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Special Issue

**FROM THE LONG TURKISH WAR (1593-1606)
TO THE LIBERATION OF VIENNA (1683)**

Edited by
Alessandro Boccolini and Ovidiu Cristea



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Con un carattere internazionale e interdisciplinare, una cadenza annuale e una fruibilità *open access* la rivista focalizza i propri interessi sulle dinamiche occorse nell'Europa Orientale durante tutta l'età moderna (XIV-XIX). *Eastern European History Review* è espressione del Centro Studi dell'Università della Tuscia CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna) nato nel 1997 per intuizione del Prof. Gaetano Platania, Direttore Emerito della Rivista.

L'iniziativa editoriale che presentiamo nasce dall'evidente mancanza in Italia di una rivista scientifica relativa alla storia dell'Europa centro-orientale in Età Moderna, nonostante la penisola abbia giocato un ruolo fondamentale per la Storia e la Cultura di una parte integrante del continente, a torto considerata come lontana e periferica.

Consapevoli di questo, il Comitato ha posto quale obiettivo primario della *Eastern European History Review* quello di offrire uno spazio di riflessione e di discussione su temi che appartengono alla storia dell'Europa centro-orientale, e insieme alle relazioni - politiche e culturali - che questa vasta area del Vecchio Continente ha avuto con l'occidente d'Europa, e l'Italia in particolare, incoraggiando il dialogo tra studiosi e esperti di settore, e tra differenti approcci della ricerca scientifica.

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EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW: THE JOURNAL

The Editorial and Scientific Board are proud delighted to present the *Eastern European History Review* under the aegis of Sette Città Editore.

The *Eastern European History Review* is an international and interdisciplinary annually online and open access peer-reviewed journal about studies on Central and Eastern Europe in the Modern Age (XIV-XIX). The Journal is also the expression of the Study Center CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna – Center Study on the Age of Sobieski and Modern Poland) of the University of Tuscia, born in 1997, from an idea of Prof. Gaetano Platania, today Director Emeritus of this journal.

It publishes articles with significant approaches and original interpretations in all research fields concerning Central and Eastern Europe, with specific attention to the History sciences.

The editorial initiative we present comes from the obvious lack of a journal, in Italy, concerning the history of Central and Eastern Europe during the Modern Age, this despite its fundamental role in the history and culture of that part of the continent, wrongly considered distant and peripheral.

Quite the contrary is true, in fact. Main objective of the journal is to create a space for reflection and discussion on topics pertaining to Central and Eastern Europe, but also relations with Continental Europe, encouraging dialogue between scholars and experts in the field, and between different approaches of scientific research.

The Editorial and Scientific Board

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THE BATTLE OF KHOTYN (1673): A WAY TO THE THRONE

ABSTRACT: The article analyses the Holy See's involvement in the *Rzeczpospolita* crisis from 1672 to 1674, following the Ottoman offensive that resulted in the fall of Kamieniec Podolski and the ensuing Peace of Buczacz, which jeopardised Poland's stability. Viewed by Rome as the *Antemurale Christianitatis*, Poland became a focal point for papal intervention aimed at bolstering anti-Turkish resistance and mitigating internal strife. Utilising correspondence from nuncios Angelo Maria Ranuzzi and Francesco Buonvisi in the Vatican Apostolic Archives, as well as Carlo Cartari's Diary, the study explores the spiritual, financial, and diplomatic initiatives of Pope Clement X. Key actions included efforts to establish a Christian league, outreach to Muscovy, financial support to Warsaw, and mediation by the nunciate to prevent civil war. The rejection of the Peace of Buczacz and subsequent army reorganisation culminated in the victory at Khotyn in 1673, while Roman diplomatic efforts during the interregnum significantly aided in the election of Jan Sobieski as king in 1674.

KEYWORDS: Carlo Cartari's Diary; Buczacz; Clement X; Polish nuntiatures; Khotyn.

INTRODUCTION

In October 1672, the Ottoman army led by Grand Vizier Fazil Ahmed Köprülüzade [1635-1676]¹ conquered the Polish fortress of Kameniec Podolski: a move made possible by internal political divisions within the kingdom², which forced the then ruler of the *Rzeczpospolita*, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki [1640-1673]³, to sign the

1 About Fazil Ahmed Köprülüzade [1635-1676] See Cumhur Bekar, "The Rise of the Köprülü Household. The transformation of Patronage in the Ottoman Empire in the Seventeenth Century", *Turkish Historical Review*, 11/2-3 (2020): 229-56; Elizabeth Lobenwein, "Perspectives on Köprülü Fazil Ahmed Pasha's (1635-1676) Grand Vizirate by Imperial Resident Casanova", *Review of Middle East Studies*, 57/1 (June 2023): 98-120.

2 The internal division within the kingdom was caused by the criticism levelled by the magnate nobility against the then king Wisniowiecki. The king was accused of being "excessively" subservient to the court of Vienna and of being unable to find "clear-headed" solutions to the kingdom's difficulties. The discontent within the kingdom led to a clash between the two main factions at court, the pro-Habsburg and pro-French factions. See Gaetano Platania, *Scritti minori* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2021), 54-5.

3 On the figure of the Polish sovereign, See Adam Przyboś, "Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki", in PSB, vol. 20 (1975), 605-09; Andrea Honorati, *Michele Korybut*

“ignominious” Peace of Buczacz on October 16-18, 1672⁴.

With this treaty, Warsaw would become a tributary of the Sublime Porte and would cede to it the voivodeships of Podolia and Braclaw and the territories adjacent to Kiev⁵.

This was a severe blow to the Kingdom, as well as to Rome⁶, which immediately intervened to revive the fortunes of a country that it traditionally regarded as the *Antemurale Christianitatis* par excellence.

Thanks also to the intervention of the Holy See, between the summer and autumn of 1673, Poland was able to reorganise its army and prepare everything necessary for an anti-Turkish military campaign that would lead to the Polish victory at Khotyn on November 11 1673⁷, celebrated throughout Europe as much as the victory obtained, also at Khotyn, in 1623.

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In 1673, Jan Sobieski, then Grand Hetman of the Kingdom, led the Polish troops. He would benefit from this victory by becoming King of Poland in May 1674, following the interregnum that began after the death of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki on November 10 1673, just one day before the reported victory against the Ottomans⁸. In order to reconstruct the stages of this important passage in the history of Poland and its relations with the Holy See, the correspondence between the extraordinary nuncio Francesco Buonvisi and the Secretariat of State⁹ – published and studied by Platania and Boccolini – and the largely unpublished correspondence of Monsignor

Wisniowiecki re di Polonia 1669-1673 (Ancona: Industrie grafiche Anibaldi, 1992).

- 4 See Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th Century). An Annotated Editions of 'Ahdnames and Other Documents* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2000); Władysław Konopczyński, *Dzieje Polski nowożytnej*, wyd. IV krajowe (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1999), 465.
- 5 Alessandro Boccolini, “I giubilei di Clemente X: dallo straordinario all’ordinario”, in *I Giubilei Straordinari in Età Moderna (XVII-XVIII)*, ed. Francesca De Caprio (Roma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 2016), 67.
- 6 See Alessandro Boccolini, “Guerra contro il nemico turco nell’infelice regno di M.K. Wiśniowiecki”, in *La storia e/o le storie nel Diario di Carlo Cartari avvocato concistoriale romani*, ed. Letizia Lanzetta (Roma: Luoghi Interiori, 2019), 145-172; Boccolini, “I giubilei di Clemente X”, 63.
- 7 See Gaetano Platania, “Diplomazia e guerra turca nel XVII secolo. La politica diplomatica polacca e la “lunga guerra turca” (1673-1683)”, in *I Turchi, il Mediterraneo e l’Europa*, ed. Giovanna Motta (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1998), 242-68; Józef Andrzej Gierowski, “Chocim 1673”, in *L’Europa di Giovanni Sobieski. Cultura, politica, mercatura e società*, ed. Gaetano Platania (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2005); Boccolini, “Guerra contro il nemico turco”, 145-72.
- 8 See Alessandro Boccolini, *Un lucchese al servizio della Santa Sede. Francesco Buonvisi. Nunzio a Colonia, Varsavia e Vienna* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2018), 57-144; Gaetano Platania, *Scritti minori* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2021), 51-106.
- 9 See: Henrik Damian Wojtyska CP, *Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae*, vol. I (Romae: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae, 1990), 273-74; *Francesco Buonvisi. Nunziatura a Varsavia*, 2 voll., eds. Furio Diaz, Nicola Carranza (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per l’Età moderna e contemporanea, 1965).

Angelo Maria Ranuzzi [1626-1689]¹⁰, ordinary nuncio from 1671 to 1673, both preserved in the Vatican Apostolic Archives.

To this documentation, we could add the famous Diary of the Roman consistorial lawyer Carlo Cartari¹¹: preserved in the State Archives of Rome and divided into 32 volumes covering the period from 1642 to 1691, it is a valuable source for researchers interested in 17th century Rome¹². In fact, as a true graphomaniac, he noted down both events relating to the city of Rome and news and developments reaching the city from all over Europe, drawing on handwritten and printed notices and printed reports¹³, and also making use of his relationship with Monsignor Francesco Maria Febei [1616-1680]¹⁴, secretary of the ciphers.

From this perspective, and as a keen observer, volume no. 84 relating to the year 1673, with its numerous references to the Turkish threat to Poland, fully reflects Rome's concern for the fate of the Polish kingdom threatened by the infidels.

Meanwhile, a handmade copy of a Polish letter¹⁵ and a stamp of *Nova vera relatione*

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10 Angelo Maria Ranuzzi [1626-1689] was born in Bologna on the 19th of March 1626. At the age of twenty he took up positions in the administration of the city of Bologna. He then studied law at the University of Padua and spent some time at the court of Florence. Ranuzzi then pursued a career as a prelate. In 1668 he became Apostolic nuncio in Turin, and in 1671 he was assigned to the nunciature of Poland. Returning from Poland in 1673, he was appointed vice-legate of Urbino in the same year. In 1683 Ranuzzi became nuncio in Paris. This nunciature was difficult because of the revocation of the Treaty of Nantes in 1685, which still saw many schismatic bishops among the members of the French clergy. In 1686 he became cardinal. He died on the 27th of September 1689. See F. Boris, "Ranuzzi, Angelo Maria", in DBI, vol. 86 (2016). For the nunciature of Ranuzzi see Wojtyska, *Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae*, vol. I, 271-73.

11 About Carlo Cartari: Antonio Petrucci, "Cartari, Carlo", in DBI, vol. 20 (1977), 783-86. For a detailed bibliography on Carlo Cartari, see, in general, Lanzetta *La storia e/o le storie nel Diario di Carlo Cartari*.

12 *Le Effemeridi Cartarie. Diario e cronache degli avvenimenti romani e pontifici in particolare e d'Europa in generale con allegati documenti a stampa e stampe* [abbr. *Diario*], are stored at Archivio di Stato di Roma: the documentation is collected in 32 volumes – signed 73-104 – covering a very broad chronological span, from 1642 to 1691.

13 See Gaetano Platania, "La Rzeczpospolita del tardo Seicento nel "Diario" di Carlo Cartari", in Lanzetta, *La storia o/e le storie nel Diario di Carlo Cartari*, 119-43.

14 Francesco Maria Febei [1616-1680] was a clergyman and an intellectual. He was master of ceremonies and appointed Secretary of Rites from Innocent X, and named master of ceremonies from Clement IX in 1669 at the Papal Court and archbishop of Tarso, charge that he maintained until his death. See Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico Ecclesiastica [...]*, vol. 3 (Venezia, Tipografia Emiliana, 1840-1841), 179. Information about the Febei family can be found in archival collections at Archivio di Stato di Roma and Opera del Duomo di Orvieto. ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, voll. 1-280; Archivio Opera del Duomo (Orvieto), Fondo Cartari-Cohelli-Febei, voll. 1-69.

15 ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, *Copia di lettera polacca. Tradotta in*

*Della Guerra trà il Potentissimo Rè di Polonia, & il Gran Sultano Imperador de' Turchi*¹⁶, attached to the pages of the diary, allow us to enter into the turbulent phases of a battle, that of Khotyn, which was so significant in the fight against the Turks.

THE POLISH CRISIS OF 1672 AND THE HOLY SEE'S REACTIONS

When, in 1672, the Ottomans, as mentioned, raided the territories south of the *Rzeczpospolita*, the news reached Rome suddenly but not entirely unexpectedly.

Between 1670 and 1671, Cartari had repeatedly expressed Rome's concern about an imminent Turkish attack on Christianity in his diary, noting reports of an impending invasion by the Ottoman army, but with uncertainty as to where it might take place, whether by sea from the Mediterranean or by land from the Danube-Balkan region. For example, in 1670, he wrote indistinctly that the Turks "are either heading for Puglia, [...] or, according to others, are on their way to Venice, from where they will sail to Poland"¹⁷.

The doubt was dispelled in August 1672 with the attack on the land front, along the borders of the *Rzeczpospolita*.

In fact, in the early months of that year, the Sultan's men, led by Grand Vizier Fazil Ahmed Köprülüzade, had crossed the Danube and arrived in Wallachia to reach the Dniester River near the fortress of Kamieniec Podolski.

In Rome, Cartari, ever vigilant, took particular care to follow developments in the Ottoman attack on Poland, recording the fall of Kamieniec Podolski and the subsequent peace between the Turks and Poles, then noting the signing of the Treaty of Buczacz, a "peace so shameful"¹⁸, as nuncio Ranuzzi had defined it in Warsaw, whereby the *Rzeczpospolita* would become a tributary of Constantinople and cede important territories to it.

Clement X, who knew the country well having been there between 1622 and 1627 as auditor to nuncio Giovanni Battista Lancellotti [1575-1656]¹⁹, intervened immediately with various measures: spiritual, political and financial.

On a spiritual point of view, in 1672, with the bull *Inter Gravissimas*²⁰, he proclaimed an extraordinary jubilee to implore God's help in the fight against the Turks. This

italiano, che serve di Relatione per la grande, e memorabile Vittoria riportata dall'Armi Polacche contro li Turchi, ff. 213r-17v.

16 ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, ff. 219r-20v.

17 That the Turk "sia per inviarsi verso la Puglia, [...] altri dicono sapersi per via di Venezia, che navigherà verso la Polonia". ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, 83, f. 113v.

18 The nuncios defined the peace was "pace così obbrobriosa". AAV, Segr. Stato. Polonia, vol. 87, A.M. Ranuzzi to P.P. Altieri, Warsaw 12 X 1672, f. 269v.

19 *Actae Nuntiaturae Polonae*, tomo XXIII, ed Tadeusz Fitych (Cracovia, 2001), 5-50. About Giovanni Battista Lancellotti [1575-1656] See Laura Ronchi De Michelis, "Lancellotti, Giovanni Battista", in DBI, vol. 63 (2004).

20 *Bullarium Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum Taurinensis Editio*, cura et studio Collegii adlecti Romae Virorum S. Theologiae et Ss. Canonum Peritorum (Augusta Taorinorum: A. Vecco et Sociis Editoribus, 1869), 476-80. See Boccolini, "I giubilei di Clemente X", 51-91.

was a necessary move for a pontiff, which was followed by much more concrete actions.

In the Fondo Camerale Decime, preserved in the State Archives in Rome, we can appreciate the financial efforts made by Clement X, who immediately sent 100.000 florins to the court of Warsaw to reorganise the army. This financial plan would reach a total of 160.000 florins in 1676²¹.

Even more important were the political and diplomatic decisions taken by Rome.

In terms of foreign policy, Pope Altieri proposed the creation of a league of Christian princes to confront the Turkish army.

The efforts made by the Pope — with briefs addressed to sovereigns and princes, and through his nuncios in the major capitals of Europe — proved futile: the great European powers, in fact, disengaged themselves in various ways, perceiving the Turkish threat as confined solely to distant Poland.

In this context, however, the attempt made in Rome to establish contact between the Holy See and Muscovy is interesting.

In the summer of 1673, Tsar Aleksej Mikhailovich sent his gentleman, the Scottish baron Paul Menzies de' Pitfodels, to the papal capital, writes Cartari, "for the union of forces against the Turkish army"²². This was an extraordinary event for the city of Rome, which had not seen a Muscovite ambassador since 1581, during the pontificate of Gregory XIII, when Ivan IV the Terrible, embroiled in a long war with Stephen Báthory's Poland in Livonia, sent his own man to ask the pontiff to mediate²³.

Given the exceptional nature of the event, Cartari followed the entire Muscovite embassy, from its entry into the city at the end of June 1673 to the first audiences with Clement X. Above all, the consistorial lawyer noted both the Grand Duke's offer to field 200.000 soldiers and the requested compensation, namely the Holy See's official recognition of the much-coveted title of Tsar, or "Caesar". This recognition was so coveted by the Orthodox Aleksej Mikhailovich, but pope Altieri refused. This was why the negotiations suddenly broke down in the late summer of 1673.

On the internal political front, Clement X promptly sent Francesco Buonvisi, then nuncio in Cologne, to Warsaw as extraordinary nuncio with the aim, according to Cartari, of "uniting the nobles with the king so that they might resist the Turkish

21 ASR, Fondo Camerale II Decime, B. 2, *Denari che sono stati rimessi in Polonia per l'aiuto di quella Corte contro l'Armi Ottomane, nell'infrascritta partita cioè dalla Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Clemente X*, ff. nn. See Boccolini, "Guerra contro il nemico turco", 158.

22 "Per l'unione delle forze contro l'armi turchesche". ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, f. 176v.

23 See Rita Mazzei, "L'ambasceria moscovita a Roma nel 1581 negli avvisi dell'ambasciatore estense Claudio Ariosto", in *Paradigmi dello sguardo. Percezioni, descrizioni, costruzioni e ricostruzioni della Moscovia tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, ed. Igor Melani (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2011), 187-211.

invasion in harmony”²⁴ and prevent the ratification of the Peace of Buczacz²⁵.

It should be noted that Buonvisi, having received news of his new assignment in Warsaw while in Cologne, set off for the Polish capital and had the opportunity to meet several prince-electors of the empire and, in Vienna, even Emperor Leopold I. He explained the Polish emergency to all of them, hoping for the Empire’s help for the neighbouring country. Despite his pleas, Buonvisi was forced to acknowledge that Vienna’s main concern at that time was the outbreaks of war with France along the Rhine border. This was why Vienna did not intervene in support of Poland.

Once he reached Warsaw on January 27 1673²⁶, Buonvisi immediately set to work to restore peace between the sovereign and his supporters and the party of malcontents²⁷, led by the head of the pro-French party and Grand Hetman of the Kingdom, Jan Sobieski²⁸. With the help of Queen Eleonora and several senators of the kingdom, the nuncio managed to avert the danger of civil war by bringing the two warring parties to sign a “domestic peace”²⁹ on March 12 1673: a compromise necessary for the internal stability of the kingdom, but one that was poorly received by Wiśniowiecki, who saw the leader of his opposition, Jan Sobieski, becoming Grand General of the Kingdom.

Everyone rejoices for peace, and praises it a thousand times [...] the continuation of the war with the Turks, and that through the paternal zeal of Our King, Christianity is saved from grave dangers³⁰.

24 “Riunire gli animi di quei Nobili col Re acciò possano concordemente resistere all’invasione del Turco”. ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, f. 111r.

25 Thanks to the results obtained as ordinary nuncio at Cologne, Clement X initially perspected to send Buonvisi as nuncio in France. Nevertheless, the emergency in the central-eastern European quadrant, led the pope to send Buonvisi as extraordinary nuncio in Warsaw. See Boccolini, *Un lucchese al servizio della Santa Sede*, 57-144.

26 During his meeting with Leopold I, Buonvisi decided to keep quiet about the Holy See instructions, which could have been perceived as an interference in imperial affairs, since they concerned not only the Polish cause, but also the peace between Empire and France. See Boccolini, *Un lucchese al servizio della Santa Sede*, 78-9.

27 BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2246, *Raccolta della vita e nascita di me Giuseppe Miselli*, citato, f. 139r-v. See Boccolini, *Un lucchese al servizio della Santa Sede*, 84.

28 Sobieski and the other rebel magnates had retreated on the town of Loguiz with the aim of deposing king Wiśniowiecki. The crisis weakened the kingdom and could have made it more vulnerable to the expansionist ambitions of other European powers. See Boccolini, *Un lucchese al servizio della Santa Sede*, 80-1.

29 Boccolini, *Un lucchese al servizio della Santa Sede*, 88.

30 Ranuzzi wrote: “Tutti fanno allegrezza per la pace, e ne danno mille lodi [...] la continuazione dilla Guerra col Turco, e che dal zelo paterno di Nostro Re si veda riscosso il Christianesimo dai pericoli gravissimi [...]”. AAV, Segr. Stato. Polonia, vol. 88, A.M. Ranuzzi to P.P. Altieri, Warsaw 13 III 1673, ff. 120v-21r.

While Ranuzzi communicated to Rome regarding the recent internal peace achieved, Buonvisi effectively focused on the second objective during the sejm that opened on January 4 1673, for which, according to Ranuzzi, the extraordinary nuncio had “received [...] more specific instructions on how to govern”³¹. This was the need to prevent the Polish *sejm* from ratifying the Treaty of Buczacz of 1672, and thus push Poland towards an open confrontation with the Ottomans³². A war, Ranuzzi wrote, with many reservations for the Poles, much desired “when one considers the losses incurred and the conditions of the peace established”, but to be avoided “when one reflects on the ways in which one must prepare for it, [and then] one desires peace all the more, [and] if it is possible to obtain it on less onerous terms”³³.

THE BATTLE OF KHOTYN

With great ability, Buonvisi – as we know – would later succeed in inspiring the Poles to undertake a campaign against the Turks. The diet, which ended on April 8 1673 “after midnight”³⁴, led both to the failure to ratify the treaty and to important military decisions, above all that of outlining strategies to strengthen the army. Despite the “annoyance [at] the little time left to prepare”³⁵, writes Ranuzzi, Poland decided to march its troops against the Ottomans, who in the meantime had planned to “advance the Tartars and Cossacks to devastate, and then follow them with the bulk of the army”³⁶.

This initial news was followed by contradictory reports on May 24 1673:

The reports from Wien are consistent with the news received from Wallachia and Moldova, namely that the Grand Sultan and the Grand Vizier have no intention of coming to Poland this year. Nevertheless, it is rumoured that the Turks have already reached Kamienietz and that others are on their way³⁷.

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31 “Nell'affare però dilla continuazione dilla Guerra havendomi detto Monsignor Bonvisi d'haver havuto da Vostra Eminenza istruzioni più particolari sopra il modo con cui deve governarsi [...]”. AAV, Segr. Stato. Polonia, vol. 88, Warsaw 15 III 1673, f. 131v.

32 A. Boccolini, *Un lucchese al servizio della Santa Sede*, 88-9.

33 A war, Ranuzzi wrote, with many reservations for the Poles, so desired “quando si mira alle perdite fatte, e alle conditioni della pace stabilita”, but to avoid “quando si riflette à i modi, che s'hanno di prepararvisi, [e allora] si desidera più tanto d'haver la pace, [e] se sarà possibile d'ottenerla à conditioni meno pesanti”. AAV, Segr. Stato. Polonia, vol. 88, avviso 22 III 1673, f. 141r.

34 AAV, Segr. Stato. Polonia, vol. 89, Warsaw 19 IV 1673, f. 164r.

35 AAV, Segr. Stato. Polonia, vol. 89, Warsaw 19 IV 1673, f. 164r.

36 “Far avanzare i Tartari e Cosacchi, per devastare, e seguitar poi essi col grosso dell'esercito”. AAV, Segr. Stato. Polonia, vol. 89, Warsaw 19 IV 1673, ff. 164r-v.

37 “Concordano co' gl'avvisi, che s'hanno da Vienna, anco le notizie havutesi di Valachia e Moldavia, che il Gran Signore e il Primo Visir non siano di pensiero di venir in Polonia per quest'anno. Nondimeno però si sente, che i Turchi siano già pervenuti a Caminiez, e che altri ve ne siano in marcia”. AAV, Segr. Stato. Polonia, vol. 88, A.M. Ranuzzi to P.P. Altieri, Warsaw 24 V 1673, ff. 228v-29r.

It should be noted that, at the time when the country was preparing for war, Rome confirmed Buonvisi as ordinary nuncio in Warsaw³⁸, recalling Ranuzzi, who had been appointed vice-legate in Urbino, to Italy. This decision was not well received by king Wiśniowiecki, who, already at his first audience with Buonvisi in February 1673, had made no secret of his impatience with the extraordinary nuncio, preferring the previous one, with whom he had a more trusting relationship, so much so that “having heard in court of [Ranuzzi’s] removal and that Monsignor Buonvisi was to remain as ordinary nuncio, [...] he convened the council, in which it was discussed and resolved not to accept him”³⁹. The sovereign’s idea was that Buonvisi “had already served” and completed his task as extraordinary nuncio and should therefore be recalled to Italy, not hiding his hope “that Our Lord would change his mind”⁴⁰. This was a potential diplomatic incident between Rome and Warsaw at a delicate moment at the beginning of a campaign against the Turks, which Ranuzzi himself helped to avoid: in conversation with the Polish sovereign, he reassured Wiśniowiecki that the pontiff believed in Buonvisi’s ability to support Poland. It is interesting to learn, from Ranuzzi’s unpublished correspondence, about the relationship that must have existed between the two nuncios. A situation that led the ordinary nuncio to want to leave the court of Warsaw, as we can read in a letter sent to Rome on June 21 1673:

I informed Monsignor nuncio, who responded to me in such a way as to suggest that he suspected me of having caused these difficulties for him [...]. I could certainly not hear anything that could have hurt me more, as it wounded both my honour and the faith that I have always professed to uphold. [...]. Although [...] I was so sure of the purity of my conscience that I had no reason to fear that anyone could accuse me of wrongdoing, I nevertheless considered that at least the mistrust between Monsignor Buonvisi and myself remained [...]. During this turmoil, I considered [...] leaving the court, and not the kingdom [...] in the early days of the following week, with the intention of stopping in Cestocova⁴¹.

38 See Boccolini, *Un lucchese al servizio della Santa Sede*, 84-5.

39 “Auditasi in corte la rimozione [di Ranuzzi] e che questa nunziatura ordinaria era per rimanere Monsignor Buonvisi, [...] fece radunare il consiglio, nel quale fu discorso e risoluto di non accettarlo”. AAV, Segr. Stato. Polonia, vol. 88, A.M. Ranuzzi to P.P. Altieri, Warsaw 21 VI 1673, f. 256r.

40 “Che Nostro Signore havrebbe cambiato di risoluzione”. AAV, Segr. Stato. Polonia, vol. 88, A.M. Ranuzzi to P.P. Altieri, Warsaw 21 VI 1673, ff. 256r-v.

41 “Diedi avviso a Monsignor nunzio, il quale si esprese meco in una forma, come se havesse concepito sospetto, ch’io havessi suscitato contro di lui queste difficoltà [...]. Io non potevo certamente udir cosa che mi riuscisse più sensibile, mentre. Mi feriva e nell’onore e nella fede che sempre ho professato di conservare. [...]. Benché [...] io fossi così sicuro della candidezza della mia coscienza, che non dovessi temere che alcuno potesse chiamarmi in colpa, in ogni modo considerando che restava almeno tale la diffidenza tra Monsignor Buonvisi e me [...]. Tra queste agitazioni considerai [...] il poter partire dalla corte, e non dal regno [...] i primi giorni della prossima settimana, con deliberazione di fermarmi a Cestocova”. AAV, Segr. Stato. Polonia, vol. 88, A.M. Ranuzzi to P.P. Altieri, Warsaw 21 VI 1673, ff. 256r-v. Last three letters sent from Ranuzzi are

Another reason why Ranuzzi requested to leave the Polish court as soon as possible was to “facilitate the acceptance of Monsignor Buonvisi”, so as to allow the sovereign and Poland to focus on the impending war.

For these reasons, before his departure from Warsaw, the ordinary nuncio ceased to take part in court affairs, particularly those concerning preparations for the military campaign against the Turks.

Due to his expressed desire to leave Poland, after consulting with Ranuzzi’s nunciature, and despite the nuncio leaving Warsaw on September 17 1673, there is no trace of the Polish expedition to Khotyn: the only information that can be gleaned, and which in some way reflects the preparations for war, concerns his delayed departure from the Polish court, “as I was not allowed to leave earlier due to the shortage of vehicles for transporting my luggage caused by the king’s departure for the battlefield”⁴².

The culmination of the conflict between the Poles and the Turks was the battle of Khotyn, fought between November 10 and 11, 1673, from which Jan Sobieski emerged victorious. This victory was celebrated throughout Europe with printed and handwritten reports, which would later propel Sobieski himself to the Polish throne⁴³ after the death of Wiśniowiecki on November 10, on the eve of the battle.

Among the many reports that began to circulate about the battle of Khotyn, we find two documents in Carlo Cartari’s diary, which that the lawyer attached to volume 84, referring to the years 1672-1673: a copy of a Polish letter⁴⁴ and the subsequent *Nova, e vera relatione*⁴⁵.

Two documents that allow us to enter into the turbulent phases of Poland’s extraordinary victory.

The *Relatione* opens with the “massacre”⁴⁶ of 1672, and the Ottoman conquest of Caminitiez.

The Grand Sultan Emperor of the Turks, with incredible force and inhuman manner, suddenly attacked the Poles by taking the city of Camienietz and other places by surprise, and with great cruelty slaughtering priests, nobles, and virgins, allowing his soldiers to run wild with barbarity; and so that the terrified Poles, not knowing whom to turn to except Divine Mercy, and although they tried to defend themselves despite the suddenness of the attack. The Polish army made the absolute decision to exempt themselves from such barbarism and Ottoman

stored in vol. 88 of the Nunciature of Poland. They have been sent from Bologna and dated September 27, November 4, and November 18 1673. AAV, Segr. Stato. Polonia, vol. 88, A.M. Ranuzzi to P.P. Altieri, Warsaw ff. 335r-37r.

42 “Non havendomelo permesso prima la penuria di vetturali per lo trasporto del mio bagaglio cagionata dall’uscita del re in campagna”. AAV, Segr. Stato. Polonia, vol. 88, A.M. Ranuzzi to P.P. Altieri, Warsaw 26 IX 1673, f. 331r.

43 Sull’elezione di Jan Sobieski See Platania, *Scritti minori*, 51-106.

44 ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, *Copia di lettera polacca tradotta in italiano [...]*, ff. 213r-17v.

45 ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, ff. 219r-20v.

46 ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, ff. 213v.

cruelty, and with intrepid courage, both the nobility and the lower classes, with their king at the head, opposed the defence, but with significant disadvantage in this first test of their arms⁴⁷.

A year later, Poland, united in spirit and militarily stronger⁴⁸, was marching towards the Ottoman army:

On the 10th of last November, the Polish army found itself near the enemy trenches, little more than a cannon shot away, together with the Lithuanian army, and while they were consulting among themselves on how to attack them, the Turks came out to skirmish with equal fortune. The Polish camp then withdrew, leaving a few cavalry companies in that place. They returned on the 11th of the following day, determined to attempt the undertaking⁴⁹.

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On November 11, the Poles, “from a Ruthenian slave who had escaped, [...] learned that they had become so frightened that they could think of nothing else but finding a way to save themselves”⁵⁰. This news gave courage to the Polish soldiers who, “two hours before noon [...] continuously firing their muskets at the Turks and reorganising the army [...], did not take long to break through the enemy’s defences, although they were largely hindered by the continuous rain”⁵¹. Having broken through the enemy’s defences on November 12, the infantry of the

47 “Il Gran Sultano Imperadore de’Turchi con incredibile forza, & inumana maniera d’improvviso assalto li Polacchi, col far sorpresa alla città di Camienietz, & altri luoghi, e con gran crudeltà fatto strage di Sacerdoti, Nobili, e Verginelle, lasciando in libertà à suoi soldati la Barbaria; e di modo che atterriti li Polacchi non sapendo à chi si rivolgersi, se non alla Divina Clemenza, & il tutto benche d’improvviso hanno cercato di diffendersi; e fattosi dell’Arme Polacche assoluta risoluzione d’esimersi da una tanta Barbaria, e crudeltà Ottomana, e con intrepido coraggio si di quella Nobiltà, come anco da più inferiori, e col il lore Rè alla testa si opposero alla difesa; ma con molto discapito i questo primo cimento delle loro armi”. ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, f. 219r.

48 See Gierowski, “Chocim 1673”; Boccolini, *Un lucchese al servizio della Santa Sede*, 89-90.

49 “Li 10 del mese passato di Novembre essendosi trovata l’armata Polaccha vicino alle Trinciere nemiche poco più d’un tiro di Cannone, insieme con l’armata Lituania, e mentre stavano tra essi consultando il modo d’assalirle; uscirono i Turchi à scaramucciare con pari fortuna. Il Campo de’Polacchi essendosi poi ritirato, lasciando alcune Compagnie di Cavalleria in detto posto: vi ritornarono poscia li 11 detto giorno seguente con resolutione di tentare l’impresa”. ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, f. 219r.

50 “Da un Schiavo Rutheno fuggito, ebbero relatione, che s’erano intimoriti à segno, che non si pensava se non à trovar mezzi per salvarsi”. ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, f. 219r.

51 “[...] due hore avanti mezzo giorno [...] infettando del continuo col moschetto li Turchi, e dato riforma all’Essercito [...] non molto tardarono a rompere i Ripari dell’inimico, benché ne fossero in gran parte impediti dalla pioggia, che del continuo veniva”. ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, f. 219r.

Polish army commanded by Sobieski continued to advance beyond the Turkish lines broken through the previous day, despite the Turks showing “much less fear than [what] the Ruthenian had reported”⁵².

However, the Ottoman soldiers’ lack of fear did not prevent the Polish army from dispersing their troops, “and dividing the Janissaries here and there, the Turks began to become confused, and nevertheless showed with many cries that they wanted to defend themselves; but their resistance only served to have them cut to pieces”⁵³.

At this point, Kaplan Pasha

who was eight leagues away, that the camp had been broken by the Poles, frightened, he abandoned his post with his men and fled, being afraid of what might happen to them; causing great damage and ruin by setting fire to every place and putting everyone to the sword, without mercy for sex or age⁵⁴.

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With one of the army commanders having abandoned the battlefield, three dead, two prisoners and “it is not known whether Ussaim Bassà is among the living ones”⁵⁵, “with this victory, and with the help of Almighty God, the Poles have reduced the whole country up to the Danube to their devotion”⁵⁶.

News of this triumph reached Rome thanks to correspondence between the nuncio, now ordinary, Buonvisi, and the Secretary of State Paluzzo Paluzzi-Altieri⁵⁷.

52 “Assai meno paura di quello [che] haveva riferito il Rutheno”. ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, f. 219r.

53 “Sopraggiunse il Signor Codschieviez con la sua Compagnia, quale con incredibile coraggio aperse la strada con la Sciabla trà il furore de’ Turchi, per dove con ugual bravura le Compagnie del Signor Sapiella Cavallerizzo Maggiore del Gran Ducato, e del Palatino di Plocschi suo fratello. E facendo nell’istesso tempo forza alle Trinciere il Gran Generale di Lituania, onde distratti, e divisi li Giannizzeri qua, e là, li Turchi cominciarono a confondersi, & a mostrare nondimeno con molti urli di volersi difendere; ma le loro resistenze non hanno servito, che a farli tagliare a pezzi”. ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, f. 219r.

54 “Il quale si trovava 8 leghe lontano, che il Campo era stato rotto da Polacchi, impauritosi, con li suoi abbandonò il posto, e si mise in fuga, essendo di quello li poteva avvenire; facendo gran danni, e rovina con incendiare ogni luogo mandando a fil di spada, non perdonando né a sesso, né a età”. ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, f. 219v.

55 “Non si sa se Ussaim Bassà sia tra vivi”. ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, f. 219v.

56 “Con la presente Vittoria, e con l’aiuto del Sommo Iddio, li Polacchi hanno ridotto alla sua devotione tutto il Paese fino al Danubio”. ASR, Fondo Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 84, f. 219v.

57 “Quanto furono funeste le nuove che diedi la settimana passata, altrettanto saranno queste di giubilo e di consolatione a Nostro Signore per la gran vittoria che si è ottenuta contro i Turchi, la quale mette in sicuro questo regno e tutta la Cristianità, e se si continuerà col valore cominciato, non solo si recupererà tutto il perduto, ma si acquisterà molto del nemico, perché se pigliano Cocim resta

Jan Sobieski gained one of the greatest victories of the *Rzeczpospolita*, and his intention was to reach the Danube to halt the Turkish advance⁵⁸, if – as mentioned – the day before the battle of Khotyn, on November 10, the death of King Wiśniowiecki had not occurred, postponing Sobieski's plans and opening an interregnum in Poland⁵⁹. During the months of the interregnum, the actions of nuncio Buonvisi were fundamental. Throughout the unofficial diplomatic phase preceding the election, he remained firm and impartial in accordance with the instructions of the Holy See. "I remain indifferent in all the things"⁶⁰, Buonvisi wrote to Cardinal Nephew Altieri. Thanks to the help of his wife Maria Kazimiera Sobieska [1641-1716]⁶¹, who had advised the Grand General to work for himself in the city diets while openly supporting the French candidate, it was the national Sobieski who emerged from among all the candidates and was elected on May 21 1674. The nuncio wrote to the Secretariat of State that "mocked everyone [and] suddenly proposed himself"⁶².

Camienietz senza soccorso, e la Moldavia e la Valacchia alla devotione di questo regno, e, se bene una relatione che mando dice che anco la Transilvania ha prestato il giuramento, di questa mi pare difficile che sia seguito. Una relatione che ha havuta il signor Cancelliero di Lituania dà la perdita de'Turchi per maggiore [...]". Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Archivio Buonvisi, II/8, F. Buonvisi to P.P. Altieri, Warsaw XI 1673, f. 189.

58 Gierowski, "Chocim 1673".

59 About the interregnum after Wiśniowiecki's death and the Sobieski's election See Gaetano Platania, *Rzeczpospolita, Europa e Santa Sede tra intese e ostilità* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2000), 117-67. About the role of Papal diplomacy during this interregnum See Dorota Gregorowicz, "The Role of Papal Diplomats in the Interregnum's Parliamentary Practice of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (16th-17th centuries)", *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica*, 1 (2016): 119-48; Boccolini, *Un lucchese al servizio della Santa Sede*, 91-111; Platania, *Scritti minori*, 51-106. About the interregnum: See BAV, Fondo Boncompagni Ludovisi, F. 42, *Memorie sulle turbolenze di quel regno degli anni 1697-1698*, ff. 16r-v.

60 "Io me la passo con indifferenza in tutte le cose". AAV, Segr. Stato. Polonia, vol. 90, F. Buonvisi to P.P. Altieri, Warsaw 29 XI 1673, f. 191.

61 Recommended by his wife, Sobieski began working for himself, hiding behind the support for the French candidate Condé. See Boccolini, *Un lucchese al servizio della Santa Sede*, 108. About Maria Kazimierza Sobieska See Kazimierz Waliszewski, *Marysienka Marie de la Grange d'Arquien reine de Pologne femme de Sobieski 1641-1716* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1898); Tadeusz Żeleński-Boy, *Marysienka Sobieska* (Warszawa: Książnica, 1960); Adam Kersten, "Sobieska, Maria", in PSB, vol. 19 (1974), 637-44; Michał Komarzyński, *Piękna królowa Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien-Sobieska* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1995).

62 "Si è burlato di tutti [and] all'improvviso fece propuor sé". AAV, Segr. Stato. Polonia, vol. 91, F. Buonvisi to P.P. Altieri, Warsaw 21 V 1674, ff. 312-14r.

ABBREVIATION

ASR: Archivio di Stato di Roma.
 AAV: Archivio Apostolico Vaticano.
 Segr. Stato: Segreteria di Stato.
 BAV: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
 Ottob. Lat.: Ottoboniano Latino.
 DBI: Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani.
 PSB: Polski Słownik Biograficzny.

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