct the ambassador on how to manage the negotiations and what to do with the instructions of his principal.
17. *De grata conclusione per ambaxiatores diligenter prosequenda ut revertantur*: De Rosier comes to a conclusion of the description of the mission. Once the negotiations have led to a desired result, the ambassador can finish them. If not, the ambassador should, with kind words and with due consideration of behaviour and manners, stress the point of view of his principal.
18. *De opportune conclusione caucius invicem discucienda*: this section tells how negotiations should be concluded if there is an outcome that is favourable for both parties.
19. *De grata et obtata conclusione et expedicione cum leticia per ambaxiatores suscipienda*: the ambassador should show gladness and gratitude when the negotiations have come to a conclusion. If there is any ingratitude or dissatisfaction, it should not be shown.
20. *De minus grata conclusione post discussionem data non omnino respuenda*: if the conclusion of the negotiations is not what the ambassador had hoped, he does not need to worry. It is better to report a negative outcome than no outcome.
21. *De benivolo captando regressu*: when the negotiations and mission have come to a conclusion, whether positive or negative, the ambassadors should always strive for leaving without negative feelings. Circumstances should not change this attitude.
22. *De modo venerandi ambaxiatores in regressu per eos ad quos missi sunt*: in this chapter De Rosier describes how ambassadors should be praised by the ones they were sent to once they leave them. They should receive honour, regardless of the success of the negotiations.

23. *De securitate vie ambaxiatoribus observanda*: the author argues that ambassadors should have a safe passage on their way back, since they perform a public office. Therefore, they should have the guarantee that they will not be inhibited on their way. However, De Rosier warns that the office of ambassador is not a license to spy in other countries, and if they do so nonetheless, they deserve to be punished. This aspect will be pointed out with respect to the code of conduct.
24. *De fide ambaxiatoribus adhibenda*: generally an ambassador should be trusted, the ones who receive him, should believe his words.
25. *De reverencia et honoribus ambaxiatoribus debitis*: this chapter is comparable to chapter 22, which states that ambassadors should receive praise from the ones they are sent to. This section is more general, because it argues that ambassadors should be honoured by everyone, because they perform their office for the common good. De Rosier points out a continuity, showing that from antiquity people working for the common good deserve honour.
26. *De privilegiis ambaxiatorum*: this short section deals with the rights and privileges of the ambassadors. It is specified in the following chapters.
27. *De crimine impediencium, capiencium et depredancium ambaxiatores*: De Rosier describes how ambassadors form a counterbalance and defence against injustice and people who impede the public good. All who restrict them, should be punished.
28. *De salvo conductu ambaxiatoribus non denegando*: if ambassadors ask for an escort, it should be granted to them, even more when they are on a mission to an enemy.
29. *De grata recepcione ambaxiatorum redeuncium de ambaxiata*: once the ambassadors turn back to their home town or home country, they should be received with joy and familiarity by the ones who sent them.
30. *Publice utile est officium ambaxiatorum*: the author concludes with a short chapter on the public utility of the office of ambassador.

2.2.4. Disseminations

The *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* can be found in a manuscript on parchment in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* in Paris (Latin, 6020), consisting of a collection of treatises on a diversity of subjects, of which the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* is the third.[73] The manuscript has a binding of blue-green velvet. It contains corrections and notes in the margin by another writer. There are decorations in French style in the manuscript as well, with frames of plants and flower motives, and decorated initials.[74] The fact that there are comments in the margin shows that there has been some interest for the manuscript after it was finished.

[73] Vladimir E. Hrabar (ed.), *De legatis et legationibus tractatus varii* (1905) X-XIII, and https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc65037r.
[74] Patrick Arabeyre, 'La France et son gouvernement', 265, 266.

The manuscript can be dated to the end of the fifteenth-century, but the exact date of its publication is unknown. Prior to coming in the possession of the royal library in 1622, it was part of the library of the bishop of Chartres, Philippe Hurault. It is unknown where the manuscript was before that.[75] The treatise has been transcribed by Vladimir E. Hrabar in 1905 and has been used by all historians that published about the treatise of De Rosier. To our knowledge, this is the only manuscript containing the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*. It is telling that this source has been part of personal property and that it therefore has not been disseminated any further through larger editions in the following centuries. Although it has been commented upon in the manuscript itself, the lack of further distribution implies that it has not been widely used, either for academic study or for practical use as a handbook for ambassadors.

[75] Idem, 266.

Chapter 3: Analysis of the sources

In order to understand the way De Penna and De Rosier describe the profile and code of conduct of the ambassador in their treatises, we need to know the historical framework in which the works are embedded. We will therefore give an overview of medieval diplomacy and the medieval diplomat in order to understand the context of both works. In the following section, some references will already be made to the work of De Penna and De Rosier, in order to show parallels and differences with the reality of medieval diplomacy.

3.1. Medieval diplomacy

Medieval diplomacy is a multifaceted and complex phenomenon. Different from the current diplomatic standard, in which diplomatic relations are performed between two nations, medieval diplomacy could take place between merchants, city-states, kings, and many other actors. Especially the papal court stood out in diplomatic practice and was considerably active in it. Since papal diplomacy is seen as a model for medieval diplomatic practice, a considerable amount of research has been done on papal diplomats and their activities.[76] Given the specific scope of this paper, we will limit ourselves here to a short overview of the core elements of medieval diplomacy in Italy and France around the time in which our sources were written (ca. 1300-1500).[77]

Embassies were organised throughout the whole of western Europe and beyond. Already in the High Middle Ages diplomatic exchanges took place between the kings of England, France, and other countries. The nature of medieval diplomacy was determined by the multipolar and multi-layered system that characterised the Middle Ages, which led to diplomatic interactions within and between the many layers of society.[78] It explains a part of the complexity of French and Italian medieval diplomacy.

Considering diplomacy in Italy, Lazzarini points out that Italian diplomacy developed in a 'politically fragmented and culturally connected' area. The political diversity and fragmentation on the peninsula formed a fertile ground for the development of diplomatic relations, especially in the politically dynamic *Quattrocento*. Italy is therefore a perfect example of the abovementioned multifaceted character of medieval diplomacy. Since northern and central Italy consisted of rivalling city-states, and leagues, smaller cities were urged to assure their own independence or accept their

[76] Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 41-42. Since this paper does not touch upon the papal legate, we only shortly mention them, because it is nonetheless important to be aware of the existence and influence of this diplomatic papal system. Extensive studies exist on the papal diplomats, examples of them are: Richard Schmutz, *The Foundations of Medieval Papal Representation* (1966); John Perrin, 'Legatus, the Lawyers and the Terminology of Power in Roman Law' in: *Studia Gratiana*, Collectanea Stephan Kuttner vol. 1 11:1 (1967) 461-489; Pierre Blet, *Histoire de la représentation diplomatique du Saint Siège, des origines à l'aube du XIXe siècle* (Vatican City 1982), and Bernard Barbiche, 'Les « diplomates » pontificaux du Moyen Âge tardif à la première Modernité: Office et charge pastorale,' in: Armand Jamme and Olivier Poncet (ed.), *Offices et papauté (XIVe-XVIIe siècle): Charges, hommes, destins* (Rome 2013), online edition: http://books.openedition.org/efr/1200.

[77] For a more detailed insight in medieval diplomacy, the works of Lazzarini, Frigo, Fedele, and Moeglin used for this section offer a decent base.

[78] Daniela Frigo, '"Small states" and diplomacy: Mantua and Modena,' in: idem, *Politics and Diplomacy*, 147-175.

dependence on bigger cities. It led to a stronger need for negotiation, representation, information-gathering, and building of information-networks – in which ambassadors played a crucial role.[79] Interestingly, Lazzarini mentions the move of the Curia from Rome to Avignon as a significant moment for diplomatic development, because it opened new negotiation practices for the Italian actors with the papal court.[80] This is worth mentioning, because De Penna served at the papal court while it resided in Avignon, which could have been an incentive and source of inspiration for his extensive section on the legate.

In France, diplomacy was also stimulated by this Western Schism and other political events.[81] Bernard de Rosier himself went on an embassy in the period shortly after the end of the Schism, in order to put an end to the ongoing quarrels on the matter (see section 2.2.1.). Furthermore, large part of the period that we discuss was defined by the Hundred Year's War. This dragging political conflict was an incentive for diplomatic activity, and therefore during this period several French diplomats were sent to England to conclude treaties.[82] Today, we still have access to a fair amount of sources written during the war that indicate how the war impacted and stimulated diplomatic activity. These treatises show something of the many preparations and actors involved in these diplomatic encounters between the French and the English.[83] But not only the war with England, also political disagreements within France stimulated diplomatic activity. The consequences of the Avignon papacy and the disputes that came with it had political implications in France, because it caused disunity between cities and regions, causing again a need for diplomatic mission.[84]

A difference with the Italian situation is that France was ruled by a king, which influenced the diplomatic relations. While the city-states of northern and central Italy were small-scale political systems, the embassies of the French king were a representation of a much larger political entity. At the same time, however, embassies on lower levels were also organised in France. The ambassadorial experience of Bernard de Rosier (mentioned in section 2.2.1.) is an example of that: he was not sent by the French king to undertake an embassy, but by a cardinal and a count.

Having completed this short and general overview of medieval diplomacy, we now pass on to the particularities of the embassies and ambassadors: to what extent did embassies take place and what were the reasons for them, what did embassies look like, and what where the differences between the various diplomats?

[79] Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 5-13, 16-18.
[80] Idem, 14-15. For further information on the Great Western Schism and the Avignon Papacy, see Thomas M. Izbicki and Joelle Rollo-Koster, *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378-1417)* (Boston 2009).
[81] See Arabeyre, 'Un Prélat Languedocien', for an insight in the political situation regarding the Schism.
[82] Fedele, *Naissance de la diplomatie moderne*, 125.
[83] Craig Taylor, 'War, Propaganda and Diplomacy in Fifteenth-Century France and England' in: Christopher Allmand (ed.), *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France* (Liverpool 2000) 70-91.
[84] Arabeyre, 'Un Prélat Languedocien', 292-295.

3.1.1. The embassy

It is hard to describe 'the typical medieval embassy', because in effect they varied greatly in duration and composition.[85] Firstly, it was very unusual for diplomats to travel alone, unless they were on a secret mission. The size of the group was dependent on the importance of the mission, and since an embassy was supposed to be a depiction of the principal that sent it, it could occur that an embassy consisted of more than a thousand people. This happened, however, only towards the end of the Middle Ages, because before that time it was more common to send small groups. Such a group would consist of the diplomat(s) (often a mix of clergymen and laymen), mostly accompanied by their chancellors, 'who were responsible of the writing and keeping of records, letters, and final reports', and could be extended with an escort, heralds, quartermasters, and messengers. [86] At the arrival, diplomats were supposed to be received by either the principal or someone of similar rank as the diplomat sent to the ruler. They often presented their letters of credence to the ruler they were sent to, which served as proof that the diplomat was sent by a specific ruler and that the actions of the diplomat could be perceived as actions of the principal himself.[87] Furthermore, Lazzarini observes a change in the second half of the fourteenth century, when diplomats started prolonging their mission, staying for a year or longer. The mandate of the ambassadors thus had to wider, because when they had to decide on negotiations, it was inefficient to communicate with his principal for every decision that had to be made. At the same time, the role of the diplomat as a provider of information also took a flight. When diplomats started prolonging their stay, they had more possibilities to inform their principal about relevant observations, changes and developments.[88]

Medieval diplomatic relations served different purposes. One of the main goals of diplomacy was to contribute to and preserve the unity within Christendom.[89] The importance attributed to that goal can also be seen in De Rosier's work, where he writes that one of the reasons for sending an ambassador is 'ad unitatem ecclesse catholice'.[90] According to Black, De Rosier presented diplomacy as a 'quasi-religious' duty, therewith claiming the right to defence and protection for ambassadors, based on the *ius gentium*.[91] In addition, embassies were organised to search for allies, to create marriage bonds, and to legitimise the authority of the sender.[92] De Rosier himself mentions among others the greater glory of

[85] Riccardo Fubini, 'Diplomacy and Government in the Italian City-States of the Fifteenth Century (Florence and Venice)' in: Frigo (ed.), *Politics and Diplomacy*, 25-48, 27.
[86] Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 126, and Moeglin, *Diplomatie et « relations internationales » au Moyen Âge*, 379, 432-434.
[87] Queller, *Office of Ambassador*, 9-10.
[88] Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 126.
[89] Black, *A History of Diplomacy*, 23.
[90] Bernard de Rosier, *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* in: Vladimir E. Hrabar (ed.), *De legatis et legationibus tractatus varii* (1905) 3-28, 6. Also mentioned in Frigo, 'Prudence and Experience', 19.
[91] Black, *A History of Diplomacy*, 23, and *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*, 23.
[92] Idem, 25-27, and Frigo, 'Prudence and Experience', 18.

the Apostolic See and of the emperor, truces, justice and peace, friendship, and subjection to superiors as reasons for an embassy.[93]

Medieval embassies were not by definition strictly defined nor necessarily political missions. It led to a great variety in the embassies, the reasons for which they were organised, and the importance that was attributed to them. This can be seen in the difference in rank between diplomats, depending on their titles (*nuncii*, (papal) legates,[94] procurators, and ambassadors), that, however, were often used interchangeably.[95] Especially the commentators on the *Codex* and the *Digest* offered hardly any clarity on which powers could be attributed to who.[96] Also in the work of De Penna one can sometimes find the word 'nuntius' in his text on legates.[97] Depending on the length and goal of the embassy, lower rank diplomats, such as *nuncii*, could be sent to convey a strictly defined message, or procurators or ambassadors could be sent to fulfil more complex tasks, such as negotiating on treaties with *plena potestas*, full power, received from their principal.[98] The ambassador, the one that De Penna and De Rosier write about, was originally someone sent on a mission, not necessarily with diplomatic goals. However, throughout the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, the title started indicating a representative with a specific social rank.[99] An ambassador was not so much distinguished by the tasks that he had, for they were undefined and many, but more by the fact that he had the full mandate of the one who sent him to conclude his duties.[100] De Rosier states that ambassadors stood out in respect to *nuncii* and procurators for the fact that they were especially sent by the 'maiores natu principes seculi', heads of cities, and great political powers for 'causis maioribus', because they reflected the greatness of the one who sent them.[101] This was assumed a true account of reality by for example Behrens, but Queller shows that ambassadors were also sent on minor missions.[102] It is, however, not surprising that De Rosier makes this distinction that earlier on was not defined so strictly, because in the fifteenth century, there is a general tendency towards the use of the word 'ambassador' for someone with more duties, while limiting the term *nuncius* to messengers.[103]

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[93] *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*, 6.
[94] Papal legates are diplomatic representatives of the pope to which various instruction books have been dedicated, such as De Rosiers' *Tractatus de potestate legatis a latere* (1427-1433), and can thus be seen as a distinct group to which we will not pay further attention in this paper. For further information on these legates, see for example Barbiche, 'Les « diplomates » Pontificaux'. See also footnote 66 of this paper.
[95] Moeglin, *Diplomatie et « relations internationales » au Moyen Âge*, 355-357.
[96] Patrick Gilli, 'La fonction d'ambassadeurs dans les traités juridiques italiens du XVe siècle : l'impossible représentation', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 121:1 (2009) 173-187, 177.
[97] This is for example the case in *De legationibus*, 312/1, section 4: 'Debet ergo fideles esse nuncii, & prudentes'.
[98] See Queller, *Office of Ambassador*; Behrens, 'Treatises on the ambassador'; Frigo, 'Prudence and Experience', and Gilli, 'La fonction d'ambassadeurs' for more information on the differences between the *nuncii*, procurators and ambassadors.
[99] Idem, 68.
[100] Frigo, 'Prudence and Experience', 19-20.
[101] *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*, 5-6: 'the higher-rank born princes of this age', 'more important causes'.
[102] Behrens, 'Treatises on the ambassador', 619, and Queller, *Office of Ambassador*, 69.
[103] Moeglin, *Diplomatie et « relations internationales » au Moyen Âge*, 357-359.

Lastly, two examples show that missions were costly and time-consuming, which sometimes urged senders or hosts to be pragmatic. Queller mentions, for instance, a situation in which Edward I of England received *nuncii* of the king of the Romans, and instead of sending his own *nuncii* back, he gave letters of credence to the *nuncii* for the king of the Romans, and even messages for other German nobles and clergymen.[104] Furthermore, merchants in cities – who could send ambassadors without a clear political goal – would sometimes 'lend' their ambassador to another commune.[105]

3.1.2. The ambassador

The office of ambassador was perceived as an important duty, because the diplomat was a representative of the one who sent him and he was supposed to 'personify his dignity'.[106] Therefore, ambassadors were supposed to be men of culture, courtiers, clergymen, legists, and other scholars.[107] Lazzarini distinguishes two major groups of ambassadors that were in use in the *Quattrocento*. Firstly, ceremonial diplomats can be distinguished, who were men of breeding that had the main task to represent their principal on ceremonial occasions. Secondly, eloquence and political experience grew in importance when diplomacy became more important in terms of communication and negotiation. However, with the expansion of diplomatic relations throughout Europe, the importance of rank and status reappeared, causing a drawback for rank-less professionals active in diplomacy.[108] In many writings the importance of lineage, experience, wisdom, maturity, good behaviour, and appearance are mentioned as requirements for a good functioning of the ambassador. A part of the qualifications, such as eloquence and intelligence, served the ambassador himself in executing his office, others were characteristics that were supposed to represent something of the principal who sent him.[109] But, in effect, more importantly than the background and education of the ambassador, was the bond of trust between him and the one who sent him. In medieval ambassadorship it was essential that a principal could trust his messenger, since a diplomat was to represent his principal.[110] This is portrayed in both De Penna's and De Rosier's work, that mention fidelity as a feature of the perfect ambassador.[111] Since ambassadors were supposed to be educated, men of culture, and preferably trusted by the principal, it is not surprising that ambassadors would mostly be a men of the higher class, either laymen or clergymen, that would attend at the court of the principal. When it comes to medieval descriptions of the profile of the ambassador, throughout the Middle Ages several authors have described the ideals and preferred qualities of ambassadors, but the general tendency is that the profile of the ambassador became ever more fixed

[104] Queller, *Office of Ambassador*, 13.
[105] Fubini, 'Diplomacy and Government', 33-34.
[106] Behrens, 'Treatises on the ambassador', 620.
[107] Frigo, 'Prudence and Experience', 22, and Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 126.
[108] Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 125.
[109] Idem, 123, 128-129, and Moeglin, *Diplomatie et « relations internationales » au Moyen Âge*, 389.
[110] Frigo, 'Prudence and Experience', 20, and Moeglin, *Diplomatie et « relations internationales » au Moyen Âge*, 367-368, 390-391.
[111] *De legationibus*, 312, section 4, and *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*, 5.

throughout the fifteenth century and formalised at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[112] We will now see how these elements just mentioned can be perceived in the work of De Penna and De Rosier.

3.2. The profile and code of conduct of the ambassador in the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*

After a short introduction of the title 'ambassador', De Rosier immediately continues in the second chapter with a description of the qualities and moral profile of the ambassador. He starts with what an ambassador should not be and do, followed by what his character should be:

> 'non supercilio fastus vanitate tumentem, non avaricie tenacitate tirannum, non inhonestum lubricum verbo vel facto, non molestum, non iracundum, non malignum, non procassem, non sussuronem, non iniquum, non ingratum moribus gestibus et loquela, non delicatum, non importunum locacem, non vinolentum, non inanis glorie cupidum, non temerarium, non presumptuosum, non pusillanimem, non inpacientem, non segnem, non mendacem, non adulatorem, non fictum sed varacem, probum, humilem, modestum, temperatum, discretum, benevolum, honestum, sobrium, iustum et pium, largum, prudentem, hylarem datorem, et magnificum, dulcem in verbo et animo, pacientem, atque benignum, opportunum, magnanimum, audacem, tractabilem, placidum, virtuosum, et fortem in omnibus se exhibendo, comunem; non que sua sunt, sed sibi que ininuncta sunt, cum omni diligentia fideliter prosequentem decet et convenit ambaxiatorem quelibet esse.'[113]

It might seem at first sight a quite generic list of virtues, qualities, and expected behaviour that could count for anyone fulfilling an office. It might resemble other lists of virtues and vices as they were often formulated in the period in which this source is written. For example, the famous Norwegian mirror *Konungs skuggsjá* ('The King's Mirror') contains a similar list of virtues that a king should uphold.[114] However, if we look at the following chapters, and see how De Rosier continues his sketch of the profile of the ambassador, it becomes clear in what light we should see the described characteristics: De Rosier closely links the conduct and profile of the ambassador to the success of the embassy. The list formulates the prerequisites for a positive outcome of a mission. That is why De Rosier for instance refers to greed, because the ambassador should not be corruptible; to minding one's words, gestures, and acts, because he should not attract negative attention; and to vain glory, because the ambassador should strive for the

[112] Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 128, and Fedele, 'Plurality of Diplomatic Agents', 43.

[113] *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*, 5: 'He should not swell with vanity and pride, he should not be in the grip of greed, he should not be dishonest or smooth in talking or deeds, not unpleasant, or short-tempered, not malicious, not impertinent, not inclined to mocking, not superstitious, not obtrusive, not a chatterer, not resentful, not of unacceptable behaviour, gestures, and words, not fragile, not unfavourably talkative, not a drunkard, not longing for vain glory, not reckless, not presumptuous, not fainthearted, not impatient, not lazy, not mendacious, not adulterous, not hypocritical, but truthful, righteous, humble, modest, temperate, discrete, benevolent, honest, sober, just and pious, generous, prudent, a joyful giver, noble, sweet in words and spirit, patient, and benign, suitable, magnanimous, brave, tractable, calm, virtuous, and proving himself strong in everything, social; he should strive faithfully with all diligence, not for what is his, but what has been imposed on him and it suits the ambassador to be all of it'.

[114] Andreas Hellerstedt, 'Cracks in the Mirror: Changing Conceptions of Political Virtue in Mirrors for Princes in Scandinavia from the Middle Ages to c. 1700,' in: idem (ed.), *Virtue Ethics and Education from Late Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Amsterdam 2018) 281–328, see especially 289.

greater good 'cum omni diligentia', not for his own purposes. If the ambassador behaves well and has the right qualities, the negotiations will turn out positively, because 'pertinet si quidem ad felix regimen humanum benemeritos et abiles ambaxiatorum'.[115] Then, the ambassador in turn receives honour for the qualities that he showed: 'Sicut in datore hylaris et qui cito dat commendatur, sic ambaxiator, recepto honere, dum cito se preparat et promptum se exhibit sine difficultate gerendis, laudatur quamplurimum'.[116] Mattingly connects this to the stipend of the ambassador, which he receives as a sign of appreciation for his quick preparations.[117] The ambassador has the right to receive this reverence and honour even more because he serves the greater good.[118] Later on in the treatise De Rosier mentions another characteristic of the ambassador and his behaviour, specifically during the negotiations, which he has taken from the biblical gospel of Saint Matthew: 'am[b]axiatores prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbi subsistant'.[119] It is remarkable that the author here refers to the Bible, because, differently from De Penna (see the following section), De Rosier hardly ever refers to other works. It is therefore not self-evident that we find this kind of citations in De Rosier's work.

Another aspect of importance that defines the profile of the ambassador is the social standing and background of the ambassador. As we will see, De Penna has quite a clear idea about the education and social background, but we could say that De Rosier has a more nuanced position. He states that the background of the ambassador should correspond with the social position of the recipient: 'Coaptare tamen convenit auctoritati mittentium statum mittendorum et dignitatem, ad eius cui mittitur excellenciam habendo respectum, et iuxta agendorum qualitatem negociorum et fines ac facultatem agendi ambaxiatoribus conferendam. Nam pro minimis magnos vel maiores a minoribus, aut ad maiores minimos destinare seu inexpertos perniciosum est'.[120] Although the 'maiores' and 'minores' are not specified, we can still expect from the daily practice of medieval diplomacy that the 'minores' were still of a relatively high standing, because ambassadors were educated and familiar with the ones who sent them.[121]

Besides the enumeration of qualities another section is of importance: the one that elaborates on the reasons for embassies, which we have mentioned earlier (see section 3.1.1.). We will highlight a few elements here that De Rosier refers to as reasons for an embassy and that portray the extent to which ambassadors were supposed to be skilled according to the author: 'ad unitatem ecclesse catholice', 'ad

[115] Idem, 7: 'a deserving and competent ambassador serves to a happy human reign'.
[116] Ibidem: 'The giver praises the generous and who gives readily, receiving honour, thus is an ambassador praised as much as possible if he is quickly prepared and shows himself without difficulties'.
[117] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 35.
[118] *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*, 25.
[119] Idem, 15: 'the ambassadors should stand shrewd as snakes and innocent as doves'.
[120] Idem, 6: 'It is appropriate to adjust the status and dignity of the ones who are sent to the authority of the sender, having respect for the excellence of him to whom he is sent, and in accordance with the qualities of negotiating for his business, and bring together the goals and skills of the ambassadors in their business. For it is dangerous to send skilled ones to the least important or very skilled ones to the inferiors, or the least important or unexperienced ones to the mighty'.
[121] For a detailed overview of different backgrounds of the ambassadors, see Moeglin, *Diplomatie et « relations internationales » au Moyen Âge*, 389-418.

offerendum superioribus obedienciam', 'ad pacem et iusticiam', 'ad sedandum bella', 'ad inihendum et firmandum treugas', 'ad consolandum desolatos', 'ad compestenda vicia et ad inserendas virtutes'.[122] This is only a selection of a long list of reasons for embassies, but one can understand from these examples that ambassadors were deployed to fulfil a broad range of tasks. Even though this list might reflect an ideal and a bigger ambition than was mostly fulfilled, it is still a good impression of the tasks of the ambassador that De Rosier had in mind. It therefore implies that an ambassador should be able to embark on all different kinds of missions and to adjust his message to the ones he was sent to, which required eloquence. He also fulfilled a public, and thus very visible role in society, not only working for political goals, but also doing good to others. All in all, De Rosier emphasises that embassies should be organised for the good of all dominions, not for any wrong purposes.[123] It implies that the ambassador should contribute to the greater good and should not be, as some later authors implied, an 'honourable spy', working only for his own principal with deceit and dishonesty.[124] That is why De Rosier argues that ambassadors should have the right to safe passage on their way home (a right that is referred to again in chapter 28), because others should have no reason to distrust an ambassador.[125] He therefore urges ambassadors not 'sub velamine publici officii ambaxiatorum, reperiantur velle scrutari, explorare, et percunctari secreta statuum et disposicionem regnorum, terrarum, et locorum per que transitum faciunt', because otherwise they cannot be trusted and deserve to be punished.[126] This truthfulness and honesty, acting in such a way that the ambassador is always praiseworthy, is a remarkable characteristic in De Rosier's work. It implies that good behaviour facilitates the extent to which the host and the people the ambassador encounters on his journeys are willing to trust him, and that the principal who sent him is represented by a worthy ambassador. At the same time, ambassadors should also have a certain shrewdness, being strategic and careful in what they do and do not reveal to their host, not disclosing everything at once. That becomes clear from chapter sixteen: 'nunquam tamen hiis quibus mittuntur originale suarum instruccionum tradere debent, nec copiam in scriptis, nisi processerit ex mittentium voluntate, et tunc tantumdem sibi retinere debent, quanto melius et securius possunt, ne forsan inveniant se deceptos.'[127] Therefore, trustworthiness is not the same as laying all one's cards on the table, because

[122] Idem, 6-7: 'for the unity of the catholic church', 'to offer obedience to superiors', 'for peace and justice', 'to calm wars', 'to initiate and firm truces', 'to console the lonely', 'to restrict vices and to let virtues grow'.
[123] Ibidem.
[124] The idea of the ambassador as an honourable spy still existed at the time that Abraham de Wicquefort wrote his *L'ambassadeur et ses fonctions* (1682), see Marie-Hélène Coté, 'What Did It Mean to be a French Diplomat in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries?', *Canadian Journal of History/Annales canadiennes d'histoire* 45 (2010) 235-258, 254. See also Peter van Kemseke, 'Diplomatie een kwestie van cultuur' in: idem (ed.), *Diplomatieke cultuur* (Leuven 2000) 10-23, 14.
[125] The right to protection and safe passage has often been claimed, based on both canon law and the *ius gentium*, and was thus seen as a right of the ambassador. See Moeglin, *Diplomatie et « relations internationales » au Moyen Âge*, 422-423.
[126] *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*, 23: 'under the veil of the public office of ambassador be found wanting to search, explore and ask about state secrets, and the state of affairs of the kingdom, the regions, and places through which they go'.
[127] Idem, 16: 'On no account should they hand over their original instructions, nor a written copy, unless it has come forth from the will of the sender, and then they have to keep it for themselves just the same, as best and safe

embassies still require negotiations that should preferably lead to the favoured outcome. Consequently, the ambassador should be able to keep his instructions secret, because otherwise there would be no room for negotiations anymore. For De Rosier it was thus important that the ambassador could balance these skills and would know when to speak and when to be silent.

However, according to the author not only good manners and desirable characteristics benefit the outcome of embassies. Also the ambassador's words, gestures and expressions, showing signs of respect towards the host and a standard of civilisation, were considered of great importance, as we will also see in De Penna's treatise. De Rosier reflects extensively on this element, describing how an ambassador should behave during the reception by the host or the representative sent by the host, and during the negotiations. But already during his travels ('procedendi in via') to his destination, he should mind his behaviour:

> 'Ambaxiatores postquam iter suum ad personas et loca quibus mittuntur inceperint, continuare dicti debent secundum gerendorum exhigenciam gressus moderantes, nimia tarditate, vel dissoluta velocitate minime notandos in incessu, statu, habitu, gestu, et progressu eveccionum, conversationem bonam, et prudentie maturitatem circumspicientibus ostendentes, unitatem adinvicem, communicacionem sociam et fidelem cum mutua pace, corde, verbis, et actibus observantes, ut quemadmodum pro certis eisdem agendis, et a certis mittuntur ad certos, ex mutua dileccione et conformi progressu se certos et unanimes exhibeant'.[128]

It is striking that apparently from the moment the ambassador leaves his country or city, he is the embodiment of his principal, and therefore constantly responsible for the right behaviour in order to represent him well. Mattingly seems to imply that the embassy can be on 'an easy and informal footing' during the journey to the destination, but this citation suggests that also during the journey itself the participants of the embassy should behave in a controlled manner.[129] The ambassador has the duty to do justice to the image of the principal. Therefore, De Rosier continues in one of the following chapters by urging the ambassadors that they should arrive

> 'non festinanter sed paciffice cum omni gravitate, seclusa levitate morum, incessum et gestus suos moderari, placido vultu, humili ac reverenti prospectu illorum coram quibus habent proponere congrediantur, conspectum et suscepta proponendi benigna postulacione, opportuna audiencia, qui inter eos habet proponere humili motu, gestu gravi, placido

as they can, that they do not maybe find themselves deceived'. This is also described as a common practice in the work of Moeglin: Moeglin, *Diplomatie et « relations internationales » au Moyen Âge*, 372.

[128] Idem, 10-11: 'ambassadors, having started the journey to the people and place where they have been sent, have to continue showing controlled steps following the exigency of the office, with great slowness, or with released speed hardly recognisable in walking, status, garment, gesture, and going forward in leaving, good conversations, and with prudent caution reveal its maturity, mutual unity, connected and faithful communication with mutual peace, observing heart, words, and actions, so that they will show themselves certain and in unison through mutual love and harmonic progression, like specific men are sent by specific people to specific people for some specific business'.

[129] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 36.

> aspectu surgere debet in medium, et si tanta sit celsitudo illorum quos debet alloqui flexis poplitibus proponere, et expediri se velle exhibeat, ac media voce dulciter et non arroganter proponere incipiat sicque permaneat, si permittatur hoc modo; sin aliter pedibus saltim stare debet, nisi sibi defferatur, ut sedendo habeat perorare'.[130]

From this passage we also get another impression of the ambassador, not only showing the dignity of his principal, but also proceeding as someone who is the embodiment of humbleness and reverence. In fact, he expresses the difference in rank between himself and the host by his gestures and expressions, in order to bring his message in a way that would please the host, and to bring the embassy to a favourable conclusion by assuming a humble position. Moreover, the ambassador should pay attention to the words he utters, and to the capacities of the audience: 'secundum capacitatem audiencium exprimi debet conceptus proponencium', because it would otherwise be as if his words were thrown in the wind and fruitless.[131] Furthermore, when the negotiations have come to a conclusion, the ambassador should show himself '[c]um leto vultu', because he is supposed to show his host gratitude and satisfaction, and it would be a shame if he would show any dissatisfaction.[132] In addition, De Rosier dedicates special attention to the role of the voice in the process of negotiations, a subject that he refers to several times. Chapter fifteen is even entirely dedicated to the use of the voice and the choice of words. Apparently, for De Rosier the use of intonation and tone were particularly crucial for influencing the course of discussions, something we will elaborate on in the section on the *De legationibus*, where the same stress is laid.

Taking into account the citations, one could ask why De Rosier pays so much attention to the behaviour, gestures, words, and facial expressions of the ambassadors. We will point out several elements that could explain this emphasis. Firstly, it seems as if the ambassador should control his emotions and voice so much in order to act in such a way that host would not be distracted by any expression of the face, or choice of words, or change in voice. The ambassador is supposed to only show emotions and utter speech that would please the host, so that it would not take away the attention from what actually matters: his message.[133] Furthermore, one can assume that this is stressed so much for the fact that the ambassador is a representation of the one who sent him and should therefore always act with the same dignity, as a worthy representative of the principal. It is not made explicit in the

[130] Idem, 12: 'not hurriedly, but in a peaceful way with all dignity, not showing loose behaviour, controlling their walk and gestures, with a placid face, approaching humbly and reverently in the presence of them to whom they have to present themselves, with kind appearance and deeds proposing the request, with appropriate attention, who of them has to present needs to rise in their midst with humble movements, serious gestures, and a placid appearance, and depending on their importance he has to speak with bended knees, and he has to make clear that he would like to express himself, and he should begin to present with medium loud voice, sweet and not haughtily, so that it remains steady, if he is allowed this way; but if otherwise he has to stand in any case on his feet, unless he is to fall down, so that he has to conclude while sitting'.
[131] Idem, 13: 'he has to express the concept of proposal in accordance with the capacities of the audience'. See also Gilli, 'Bernard De Rosier', section 10 on this subject.
[132] Idem, 19: 'with a joyful face'.
[133] See also Gilli, 'Bernard De Rosier', section 12.

Ambaxiatorum breviglogus that the ambassador is a representative of the principal, but it was a commonality in the Middle Ages that the ambassador was perceived as such. From that assumption we can then explain why De Rosier says that the way for an ambassador to put himself forward is not so much or not only brought about in words, 'sed organo vocis, gestu, et modo proponentis', because not only in his words he embodies the principal, but also in his behaviour and appearance.[134]

As Gilli observes, making a good impression on the host is a guarantee of a successful mission, a notion that supports the observations made in this paper so far.[135] Thus, since every word and deed of the ambassador could influence the host positively or negatively, and with it the negotiations, he should be able to guarantee decent and pleasant behaviour in order to assure the success of the mission. This is expressed more abstractly by De Rosier when he says that 'qui debitum ordinem in suis agendis observant, principiat bene, medium parat, attingit finem', which leads to 'promtitudo exequendi commissa'.[136] It means that there is a great responsibility for the ambassador to link his behaviour to the outcome of the embassy.

All in all, we can observe two major strands of thought that are prevalent in De Rosier's work concerning the profile and code of conduct of the ambassador. Firstly, the embassy should serve the greater good of all nations and the Church. Consequently, the ambassador, being an office holder, is supposed to be a virtuous man, because he serves a noble cause. Secondly, with the first element as a base, De Rosier claims that the ambassador should be qualified, since his qualities and behaviour can lead to either the success or failure of the embassy. He should complement his oratorical skills and moral standards with control over his voice and gestures, to carry out the dignity of his principal and to not negatively influence his host in the negotiations.

A last element that is interesting to note is that De Rosier argues that credibility should be attributed to ambassadors because of the office that they hold. For instance, ambassadors should receive 'plena fides', because of their 'officii plublici'.[137] In the first place this is fascinating, because it tells us something about the reputation of an office holder. In a way, the office holder is inviolable and should be believed unconditionally, because he holds an office. Consequently, De Rosier raises the expectation that the ambassador lives up to the standard that the office of ambassador requires. An ambassador should be trusted, because he holds an office that makes him act in a certain, morally worthy way.

3.3. The profile of the ambassador in the *De legationibus*

Before turning to a close-reading of the *De legationibus*, in which we pay attention to important elements about the profile and code of conduct, some general remarks should be made. A practical notice is that in our analysis we will only take into consideration the two lists of qualities and precautions, because

[134] Idem, 12: 'but in the instrument of the voice, the gestures and the way of displaying yourself'.
[135] Gilli, 'Bernard De Rosier', section 9.
[136] *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*, 9: 'he who observes an appropriate order in his dealings, begins well, obtains in the middle, achieves at the end', and 8: 'a quick execution of the undertakings'.
[137] Idem, 24.

after a study of the source text, it turned out that De Penna's commentary on Justinian's laws does not offer sufficient material for the analysis of the code of conduct and profile of the ambassador. Furthermore, we should keep in mind that De Penna develops his arguments and points of view in a different way than De Rosier. He continually refers to Bible verses, philosophers, and theologians to support his statement, while De Rosier takes a different approach, writing primarily from his own experience. As mentioned before, this is a characteristic of De Penna's work, quite unique for the period he lived in. Secondly, De Penna elaborates in more detail on the characteristics of the ambassador, illustrating the importance of the qualities with citations. In addition, he often repeats certain features in different contexts. For instance, he refers repeatedly to the honesty, maturity, and eloquence of the ambassador. Apparently, these characteristics were very important for him. Lastly, just like De Rosier, De Penna also refers to the work of the ambassador as an office when he lists a few reasons for organising and embassy: 'Legatorum quidem officium est inter eum ad quem, & eum à quo mittuntur, amicitiam, societatem, pacémque firmare'. [138] After that he refers to 1 Maccabees to illustrate that peace is an important goal of embassies. Later on, towards the end of his treaty, he repeats clearly: 'legationis etiam munus publicum est, quod quis subire compellitur', which not only gives him obligations, but also the right to certain privileges.[139] De Penna's enumeration of reasons for an embassy is comparable to some reasons De Rosier mentions. It is not surprising that they both mention peace, because peace was a very important goal of medieval political relations.[140] Watkins observed, in reaction to Mattingly who stated that 'the grand object of all diplomacy is peace',[141] that De Rosier wrote his treatise in a time that pope Eugene IV (1431-1447) tried to appease the parties involved in the Hundred Year's War in order to enlist them for a war against the 'Bohemian heretics'. He therefore argues that De Rosier's treatise should be seen in that perspective, less an ideal than an echo of the pope's calls for peace.[142] This might well be the case, and of course we should always seek to study the sources in their historical context, but this case does not diminish any of the value that was generally attributed to peace in the medieval treatises.

The *De legationibus* opens with a section '*Ad legationis officium qui assumendi*', in which De Penna argues that 'legationis officium praecipuè iurisperiti sunt assumendi, & consueverunt assumi qui

[138] *De legationibus*, 313/1, section 10: 'The office of the legates is indeed to affirm friendship, alliance, and peace between him by whom and to whom he has been sent'.
[139] Idem, 320/2, section 35-37: 'the duty of the legate is public, for which he is compelled to undergo it'.
[140] A goal that is also often discussed in other didactical literature, such as mirrors for princes. An example is the *Speculum Regis Edwardi* (ca. 1330) by William of Pagula or the seventh part of the Scottish *Meroure of Wyssdome* (1490) by John Ireland. See also Ivan Kende, 'The History of Peace: Concept and Organizations from the Late Middle Ages to the 1870s', *Journal of Peace Research* 26:3 (1989) 233-247, and Cary J. Nederman, 'The Mirror Crack'd: The Speculum Principum as Political and Social Criticism in the Late Middle Ages,' *The European Legacy, toward New Paradigms* 3:3 (1998) 18-38, for an idea of peace in the Middle Ages and specifically didactical literature.
[141] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 38.
[142] Watkins, 'Toward a New Diplomatic History', 3.

maximè facundia polleant'.[143] De Penna later on supports his claim by a remark in the list of *cautelae* considering the choice of the spokesperson within the group of ambassadors: 'Convenerunt in unum, & interrogavit eum unus ex eis legis doctor.'[144] This is a notion of interest, because De Penna apparently considers people educated in law to be most fit for the job. Their skillset, especially in the field of rhetoric, makes them suitable for a position as ambassador. This is especially of interest because De Penna himself was a lawyer, and apparently thought his education the most apt preparation for the office of ambassador. Thus, De Penna makes the profile of the ambassador immediately very specific by pointing out a particular profession that would be most fit. As we have seen, De Rosier does not make this link to a profession to describe the ideal ambassador but only generally remarks that the ambassador should be chosen in accordance to the rank of the recipient. We might explain this difference from the development that Lazzarini pointed out (see also section 3.1.2).[145] At the time of De Penna, diplomats without rank were still appointed, and therefore educated lawyers would make perfect candidates for embassies. A century later however, the importance of rank grew and therefore the value attributed to a correspondence between the dignity and social position of ambassador and recipient had grown. This is supported by the fact that De Penna never mentions a specific social standing, but only education, as a requirement for ambassadorship. He indeed requires nobility, but that is more a nobility of heart and acting than nobility of rank.[146] De Rosier does not mention the word nobility in his treatise, but the fact that he says that the social position of the ambassador should honour that of the recipient indicates that he indeed attributed importance to the social hierarchy and ranks.

After the introductory section, De Penna describes the aforementioned twenty qualities and twenty precautions, of which we will highlight the ones that are of interest for our subject. The first one to catch our eye is the second quality mentioned by De Penna: 'Secundò eligendus est legatus fidelis, seu fide integer' and '[e] contrario legatus infidelis pestilentia est terrae ad quam, seu per quam mittitur. Pravo quidem exemplo multos corrumpit'.[147] Trustworthiness is an element that we have mentioned before and that we also see in the work of De Rosier. It is not surprising that De Penna mentions this as one of the first qualities, because – as we have stressed earlier on (see section 3.1.2) – this element of fidelity was of crucial importance for the principal who sent the ambassador. He had to rely on the ambassador, being able to trust that he would fulfil the mission according to the principal's wish. What De Penna also points out, however, which De Rosier does not, is that impact of infidelity, which negatively affects the ones he comes in touch with. In this way, De Penna connects the task of the

[143] Idem, 311/2, section 1: 'especially men skilled in law should take on the office of legate and they have accustomed themselves to take it on, those who are especially capable of eloquence'.
[144] Idem, 317/1, section 27: 'they agreed as one and one of them, a doctor in law, interrogated'.
[145] Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict,* 125.
[146] *De legationibus*, 314/2 and 315/1, section 20. See also Fedele, 'The Status of Ambassadors', 182-183.
[147] Idem, 312/1, section 4: 'Secondly, a trustworthy legate has to be chosen, or of true loyalty' and 'by contrast an infidel legate is a pest for the country to which or by which he is sent. By the crooked example he damages many'.

ambassador to the public responsibility that he has as an office holder, because his behaviour has consequences for others.

De Penna continues that 'non solum sit orator eloquens, sed etiam sit sapiens'.[148] Wisdom is important for an ambassador, because as a representative his words are of crucial importance during the embassy, and so eloquence with wisdom is highly valued: '[e]loquentia verò sine sapientia nimium obest civitatibus plerunque, nunquam autem prodest, quamvis sapientia sine eloquentia parum prosit'.[149] An ambassador needs to be wise and have a lot of knowledge, because 'ignorantia mater est omnium errorum'.[150] Thus, a diplomat should be skilled and educated, and his words should testify of knowledge, so that 'in verbis suis se amabilem facit'.[151]

The ambassador should also be just: 'iusti etiam debent esse legati sermones'.[152] In addition he should be truthful ('verax'), meaning that the ambassador should speak the truth, as is clearly illustrated by a text De Penna cites from Zachary: 'Nolite timere, haec sunt verb aquae facietis. Loquimini veritate unusquisque cum proximo suo, veritatem & iudicium pacis iudicate in portis vestris'.[153] Furthermore, he has to be 'discretus', 'nobilis', 'sollicitus & solers', 'moderatus', 'vir bonus & benignus, iucundus visu, modestus moribus, & eloquio decorus, & à pueritia virtutibus exercitatus'. Moreover, he has to 'fulgere (…) dignitate', and to be 'sobrius, (…) Non ebriosus (…) obcecat enim conscientiam: & sepelit rationem'.[154] De Penna dedicates quite some words to this topic of sobriety, and in the section he makes an interesting remark: 'Quod si superfluè bibebat, cognoscebant quòd eius dominus non erat nimis sapiens'.[155] Again we see the enormous importance of the ambassador as a reflection of his principal and that his behaviour has great implications for the reputation of his master.

On the question of maturity, De Penna argues that the ambassador should be of 'aetate provectus', and '[h]abitu & incessu debet esse matures, ut in his quoque probet debitum suae legationis officiu[m]'.[156] De Rosier and De Penna think quite alike about the maturity of the ambassador. De Rosier remarks that the younger participants of the embassy should learn from and listen carefully to the older and more experienced ambassador when they speak.[157] Just as De Rosier, De Penna prefers a certain

[148] Idem, 312/1, section 5: 'not only should an orator be eloquent, but he should also be wise'.
[149] Ibidem: 'eloquence without wisdom is mostly too much of a nuisance for the community, and it is never beneficial to them, although wisdom without eloquence is neither of much use'.
[150] Idem, 312/2, section 7: 'ignorance is the mother of all errors'.
[151] Idem, 312/2, section 5: 'in his words he makes himself lovable'.
[152] Idem, 312/2, section 8: 'Therefore the conversations of the legate should be just'.
[153] Idem, 313/1, section 9: 'Do not fear, these are the words you need to act on. Speak the truth one to his neighbour, judge with truth and judgement in peace in your gates'.
[154] Idem, 313/1, section 11 and 313/2, section 12: 'discrete' and 'sober, (…) not drunk (…) for it blinds the conscience and buries the reason'; 314/2-315/1, section 20 and 21: 'noble' and 'shimmer with dignity', 'passionate and skilled', and 316/1, section 26: 'a good and kind man, with a joyful face, with modest habits, and with noble speech, and since childhood exercising virtuous behaviour'.
[155] Idem, 313/2, section 12: 'Because if he drank superfluously, they would recognise that his master was not all too wise'.
[156] Idem, 313/2, section 16: 'of an advanced age', and 315/1, section 22: 'he has to be mature in expression and walking, so that also in that he shows the duty of his office of legate'.
[157] *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*, 11.

level of maturity. Although De Penna states that someone of older age is preferred as ambassador, he says that it is essentially about maturity in thought and acting. He therefore mentions Daniel, who is named in the Bible for his wisdom at a young age.[158] Age is also linked to the physical and mental strength that De Penna describes as the ninth element: the legate 'debet esse robustus, & forti corde seu animo, ut aptus sit omnem qui expediet perferre laborem'.[159] This question of age is also raised in the list of *cautelae*, in which De Penna discusses the question of which member of the group of ambassadors should speak in public. Although all members of the group are expected to be 'idonei', they should still choose the most apt one, '[i]n dubio autem ad hoc est senior eligendus'.[160] This preference for a grown man is also seen in the daily practice of medieval diplomacy, because it is known that most ambassadors were in fact between their thirties and sixties, and thus, according to theory, wise enough and in the physical health to fulfil the journey and negotiations.[161] It is also a requirement or preference that has lived through the ages: at the time of Louis XIV, in the seventeenth century, it was still a requirement in the instruction books, such as that of the aforementioned Wicquefort, that ambassadors should be in good health and middle-aged.[162]

De Penna also underlines another aspect of importance, something that De Rosier also emphasised. He argues that the voice of the ambassador should be clear: 'Canit enim orator ut excitet ad pacem, laetitiam, iustitiam, & virtutem animos audientium.[163]According to De Penna the way of speaking determines the willingness of the audience to negotiate. As is the case with De Rosier, De Penna attributes special importance to the use of the voice, gestures, and appearance of the ambassador. The first element that deserves our attention is that De Penna links the control of the voice to a certain degree of maturity, something that De Rosier does not do so directly.[164] The same goes for the right use of gestures, which De Penna also discusses in a section on maturity: 'Gestus igitur legati debet esse gratiosus sine mollicie, quietus sine dissolutione, gravis sine tarditate, alacer sine inquietudine, maturus sine protervia, severus sine turbulentia'[165]. Moreover, De Penna stresses again under the heading of moderate behaviour, that the legate should be 'in sermone humilis, in gestu modestus, ut nec inordinate, nec impudicè, net turbulentè verba moveat, nec oculorum nutibus, aut aliqua indecenti vultus

[158] *De legationibus*, 314/1, section 17.
[159] Idem, 314/1, section 18: 'He needs to be robust and strong of heart or spirit, so that he would be apt to accomplish all the work he undertakes'.
[160] Idem, 317/1, section 27: 'but in doubt the eldest is chosen'.
[161] Moeglin, *Diplomatie et « relations internationales » au Moyen Âge*, 389.
[162] Roosen, William, 'The True Ambassador: Occupational and Personal Characteristics of the French Ambassador under Louis XIV', *European Studies Review* 3:2 (1973) 121-139, 134.
[163] *De legationibus*, 314/1, section 18: 'For the orator recites in order to incite the spirits of the audience to peace, joy, justice, and virtue'.
[164] For De Rosier maturity is certainly a requirement, but not because it facilitates control over the voice.
[165] *De legationibus*, 315/2, section 22: 'So the gestures of the legate have to be agreeable without weakness, calm without being inert, heavy without slowness, lively without restlessness, mature without impudence, severe without turbulence'.

transformatione loquatur'.[166] And especially in this specific section, more than in De Rosier's treatise, it becomes clear why gestures and expressions matter so much: every expression of the face and every gesture made could be interpreted wrongly, leading to a misunderstanding between the ambassador and the host. Something that should be prevented at all cost, and therefore the ambassador should retain control over his emotions and regulate his voice.

The same reasons form the basis for the importance that De Penna attributes to the education of the ambassador: just as his appearance, his skills are a key to the success of the mission. A crucial part of this education is rhetoric, an invaluable skill for the ambassador. Already in the beginning of his treatise he mentions the importance of rhetoric. In the tenth quality he returns to the subject when he says that 'debet esse utilis in verbo, discretus in silentio', and 'debet esse legatus eloquens, & facundus, nihil enim est ita incredibile quod in dicendo non fiat probabile. Nihil tam horridum atque incultum, quod non splendescat oratione'.[167] De Penna pays a lot of attention to the eloquence of the ambassador, because, as the citation shows, with eloquence he can bring every message in an appealing manner. In that way 'verbum dulce multiplicat amicos & mitigat inimicos'.[168] Thus, the skills and education of the ambassador determine the success of the embassy. This becomes even clearer in the following citation, which forms a culmination of what we have discussed so far on the influence of the ambassador on the outcome of a mission: 'etenim satis notantur in eo habitus, gestus corporis, vocis prolatio, verborum significatio, & proferendi modus. In his siquidem modum servet, benivolos & attentos sibi faciat animos auditorum'.[169] His whole body and behaviour offer crucial ways to influence the audience.

Towards the end of the twenty qualities, De Penna retakes his emphasis on education: '[l]egatus sit apprimè eruditus, doctus, irreprehensibilis, pavidus, & maturus'.[170] Another aspect of this education is the knowledge of languages. It is worth mentioning the attention De Penna pays to this type of knowledge, because it fits the multilingual context he lived in. He writes: 'Plurium quoque linguarum sit peritus si fieri potest, qui secundum diversitatem rituum, & linguarum officium legationis impleat per seipsum'.[171] De Rosier also pays attention to the choice of language, writing that the ambassador could either speak in Latin or the vernacular.[172] It is especially of importance, because it shows

[166] Idem, 315/2, section 23: 'in speech humble, in gestures modest, so that he does not move his words irregularly, nor impudent, nor turbulent, nor with a wink of his eyes, or in another way speaks with an indecent transformation of his face'.
[167] Idem, 315/1, section 20: 'he has to be profitable in words, and discrete in silence', and 314, section 19: 'The legate has to be eloquent, and fluent, because nothing is so incredible that in speaking it cannot be made probable. Nothing so uncultivated and lacking refinement, that it does not begin to shine in a speech'.
[168] Ibidem, 'a sweet word multiplies friends and soothes enemies'.
[169] Idem, 316/1, section 25: 'and indeed he is observed sufficiently in his expression, the movements of his body, the enlargement of his voice, the significance of his words and the manner of advancing. If he indeed minds his manner, he will make the spirits of the audience benevolent and attentive to him'.
[170] Idem, 316/1, section 24: 'the legate should be to the highest degree erudite, learned, irreprehensible, impressive, and mature'.
[171] 316/1, section 24: 'He would be even more skilled if he would be able to know more languages, so that he enriches the office of legate for himself as far as the diversity of rites and languages is concerned'. See also Fedele, 'The Status of Ambassadors', 185.
[172] *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*, 13.

something of the continuity of thought on the profile of the ambassador – just as with the question of age –, because in the sixteenth and seventeenth century knowledge of languages was still considered of importance, even though Latin was still used as diplomatic language.[173]

In the precautions De Penna turns from the characteristics of the ambassador to his behaviour. He starts with a call for hope, for one who hopes, can achieve his wishes.[174] Furthermore, the ambassador should be cautious to choose the right moment, place, and public to present his ideas, complemented with the advice to wait for silence before speaking: 'Legatio quidem seu legatorum oratio non in tumultu, sed in quiete mentium audienda est, tunc enim veritas melius intuetur'.[175] He should also mind that he ends his speech when the audience gets tired of listening, so that he will not be a nuisance to them. From these instructions, it is clear that the ambassador is expected to be sensitive to the circumstances in which he operates, being able to discern what to speak and when. Interestingly, De Penna says that after having begun speaking, the legate should no longer speak timidly, but openly, 'debet enim oratores audaces esse, & prae caeteris libera voce loqui sicut clerici'.[176] This is because: 'timidi legati vocantur canes muti, non valentes latrare. (…) Docet quippe negare qui timidè rogat'.[177] This is an interesting difference with De Rosier, who continually stresses the importance of showing reverence to the host by a modest and humble appearance and speaking softly. For De Penna speaking softly and showing modesty in speech is part of the 'opening ceremony' of the embassy, and when the negotiations start, the ambassador should speak up and prove himself to be a fierce negotiator. At the same time he warns 'caveat ut nec sophisticè sed clarè loquatur', followed by a series of examples from the Bible, Aristotle, Plato, and others showing that simplicity and clarity is esteemed above deceit and dialectics. Being courageous in speaking is not the same as lying or deceiving. In the next chapters he therefore adds that 'caveat ut nec etiam simulatè loquatur' and 'caveat ut etiam à superfluis abstineat'.[178]

Another element that De Penna refers to is the fact that he should know his audience. This is a feature that we have also seen with De Rosier: the ambassador should be able to estimate the capabilities of his audience and to adapt his message, 'utque non det sanctum canibus, neque margaritas mittat ante porcos'.[179] In the next chapter, the fourteenth precaution, he continues with the remark that the legate should request matters that correspond to the 'res, locus, tempus, persona audientis', so that he will not demand something that is improper to the situation. Moreover he should make his request in a way that

[173] Roosen, 'The True Ambassador', 129.
[174] *De legationibus*, 317/1, section 27.
[175] Idem, 317/2, section 27, precaution 4-6: 'Indeed, the embassy, or the speech of the legates should not be heard in commotion, but in tranquillity, because then the truth is appreciated better'.
[176] Idem, 318/1, section 29: 'for the orator has to be audacious, and speak above all to the others with a free voice, like the clerics'.
[177] Idem, 318/1, section 30: 'timid legates are called voiceless dogs, not strong enough to bark. (…) The instruction is to of course to deny who asks timidly.'
[178] Idem, 318/1, section 30: 'let him be aware that he speaks clearly, not fallaciously', 318/2, section 30, 'let him also be aware that he does not speak deceitfully', and 318/2, section 31: 'let him also be aware that he abstains from excesses'.
[179] Idem, 319/1, section 32: 'so that he would not give the holy to the dogs, nor throw pearls before the swine'.

corresponds to the content of the request, for instance there should be no profanity in requests concerning religious matters.[180] When he comes to the end of his speech, he should clarify his intentions with the most mild use of words, turning from audacity to mildness, in order not to disturb his audience. In this part, 'vox eius sit dulcis in loquendo, & et non contentiosa, neque languens neque canora', and so his words should be 'bonis fomentum, pravis eculeum, timidos retundat, mitiget iratos, prigros exacuet, decides hortatu succendat, refugientibus suadeat, asperis blandiatur, desperatos consoletur'. In order to achieve this level of control over his voice and face to please his listeners, the ambassador is advised to practice by 'seipsum in speculo persaepe respicere'.[181]

From the treatise of De Penna we discern a great concern with the use of the voice and rhetoric. Apart from the qualities and characteristics that the ambassador should be able to show, his voice is a crucial and powerful instrument to influence his public. Just as De Rosier he says that the ambassador should undertake a mission to console the desperate, but remarkably De Penna links that to the power of the voice, because the ambassador can achieve everything with the right use of the voice. Therefore, we can state that for De Penna ultimately the qualities and suitability of the ambassador depend on whether he is able to transmit his message through a balanced use of his voice, therewith shaping his audience. Concluding, we can say that for De Penna an ambassador should primarily be someone skilled in rhetoric, which is mostly someone who is educated. He can then adjust his message to his audience and control his voice in order to make sure he does not negatively influence his audience.

[180] Idem, 319/1, section 32: 'business, place, time, the person listening'.
[181] Idem, 319/2, section 32: 'his voice should be sweet in speaking, and not quarrelsome, nor languid, nor melodious' and 'solace to the good, torture to the wicked, repressing the cowards, appease the angry, stimulating the lazy, set fire to the idle by encouragement, advise the ones who seek refuge, to urge the austere, to console the desperate', and 319/2, section 33: 'often looking at himself in the mirror'.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

4.1. Main findings

This paper aimed to shed light on the profile and code of conduct of ambassadors as described by two authors of instruction books from the fourteenth and fifteenth century, and the changes and developments that occurred. We have studied and compared the *De legationibus* of Lucas de Penna and the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* of Bernard de Rosier to obtain an insight in the profile and code of conduct, and their implications for our knowledge of medieval diplomacy and didactical literature.

Firstly, it is to be noted that both De Penna and De Rosier equate a good ambassador with a good embassy. According to the authors, the character and skills of the ambassador determine the success of a mission. In other words, the profile and code of conduct of the ambassador, as described by them, are supposed to lead to a successful embassy. This line of reasoning can also be perceived in for example mirrors for magistrates, in which a good ruler is a prerequisite for good governance. This gives us reason to consider the ambassadorial instruction books comparable to other treatises for office holders. Furthermore, it is telling that both De Penna and De Rosier thought it important to describe a profile and code of conduct of the ambassador, and to present the ambassador as an office holder. This is essential, because the authors imply that because of the fact that the ambassadors fulfilled an office, they should act according to the expectations that came with it. The instruction books emphasise thus the worth that was attributed to an office. Medieval office holders deserved a certain degree of trust and honour, because of the position they fulfilled. Accordingly, the ambassador was supposed to behave correctly, because the office would otherwise be compromised. Furthermore, both authors, although De Rosier more explicitly than De Penna, argue that the ambassador should do his work for the greater good. This is something that applied to most medieval offices.

Next, when we consider the similarities and differences in the two works, the two sources may seem very alike at a first glance, presenting resembling characteristics. Given the same approach of both authors, it is not surprising that in general their descriptions of the profile and code of conduct of the ambassador do not differ very much. After all, in order to serve the greater good, one has to be virtuous as well as skilled. Therefore, both characterise the ambassador as a virtuous man, kind, loving, generous, erudite, and eloquent. He is able to control his voice, expressions, and gestures, so that he moves with dignity as a representative of his principal, he shows reverence to the host, and he does not distract his listeners in any way from the message he wants to convey. His words contain wisdom because of his education, and in his speaking, he wins the audience for him and his cause. In this way, the ambassador is a worthy representative of the principal who sent him, which should become clear from his behaviour.

However, at a closer look we can perceive that the authors chose to emphasise different elements and details, which tells us something about their preferences, background, and the period in which they wrote their treatise. One of the main differences between the two authors is the style of writing, which in turn causes variations in emphasis. The difference in style can be seen in the fact that De Penna explains more than De Rosier why certain skills and characteristics are important for an ambassador to

possess. Whereas De Rosier simply lists the qualities that belong to the profile of an ambassador, De Penna cites from a range of sources to explain why an ambassador should have these specific qualities. It could be that De Penna lived in a time in which the profile of the ambassador was not yet developed to the extent it was in the fifteenth century, which necessitated a more detailed explanation of why certain characteristics were so important. For example, on nobility De Penna specifies that he intends nobility of the heart, and not necessarily of blood, something De Rosier apparently does not deem essential enough to mention or specify at all. Apparently he already assumed ambassadors were unquestionably of a certain social position. Another aspect that De Penna describes in great detail is maturity, a characteristic that he mentions several times. He connects many different qualities to maturity, which indicates that for him skills and wisdom mostly only came with a certain mental development. Again, De Rosier only mentions it shortly, only linking it to a degree of diplomatic experience, but not to education of mental development. An aspect that De Rosier emphasises more than De Penna is prudence. The ambassador should do his job in a prudent way, and travel in a prudent manner. For De Penna prudence is not a priority, which is especially clear when he states that the ambassador should be forward in the negotiations. Apparently, De Penna considered clarity and eloquence more likely to lead to success than caution. However, as we will see in a citation in the following section, De Rosier was not the only one to stress the importance of prudence, since contemporaneous sources underline it as well. We might therefore state that there is a shift from a rather bold to a more prudent approach in negotiations in the period between De Penna and De Rosier. Another aspect that De Rosier highlights is the praiseworthiness of the ambassador, an aspect that De Penna does not refer to. De Rosier says that an ambassador deserves praise and gratitude, because he works for the public good. De Penna mentions the privileges of the ambassador – for example he deserves to be listened to, but he does not link that to a right to praise and gratitude. It could be that at the time De Rosier lived, ambassadors were not as esteemed as De Rosier thought justified, which urged him to underline in his treatise that ambassadors deserved more gratitude and praise for his work.

We can discern other differences that occur because De Penna lived in another region and period than De Rosier. Again on social background, a striking difference is that De Penna proposes people with a juridical background and education to fulfil the office of ambassador, while De Rosier does not specify a preference for a highly educated individual. He speaks more of behaviour and eloquence than a specific requirement for education. This difference could be understood better when we consider that in the fifteenth century rank became more important than specific education. Furthermore, De Penna puts more stress on the use of the voice than De Rosier, which does not exclusively show that for De Penna there is an enormous power in the voice, with which the ambassador is able to greatly influence his audience. It also demonstrates that in Italy rhetoric was incredibly important, and less so in France. This is supported by the fact that it can also be seen in the aforementioned Italian mirrors for magistrates, written

for rulers of city-states – for example in the *De regimine civitatum* (1234) of Giovanni da Viterbo, where eloquence and rhetoric are presented as a key aspects of the magistrate.[182]

Lastly, after a consideration of both similarities and difference, we come to conclude that both De Penna and De Rosier consider it the core message of their work that the ambassador should be *fidelis*, that his principal should be able to trust him. Without trustworthiness, all of the qualities and skills of the office holder could be used for purposes other than that of the principal. This refers again to the office holder who is supposed to serve the greater good. If the principal cannot trust that the ambassador will strive for the common good, the embassy is more likely to fail.

4.2. Broader implications

Formulating some broader implications after an analysis of the two sources, we can firstly state that – despite all neglect and criticism – ambassadorial instruction books indeed tell us something about ambassadorship in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Therefore, we should consider if the profile and code of conduct as described in the instruction books are really so far apart from reality as is often suggested. Of course, the treatises describe an ideal and are a critical reflection on reality, but at the same time certain characteristics were really expected by the principals who sent the ambassadors, as we have seen in the work of Moeglin, working with non-prescriptive sources, and as is clearly illustrated by the following citation: '*Selon les correspondances en partie contemporaines des représentants du roi de Naples Ferdinand d'Aragon (1458-1494) avec leur mandant, l'intégrité, la fidélité et le dévouement au souverain restent considérés comme essentiels, et deux autres vertus apparaissent indispensables: la diligence (*diligentia*) mise en oeuvre pour accomplir les ordres royaux, la prudence (*prudentia*) dans les négociations*'.[183] From this citation, we can conclude that we should not read these didactical treatises as texts raising expectations that were impossible to live up to, but that functioned as mirrors to look in, to reflect and practice, just as De Penna advised them to do with facial expressions.

Furthermore, the authors of the treatises are often criticised for their theoretical approach. De Rosier and De Penna, however, offer the proof that this was surely not always the case. De Rosier had several diplomatic experiences, and De Penna resided at the papal court, where diplomatic practice was part of daily life. Moreover, Dante Fedele points out that several commentators on the *Codex* of Justinian, like Bartolo of Sassoferrato and Baldo degli Ubaldi – who however only focussed on the embassy and not on the ambassador, like De Penna did –, had ambassadorial experience.[184] That means, that if the treatises would be artificial and theoretical – a take that we have amply criticised here, it is certainly not because of a lack of diplomatic experience of the authors.

Another element to highlight, is how instruction books were to be read. Moeglin remarks on the expectations about ambassadors that they were not strict requirements, but that they had to be used

[182] Giovanni da Viterbo, *Liber de regimine civitatum*, ed. G. Salvemini, in *Bibliotheca Iuridica Medii Aevi*, III, (Bononiae 1901) 215-280.
[183] Moeglin, *Diplomatie et « relations internationales » au Moyen Âge*, 367-368.
[184] Fedele, *Naissance de la diplomatie moderne*, 35-36.

depending on the situation at hand.[185] Whereas mirrors for princes were often written for and dedicated to a specific ruler and thus adjusted to a particular situation, the treatises that we have studied are of a more general nature.[186] We can assume that the instruction books were therefore written in such a way that the reader had to discern which elements were relevant and which not. Since both De Rosier and De Penna emphasise that the ambassador should know his audience, he did not only have to adjust his message and word-choice, but also his behaviour and use of skills to what the specific situation required. That means that didactical literature should be understood as handbooks for every day, of which the reader had to determine which characteristics would apply to the situation at hand. The books listed qualities, raised expectations, required skills, but the reader had to select the useful ones for his mission.

We should here also recall Lazzarini's notion that the profile and code of conduct became more defined at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[187] We do so, because in the two sources that we have studied we already see several elements that were part of that stricter and more 'codified' list of requirements that defined the 'good ambassador' in centuries to come. Of course we should consider that the two sources are quite unique for the time they were written in. For example, the commentators on the *Codex* voiced differing opinions on the office of ambassador, which shows that no clear, agreed upon idea existed yet of what the office entailed.[188] Another objection might be that the treatises were not yet as standardised as the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century treatises on ambassadors. However, elements like age, education, eloquence, and physical appearance are unmistakably visible in the work of both authors. We therefore propose to consider the works of De Penna and De Rosier as part of a continuity, being forerunners of an approach that was to be standardised in the following centuries.[189]

Here we should also return to question of the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* as the 'first treatise on ambassadors', and Fedele's suggestion, that we have tested in this paper, to consider the *De legationibus* as an alternative. It is true when Moeglin writes that '*[a]vant le XVe siècle, il n'existe cependant pas de traités spécifiquement consacrés aux ambassadeurs, seulement des passages dans les commentaires des glossateurs du* Code *ou du* Digeste', because indeed the *De legationbus* is part of a commentary on the *Codex*.[190] However, this disregards the contribution of De Penna, classifying it as 'only' a commentary on the *Codex*, because we have seen that De Penna opens with an extensive treatise, covering three quarters of the whole *De legationibus*, before coming to his actual commentary on the laws. Moreover, his 'humanistic' approach, citing from classical sources, has been described as remarkable for the period he lived in. Finally, if we follow Gorgoni's observation that De Penna's work resembles more of a social criticism than a regular commentary of Roman law, presenting Roman law as a means to tackle problems in society, we could perceive the *De legationibus* differently. We could then indeed consider it as one

[185] Idem, 368-369.
[186] Bejczy and Nederman, *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages*, 3.
[187] Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*, 128.
[188] Gilli, 'La fonction d'ambassadeurs', 177.
[189] An opinion that also resounds in the work of Fedele: Fedele, *Naissance de la diplomatie moderne*, 45-46.
[190] Idem, 362.

of the first treatises on ambassadors. It might still be true that De Rosier's work is the first treatise *for* ambassador, instead of *on* ambassadors, as Gilli pointed out,[191] because De Penna *De legationibus* is part of a bigger complaint against the *status quo* in society, and not specifically written for ambassadors. However, Fedele is more than right when he argues that De Penna's work should be perceived as a precursor to later works, and thus deserves to receive more attention than so far has been the case.

4.3. Suggestions for further research

Although some first impressions have been drawn from the *De legationibus* and the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*, still much research could be done to come to an even clearer idea of what ambassadorship and didactical literature in the Middle Ages entailed. This paper has shown that ambassadorial instruction books can indeed tell us something about the preferred skills and behaviour of the ambassador, but it would be useful to compare these more normative sources, such as the works of De Penna and De Rosier, to sources taken from the immediate practice of diplomacy, like instructions and journals. It would, for example, be intriguing to see how the abovementioned move of the papal court to Avignon, and the rise in diplomatic activity and negotiation practices that came with it, can be traced back in the work of De Penna who served at the papal court. Given the fact that he actually pays attention to negotiation practices and the behaviour of the ambassador in those negotiations, we can use instruction books to gather more knowledge about developments within medieval diplomacy.

Furthermore, we have already stated that the ambassador can be positioned in the list of medieval office holders, for whom instruction books were written – of which an example is the famous *Il libro del cortegiano* (1513-1518) of Baldassare Castiglione.[192] In describing what characterises ambassadorial instruction books, we have shown that they also resemble other kinds of didactical works. There is, for example, a striking resemblance between the advice given in ambassadorial instruction books and in mirrors for magistrates.[193] This paper therefore calls for, and is a first attempt to the creation of a tighter link between different instruction books for office holders, in order to be able to point out a development in this subgenre of didactical literature.

Concluding, the *De legationibus* and the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus* are sources full of richness, that tell us much about the profile and code of conduct of the ambassadors, medieval diplomacy, and the place of instruction books in the genre of didactical literature. We should therefore make use of them and let them serve as sources of information to learn ever more about the medieval diplomacy and the ambassadors.

[191] Gilli, 'Bernard de Rosier', section 1.
[192] A suggested reading on this work of Castiglione and the place of virtue in it is by Erich Loos, *Baldassare Castigliones "Libro del Cortegiano" : Studien zur Tugendauffassung des Cinquecento* (Frankfurt Am Main 1955).
[193] Again the *De regimine civitatum* (1234) of Giovanni da Viterbo can serve as an example, since in it advice is given to a magistrate on how to travel and how to be received by the city council, comparable to passages in the *Ambaxiatorum brevilogus*. In the *Liber de regimine rectoris* (1314) of Paolino Minorita also extensive attention is paid to virtues and vices, such as to be magnanimous and truthful, and to avoid avarice or acting out of anger: Paolino Minorita, ed. Adolfo Mussafia, *Liber de regimine rectoris* (Florence 1868).

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