

JACQUES PHILIPPE DE LACOMBE DE VRIGNY

AND THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND'S EMBASSY TO VIENNA, 1705

BY MIKE WEBB

In an earlier article on Philippe de Lacombe de Vrigny, I discussed how I identified him as the author of two journals of travels in the service of the earl of Sunderland to Vienna in 1705, and the earl of Galway in Spain in 1706.¹ The complexity of his story, and the need to disentangle him from another, unrelated, de Vrigny² whose works have broadly been ascribed to Lacombe de Vrigny in secondary sources, left no space to discuss the contents of his journals. It is the purpose of this article, then, to delve into de Vrigny's account, in the first of the two journals, of his mission to Vienna in 1705.³

At first sight de Vrigny's journals would appear to be tour diaries, as there is much description of landscapes, towns, individual buildings and people encountered. However, a close reading of the journals reveals them to be much more than this, though such descriptions are by no means without interest for such an early period, particularly as the journeys were undertaken in wartime. The descriptions of Vienna are fascinating because that city was still undergoing repairs and rebuilding after the Ottoman siege of 1683, and many, soon to be famous buildings were under construction, such as Prince Eugene's Summer Palace and the Jesuit church, the latter nearly complete when de Vrigny saw it.

The journals are not diaries kept at the time of travel, but instead are literary pieces, with descriptions interspersed with reflections on religion and politics, and brief character sketches of key figures. We know that they were drawn up before January 1711, very close in

¹ Mike Webb, 'Rediscovering Jacques Philippe de Lacombe de Vrigny, Huguenot exile in England and Author of Two Early Eighteenth-century Journals', *Bodleian Library Record*, 36 (2023), pp. 105–25.

² Philippe Le Clerc de Vrigny, sieur de Juigné.

³ This journal is MS. Rawlinson D. 601 in the Bodleian manuscript collections. Work on reading (and translating) the mission to Spain in 1706 (MS. Rawlinson D. 602) is at the time of writing not complete, and so this article is focused entirely on the Vienna mission. I have retained the original French spelling of the journal, and kept my translations as close as possible to de Vrigny's fairly plain French. I am indebted to Valerie Worth and Guy Rowlands for pointing out errors and suggesting improvements to the translations. I have also had help from Dr Zoe Screti and Pauline Soum-Paris.

time to the events described, and so they are the next best thing to diaries kept in the field. We can deduce the nature of their compilation by looking at another journal by de Vrigny, that was published, his *Relation en forme de journal, d'un voyage fait en Danemarc*.⁴ This was published just four years after the journey, and in the introduction de Vrigny explains his *modus operandi* to the reader for whom the *Relation* was ostensibly written:

Cependant comme pour ma propre satisfaction, j'écris exactement tous les soirs ce que j'ai vû pendant le jour, quelque'imparfait que soit mon journal, je vous en ferai une copie ; accompagnée de quelques réflexions, pour satisfaire en partie à ce que vous souhaitez de moi.⁵

The Rawlinson journals are also written for individual unnamed readers. I have discussed the identity of the recipient of the 1706 Spain journal in my previous article.⁶ There are clues in the 1705 Vienna journal about an intended recipient, but not enough to narrow this down to one individual. In describing elaborate ceremonies and the dress and appearance of the emperor and empress and their courtiers in September 1705 on the occasion of the reception of the Lower Austrian notables, de Vrigny turns to a description of the Emperor Joseph with the comment,

Vous savez mieux que moy que L'Empereur est de moyenne taille tres bien [poise] le visage fort vif portant perruque blonde, puisque vous l'avez vu plusieurs fois lors qu'il etoit Roy des Romains.⁷

This would indicate that the recipient of de Vrigny's account was already familiar with Joseph, and had attended the Habsburg court before he had become emperor. Although the emperor was chosen by the Electors of the Empire, in reality the Habsburgs had become the ruling hereditary dynasty, and it had become the practice by this date for the emperor to have a son or other relative elected as heir apparent with the title King of the Romans. Joseph I had

⁴ [Philippe Jacques de Lacombe de Vrigny], *Relation en forme de journal, d'un voyage fait en Danemarc* (Rotterdam, 1706), translated as *Travels through Denmark and some parts of Germany: by way of journal in the retinue of the English envoy, in 1702* (London, 1707). No manuscript version of this work appears to have survived, whereas de Vrigny's Vienna and Spain journals appear never to have been published. For a discussion of how they were compiled shortly before his death while serving with the army in Flanders, see Webb, 'Rediscovering'.

⁵ 'However, for my own satisfaction, I write down every evening exactly what I saw during the day, and however imperfect my diary may be, I will make a copy for you; accompanied by some reflections, to satisfy in part what you want from me.'

⁶ Webb, 'Rediscovering', p. 118.

⁷ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 78: 'You know better than me that the Emperor is of medium height, very well poised, with a very lively face wearing a blond wig, since you saw him several times when he was King of the Romans.'

held this title from the age of nine in 1687 up to his election as emperor in 1705. So presumably de Vrigny's reader had been attached to the Habsburg court in some diplomatic capacity, probably in the 1690s, but there is not enough evidence, at least for now, to say if he was Dutch or English, or another Huguenot in the service of Britain or the Netherlands.

At the time of writing I have not been able to discover any official documents in the National Archives or in private papers of diplomats that mention de Vrigny or his position in Sunderland's embassy. The journal itself is therefore the only evidence of his activities, and from this we can deduce that he had a fairly free-ranging role in gathering information and perhaps acting as a private secretary. His fluency in French and Latin would have been a key factor in his appointment, as we will see later. He certainly attended key ceremonial and diplomatic events in the company of Sunderland, but he also seems to have been able to travel around on his own visiting various sites of interest. This is why at first glance the journal looks rather like a Grand Tour diary, an impression increased by the presence of eight engravings pasted into the volume. The Rawlinson catalogue mentions these, describing them as 'eight small and pretty engravings of places visited in Austria.'⁸ They are actually engravings by Georg Matthäus Vischer, taken from *Topographia Archiducatus Austriae Inferioris Modernae* (Vienna, 1672), presumably acquired by de Vrigny at the time and pasted in later. Descriptions of notable towns and buildings occur throughout the journal, but there is always more than meets the eye in de Vrigny's remarks. What we see is in fact a Huguenot (and Whig) interpretation of people and institutions, and an assessment of the state of the Holy Roman Empire and the Habsburg monarchy, written not only for the unnamed recipient of the journal, but perhaps also for a wider British and Dutch audience, if we assume that de Vrigny intended to publish his work.⁹

The Earl of Sunderland's mission to Vienna was ostensibly to congratulate the newly crowned Holy Roman Emperor, Joseph I, and to offer British mediation between the emperor and the Hungarians who were in rebellion against the Habsburg monarchy. As we will see, what de Vrigny saw of the effects of the Hungarian insurgency shows why the allies wanted Austria to come to terms as quickly as possible, because the real purpose of the embassy was to cement the Austrian alliance in the war against France. The resident ambassador at Vienna, George Stepney, was no longer trusted by the imperial court, being perceived to be too sympathetic to the Hungarians.

⁸ W.D. Macray (ed.), *Catalogi codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae partis quintae fasciculus tertius, viri munificentissimi Ricardi Rawlinson, I.C.D.* (Oxford, 1893), columns 376–7.

⁹ See my remarks on the preface to the journal in Webb, 'Rediscovering', pp. 106–7.

De Vrigny's account shows how the mission changed in reaction to immediate events, and on Sunday 8/19¹⁰ July 1705 he records the arrival of news that Marlborough and 'Auverquerque'¹¹ had just successfully forced French defensive lines (the Lines of Brabant). As this altered the strategic position of the allied army, it was decided that Sunderland's embassy should consult with Marlborough before making towards Vienna. This meant a journey to the front line, and de Vrigny's dramatic account shows how difficult and dangerous this could be in wartime conditions. The party received warning shortly after leaving Grave that small parties of enemy soldiers were operating in the area. Their march through heath and ripe cornfields in excessive heat led to exhaustion and delay. Incidentally, we learn here that de Vrigny had given up his place in 'le carosse de M__' (which elsewhere signifies 'Milord', i.e. the earl of Sunderland) to the 'General' [Hompesch].¹² This shows that de Vrigny was very much at the heart of this mission and in close attendance upon Sunderland – it was his choice to give up his seat, though he tells us that he was as a consequence very much inconvenienced by the dust, having to ride on horseback all day.

De Vrigny and his companions missed their escort to Diest, and decided to risk continuing their journey with only five cavalymen in attendance, to secure them against 'voleurs et partis bleus qui se moquent les passeports'.¹³ Diest had been part of the French lines of defence, and had been abandoned in haste and taken by the allies only a few days before.¹⁴ They left Diest under escort of one hundred dragoons, angry that there was no infantry cover in 'un pais couvert, et des chemins fort profonds'.¹⁵ De Vrigny, still on horseback, found himself at the head of these men, when they were suddenly ambushed by a party which:

... fit feu sur nous, et tua d'abord le pauvre sergent de grenadiers qui fut depouillé par eux sur le champ. D'autres furent blessez son cheval fut blessé a la teste mais nous revint trouver. Un capitaine d'infanterie nommé Johnson qui etoit avec nous ayant mis le pistolet a la main fut renversé de son cheval d'un coup de crosse de mousquet, et au

¹⁰ De Vrigny records both Old and New Style dates, as at this date Britain adhered to the Julian Calendar (Old Style) while continental Europe had adopted the Gregorian (New Style) calendar in the sixteenth century. For the sake of clarity, and in line with modern historians, all dates quoted from now on will use New Style dates.

¹¹ Henry, Count of Nassau, Lord of Overkirk (1640–1708), Dutch Field Marshal (in Dutch, Hendrik van Nassau-Ouwerkerk).

¹² Reinhard Vincent Graf von Hompesch (1660–1733), a German general in Dutch service.

¹³ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 5: Literally 'robbers and blue parties who scorn passports' [i.e. the safe conducts issued to diplomats or neutrals]. These were presumably local bandits, and partisans or skirmishers under French command.

¹⁴ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fols. 5–6.

¹⁵ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 7: 'a country with cover and very deep ways.'

lieu que le peu de dragons qui estoient a la teste auroient dû avoir leurs armes prestes pour faire feu ils se renverserent sur nous sans tirer un coup et tout le parti se retira en haste dans le chemin creux ou venoient les carosses pour se rallier de l'autre costé, ne sachant pas la force des enemis, car on ne voioit personne et ils tiroient continuellement de derriere les brossailles. Voyant cette confusion et etant sur un cheval fougueux je ne voulus point m'engager dans le chemin avec cette cavalerie en desordre, je monté y sur la hauteur de la droite ou je fus trop a la vue de ces marauts, qui me tirerent 12 ou 15 coups de mousquet qui me friserent de pres sans me toucher avant que j'euste pû trouver une ouverture a la haye pour passer de l'autre coté ou notre escorte se rassembla.¹⁶

It took General Hompesch to restore order, rallying the escort with some dismounted dragoons, and firing on their ambushers who fled into the woods. Pursuit proved fruitless as these 'partisans' were familiar with the hidden ways.

If all that had not been exhausting enough, when the embassy finally reached the allied army, Marlborough was on the point of attacking the French lines, the 'passage of the Dyle'. They had the honour of supping with the duke at 8pm, but by 10pm they set off again with Marlborough's artillery, and

Ayant marché toute la nuit par des detours des hauteurs et des fondrieres ou l'on etoit obligé de descendre du Carosse a tout moment, nous nous trouvames au point de jour au dessus de Louvain sur le bord de la Dyle ...¹⁷

At least de Vrigny seems to have had his place back in Sunderland's carriage. In the event the attack was called off in controversial circumstances, the Dutch being unwilling to support further advances. In early August we find de Vrigny describing with great enthusiasm and

¹⁶ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 7: '... fired on us, and first killed the poor grenadier sergeant who was stripped by them on the spot. Others were injured; his horse was wounded in the head but came back to find us. An infantry captain named Johnson who was with us, having put his pistol in his hand, was knocked from his horse with a blow from the butt of a musket, and the few dragoons who were at the head who should have had their weapons ready to fire, instead fell back on us without firing a shot, and the whole party retreated hastily into the sunken path where the carriages came to rally on the other side, not knowing the strength of the enemy, because we could see no one and they were continually shooting from behind the brush. Seeing this confusion and being on a spirited horse, I did not want to enter the path with the cavalry in disorder, so I climbed the right bank where I was too much in sight of these rogues, who fired 12 or 15 musket shots at me which passed me closely without touching me before I was able to find an opening in the hedge to pass to the other side where our escort gathered.'

¹⁷ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 8: 'Having marched all night through winding paths, heights and quagmires, where we were forced to get out of the carriage at any moment, we found ourselves at daybreak above Louvain on the banks of the Dyle...'

praise the various regiments that made up the allied army, and noting the Danish troops that he had seen three years earlier when with Vernon's embassy in Denmark.¹⁸

De Vriigny gives us an insight into the mechanics of negotiating a passage through a military frontier in wartime, and into the personnel and transport arrangements of the embassy:

Mercredy 5 Aoust Notre Trompette fut de retour avec un passeport du Duc de Baviere tel qu'on le demandoit, signé Maxim. Emanuel,¹⁹ et datté du Camp de Corbeek sur Dylle le 3^e d'Aoust 1705, pour estre bon pendant le terme de quatre mois, ordonnant de laisser passer Monsieur le Comte de Sunderland allant de l'armée des allies a Francfort avec huit gentilshommes de sa suite vingt domestiques dont quatre sont a cheval trois Berlines a six chevaux deux chariots a quatre chevaux, et une escorte de vingt cavaliers ou dragons contre les voleurs, a condition de n'approcher plus pres de deux lieues, les lignes, places fortes, et armées des deux couronnes.²⁰

The great wars of the later stages of Louis XIV's reign, particularly in Flanders, were marked by apparently endless sieges of fortified towns. But de Vriigny's journal reminds us of another kind of irregular warfare that is often overlooked. The ambush near Diest already described was one such example, and after leaving Maastricht for Juliers (Jülich), their party required an escort from the Governor of Jülich:

et on en avoit autant besoin que jamais devant traverser deux bois qui sont toujours pleins de Schnaphans²¹ ou voleurs lesquels se rassemblent en grosses troupes lors qu'ils esperent faire un butin considerable.²²

Later they saw seven or eight such men awaiting execution at the town gibbet.

¹⁸ [de Vriigny], *Relation en forme de journal*, pp. 352–4.

¹⁹ Maximilian II Emanuel (1662–1726) was Elector of Bavaria and Governor of the Spanish Netherlands until 1706. The defeat of the French and Bavarian army at Blenheim in 1704 led to his enforced exile in the Spanish Netherlands at this time.

²⁰ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 11 'Wednesday, August 5 Our trumpeter returned with a passport from the Duke of Bavaria as requested, signed by Maxim. Emanuel, and dated from the camp of Corbeek on Dylle on the 3rd of August 1705, to be valid for the term of four months, giving orders to let the Earl of Sunderland pass, going from the allied army to Frankfurt with eight gentlemen in his suite, twenty servants, four of whom are on horseback, three six-horse carriages, two four-horse carriages, and an escort of twenty horsemen or dragoons against robbers, on condition of not approaching closer than two leagues to the lines, strongholds, and armies of the two crowns' (i.e. France and Spain).

²¹ Usually spelt 'chenapan' in French, de Vriigny herereveals the German origin of the word for a bandit or marauder (there was an English equivalent, 'snaphance').

²² MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 17: '... and we needed it as much as ever before having to cross two woods which are always full of schnaphans or thieves who gather in large gangs when they hope to make considerable loot.'

De Vrigny also gives some details of the embassy's journey on the river Danube from Ratisbon (Regensburg) in Bavaria after 22 August 1705. It seems that the entire party was accommodated on two boats, one (uncovered) for the baggage carts and valets, and a larger one with two rooms constructed on it, linked by a door. There were planks on both sides of each room on which the travellers could place their mattresses, with a table in the middle. It seems that de Vrigny shared one of the rooms with Sunderland and two others. The other room was occupied by the domestic servants.²³ There were just two boatmen on each vessel, and extra rowers were recruited *en route* as there were enough poor people who needed this kind of work. Indeed, there are further reminders that this was no pleasure cruise but a journey in wartime. On Sunday 23 August de Vrigny took the opportunity while the boatmen negotiated fees for further travel to look at the village of 'Straubingen' (Straubing). The Bavarians, he noted, had burned the suburbs the previous year, when they were forced to abandon the place to the imperial troops. In one large house he saw a prayer written on parchment invoking St Agatha to preserve the building from bombs and fire. The Bavarians, as French allies, had been on the losing side in the battle of Blenheim which had taken place a year earlier in 1704. After the battle, the Austrians had overrun Bavaria, and by the Treaty of Ilbesheim, 7 November 1704, Bavaria was subjected to Austrian military occupation. Further down river at Aicha, de Vrigny was sent ashore to buy provisions, and there he found large rafts loaded with fifty heavy artillery pieces taken from Munich, which were being taken to Vienna. Then at Wildshoven there was a broken bridge which had been burnt a year before by the Bavarians.²⁴

The river provided further hazards. Further on, the boats encountered the dangerous hidden rocks and turbulent waters of 'le Wurbel' and 'le Struddle' (the Wurbel and Strudel²⁵ cataracts). The party finally reached the vicinity of Vienna on 26 August, and its members made their way into the city by carriages brought to them by George Stepney, the British envoy, and were conducted to his residence in the palace of the 'comte de Lemberg'²⁶ who, as envoy to Rome, was then absent.

There are of course many sections of De Vrigny's journal which are more like a conventional tour diary, but his circumstances lend an extra dimension to his observations. Vienna in 1705 was a city in transition: only twenty-two years earlier the city had been under

²³ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fols. 36–7.

²⁴ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fols. 37–8.

²⁵ The name of the pastry derives from the German word for an eddy or whirlpool [*Oxford English Dictionary*].

²⁶ Leopold Joseph Graf von Lamberg (1654–1706), Imperial ambassador to Rome 1700–5 [*Wikipedia* 'Leopold Joseph von Lamberg'.]

siege by the Ottomans, and in 1705 much repair and rebuilding was still ongoing. And now Austria was at war again, not only to support the Habsburg candidate in the War of the Spanish Succession, but also against the rebellion in Hungary. The British role in mediating that dispute meant that de Vrigny was a close observer of the negotiations. He also gives us his opinions of the Habsburg monarchy and of the emperor, and, as befitted a Huguenot in the entourage of the Earl of Sunderland, he takes a strongly Whig stance in his criticisms, opinions which would have landed him in a great deal of trouble had they been known at the time. When de Vrigny came to settle his affairs before leaving for Flanders in 1711, he acknowledged this political aspect to his writing in a note written at the beginning of his journal. Exhorting the inheritor of his manuscript to publish it in its entirety, he stated that:

J'aurois pu y joindre plusieurs pieces authentiques et observations curieuses sur la Cour Imperiale et sur le gouvernement politique et civil des pais hereditaires [the Habsburg dominions], aussi bien que sur la cruelle persecution que les Hongrois ont soufferte a l'instigation des Jesuittes qui gouvernoient absolument le defunt Empereur, et n'ont encore que trop d'influences sur les conseils de l'Empereur Joseph ...²⁷

This is certainly a fairly constant theme. For example, in travelling towards Vienna he remarks that one needs to be from a religious order, a monk or Jesuit to live well here:

si l'on trouve un beau morceau de terre, bien situé, pour la vue et toutes sortes d'autres commoditez, on y trouve a coup seur un couvent ou monastere, et tres souvent les bons peres qui font profession de povreté, sont les seigneurs du lieu ...²⁸

De Vrigny's journals are therefore an interesting amalgam of descriptions of buildings, people, court ceremonies and local customs, mixed with the critical observations of the Whig outsider. It is perhaps fortunate that he seems to appreciate much of what he saw despite being out of sympathy with its purposes. A typical example is his description of the ceremonies connected with the emperor receiving the homage of the nobles of Lower Austria in September 1705.²⁹ De Vrigny tells us that the emperor is keen to have these ceremonies for political reasons, Lower Austria being in the best state of any of the hereditary lands of the

²⁷ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. i:[AQ22] 'I could have attached several authentic pieces and interesting observations about the Imperial Court and the political and civil government of the hereditary lands, as well as on the cruel persecution that the Hungarians suffered at the instigation of the Jesuits who completely governed the late Emperor, and still have too much influence on the councils of Emperor Joseph ...'

²⁸ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 48: '... if you find a fine piece of land, well located, for the view and all kinds of other amenities, you will certainly find a convent or monastery there, and very often good fathers who profess poverty are the overlords of the place ...'

²⁹ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fols. 71–6.

Habsburg monarchy, and its subsidies desperately needed. He describes how the emperor passed through the streets of Vienna from his palace to the cathedral, preceded by the nobility, and accompanied by the grand hereditary officers, the streets swarming with people, ladies and 'cavaliers' in the windows of buildings, houses filled to the roof-tops, the streets with 'bourgeoisie' under arms. De Vrigny provides a list of all the officers present, their horses and emblems of office. He seems to relish the details, the rich black silks, the order of the procession, the Irish herald called 'Okeley', a falconer with a falcon on his fist, hunters in green livery, with 'un gros dogue d'Angleterre' (a Great Dane [AQ10]) with a silver collar. He goes on to describe the music, as the emperor, in his capacity as Archduke of Austria, enters the cathedral and seats himself to the right of the altar; the return of the procession to the palace and the singing of the Te Deum in the palace chapel; the firing of cannons from the ramparts, with the garrison of the castle drawn up in battle array responding with musket salvoes.

Gold and silver medals were distributed, and de Vrigny describes one of these in some detail, taking the opportunity to reflect on the symbolism and realities of Joseph's power. The medal bore an eye representing Providence, in the middle of a triangle with rays emanating from it representing the Trinity, and an unsheathed sword and olive branch, with the words 'Amore et Timore', which he interprets as meaning: 'Si vous ne m'obéissez pas par amitié, je vous le feray bien faire par force' (If you do not obey me out of friendship, I will make you do it by force). This prompts de Vrigny to discourse on the nature of power in a text added on the blank left-hand page, and this is followed by a reflection on the reality of Joseph's position. He describes a triumphal arch that was raised in the main square, with wine fountains. But during all these celebrations, the militia were stationed in the suburbs, and extra guards were placed around these, for fear of the Hungarian rebels, who often chose such feast days to make some demonstration. De Vrigny then describes the court dining in public in the evening, noting the incredible opulence of their dress. The emperor wore a grey 'just'aucorps' (a tight-fitting coat) with gold buttons, in each of which a large diamond was embedded, and had a sword whose hilt was greatly enriched with diamonds. Others of the imperial family, and officers, also wore diamonds, and de Vrigny believed that each was worth more than a million florins. This wealth, he says,

pourroient estre mieux employées a faire une forte guerre a la France, regagner la Monarchie d'Espagne, et raffermir l'autorité de L'Empereur en Allemagne, apres quoi l'on seroit bientost en etat de revoir d'autres bijoux, mais on est bien éloigné

d'une telle pensée cette cour se reposant entierement sur L'Angleterre et la Hollande pour l'affaire d'Espagne comme si tout le profit ne luy en devoit pas revenir.³⁰

He goes on to point out that despite Habsburg pretensions, he does not see a return of 'la cour des veritables Empereurs Romaines lors qu'il estoient paisibles possesseurs et maitres du monde' (the court of the true Roman Emperors when they were peaceable possessors and masters of the world); they are scarcely in a condition to make war on the Hungarian rebels. Instead, in de Vrigny's view, this court is obsessed with trying to add Bavaria to the hereditary lands and suppress the Hungarians by force. He seems to regard Austria as potentially on the point of collapse, because

Si cela arrivoit cette Cour se trouveroit bien loin de son compte et n'auroit que ce qu'elle a bien voulu s'ultirer en exerçant un pouvoir despotique et arbitraire, insupportable a des sujets qui ont quelque idée de liberté. Il faut que le gouvernement de la Maison d'Autriche soit bien rude puisque presque tous ses sujets dans les pais hereditaires sont mecontents ne soupirant qu'a pres une occasion de se delivrer de ce joug qui leur paroist si pesant et difficile a supporter.³¹

This is a devastating critique of the Habsburg monarchy and the disconnect between the prestige of the imperial title and its actual power.

Nevertheless, de Vrigny seems to revel in the descriptions of the ceremonies. On this occasion he goes on to describe in some detail the dress of the courtiers, the choreography of the formal dinners, the crystal chandeliers, the food, and the music, which he seems to have enjoyed:

³⁰ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 77: '... could be better employed in waging a strong war against France, regaining the Monarchy of Spain, and strengthening the authority of the Emperor in Germany, after which they would soon be in a position to see other jewels again, but they are very far from such a thought, this court relying entirely on England and Holland in the Spanish business, as if all profits should not return to it [the Court].'

³¹ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fols. 76–7: 'If this happened, this Court would find itself far from its goal and would only have what it wants to achieve by exercising a despotic and arbitrary power, unbearable to subjects who have some idea of freedom. The government of the House of Austria must be very harsh since almost all its subjects in the hereditary countries are malcontents, sighing only for an opportunity to free themselves from this yoke which appears to them so heavy and difficult to bear.'

Il y eut pendant le souper une bonne musique. Deux femmes et quelques eunuques chanterent, et 7. ou 8. violons un clavessin un trompette et des timbales les relevoient.³²

De Vriigny seems to have had an ear for music, and, when describing a service in the Jesuit church, tells us that he preferred the voices of women to those of the castrati, particularly mentioning a service he heard in the Ursuline convent:³³

l'Empereur estoit a une fenestre a la gauche du grand autel, et la musique estoit a l'ouest. Il y avoit d'assez bonnes voix, entr'autres plusieurs demy hommes, mais je vous avoüe que j'estime plus la voix d'une femme bien conditionnée. J'avois esté auparavant au couvent des Urselines ou j'avois entendu une musique charmante toute executée pas des religieuses. J'y entendis entrautes une voix si claire, si nette et forte en mesme temps, que je la prefererois aux plus belles voix des plus fameux eunuques. Ces religieuses ont regulierement de la musique tous les Dimanches et jours de feste.³⁴

De Vriigny is a commentator on what he regards as the follies of the age, as were more than a few Englishmen abroad on the Continent, like the poet-diplomat Matthew Prior.³⁵ In this period the Baroque was at its height in western and central Europe, and pomp and ceremony, elaborate costume and spectacular wigs were the fashion among courtiers, a style emanating from Versailles. As we have seen, de Vriigny has an ambivalent attitude (it would be fascinating to know how he dressed for court occasions), admiring architecture and music that one might have thought would not have appealed to his Huguenot aesthetic, but also being quick to condemn hollow ceremony and the cost of all this elaboration. His description of the emperor for his reader, noted above, is followed by one of the empress, Wilhelmine Amalie of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1673–1742), who was

³² MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 77: 'There was good music during supper. Two women and a few castrati sang, and 7 or 8 violins, a harpsichord, a trumpet and timpani accompanied them.'

³³ The Ursuline convent in Vienna had become a centre for imported Italian music at this time. See Janet K. Page, 'Vienna's Ursuline Convent and the Via Allemagna: travel, music, letters', *Musicologica Brunensia* 53 (2018), iss. Supplementum, pp. 47–56 (<https://doi.org/10.5817/MB2018-S-4>).

³⁴ MS. Rawlinson D. 601. p. 61: 'The Emperor was at a window to the left of the high altar, and the choir was to the west. There were some fairly good voices, among them several half-men, but I confess to you that I esteem more the voice of a well-taught woman. I had previously been at the Ursuline convent where I had heard charming music all performed by nuns. I heard there among others a voice so clear, so distinct and strong at the same time, that I should prefer it to the most beautiful voices of the most famous castrati. These nuns regularly have music on Sundays and feast days.'

³⁵ My thanks to Guy Rowlands for this observation.

aussi de moyenne taille tres bien proportionnée ayant le visage rond tres agreeable le teint tirant sur le vif ayant naturellement de la couleur de reste. Elle me parut aussi blonde a ses sourcis, car elle avoit comme toutes les autres dames de la cour les cheveux si fort poudrez qu'il etoit impossible d'en discerner la couleur.³⁶

One can detect here a certain disapproval of the artifice that has hidden nature, and by extension, the pretensions of the rich and powerful.

Quite apart from the interest of the journal from an official, insider point of view, it is also of considerable interest as a tour diary. De Vrigny wandered around large parts of the city, impressed by the new gardens and the visible remains of the Turkish siege of 1683 inside and beyond the city. On one occasion he climbed to the top of St Stephen's Cathedral, and gives a long and detailed account of the layout of the city, its fortifications and the distant mountain views, reflecting on the Turkish siege of twenty-two years earlier, using his bird's-eye view to make an evocative description of the topography of the siege and its lifting by the king of Poland and his allies who had 'descendus des montagnes appellées Kalenberg [Kahlenberg]'. He can see the beautiful houses and gardens on an island in the Danube around Leopoldstadt, and the avenue and extensive wood on the end of the island called the 'Bratter', or 'Pradeau' (the famous Prater), though he points out that it is not frequented by the Viennese in Summer owing to the 'cerfs ... en rut' (rutting stags) and the 'mouches ou cousins' (flies and mosquitos).³⁷

The Jesuit church was just nearing completion when de Vrigny visited it in 1705, and his description must therefore be one of the first by an English citizen (albeit of French birth).

cette eglise n'est pas des plus grandes, mais elle sera magnifique, etant soutenue par de grandes colonnes torses, et d'autres piliers qui paroissent estre de marbre de diverses couleurs. Mais c'est une composition dont ils sont enduits qui durcit autant que le marbre, et etant polie a beaucoup plus d'eclat. Ce secret qui est icy entre les mains d'une famille, est d'un prix inestimable, car l'eglise sera plus magnifique que si elle etoit effectivement de marbre, devant estre toute enduite de cette matiere qui

³⁶ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 78: '... also of medium height, very well proportioned, with a very pleasant round face, a bright complexion, naturally also having some colour. She appeared to me to be fair, judging from her eyebrows, because like all the other ladies of the court she had hair so heavily powdered that it was impossible to discern its colour.'

³⁷ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fols. 56–9.

formera une espece d'incrustation. Le haut de l'eglize est baty en arcade, mais ce qu'il y a de particulier, est qu'un peintre lequel est frere de l'ordre, nommé le Pere Poggi,³⁸ y a representé au plafond un cupola ou dôme magnifique soutenu sur plusieurs colonnes avec un autre plus petit, au plafond duquel est representé un Pere Eternel, cela est tres beau a voir, mais ne peut estre regardé que d'un point de vue qui est marqué par un oeuil gravé sur une pierre au milieu de la nef, hors de la, on ne voit rien que de confus; et sur les deux costez de l'eglise on a pratiqué entre les piliers, des chapelles au dessus desquelles il y a une galerie laquelle si on la regarde du costé opposé, il paroistra y avoir en haut un joly dome avec un beau plafond, et tout cela par les mesmes regles de perspective et d'optique. Le grand autel n'etoit pas encor achevé, il etoit plein d'echafaudages, et separé de l'eglize par une cloison, sur laquelle on avoit peint un mausolée pour le defunt Empereur. Cet autel sera magnifique, toute la murailles du coeur, piliers, colonnes, et corniches, devant estre induits et incrustez du meme marbre artificiel, aussi bien que la nef, de sorte qu'il ne se pourra rien voir de plus brillant, la dorure n'y etant pas epargnée. Un Pere Jesuite qui me montrait cette eglize me dit qu'ils auroient une tres belle piece sur la maitre autel, et que le plafond au dessus seroit aussi tres beau, mais que tout ne seroit achevé que dans deux ans, a cause de la guerre.³⁹

This, the Jesuitenkirche, is still standing in Vienna today, with the trompe l'oeil ceiling painting and the twisted columns just as de Vrigny describes them. The church was all but complete when de Vrigny saw it, though clearly the war had delayed some of the decoration.

³⁸ He means Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709), an Italian Jesuit, and a painter and architect. He is known for his use of 'quadratura', creating the illusion of three-dimensional architectural features on flat surfaces.

³⁹ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fols. 59–60: '... this church is not one of the largest, but it will be magnificent, being supported by large twisted columns, and other pillars that appear to be of marble of various colours. But it is a composition with which they are coated which hardens as much as marble, and being polished has much more shine. This secret, which is here in the hands of one family, is of inestimable value, because the church will be more magnificent than if it were actually made of marble, since it will be entirely coated with this material which will form a kind of incrustation. The upper church is built as an arcade, but what is special is that a painter who is a brother of the order, named Father Poggi, has represented on the flat ceiling a magnificent cupola or dome supported on several columns with another smaller one, on the flat ceiling of which is represented an Eternal Father. This is very beautiful to see, but can only be seen from a viewpoint which is marked by an eye engraved on a stone in the middle of the nave; away from it, one sees nothing clearly; and on the two sides of the church there are chapels between the pillars, above which there is a gallery which if one looks at it from the opposite side, appears to have a pretty dome above, with a beautiful ceiling, and all this because of the same rules of perspective and optics. The great altar was not yet finished; it was full of scaffolding and separated from the church by a partition wall, on which a mausoleum for the late Emperor had been painted. This altar will be magnificent; the entire walls of the choir, pillars, columns, and cornices, are to be inlaid with the same artificial marble, as well as the nave, so that nothing more brilliant will be seen, the gilding not being spared. A Jesuit Father who showed me this church told me that they would have a very beautiful piece on the high altar, and that the ceiling above would also be very beautiful, but that everything would not be completed for two years, because of the war.'

Interestingly, he appears to admire the building despite his hostility to Catholicism in general and the Jesuits in particular; he does not even make the obvious point that the effect of the trompe l'oeil ceiling was a false illusion. Here and elsewhere in the journal, de Vrigny's essential humanity and intelligence come to the surface and leaven his strident anti-Catholicism. The impression is of a man who was at least tolerant, as his frequent expressions of revulsion at religious persecution, and his sympathy for the ordinary victims of war, make clear.

Of the numerous descriptions of places in and around the city, one can stand as an example. In de Vrigny's description of a visit to Leopoldstadt, we see more of the effects of war, not just from the Ottoman siege of 1683, but also from the impact of the ongoing Hungarian rebellion.

Je fus l'apresmidy avec un Gentilhomme de ce Pais voir le fauxbourg de Leopoldstadt qui est tout remply de jardinages et de maisons de plaisance. Nous nous arretames d'abord a un assez joly jardin dont nous fimes le tour, qui appartient a la Princesse de Coleredo [Colloredo], on y trouve des palissades vertes bien hautes qui bordent des allées de la longueur du jardin, de beaux potagers, quelques parterres assez jolis avec un Gros Pavillon ou on peut loger, le tout n'est pas digne d'une personne de cette qualité, mais on dit que la crainte des mecontens [the Hungarian insurgents] dont les partis bruslent tous les jours des villages a la vue de cette ville, est cause que les maisons de plaisance situées dans cette isle sont fort negligées dans l'apprehension continuelle ou l'on est destre visité par eux. De la apres avoir vu quelques autres jardins, nous fumes nous promener a la vieille Favorite qui est un ancien jardin imperial. On y voit les restes d'une maison qui a esté tres belle ce fut ou l'Empereur Leopold Ignace consumma son premier mariage avec l'Infante d'Espagne, mais il est inhabité et abandonné depuis la dernier siege de Vienne, les Turcs l'ayant bruslé alors. Il n'y restez que les murailles qui donnent une assez grande idée de ce que ce palais etoit autrefois. Le jardin est fort vaste s'étendant jusqu'a l'extremité de l'isle vis a vis de Nussdorf Il y a de belles allées bordées de palissades vertes tres hautes, d'autres promenades fort couvertes, et quelques etoiles ou aboutissent huit longues allées, d'autres ou il n'y en a que six. Ce jardin est coupé d'un canal qu'on dit avoir esté

autrefois bien remply de poisson, mais presque comblé a present. Le tout est fort mal entretenu.⁴⁰

A few days later, on Sunday 20 September, de Vrigny made another visit to a terraced garden which afforded magnificent views of Vienna, noting that Prince Eugene was building a palace there, only the walls of the courtyard having been completed. This was what is now the Belvedere. The 'beau monde' often visited the area, which had several formal gardens of the upper classes in Vienna, the mayor's garden having a splendid fountain.⁴¹

The main purpose of the journey was of course diplomatic, and de Vrigny was closely associated with the next part of the embassy, which involved travelling into Hungary to negotiate with the leaders of the rebellion. He was under no illusion that this would be straightforward, and he could see that an impasse had been reached. The emperor, as king of Hungary, demanded obedience and an end to armed resistance from his subjects. But the Hungarians insisted that Joseph should adhere to the edict extracted by the nobles from King Andrew II of Hungary (the Golden Bull of 1222, a Hungarian equivalent of Magna Carta), which decreed that if the king contravened the constitutions of the kingdom, resistance was justified. This de Vrigny, as a good Whig,⁴² thought reasonable, if the Hungarians were not to 'se livrer pieds et points liez au bon plaisir de la cour Imperiale' (deliver themselves bound hand and foot to the pleasure of the Imperial court).⁴³

However, de Vrigny takes a wider view, placing the blame on the machinations of Louis XIV, likened here to the Devil himself. Furthermore, the Hungarians were duped, says de Vrigny, into these negotiations, by Joseph, who intended to end the rebellion by force,

⁴⁰ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fols. 62–3: 'I went that afternoon with a gentleman from this country to see the suburb of Leopoldstadt, which is filled with gardens and pleasure houses. We first stopped at a rather pretty garden, which we toured. It belongs to the Princess of Coleredo. There, one finds very high green palisades bordering paths the length of the garden, beautiful vegetable gardens, some rather pretty flowerbeds with a large pavilion where one can stay. All of this is not worthy of a person of this standing, but it is said that the fear of the malcontents, bands of whom burn villages every day within sight of this city, is the reason why the pleasure houses located on this island are very neglected in the constant fear people have of being visited by them. From there, after seeing a few other gardens, we went for a stroll to the old Favorite, which is a former imperial garden. There one can see the remains of a house that was once very beautiful; it was where Emperor Leopold Ignatius consummated his first marriage, to the Infanta of Spain. However, it has been uninhabited and abandoned since the last siege of Vienna, the Turks having burned it. Only the walls remain, which give a fairly good idea of what this palace once looked like. The garden is very vast, extending to the end of the island opposite Nussdorf ... There are beautiful paths bordered by very high green palisades, other heavily hedged walks, and some with central points to which eight long paths lead, others only six. This garden is divided by a canal that is said to have been once well stocked with fish, but is now almost filled in. The whole thing is very poorly maintained.'

⁴¹ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 64.

⁴² A key Whig belief was that a tyrannous monarch could be resisted – the justification for the resistance to James II in 1688.

⁴³ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 53.

which indeed was attempted even as the mediators prepared for the negotiations. On 5 September 1705, news came to them that the imperial army had crossed the Danube at Buda and was beyond Pest. The Hungarians, it was said, had nothing to oppose such a formidable army, and were a nation as good as conquered. This, de Vrigny observes, is what

les Hongrois aurent gagné par leur opiniatreté ... en se laissant conduire aveuglement par les conseils de la France, qu'on peut justement regarder comme le roseau cassé sur lequel qui conques s'appuie se perce la main.⁴⁴

De Vrigny's journal gives detailed accounts of the progress of negotiations with the Hungarian rebels, which from the start were complicated by the Joseph's simultaneous attempt to destroy the rebellion by force, so that many people believed that the emperor was not acting in good faith but just buying time. De Vrigny even reports that Joseph continued the negotiations simply to oblige the British and Dutch on whom he depended,

et que son veritable dessein est de reduire les Hongrois par la force, bien loin d'estre dispose a faire aucun accommodement avec eux par voie de traitte, ou de negociation.⁴⁵

Indeed, news that the Hungarian diet had been broken up by the imperial army arrived even before de Vrigny and his fellow mediators set off, and had the result that the Hungarians

qui estoient tres disposez a la paix avoient regardé cette demarche de la Cour de Vienne pendant qu'on tachoit de les endormir par des propositions de paix comme une perfidie, que la dessus ils s'estoient liez de nouveau par une union plus forte qu'auparavant avoient confirmé le Prince Ragoczi⁴⁶ dans son commandement et l'avoient constitué ou choisy de nouveau pour leur chef et General avec un pouvoir plus ample, de sorte qu'il sembloit que le chemin de la paix estoit absolument fermé.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 60: 'the Hungarians will have gained by their obstinacy [...] by allowing themselves to be led blindly by the advice of France, which can rightly be seen as the broken reed which pierces the hand of anyone who puts his weight on it.'

⁴⁵ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fols. 78–9: 'and that his true design very far from being prepared to make any accommodation with the Hungarians by way of treaty, or negotiation, is to reduce them by force.'

⁴⁶ Francis II Rákóczi (1676–1735) was the leader of the War of Independence against the Habsburgs which continued from 1703 to 1711.

⁴⁷ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 79: '... who were very disposed to peace, regarded this approach of the Court of Vienna while they were trying to lull them to sleep with peace proposals as perfidy, and as a result they had bound themselves afresh in a stronger union than before, had confirmed Prince Ragoczi in his command and had

The immediate result of these moves was a postponement of the journey of the mediators into Hungary, and de Vrigny spent further days visiting the neighbourhood of Vienna, leaving particularly detailed accounts of his visit on horseback to Laxenburg Castle,⁴⁸ the Habsburgs' summer retreat and hunting lodge, and to their sixteenth-century palace at 'Neygebau', the Neugebäude Palace near Simmering.⁴⁹ Signs of neglect and damage could be seen everywhere; indeed the Hungarians had looted the Neugebäude palace in June 1704, killing the animals kept in the menagerie there.⁵⁰ This was followed by a description of the contents of the emperor's 'Chambre de Curiosites' in the company of the earl of Sunderland, followed by a further such tour to the galleries in the 'chateau' (Hofburg). Here he saw several works by Albrecht Dürer, including his 'History of the Gospel' in a series of small paintings on a multi-leaf screen.⁵¹

In October further proposals came from the Hungarian negotiators, and a plan was formed to meet their leaders in Tynau (today Trnava), a town about thirty miles north-east of the then capital of Hungary, Pressburg (now Bratislava in Slovakia). There was still time before the expedition set off for de Vrigny to attend a boar hunt with the emperor at 'Eberstorff'.⁵² He vividly describes the empress and the archduchesses following the boar in carriages at a gallop; how the count of Lemberg, 'Grand Huntsman', would guide the boars into a prepared avenue where the emperor would chase them at a gallop, firing a pistol at them; how if he missed, the prince of Lorraine, the bishop of Osnabruck, or the count of Lemberg would shoot at them; and how if they missed, which happened rarely says de Vrigny, hounds would be released and would seize the boar by both ears, and hunting servants would seize its hind legs; and then, 'la pauvre beste', unable to move, would be speared by the emperor with a stake. The 'poor beast' reveals de Vrigny's distaste:

Cet exercice passe pour trop noble pour qu'on puisse blamer un Prince de l'aimer
mesme avec exces. Cependant comme c'est une petite image de la guerre toujours
accompagnée de carnage, cela n'accoutume peut estre que trop les grands seigneurs et
les Princes a estre cruels, et a aimer de voir repandre du sang; la pluspart epargnent

newly constituted him or chosen him as their leader and General with greater power, so that it seemed that the path to peace was absolutely closed.'

⁴⁸ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fols. 66–70.

⁴⁹ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fols. 80–4.

⁵⁰ see 'Vienna History Wiki', https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Schloss_Neugeb%C3%A4ude.

⁵¹ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, p. 87.

⁵² Now Kaiserebersdorf.

moins leur soldats a la guerre, que leurs chiens a la chasse, et regretteroient plus la perte de quelques bons chiens, que celle de plusieurs braves soldats.⁵³

De Vrigny's account of the next stage of the embassy is full of colour and interest, covering twenty-three pages of the journal from setting off on 26 October 1705 to returning to Vienna eleven days later.⁵⁴ Just a few extracts will have to give the flavour of this expedition into Slovakia, then part of the kingdom of Hungary.

As soon as the expedition was beyond Vienna, de Vrigny noticed villages half burnt by the Hungarians. On reaching Pressburg, they crossed several channels of the Danube on pontoons, one comprising forty-five boats, attached by cables to anchors forming a semicircle as a brace against the strong current. De Vrigny describes the excitement in the city occasioned by the arrival of this delegation. When they left, they were given an escort of 200 infantry, with General 'Palfi'⁵⁵ accompanying them, along with a large part of the inhabitants, with several ladies and gentlemen in their carriages, who took advantage of the truce to get some fresh air, something they had not dared to do for a long time. A quarter of a league further on, an escort of 800 Hungarian hussars awaited them, and de Vrigny reflects on their standards, one bearing an image of the Virgin Mary, patron saint of Hungary, which he regarded as a continuation of the pagan custom of having a god for each city. He piously reflects that

la religion Chretienne eut ete tout a fait paganisée par les Papes, dans les temps d'ignorance que la Reformation a fait cesser en quelques pais depuis deux siecles.⁵⁶

De Vrigny gives an interesting account of the hussars, who were at this time a relatively new force in Europe, found mainly in the Habsburg domains, though the French had recruited some Hungarian hussars in the early 1690s. The impact of this light cavalry in Austria's wars of the mid-eighteenth century would see hussars added to every European army, but de

⁵³ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fols. 89–90: 'This exercise is considered too noble for one to blame a Prince for loving it even to excess. However, as it is like war writ small, always accompanied by carnage, it perhaps only accustoms great lords and Princes too much to cruelty, and to a love of bloodshed; most of them spare their soldiers less in war, than their dogs in hunting, and would regret the loss of a few good dogs more than the loss of some brave soldiers.'

⁵⁴ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fols. 90–112.

⁵⁵ Johann Bernhard Stephan, Graf Pálffy de Erdőd (1664–1751), Palatine of Hungary, and Field Marshal in the Imperial army.

⁵⁶ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 94: '... the Christian religion would have been completely paganized by the Popes, in the times of ignorance that the Reformation brought to an end in some countries over the last two centuries.'

Vrigny was seeing the original version, natives of Hungary. He notes their multi-coloured clothes on first meeting them, and later gives more detailed descriptions. In Tyrnau the mediators were given a guard of 'Heiduques' (Hajduks, a kind of irregular infantry of the region) which leads de Vrigny to compare these with the hussars:

Les mediateurs Hollandois – qui logeoient sur la meme place ... avoient de pareilles gardes d'infanterie a leur porte. Ces fantassins appelez vulgairement Heiduques sont habillez comme les Hussars hormis qu'ils avoient de grands manteaux blancs. Les Hussars n'ayant la plupart que de petites vestes courtes doublées de fourrure ou des peaux de mouton entieres qui leur servent de manteau lequel ils portent toujours tourné du costé d'ou vient le vent. Plusieurs officiers avoient sur leurs epaules des peaux de tigre pour le mesme effet, ce qui est aussi un ornement ajoutant encor a cet air farouche que leurs cheveux courts avec leurs longues moustaches rependent sur leurs personnes quelques uns pour se rendre encor plus terribles/jolis⁵⁷ se laissent croistre un gros toupet de cheveux sur le front a la mode des Tartares, cela feroit peur aux petits enfans.⁵⁸

In the remaining journey, de Vrigny noted the signs of war in the region. A village called 'Rostorf' (possibly the modern Rača) had been almost completely burnt by the 'Germans', by which de Vrigny meant the imperial army. Having noted the excellent wines of St. George or Szent Gyorgy (white, but a little smoky, with a lot of body; the town is now Svätý Jur), the coaches of the expedition were halted before the town gates to hear a speech in German from the magistrates, wishing them a successful outcome, and testifying that their country would have an infinite and eternal obligation to them, being so weary of war and so ruined that only a prompt peace could preserve it from complete desolation. At 'Posing' or 'Bazing' (now Pezinok), the surrounding suburbs were completely burned, and the town itself had been badly devastated by a Hungarian bombardment a year before. De Vrigny reports that the

⁵⁷ Here, and in a few other places, de Vrigny has provided alternative words, one above the other, suggesting that as he wrote up the journal he was considering its literary effect. This slightly amused tone in describing the hussars is not untypical of his style, though this kind of scepticism is usually reserved for descriptions of Catholic superstitions.

⁵⁸ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 98: 'The Dutch mediators, who lodged in the same square ... had similar infantry guards at their gates. These infantrymen, commonly called Hajduks, were dressed like the Hussars, except that they wore large white coats. The Hussars, for the most part, only have small, short jackets lined with fur or whole sheepskins that served as their coats, which they always wear facing the wind. Several officers wore tiger skins on their shoulders for the same effect, to serve as ornament and to add to the fierce air that their short hair and long moustaches gave their persons. Some, to make themselves even more terrifying/pretty, grew a large tuft of hair on their foreheads in the Tartar fashion; this would frighten small children.'

1,500 Germans, who surrendered on the condition that they be taken to Moravia, were killed by the peasants, in retaliation for the cruelty they had inflicted on ‘ces pauvres gens’. The magistrates of Bazing awaited the mediators at the city gate, and one of them gave a speech in Latin, ‘d'autant meilleure qu'elle fut tres courte, etant heure d'aller diner’ (all the better for being very short, as it was time to go to dinner).

On the morning of Wednesday 28 October the party was awakened by the hussars blowing ‘petits cornets a bouquin qui escorchent les oreilles’ (little cornets ‘a bouquin’ [an early kind of cornet] which grate on the ears), and on which they played ‘airs fort lugubres’ (very mournful airs). De Vrigny was saddened to see the once beautiful but now half-ruined city, and expresses pity for the fate of its people who had suffered depredations at the hands of both sides. Passing through a half-burned village called ‘Shinkenitz’ (Šenkvice), they saw on their left ‘Rottenstein’ (Červený Kameň) castle which had eighty German soldiers inside being blockaded by 1,000 or so Hungarians who would not grant them any quarter because they had committed so many cruelties in the region, though they had offered to capitulate several times. Two Hungarians told him that the besieged lacked everything, especially water, so that they would soon be forced to surrender. Interestingly, this conversation was conducted in Latin which the Hungarians (and de Vrigny) spoke fluently. Further along the route, the party saw the town of Leopold or Leopoldstadt (Leopoldov) in the distance, also being blockaded by the rebels, and they finally reached Tynau between one and two o’clock that afternoon. Here they were met by magnificently attired Hungarian cavalry and many dignitaries including Count ‘Berczini’,⁵⁹ who was Prince Rákóczi’s second-in-command in Hungary, and were taken in a specially provided gilded carriage to their quarters, accompanied by a cavalcade with musicians, all in all ‘un spectacle tres beau.’

Here we gain an insight into de Vrigny’s role in all this, as he reports that just a quarter-of-an-hour after arriving, he went on behalf of the mediators to pay their compliments to Count Bercsényi, and to inform him of their arrival. There follows a short pen-portrait in which we learn that the count was of medium height, somewhat stout, with blond hair and a large moustache; was dressed in a Hungarian-style coat trimmed with gold and lined with rich fur; spoke Latin well; and fasted on Wednesdays in memory of a fortunate escape from the Germans.⁶⁰ We are given a further description of the chief imperial negotiator, the archbishop of ‘Colockza’ (Kalocsa).⁶¹ There are good descriptions of the pomp and

⁵⁹ Count Miklós Bercsényi (1665–1725).

⁶⁰ De Vrigny later (pp. 103–4) recounts the dramatic tale of his escape after being kidnapped by imperial agents.

⁶¹ Count Pál Széchényi (1645–1710). A Hungarian, he was appointed by Vienna in 1704 to lead negotiations with Rákóczi and the Hungarian rebels.

circumstance of the mediators' meetings, but it seems that de Vrigny's role was that of messenger or go-between, and he was apparently not present at the actual negotiations. He was particularly impressed by the archbishop:

ayant un certain air de grandeur et de majesté repandu sur toute sa personne qui imprime du respect a ceux qui l'approchent leur gagnant entierement le coeur.⁶²

He also remarks that all the Hungarian officials spoke Latin fluently.

De Vrigny then discourses on the pernicious influence, as he saw it, of the Jesuits in Hungary, once expelled but allowed to return in 1687 though most Hungarians were excluded from the decision. His conclusion was that the avarice of these 'locusts' was draining the kingdom, and that the Hungarian rebellion was justified. De Vrigny constantly returns to this theme throughout the journal, lambasting the Catholic authorities in general and the Jesuits in particular for their repressive measures and greed, which, he says, was impoverishing the land. His own experience as a Huguenot exile no doubt increased his bitterness in this respect, and in some ways it is all the more remarkable that despite this underlying feeling, he was balanced and fair in his judgement of individual churchmen, and could show admiration and respect as in the case of the archbishop of Kalocsa. As in Vienna, he appreciated the architecture of the Jesuit church in Tyrnau. Under the occupation of the rebels, de Vrigny remarks that Lutheran services were once again permitted. He even met a minister who had studied at Oxford, one 'Franciscus Foris Otrokoczi',⁶³ who had been sent to the Neapolitan galleys during the 'cruel persecution' of 1672, and was freed by the famous Dutch admiral De Ruyter.⁶⁴

On Saturday 31 October we find de Vrigny greeting the newly arrived Hungarian negotiators from the 'Confederation', the government set up by the insurgents. He names all the delegates, and says that he made a rather long speech to them in Latin, which was received civilly. However, the negotiations began to founder, as Vienna now sent

⁶² MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fols. 98–9: 'having a certain air of grandeur and majesty spread over his whole person which impresses respect on those who approach him, winning their hearts entirely.'

⁶³ Ferenc Főris Otrokocsi is mentioned in R.J.W. Evans, 'Hungarica in the Bodleian: A Historical Sketch', *Bodleian Library Record*, 9 (1978), p. 341, <https://doi.org/10.3828/blr.1978.9.6.333>: 'who, having served in the galleys, having spent some time as refugee in Oxford, and having denounced the Jesuits as that plague of locusts predicted by the ninth chapter of Revelation, ended his life a convert to Rome.'

⁶⁴ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 103.

commissioners requesting that the meetings should be held in Pressburg, apparently being concerned that Tyrnau was too much under the control of the insurgents. De Vigny, however, believed that this was a means of stalling negotiations and was a further indication of the insincerity of the court's position, as it knew that the Hungarians would not accept this proposal.

The English and Dutch mediators now journeyed to Pressburg, but it was becoming obvious that the negotiations were failing, and de Vigny reports (3 November) that

Nous apprimes a Presburg que les Mecontens, qui ont de ces costez pres de vingt mille hommes, avoient envoyé plusieurs corps tres considerables pour brusler et ravager la basse Autriche et mettre tout a feu et a sang. C'est ainsy que le pauvre peuple porte la peine des fautes et du caprice de son prince guidé par de mauvais conseils.⁶⁵

This remark is again typical of de Vigny – highly critical of the imperial government, and sympathetic to the victims of their ill-advised policy. He also reports rumours that imperial forces were trapped in Transylvania, but Count Bercsényi was sceptical, and explained how he intended to harass imperial forces rather than confront them on the battlefield. He also believed that the Viennese court had never had any intention of seriously negotiating a peace.

The mediators now returned to Vienna, de Vigny taking the opportunity to visit further sights. One of these was the castle at 'Patronella' (Petronell-Carnuntum) belonging to the count of Traun. The steward 'who spoke perfectly good French' told him that it was a refuge for the people of the countryside, and that during the last Hungarian incursions, a thousand families had sheltered there. However, there were just thirty soldiers in the garrison, and the captain was writing to Vienna that same evening for reinforcements because several bodies of insurgents had entered the region.⁶⁶

The whole mission had lasted eleven days, and de Vigny remarks that the weather had been beautiful the whole time, the vintage being gathered in the vineyards as they left, but now, at the end of October, sleet was falling. The duke of Marlborough

⁶⁵ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 108: 'We learned in Pressburg that the Malcontents, who have nearly twenty thousand men in this area, had sent several very considerable forces to burn and ravage Lower Austria and turn everything to fire and blood. Thus it is that the poor people bear the pain for the faults and the caprice of their prince guided by bad advice.'

⁶⁶ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 110.

arrived on 1 November for an audience with the emperor; de Vrigny took himself off to see the Schönbrunn palace, and provides another interesting description of a now famous landmark under construction. He also visited the imperial library, housed in des chambres assez obscures tres remplies de livres dont on fait monter le nombre a 90000 volumes, la plus part mal reliez.⁶⁷

The next few pages are devoted to descriptions of the city that he had read in a guide book written by a Jesuit, and to reflections on the nobility, the clergy and the finances of the Habsburg monarchy (all negative). The English embassy had been recalled, as the negotiations with the Hungarian leaders, although still ongoing, were not getting anywhere. So on 23 November the whole embassy, together with the duke of Marlborough, left Vienna with three carriages and two carts, each with six horses and domestic servants on horseback, accompanied to the frontier of the Habsburg domains by an officer of the imperial Grand Post Master. The party headed for Berlin as Marlborough had arranged to meet the king of Prussia. The account of this journey is of interest, with descriptions of towns and countryside, roads and bridges, and the ceremonies and dinners laid on in honour of Marlborough, who was hailed as the liberator of Germany, quite rightly in de Vrigny's opinion.⁶⁸

The route back to England was an interesting one, occasioned by diplomatic needs, and de Vrigny has very conveniently included a table of all the places visited at the end of the volume, with distances in German miles and 'common leagues', so that it is easy to gain an overview of the whole expedition from start to finish. The return journey took in, among many other places, Austerlitz (almost exactly one hundred years before Napoleon's great battle there), Breslau (in Silesia, then a Habsburg province which was to be overrun by the Prussians in 1740, and is now Wrocław in Poland), Berlin, Hanover, Osnabruck, Utrecht, and the Hague, where the table ends.⁶⁹ We know from the journal that the party continued to Rotterdam, taking ship on 28 December (Old Style) in a convoy of six English warships, finally reaching Greenwich on 30 December.

It is difficult to do full justice to this journal which is a fascinating mixture of diary, philosophy, theology, history and politics, ranging over wide tracts of the Habsburg hereditary lands and the Holy Roman Empire at a particularly interesting and dangerous time for both. In my first article I established who Jacques Philippe, or James Philip, de Lacombe

⁶⁷ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 115: 'rather dark rooms, crammed with books, the number of which is estimated to be 90,000 volumes, most of them poorly bound.'

⁶⁸ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fol. 130.

⁶⁹ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, fols. 137–8.

de Vrigny was, his identity as author of the Rawlinson journals having been lost through a cataloguing error.⁷⁰ I hope that this exploration of the contents of the first of his two journals will demonstrate that de Vrigny's insights are not without considerable interest to researchers into the cultural and political developments of the era in these territories, as interpreted by a French Huguenot in English service.

⁷⁰ Webb, 'Rediscovering'. James Philip was the name he adopted as an English citizen.