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Chapter 2

The Practice of Diplomacy at the Court of Amadeus VIII of Savoy (1391–1440)

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Readers curious about the history of the reign of Amadeus VIII enjoy the benefits of an extensive bibliography. Numerous historians have emphasized his diplomatic skill and his role as a mediator, both in France during the Hundred Years' War, and in Italy, especially during the conflict between the duke of Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti, and his Venetian and Florentine opponents.¹ The court of Savoy was thus the stage for a considerable amount of diplomatic shuttling, which also included missions related to Amadeus's marriage policy, designed to result in territorial expansion for his duchy.² Strangely, however, both the diplomatic practices of Amadeus VIII and the processes leading to his choice of

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1. For the Hundred Years' War, see especially Schnerb, *L'Etat bourguignon 1363–1477*, 180–84, 240; Lacaze, "Aux origines de la paix d'Arras (1435)"; Baud, "Amédée VIII et la guerre de Cent Ans," 46–51; Baud, "La correspondance entre le roi Charles VII et le duc Amédée VIII pendant la guerre de Cent ans," 247–57; Cognasso, *Amedeo VIII*, 2:45–54, 70; de Fresne Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, 2:14, 17–19, 22, 113–14, 351–60, 405–14, 427.

2. Cognasso, "Il ducato visconteo da Gian Galeazzo a Filippo Maria"; Cognasso, *Amedeo VIII*, 2:87–141; Cognasso, "L'alleanza sabauda-viscontea contro Venezia nel 1434," 157–236, 357–426; Cognasso, "L'alleanza sabauda-viscontea contro il Monferrato nel 1431," 273–334, 554–644; Cognasso, "L'intervento sabauda alla pace di Ferrara nel 1428"; Gabotto, "Contributo alla storia delle relazioni fra Amedeo VIII di Savoia e Filippo Maria Visconti," 153–207, 277–321, esp. 196–99; Gabotto, "La guerra tra Amedeo VIII di Savoia e Filippo Maria Visconti," (1907): 429–90, (1908): 111–44, 168–209, 377–407, (1909): 3–47, 145–86; Gabotto, "La politica di Amedeo VIII in Italia dal 1428 al 1435 nei 'conti' dell'Archivio Camerale di Torino," 141–220; Gabotto, "La politica di Amedeo VIII in Italia dal 1431 al 1435 nei documenti dell'Archivio di Stato di Torino," 81–235, 298–365; Gabotto, "La politica di Amedeo VIII in Italia dal 1431 al 1435 nei *conti dei Tesorieri di guerra*"; Barbero, *Il ducato di Savoia*, 68–97.

specific emissaries remain understudied topics.³ Due to the fact that resident ambassadors did not yet exist—only in 1460 was the first permanent Savoyard ambassador accredited at the papal court⁴—Amadeus VIII placed particular missions in the hands of the individuals whom he considered most capable of completing the negotiations successfully. A systematic examination of the exceptional series of financial accounts⁵ at the Turin state archives, of the collection of instructions provided to ducal envoys, and of letters or memoirs from their embassies, permits one to identify both the criteria on which diplomatic appointments were based, and the kinds of diplomatic techniques employed by Amadeus VIII.

Choosing Emissaries

The vast majority of envoys were chosen from among the ducal counselors. These men were well familiar with the political affairs of the duchy and met frequently with their lord. Ambassadors who were not also counselors were either members of the prince's household (squires, for example) or held territorial positions (such as judicial posts). While there were a number of nobles who took part in diplomatic negotiations, especially for missions of prestige, jurists were also an important presence. The latter were indispensable when it came to resolving the numerous legal disputes that marked the reign of Amadeus VIII, such as the problem of the fealty oath of the marquis of Saluzzo in 1413 and 1414,⁶ the debate over the county of Geneva between 1403 and 1424,⁷ and of course the accession

3. Only for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is there a developed bibliography on this topic. The works of four historians in particular should be signaled: Frigo, *Principe, ambasciatori e "jus gentium"*; Storrs, *War, Diplomacy and the Rise of Savoy, 1690–1720*; Storrs, "Sardinian Diplomacy in the Eighteenth Century"; Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy*; Zwierlein, "Savoyen-Piemonts Verhältnis zum Reich 1536 bis 1618."

4. Eusebio Margaria, archdeacon of Vercelli and apostolic protonotary, was sent to Rome as resident at the court of Pius II; AST1, Materie politiche per rapporto all'interno, Protocolli dei notai della corona, Protocolli camerati 50, fol. 208r–v and Protocolli camerati 52, fol. 218r.

5. I refer above all to the accounts of the general treasury of Savoy, of the household, of accounts "de voyages," and those of the chancery. Diplomatic travels could also be recorded in the various territorial account books of the Savoyard states, such as those of the castellanies. The castellany accounts are held in part at the state archives in Turin, but some are also found in the various departmental archives, such as those of Savoie in Chambéry, of Haute-Savoie in Annecy, of the Côte-d'Or in Dijon, of Isère in Grenoble, and of the Alpes-Maritimes in Nice. For more on the geographic dispersal of the archives of the house of Savoy following World War II, see D'Angiolini and Pavone, *Guida generale degli archivi di stato italiani*, 4:375–83, and for a description of the organization of Savoyard sources, see Andenmatten and Castelnovo, "Produzione documentaria e conservazione archivistica nel principato sabaudo, XIII–XV secolo."

6. Cognasso, *Amedeo VIII*, 1:181–83; Barbero, "La dipendenza politica del marchesato di Saluzzo nei confronti delle potenze vicine al tempo di Ludovico I," 191–94.

7. Pibiri, "En ambassarie devers le roi des Romains." See also Barbey, *Louis de Chalon*, 86–92; Duparc, *Le*

of Amadeus VIII to the ducal title in 1416.⁸ Embassies in which both a noble counselor and a jurist took part reflected the two aspects of the negotiations. Ceremonial and courtly manners were one element. The nobles mastered this perfectly, emphasizing their personal and social prestige. The other factor was technical and satisfied by the requisite legal knowledge of the jurists.⁹

Amadeus VIII did not appoint members of his council or his court to these missions randomly. It is true that the great dignitaries of his domains, such as the chancellor or his field marshals, were usually mandated to sign marriage contracts or final treaties, but typically they did not engage in the process until after less important officers had carried out the repeated negotiations necessary to reach an agreement. It seems undeniable that Amadeus VIII appointed certain officers as privileged emissaries to particular places or persons. For example, in the case of negotiations with France and Burgundy, the duke preferred emissaries with familial roots in areas near those two states, facilitating exchanges between courts and sometimes even resulting in multiple service. Bertrand Melin, a squire from Bresse, offers a remarkable case. He was sent on over forty missions between 1403 and 1430 (when he died) to mediate between the combatants of the Hundred Years' War. He was a squire and castellan of Amadeus VIII, but he was also a squire of the dukes of Burgundy John the Fearless and Philip the Good, as well as bailiff of Maulévrier in Normandy for Amadeus VIII in 1412. Likewise, the Grolée, originally from Dauphiné but vassals of Savoy for their lands in Bugey, held elevated posts for the king of France and in the oligarchy of Lyon, and also were named regularly to the embassies that Amadeus VIII sent to France. A similar case is offered by members of the Martel family, especially Guillaume de Martel, lord of Grammont in Bugey, and Martellet de Martel, who were envoys on several occasions between 1413 and 1424 to the future King Charles VII, and with good reason. Guillaume was squire, counselor, and *maître de l'hôtel* of Amadeus VIII beginning in 1417, but he also carried out the functions of counselor and chamberlain of King Charles VI and then of his son the dauphin.¹⁰

These are the most salient examples, but other lineages that were well known on either side of the Savoyard border, such as the du Saix, the Luyrieux,

comté de Genève, 328–47.

8. Cognasso, *Amedeo VIII*, 1:214–18; Tabacco, *Lo stato sabaudo nel sacro romano impero*, 49–51.

9. The same was true in Burgundy; see Borchgrave, "Diplomates et diplomatie," 77; Spitzbarth, "Ambassades et ambassadeurs," 591–92; Schnerb, "Les ambassadeurs bourguignons," 225–29. For France, see Le Bis, "La pratique de la diplomatie," 147–49; Ganshof, *Le Moyen Age*, 214. For Milan, see Soldi Rondinini, "Ambasciatori e ambascerie," 327, 335–36; Leverotti, *Diplomazia e governo dello stato*, 36–39, 76–77; Margaroli, *Diplomazia e stati rinascimentali*, 275–89.

10. See Pibiri, "Le personnel diplomatique d'Amédée VIII de Savoie entre France et Bourgogne," 81–94.

or the Menthon, were regularly chosen by Amadeus VIII to serve as diplomats in France or Burgundy.¹¹

Amadeus VIII thus took advantage of the networks and the multiple socio-territorial ties of his emissaries. While some Savoyard ambassadors can be considered veritable specialists, given the frequency with which they were given charge of matters relating to the French and Burgundian courts, the service of these officials was not necessarily limited to those specific issues.

In some cases, though, this specialization resulted in a unique assignment. One might refer to such officers as liaison agents. The best examples are offered by Philibert Andrevet and Guillaume de Villarzel.

Philibert Andrevet was a Savoyard knight originally from Pont-de-Vaux who served as squire, counselor, and chamberlain of Amadeus VIII and as castellan of Bâgé and of Pont-de-Veyle. Amadeus VIII employed him diplomatically only in relations with Burgundy between 1416 and 1438. What makes his case distinctive is that he was also appointed by Philip the Good, whom he served as chamberlain and counselor, to negotiate with Amadeus VIII. Each of the two princes benefited from the fact that Philibert belonged to each of their entourages, using this multiple service as an instrument of international politics. Philibert Andrevet enjoyed, effectively, direct access to and the trust of both princes—obviously an enormous advantage in terms of completing negotiations successfully.¹² The ducal squire Guillaume de Villarzel was from Vaud and functioned as a special liaison between Savoy and Berne beginning in 1436. His marriage to Elisabeth Matter made him a *bourgeois* of Berne. He was also a member of the city council and spoke both French and German.¹³

It is thus clear that Amadeus VIII sought to favor the continuity of relations with diplomatic counterparts by sending the same emissaries on repeated missions. Negotiations were thus facilitated, both on practical and diplomatic levels, and a favorable environment was established. This kind of repetition also provided for the training of younger officials who worked with experienced envoys. Some of these junior emissaries were eventually named as principal ambassadors after a few missions.¹⁴

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid. See also Bartier, *Légistes et gens de finances au XVe siècle*, 292–99; Schnerb, “Les ambassadeurs bourguignons,” 231; Spitzbarth, “Ambassades et ambassadeurs,” 120, 284, 334, 347, 357, 366, 395, 451.

13. Pibiri, “Le personnel diplomatique des ducs Amédée VIII et Louis de Savoie,” 64–68; Cornaz, “Un diplomate du XVe siècle: Guillaume de Villarzel,” 129–39, 161–75, 193–207, 225–33.

14. Pibiri, *En voyage pour Monseigneur*, 55.

Logistical Support

Not only did Amadeus VIII choose his emissaries very carefully, he also took great care as he appointed the mounted officers who accompanied them on their embassies. These officers carried diplomatic correspondence to and from the duke, and delivered new instructions or cash payments to the ambassadors. They also guided them during their travels, helped them secure lodging and safe-conducts, and served as interpreters. The abilities of these messengers, particularly their knowledge of foreign languages and routes, were important factors in the decision to appoint them. Many ducal messengers were chosen for their missions due to such qualifications, which marked them as “specialists” for certain regions or in relations with specific courts. This kind of deliberate choice, which was especially evident for mounted officers of German origin or who spoke German, was clearly designed to ensure the success of the mission and to eliminate onerous expenses associated with guides and interpreters. For example, Conrad of Nuremberg, active between 1417 and 1438, carried out most of his missions in German-speaking countries, notably at the court of Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg, where he was sent twenty-six times.¹⁵

Likewise, the striking increase in the number of mounted ducal officers during the reign of Amadeus VIII, from six in 1410 to seventeen in 1439, is linked to the duke’s intensive diplomatic activity and thereby to the crucial logistic support provided by these officers to various embassies.¹⁶

Diplomatic Instructions

A precise study of the instructions delivered to Savoyard ambassadors offers another perspective from which to examine the diplomatic practice of Amadeus VIII.¹⁷ The *Statuta Sabaudiae*, issued by the duke in 1430, include the first Savoyard legislation to address the topic of diplomatic activity. They specify that an emissary should never leave for a mission without a clear set of instructions that were well organized and as brief as possible.¹⁸ These instructions were to be copied, by the secretary who wrote the original version, in a register to be kept in the possession of the chancellor. Upon the return of the embassy, the register

15. Ibid., 275.

16. Ibid., 227–338 and esp. 271–88.

17. Ibid., 88–95.

18. The Florentine statutes of 1415 regulate ambassadorial activity very precisely. Based on a decision of 1395, they require the registration of instructions. The series of registers containing these instructions had been started even earlier, in 1384; see Senatore, “*Uno mundo de carta*,” 109; Fubini, “Diplomacy and Government in the Italian City-States,” 39.

was to be presented before the duke or his resident council in order to determine whether the assignment had been properly carried out.¹⁹ It should be noted that the departmental archives of the Côte-d'Or, in Dijon, conserve a register of eighty folios in which are copied the instructions provided to Savoyard ambassadors for the period of 1429 to 1435.²⁰ The first year of these instructions precedes that of the publication of the *Statuta* by only one year, a clear indication of a new set of ideas regarding the management of ducal diplomacy. The growing number of embassies and their sometimes lengthy duration²¹ made it necessary to develop an efficient way to classify ongoing missions and the various topics that they were to address and resolve.

Turning to the content and formulation of the instructions, it is immediately evident that they were always articulated in a very brief style, and that each eventuality was depicted with the successive steps to be taken, so that the emissaries could carry out their missions in any combination of circumstances. Depending on how far away the assignment was, it was sometimes impossible, or simply far too slow, to seek instructions from the duke when a matter had been slow to develop or had developed too quickly. Ambassadors were also given room for maneuver with respect to their instructions, which specified that they were permitted to make adjustments according to the situation and in order to serve the duke's interests in the best possible way.²²

Upon the return of an envoy to Savoy, the instructions submitted to him when he had departed were compared to the report²³ that every embassy had to make once its mission had been completed. Financial accounts reveal that an oral report was presented to the duke and his council.²⁴ However, due to the fact

19. *Statuta Sabaudiae* (Turin, 1505), book 2, fol. 11r–v.

20. ADCO, B 270, Recueil d'instructions aux ambassadeurs savoyards entre 1429 et 1435.

21. Some embassies lasted almost a year; such was the case for the counselor and jurist Pierre Marchand, envoy to the king of the Romans Sigismund de Luxembourg in Hungary in 1423, whose embassy lasted 320 days. See ASTR, inv. 16, Trésorerie générale de Savoie, 69, 1423 et 1435, fols. 208v–210v.

22. "And if it should seem to those of the council of Monseigneur in Milan that something should be left out, added, or changed, said Messer Pierre shall make the change according to what they thought best, since they were closer and would have more knowledge of affairs and happenings over there"; ADCO, B 270, Recueil d'instructions aux ambassadeurs savoyards entre 1429–35, fol. 12r.

23. In Venice, submitting a written report following an embassy was required beginning in 1268, but only in 1425 did the Senate create a register in which all of the ambassadorial accounts were gathered; see Senatore, "Uno mundo de carta," 118; Queller, *Early Venetian Legislation*, 86. See also Spitzbarth, "Ambassades et ambassadeurs," 432–36; Nys, *Les origines de la diplomatie et le droit d'ambassade jusqu'à Grotius*, 9; Maulde-La-Clavière, *La diplomatie au temps de Machiavel*, 3:378–88; Reumont, *Della diplomazia italiana dal secolo XIII al XVI*, 146–47.

24. "And returning from Piedmont to Seyssel to Monseigneur and the council to report on that which he had needed" (ASTR, inv. 16, Trésorerie générale de Savoie, 50, 1404–1406, fol. 135r); "to carry out his relation" (Trésorerie générale de Savoie, 53, 1404–1407, fol. 84v); "he came to my said lord at Montluel to give

that few of these ambassadorial reports have been found, it is difficult to confirm that written reports were systematically submitted. Notes taken by envoys during their missions must have helped them to provide the most detailed accounts possible of their negotiations, leaving nothing out, especially during particularly long missions. However, a conscientious and regular set of correspondence from the period of the mission probably made it less necessary to render a written summary report as well. Still, one can point to the existence, beginning in 1426, of diplomatic papers that include accounts of completed embassies. These files were grouped according to negotiations with a particular state, such as Milan²⁵ or the Monferrato.²⁶ In particular, the Milan file began in 1426, a date which corresponds to the beginning of the league between Amadeus VIII and the Florentines and Venetians, to make war against Filippo Maria Visconti.²⁷ It is obvious that the collection of documentation surrounding this issue made it easier to carry out subsequent negotiations and facilitated the management of the growing number of embassies during this period. Effective administration of diplomacy was thus also linked to a significant move to classify the documentation generated by diplomatic activities into a veritable diplomatic archive. Amadeus VIII had already begun to contemplate this development as early as 1405, when he named Jean Balay *clavaire* and placed him in charge of inventorying the court archives. Balay carried out this task by organizing documents according to the lord or state to which they corresponded, placing them in different cabinets in order to facilitate their consultation.²⁸

The Financial Management of Embassies

The diplomatic practice of Amadeus VIII also included the problem of the effective financial management of embassies. Indeed, prior to their departure, emissaries received the money necessary for the completion of their mission. The amounts disbursed were always precisely calculated by the Chamber of Accounts, according to an estimate of the length of the mission. In practice, the estimated duration was almost always shorter than the actual number of days required, and the predeparture payment, which did not take into account the inevitable extraordinary

his report" (Trésorerie générale de Savoie, 61, 1414–16, fol. 430r).

25. AST1, Paesi, Milanese, Città e ducato, mz. 2, no. 6.1 1426–37, and Materie politiche per rapporto all'interno, Provvedimenti sovrani, Estratti di Savoia, no. 8, 1431–36.

26. AST1, Paesi, Monferrato.

27. See on this topic Gabotto, "La guerra tra Amedeo VIII di Savoia e Filippo Maria Visconti."

28. Rück, "Gli ordinamenti degli archivi ducali di Savoia sotto Amedeo VIII," 61–62.

costs, was insufficient.²⁹ The cash shortage that resulted forced the ambassadors to advance the difference, permitting the Chamber of Accounts to maintain absolute control over expenditures and to decide whether to reimburse expenses according to available resources, thus avoiding ever having to disburse more than necessary. As a result, emissaries were required to have their own resources, even a small personal fortune, in order to be able to pay expenses and then await reimbursement.

It was also during the reign of Amadeus VIII, during the first third of the fifteenth century, that fixed salaries for officials were established, based on each day's travel on horseback, independent of one's social status or function in the Savoyard household or administration. This amounted to four *deniers gros* for travel within the Savoyard states, and six *deniers gros* for travel outside. The Savoyard court differed in this respect from its French and Burgundian neighbors, who based daily wages on the status of the official carrying out the mission.³⁰

These daily increments, which were supposed to cover expenses known as "ordinary," took into account the costs of lodging and feeding the traveler and his horse. Other expenses, such as for guides, escorts, crossing rivers or bridges, safe-conducts, boats, renting horses, reimbursements for dead horses, or gifts to minstrels were considered to be "extraordinary" expenditures that were subject to a separate accounting charged to the account of the treasurer, to the extent that they were deemed justified.³¹

The distinction between travel inside or outside of the Savoyard lands flowed from an idealized vision of the lord's states as a unified space within which the official benefited from a support structure (in the person of castellans, for example) when he traveled. Still, embassies were planned without taking into account the difficulties related to travel in lesser-known territories or in places with challenging geography, such as mountain passes. Only at the point of examining extraordinary expenses were such aspects evaluated, but only according to the pleasure of the duke to reimburse them or not, not as part of an effort to include them in the established norms.³²

The number of horses that accompanied the ambassador was also subject to careful oversight by the Chamber of Accounts.³³ This is made clear by the accounts

29. Pibiri, *En voyage pour Monseigneur*, 83–87.

30. For the Burgundian ordinances of 1417 and 1437, see *Ordonnances de Jean Sans Peur, 1405–1419*, ed. Cauchies, 433–34; *Herzog Philipp der Gute*, 144, 202–3, 430. The situation was the same for the French royal chancery, notably in 1413; see *L'ordonnance cabochienne*, 35.

31. The same was the case in Burgundy; see Cockshaw, *Le personnel de la chancellerie de Bourgogne-Flandre sous les ducs de Bourgogne*, 125–26.

32. Pibiri, *En voyage pour Monseigneur*, 510–26.

33. Queller, *Early Venetian Legislation*, 16, 20–22, 60, 63, 74, 102, 104. For 1442, 1444, 1455, and 1458

of the general treasury beginning in 1427, when the accountant began to make deductions based on the numbers of mounts that the emissaries brought with them on their missions. This kind of standardization removed the opportunity for the official to be reimbursed for a portion of his travel expenses. It also demonstrated the strict codification of rank, the desire to respect hierarchy, and the commitment of the Savoyard accounting system to govern the sumptuary expenditures of embassies.

How many mounts an official was permitted to take with him was calculated according to a standard that was sometimes difficult to maintain. Indeed, when great dignitaries were involved, it is quite probable that the awareness of one's own rank generated conflict with the norms established by the Chamber of Accounts and with the prince's service.³⁴

Conclusion

The diplomatic practices established by Amadeus VIII resemble by and large those developed at other western European courts at the end of the Middle Ages, with some chronological variations from one court to another. The key to the duke of Savoy's diplomacy was management. Sabaudian diplomacy depended on the financial control of embassies, including the introduction of fixed daily salaries, the reduction of reimbursements based on the number of horses brought by the emissary, and the rigorous review of extraordinary expenses. These features aimed at limiting the negative impact of diplomatic services as far as the duke's general treasury was concerned, especially in a context of growing numbers of increasingly distant missions, some of which lasted a long time. This management of embassies is also apparent on a documentary level, through the creation of special registers to record diplomatic instructions and to bring together the papers concerning relations with a specific state. In every case, this attention to archival practice shows both the importance accorded to following up on diplomatic relations and that granted to using informational resources in order to prepare new missions. While this determination to classify and preserve diplomatic records was not novel compared to practices in Venice, Aragon, or Florence—where the organization of documents began to take place during the thirteenth³⁵ and fourteenth centuries—the house of Savoy seems to

see Leverotti, *Diplomazia e governo dello stato*, 50–53.

34. Pibiri, *En voyage pour Monseigneur*, 526–46.

35. Péquignot, *Au nom du roi*, 67–96.

have been a step ahead of Philip the Good in this respect. This should help to qualify discussions of a Burgundian “model” of diplomacy.³⁶

Amadeus VIII also strengthened his diplomacy by engaging in careful reflection on whom to send as emissaries and by creating specialists or liaison agents. Rulers of other states also obviously exercised due consideration when appointing envoys; this was the case for Aragon,³⁷ France,³⁸ Burgundy,³⁹ and Milan,⁴⁰ but Amadeus VIII combined this deliberation with a specialization of the service of mounted ducal officers accompanying the embassy—something that did not seem to have existed elsewhere.⁴¹ This permitted him to provide his emissaries with a particularly effective system of logistical support, while simultaneously limiting expenses for guides and translators. Once more, by targeting certain skills and abilities of his officials, the duke was able to contain the costs of diplomacy. Finally, the fact that the 1430 *Statuta sabaudiae* depict, in several instances, the interest of Amadeus VIII in diplomacy is clear evidence of the dynamic importance of international relations at the Savoyard court during this period. It also provides a strong indication of the need to codify diplomatic practice in order to maximize its effectiveness, and of the duke of Savoy’s insightful and mature handling of his foreign relations.

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36. Spitzbarth, “Ambassades et ambassadeurs,” 593–94.

37. Péquignot, *Au nom du roi*, 222–51.

38. Autrand, “Y a-t-il des affaires étrangères,” 28; Autrand, “Gontier Col, un ‘conseiller diplomatique,’” 39–40; Le Bis, “Pratique de la diplomatie,” 103; Le Bis, “La pratique de la diplomatie,” 147.

39. Spitzbarth, “Le choix des ambassadeurs bourguignons,” 37–60; Spitzbarth, “Ambassades et ambassadeurs;” Schnerb, “Les ambassadeurs bourguignons,” 230–31; Borchgrave, “Diplomates et diplomatie,” 79–83.

40. Leverotti, *Diplomazia e governo dello stato*, 29–30; Soldi Rondini, “Ambasciatori e ambascerie,” 316.

41. For the messengers of the dukes of Burgundy, see Cauchies, “Messageries et messagers,” 89–123, 301–41; Pesez, “Chevaucheurs et courriers;” Kanao, “Le messager à la Cour de Bourgogne;” Kanao, “L’organisation et l’enregistrement des messageries,” 275–98; Kanao, “Les messagers du Duc de Bourgogne,” 195–226. For messengers in the service of the French king, see Vaillé, *Histoire général des postes françaises*, vols. 1 and 2. For the messengers of the king of England, see Hill, *The King’s Messengers*. For those of Jacques II of Aragon, see Péquignot, *Au nom du roi*, 119–26.

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