

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.

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.

This Special Issue of *Eastern European History Review* deals with the history of diplomacy and its executors – diplomats (ambassadors, legates, nuncios, internuncios, agents and others) – in the seventeenth century's Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

As a state conglomerate culturally and politically, closely connected to Western Europe, and for its specific institutional form of a “noble republic”, the Commonwealth has created, in the field of diplomatic practice, institutions, principles and ceremonies unique in the European context.

The focus of the volume is the historiographic stream of the *New Diplomatic History*, without withdrawing from classic approaches that remain an important field of research.

Tracing the salient moments and facts of the complex history of the seventeenth century of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the volume – with the participation of authors from different parts of Europe and beyond – constitutes an international opportunity to reflect on issues and topics of old and new diplomatic history.

Diplomats and Diplomacy in the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (XVII century) constitutes a result of the research activity and scientific collaboration inherent to the project directed by Dr Dorota Gregorowicz *The Holy See and the crisis of sovereignty of John II Casimir Vasa and Michael Korybut Wiśniowiecki's election (1660–1669)*, n. 2018/28/C/HS3/00176, financed by the National Science Centre, Poland.

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DIPLOMATS AND DIPLOMACY

IN THE EARLY MODERN POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH (XVII CENTURY)

Edited by

Dorota Gregorowicz and Alessandro Boccolini



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EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW: LA RIVISTA

Il Comitato redazionale e scientifico è lieto di presentare al pubblico la rivista scientifica *Eastern European History Review*.

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.

Il Comitato Redazionale e Scientifico

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.

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INTRODUCTION

The crisis of political history, particularly profound since the 1960s and the subsequent cultural turn, has penalised the scientific investigation of “international” relations¹ in the early modern period for many years². Over the last decades, though, there have been several calls for new methodological and conceptual approaches to diplomatic studies, some of them extraordinarily fruitful and inspiring³. Nowadays, as Tracey Sowerby observed, «the *New Diplomatic History*, no longer so new, has become a broad church. It has successfully integrated wider concerns into a field that was once dominated by the study of bureaucracy and foreign policy»⁴. Integrated, but not replaced, which is also essential to emphasise. That is mainly why scholars no longer consider diplomacy and foreign policy making as coterminous, but do assimilate plenty of different aspects diplomatic practice entailed.

One cannot notice that from the point of view of contemporary research on the early modern history of diplomacy, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth constitutes an interesting phenomenon that has not been sufficiently developed yet, especially in the international forum of researchers along with their various historiographical traditions. There are still many blank spots in exploring this topic, which remain open to a contemporary historian. This special issue of *Eastern European History Review* seeks to encourage a more profound reflection on particularities and significance of the Polish-Lithuanian diplomatic practice in the early modern period, especially during the seventeenth century, by conveying into conversation an international set of scholars from Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Sweden and Australia, interested in various aspects of diplomatic history. By bringing consciousness of diplomatic agency to bear on various areas of cultural and political practice, our authors have pressed their research beyond the horizons of their “national histories” that continue to dominate most treatments of premodernity.

On the threshold of the early modern period, *Rzeczpospolita* found itself among the political entities that adopted the praxis of permanent diplomatic missions exchange very late (only in the eighteenth century), relying on the old system of extraordinary embassies, of medieval provenance. However, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was no exception on a European scale. The general rules for foreign relations’ conduct appeared similar in Portugal, Scotland, Hungary, Scandinavia (Sweden and Denmark), Switzerland, and several German states⁵.

Federico Chabod considered the permanent diplomatic service, next to the professional army and elaborated bureaucratic apparatus, as the basis for the affirmation of the “early modern state”⁶. *Rzeczpospolita* did not possess any of these elements, but can it be denied the character of statehood from a historical point of view⁷? Subsequently, for Matthew Smith Anderson, the history of early

1 I put the word “international” in quotation marks, considering the imperfection of this concept for the analysis of political relations in early modern Europe. Cf. Tracey A. Sowerby, “Early Modern Diplomatic History”, *History Compass*, 14, 9 (2016): 444.

2 Stefano Andretta, *L'arte della prudenza. Teorie e prassi della diplomazia nell'Italia del XVI e XVII secolo* (Roma: Binklink, 2006), 7.

3 Karl W. Schweizer and Matt J. Schumann, “The Revitalisation of Diplomatic History”, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 19, 2 (2008): 149-86; John Watkins, “Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe”, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 38, 1 (2008): 1-14; Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, “A New Diplomatic History and the Networks of Spanish Diplomacy in the Baroque Era”, *The International History Review*, 36, 4 (2014): 603-18; Dorothea Nolde, “Was ist Diplomatie und wenn ja, wie viele? Herausforderungen und Perspektiven einer Geschlechtergeschichte der frühneuzeitlichen Diplomatie“, *Historische Anthropologie*, 21, 2 (2013): 180-98.

4 Sowerby, “Early Modern Diplomatic History”, 441.

5 Giuseppe Galasso, “Le relazioni internazionali nell’età moderna (secoli XV-XVIII)”, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 111, 1 (1999): 10.

6 Federico Chabod, *Idea di Europa e politica dell’equilibrio* (Bologna: Mulino, 1995).

7 Adam Watson, *The Evolution of International Society. A Comparative Historical Analysis* (London-New York: Routledge, 1992), 185-86: «The kingdom of Poland had increased its power and influence by a dynastic union with Lithuania and expansion eastward, and had made itself the principal bulwark of Latin Christendom on the eastern marches. But the heterogeneous population, the dual governmental structure of Poland-Lithuania and the practice of elective monarchy prevented its consolidation into an effective stato». Cf. Jan Sowa, *Fantomowe ciało króla. Peryferyjne zmagania z*

modern diplomacy constituted a slow but increasingly evident evolution towards the system of permanent representation. He considered contacts between polities that failed to conform to that model «less developed ones, [...] where diplomacy was less important and diplomatic organisation more primitive». Anderson believed that from the point of view of diplomatic practice, one could speak of two “separate Europes” and that «between these two Europes there were as yet only slender links»⁸. Nowadays, historiography views the issue of permanent diplomatic posts in a significantly different way. As Riccardo Fubini suggests, the general deficiency of institutionalisation of the then diplomacy makes the equality of residency and modernity dubious⁹. Also, Sowerby appropriately stated that «the exchange of resident ambassadors did not extend across all of Europe. Rather, asymmetrical relations were not uncommon within Europe and continued to be so into the eighteenth century»¹⁰.

Therefore, nothing could be more erroneous than assuming the passivity of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the “international” arena of early modern Europe. The young Polish Vasa dynasty, the more as it functioned within the elective monarchy, manifested a strong need to affirm its position on the European forum. Moreover, the necessity to maintain intensive contacts with foreign partners was caused by the continuous involvement of *Rzeczpospolita* in armed conflicts on various fronts. Due to its geopolitical position, the vastness of the territory and the leading role for the implementation of the Catholic Reform, Poland-Lithuania occupied a distinctive part in the entire system of “international” relations of early modern Europe. All the more so, its specific tradition and political practice concerning the implementation of foreign policy, conducting diplomatic activity outside its borders, as well as accepting foreign legations *in loco*, requires further attention of contemporary historiography.

The special issue of *Eastern European History Review*, *Diplomats and Diplomacy in the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (XVII century)*, opens with a group of articles regarding some general institutional and technical aspects of the functioning of the Polish-Lithuanian diplomatic service.

Dorota Gregorowicz (*Diplomacy of the Commonwealth, Diplomacy of the King: the Peculiarity of Foreign Policy Making in the Seventeenth Century Poland-Lithuania*) deals with the topicality of research on the history of diplomacy in the early modern Poland-Lithuania, in the context of scant development of permanent diplomatic missions. The article presents considerations on the subjectivity of the *ius legationis* in *Rzeczpospolita*. Gregorowicz reflects on the competencies of the monarch and of the Commonwealth (personified in the *sejm* and Senate councils) in this matter. To this end, she primarily analyses the content of the sixteenth – and seventeenth-century parliamentary constitutions regarding the conduct of foreign policy. Moreover, the article refers to political practice as a determining factor for the legal structure of Poland-Lithuania.

The Union of Lublin (1569), as the basis for the execution of a joint diplomatic activity of the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, is analysed by Marius Sirutavičius (*Partnership in a Union with Diverging Interests: Cooperation between the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania in Diplomatic Activities at the Turn of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*). The author emphasises the initially divergent interests of both states in addressing the directions of the foreign policy of *Rzeczpospolita* (especially concerning contacts with Muscovy) and their influence on the functioning of the diplomatic service. Moreover, Sirutavičius draws attention to the evolution and gradual uniformisation processes of the Polish and Lithuanian visions of conducting foreign policy,

nowoczesną formą (Kraków: Universitas, 2011). According to Sowa, «the concept of the “ghost body of the King” [inspired by Ernst Kantorowicz] marks a notional horizon in which *Rzeczpospolita* presents itself as a non-existent state entity, or in the process of its disappearance, utterly unsuitable for any modern form of social, political and economic organisation, which took shape in Europe from the early modern age, with the nascent capitalism and parliamentarism» (285). Sowa’s perspective is certainly interesting, although historically not sustainable. Translation in English is of the author.

8 Matthew S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy 1450–1919* (London-New York: Longman, 1993), 27–8.

9 Riccardo Fubini, *La “residentialité” de l’ambassadeur dans le mythe et dans la réalité: une enquête sur les origines* (Paris: PUF, 1998); Id., “Diplomacy and government in the Italian city-states of the fifteenth century (Florence and Venice)”, in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, eds. Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 26–8.

10 Sowerby, “Early Modern Diplomatic History”, 442.

which took place in the initial period of the reign of Sigismund III Vasa, pointing to the multilateral origins of those developments.

The problem of the source material's characteristics for studying the history of diplomacy is discussed by nunciatures' specialists Henryk Litwin and Paweł Duda in a joint article *Correspondence of Warsaw Nuncio Antonio Santa Croce with Roman Catholic Bishops from 1629 – Frequency, Intensity and Content*. The researchers focused on the analysis of "internal" correspondence maintained by the apostolic nuncio with hierarchs of the Polish-Lithuanian Catholic Church, underlining its parallel importance in relation to the mainstream canals of diplomatic information exchange (between the Polish-Lithuanian periphery – nunciature's chancellery and Roman centre – Secretariat of State).

Finally, the first part of the book includes the reflection of Michał Salamonik on some non-institutional structures and mechanisms of diplomatic activity in the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, along with the case study on the diplomatic context of the postal and news-spreading duties of the Gdańsk merchant and postmaster Francesco Gratta [1613–1676] (*News Agents and Postmasters: Background Figures or Active Diplomats?*).

The second part of this book is devoted to diplomacy as to the art of great politics' conduct and to the geopolitical position of Poland-Lithuania in seventeenth-century Europe. The advantages of diplomatic negotiations as an alternative to pursuing *Rzeczpospolita's* foreign policy in the military field are highlighted here. This group of articles may seem of a more traditional topicality. Still, it is significant to accentuate its emphasis on the multilateral character of early modern diplomatic relations, strongly including the subject of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Miguel Conde Pazos analyses the impact of the Catholic Monarchy's diplomacy on the involvement of *Rzeczpospolita* in the pan-European conflict (*Spanish Diplomats in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Thirty Years' War*). This example perfectly illustrates the breadth of political, economic and dynastic interactions that were determined by the diplomatic activities of all major European countries, even those geographically distant from each other. Conde Pazos also draws attention to the personal profile of diplomats sent on specific missions and to their respective political culture, experience, and preparation for dedicated charges.

The role of political nuances and, at first glance, of less important elements in conducting a diplomatic activity is treated by Ryszard Skowron (*Palatinate: the Key to Europe. On the Art of Diplomacy of Władysław IV Vasa*). The author points to the role of a seemingly secondary German state, as well as to the complicated system of ties between single European states at that time, in the perspective of the implementation of the great political and dynastic plans of the Polish-Lithuanian monarch, primarily related to his efforts to reclaim the Swedish throne. In fact, it is worth observing how the interests represented and defended through early modern diplomatic negotiation were primarily dynastic, typical of the sovereign families that divided the European spaces between themselves¹¹. In his article, Skowron has distinguished two basic categories defining Władysław IV's foreign policy: peace tactics (diplomatic activity and matrimonial policy) and war (military involvement in connection with the events of the Thirty Years' War).

The English point of view on the last years of the Polish Vasas' rule and on the election of 1669 is presented by Aleksandra Ziober (*The Last Years of the Reign of John Casimir Vasa and Interregnum after his Abdication in the Light of Reports of Francis Sanderson and Robert Yard*). The author shows how the image preserved in diplomatic accounts of various backgrounds' services allows us to recreate the historical narrative for many research topics with more detail. Thus diplomacy becomes a way of acquiring knowledge about single courts and state entities. Ziober also refers to the degree of understanding of the particular form and functioning of the Polish-Lithuanian political structures in seventeenth-century Europe.

The universalist-political dimension of the Holy See's diplomats' activity during the short reign of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki (1669–1673) is discussed by Alessandro Boccolini (*Diplomacy and Papal Politics during the "Unfortunate" Reign of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki*). The author analysed the

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Claudio Rosso, "Burocrazia, fiscalità, diplomazia", in *Storia d'Europa e del Mediterraneo. Dal Medioevo all'età della globalizzazione*, sez. 5: *Età moderna (secoli XVI–XVIII)*, vol. XII: *Popoli, stati, equilibri di potere*, ed. Roberto Bizzocchi (Salerno-Roma: Salerno Editrice, 2013), 43.

activity of the then apostolic nunciature primarily in the context of the relations between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire, as well as the papal vision of *Rzeczpospolita* as *Antemurale Christianitatis*.

As Barbara Stollberg-Rillinger observed, «another major theme within recent reassessments of early modern diplomacy has been non-verbal communication. The early modern diplomatic ceremonial was essential to the expression of hierarchies»¹². In fact, in the third part of the book, we deal with a set of texts referring to the issues of diplomatic ceremonial, as «in early modern European diplomacy, the relationship between the ceremonial symbols and the mechanisms of power was closer and carried more weight»¹³.

In Marta Szymańska's article, *The Ceremonial of Receiving of Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł and his Stay at the Courts of Western Europe as a Royal Envoy during the Journey of Prince Władysław Vasa 1624–1625*, the diplomatic role of the Lithuanian magnate, member of the Vasa Prince's retinue during Władysław's educational trip around Europe, as well as the diplomatic dimension of the entire enterprise, seemingly unrelated to the implementation of the Polish-Lithuanian foreign policy, are discussed. One of the key aspects of the study is how the ceremonial applied to the Prince's retinue members indicated the diplomatic nature of the expedition.

Mariusz Sawicki (*The Coronation Parliament of John III Sobieski in French-Language Reports Sent to London*) presents a picture of the anointing act and then the entire coronation *sejm* (1676) of the later victor from Vienna. The author shows the image that French diplomats, present at that time in Poland-Lithuania, created in their reports on the events of Sobieski's coronation: its political, social and ceremonial aspects. Interestingly, those reports were sent in London and not in Paris. Sawicki shows himself fully aware of the strengths and weaknesses of historical interpreting similar creation that any external observers could create.

Ewelina Sikora (*Feasting and Fasting in Moscow: Peace Negotiation Between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy as Seen Through Eating and Drinking Customs*) takes up the theme of feasting as an essential element of Polish-Lithuanian diplomatic practice during the missions to Muscovy. The article constitutes an important contribution for developing further research on material culture in the field of the history of diplomacy¹⁴, also in the context of ceremonial treatments and traditional usages.

Finally, Gaetano Platania draws attention to the institution of obedience missions that Polish-Lithuanian kings traditionally sent to the papal court in order to certify their loyalty to the Catholic Church and its superior (*Michał Radziwiłł's Obedience Embassy in the Rome of Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi between Diplomacy and Ceremonial*). The author presents a case study, a picture of the *Rzeczpospolita's* envoy's entry to the Eternal City in 1680, putting Michał Radziwiłł's mission in the large political context of the Holy League's organisation. The ceremonial becomes here an authentic baroque, theatrical representation, still, by no means deprived of its political importance.

The last part of the book is devoted to a series of outstanding personalities of diplomats operating in the context of seventeenth-century *Rzeczpospolita*. Many scholars have adopted an actor-centred approach to inquiry early modern diplomacy, and such career case studies result as extremely useful. Placing ambassadors at the heart of the analysis offers a rich research perspective regarding the relationships they cultivated, their contacts and personal capacities, as well as the individual factor in conducting foreign policy that has always accompanied the great policy's sketches.

Uładzimir Padalinski develops the topic of the diplomatic activity of Mikhayla Haraburda (*Diplomatic Activity as the Basis of Political Advancement and Material Reward in the Sixteenth-Century Grand Duchy of Lithuania: The Case of Mikhayla Haraburda*). It is a specific case study of a multiple envoy of

12 Barbara Stollberg-Rillinger, "Zeremoniell, Ritual, Symbol: Neue Forschungen zur symbolischen Kommunikation in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit", *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 27, 3 (2000): 389-405. Cf. Sowerby, "Early Modern Diplomatic History", 445.

13 Jan Hennings, "The Semiotics of Diplomatic Dialogue: Pomp and Circumstance in Tsar Peter I's Visit to Vienna in 1698", *The International History Review*, 30, 3 (2008), 515.

14 Cf. Harriet Rudolph, "Entangled Objects and Hybrid Practices? Material Culture as a New Approach to the History of Diplomacy", in *Material Culture in Modern Diplomacy from the 15th to the 20th Century*, eds. Rudolph and Gregor M. Metzger (Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2016), 1-28.

the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to Muscovy and Crimea. Padalinski shows the dynamics with which the involvement in the implementation of foreign policy could determine both the political career and the social status of a diplomat in the noble context of *Rzeczpospolita*. His study also provides an outstanding example of the Lithuanian ambassador's *cursus honorum*.

Krzysztof Zbaraski's Constantinopolitan mission is examined by Tetiana Grygorieva (*The "Decisive Embassy" of Prince Krzysztof Zbaraski to Constantinople (1622–1623) and European Diplomacy amidst the 'Thirty Years' War*). The article rejects the bilateral vision of Polish-Lithuanian and Ottoman diplomatic contacts, presenting the image of Zbaraski's expedition in a broad European context, including, *inter alia*, political relations of both countries with Transylvania, as well as their involvement in the events of the Thirty Years' War.

Peter P. Bajer presents a diplomatic career as a path of personal development and one of the ways to build a social position in the early modern *Rzeczpospolita*. The author observes the case of foreign newcomers or/and their families (based on the example of Scottish immigration), the desirable result of who was usually obtaining a noble status in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*The Career of Jerzy (George) Bennet, the Scottish Agent of the Radziwiłł Family*)¹⁵.

The diplomatic mission as a field for the realisation of personal interests of a diplomat, in addition to the tasks provided by representing his political superior, is presented by Aleksandra Skrzypietz (*Between the King's Instructions and the Ambassador's Ambition. Cooperation Between Melchior de Polignac and Polish Magnates*). The author shows how diplomatic feedback could have influenced the evolution of the instructions entrusted to ambassadors and, consequently, had a direct impact on their political activity. Skrzypietz presents Polignac not only as a performer but as a co-creator of the French political program towards the *Rzeczpospolita* ruled by John III Sobieski. Finally, she explains the difficulties encountered by ambassadors of foreign countries in approaching the complex political and social context of the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The activities of diplomats of Pope Innocent XI in Poland-Lithuania and at the imperial court, as well as the nature of their regular contacts with the Roman Curia, are presented by Claudia Curcuruto (*Francesco Buonvisi and Opizio Pallavicini. Correspondences and Activities of Two Apostolic Nuncios in the Service of Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi. 1676–1689*). The author focuses on the communicative aspects of the activities of the apostolic nunciatures. She presents diplomats as mediators between radically different (geographically, politically, culturally) realities (not only on the line of the royal/imperial court and the papal court but also between local bishops and the Bishop of Rome – the pope). Finally, the issue of mediation, as one of the crucial elements of early modern diplomatic practice, is presented by Béla Mihalik on the example of the activity of a relative of the Polish-Lithuanian monarch Augustus II the Strong (1697–1706, 1709–1733) – Bishop of Győr, Christian August (*The King's Cousin, the Emperor's Bishop. Christian August of Saxe-Zeitz as Mediator between Poland and the Holy See*). It is another text that highlights the problem of the personal interests of diplomats in carrying out their missions. In the case of Wettin, these were primarily the efforts to obtain the cardinal's hat. As observed by John Watkins, «the time has come for a multidisciplinary reevaluation of one of the oldest, and traditionally one of the most conservative, subfields in the modern discipline of history: the study of premodern diplomacy»¹⁶. Contemporary research on the history of diplomacy in the early modern *Rzeczpospolita* is doing quite well, but it still requires a reorientation and innovation of methodological approach. The history of diplomacy should no longer be seen as an abstract account of negotiations and treaties, disconnected from parallel social, economic and cultural aspects. Indeed, as this collection of studies demonstrates, historiography is continually discovering new research fields in matter. Among those contained in the presented volume, we can indicate: legal and institutional forms of early modern “international” relations, nature of diplomatic sources and character of the narrative present in the documents, multilaterality and complexity of the early modern interstate connections,

15 Recently on similar issues: Michał Salamonik, *In Their Majesties' Service. The Career of Francesco De Gratta (1613–1676) as a Royal Servant and Trader in Gdańsk* (Huddinge: Södertörns högskola, 2019); Wojciech Tygielski, *Dylematy włoskiego emigranta. Giovanni Battista Jacobelli (1603–1679), śpiewak i kapelan nadworny, kanonik warmiński* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2019).

16 Watkins, “Toward a New Diplomatic History”, 1.

their religious and confessional nature¹⁷, diplomatic ceremonial and non-verbal communication, tools and techniques used by ambassadors, *people* as direct implementers of the “art of diplomacy”, their *cursus honorum* and mechanisms of social advancement, cultural image expressed in diplomatic documents, social, economic, commercial and dynastic causes that determined political choices, as well as material culture in diplomacy¹⁸. This volume will undoubtedly contribute to the further development of contemporary analysis of these issues. We would like to continue to engage in new methods, ask additional questions, and rethink how early modern Polish-Lithuanian diplomacy is currently being studied.

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¹⁷ Cf. *Confessional Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Roberta Anderson and Charlotte Backerra (London-New York: Routledge, 2021).

¹⁸ Cf. Daniela Frigo, “Politica estera e diplomazia: figure problemi e apparati”, in *Storia degli antichi stati italiani*, eds. Gaetano Greco and Mario Rosa (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1996), 117.

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MICHAŁ RADZIWIŁŁ'S OBEDIENCE EMBASSY IN THE ROME OF POPE INNOCENT XI ODESCALCHI BETWEEN DIPLOMACY AND CEREMONIAL

ABSTRACT

In 1680 Michał Radziwiłł arrived in Rome to kneel at Innocent XI Odescalchi. Sent by Jan III Sobieski to pay homage to the pontiff and thus renew the obedience of the *Rzeczpospolita* to the Holy See, in reality, the king had commissioned him to plead the cause of an anti-Turkish crusade given an imminent attack by the *Infidels* on the Christianity. A *sui generis* character, Michał Radziwiłł would, however, have stood out for his extravagant requests, in stark contrast to the Roman ceremonial, and for his inability to conduct the diplomatic negotiations for which he had been sent.

The article intends to retrace all the phases of the Polish Prince's stay in Rome: from his *incognito* arrival in the Eternal City to the long and maniacal preparation of the expensive *Cavalcata d'Obbedienza*, up to the failed negotiations with the pope and the Roman Curia. Moments analyzed through the use of printed and manuscript sources preserved in Roman archives and libraries. In particular, the printed *Relazione* of the Solemn Entrance to the city by Radziwiłł, and the *Diary* of the consistorial lawyer Carlo Cartari, who left us long and detailed descriptions of the entire Roman stay of this *fanfarone* Polish prince.

KEYWORDS: Michał Radziwiłł; Innocent XI Odescalchi; Rome; Ceremonial; Carlo Cartari.

INTRODUCTION

Rome, the capital of the Papal State and the centre of Christianity and, most importantly, the centre of memory and monumental ruins of the classical world, was the meeting place for travellers, pilgrims, high prelates, diplomats, politicians, artists and intellectuals, princes, kings and/or sovereigns of the seventeenth century.

This phenomenon resulted from a continuous movement from the Middle Ages throughout the Modernity, and contributed to stress the international vocation of the city. During the early modern age, the pontifical Rome continued, even materially, to present itself as the continuation of classical Rome, towards which people from all over the world converged¹.

Variegated groups of people had travelled in different ways: from the medieval skin-grins², who moved on foot along the famous *Via Francigena*³, relying on the system of religious hostels on the roads leading into the city, to those number-less sovereigns who arrived surrounded by their splendid court entourages, accompanied by dozens of carriages, so transforming their political and diplomatic visits into spectacular events involving the whole urban area, with solemn cavalcades, ephemeral triumphal constructions, and feasts hosting both nobles and plebeians.

These journeys, which have become part of the city's chronicles and popular culture, have also reshaped the imagery of the city of Rome, «vero teatro di tutto il mondo»⁴. Thus, alongside the images of ruins, we find these tourists past lovers in paintings, showing them in the proximities of monuments and

1 Cf. Cesare de Seta, ed., *Imago Urbis Romae. L'immagine di Roma in età moderna* (Milano: Electa Editore, 2005).

2 In general, see Pierre-André Sigal, *L'image du pèlerin au Moyen Age et sous l'Ancien Régime* (Gramat: Rocamadour, 1994); Norbet Ohler, *Vita pericolosa dei pellegrini nel Medioevo. Sulle tracce degli uomini che viaggiavano nel nome di Dio* (Casale Monferrato: Piemme, 1996).

3 Cf. Paolo Cacucci von Saucken, ed., *Francigena. Santi, Cavalieri, Pellegrini* (Milano: Serra, 1999).

4 Giuseppe Miselli, *Il Burattino veridico o vera Instruzione generale per chi viaggia [...]*, (Roma: Michele Ercole, 1682), 7. See Gaetano Platania, *Giuseppe Miselli tra la polvere delle strade e il lusso delle Corti. In appendice "Il Burattino Veridico"* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2014).



in the squares of Rome, painted in their majestic splendour and magnificence, crowded of the nobles and travellers' carriages⁵.

THE ROMAN EMBASSY OF RADZIWIŁŁ BETWEEN CEREMONIAL AND DIPLOMACY

Such practice plunged its roots in the dawn of time and concerned all the Catholic princes and rulers of Poland. Of particular importance was the great and solemn cavalcade of Michał Radziwiłł⁶, who met Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi⁷ in 1680⁸. The visit's main objective was to homage the Pope and renew the strong bond that had always connected the Holy See and Poland. Another reason was to advocate a possible anti-Turkish crusade, given the imminent attack by the armies of the Sultan to Vienna, in the very heart of Europe⁹.

That event was presented in print¹⁰ and recorded, down to the tiniest details, by a curious news collector of the time, Carlo Cartari¹¹, a well-known consistorial lawyer. A typically seventeenth-century spirit, he loved to record in his diary not only personal and family events or Italian and European news of political relevance, but also anything that he thought might seem extraordinary, new and above all "unusual".

And it is because of his curiosity that he could not fail to report on the presence in the Pope's capital of such a bizarre character as Radziwiłł. Therefore, he brought the event to the attention of the Roman *popolino* and took note of the complex ceremonial prepared to assign the places in the neverending procession of several Polish nobles on horseback with vague and rich clothes'. In contrast, others were "with curious armour" in Polish style. And it is because of his curiosity that he could not fail to report on the presence in the Pope's capital of such a bizarre character as Radziwiłł. Therefore, he brought the event to the Roman *popolino* and noted the complex ceremonial prepared to assign the places in the neverending procession of «several Polish nobles on horseback with vague and rich clothes» or «with curious armour» in Sarmatian style. Cartari described the Polish prince's suit as «the colour of moss, all covered in vague embroidered lace with large diamond buttons, which could also be seen in the girdle of his hat, which caused not ordinary astonishment». According to the papal ceremonial, the ambassador was placed «in the middle, between Monsignor Butler, on his right, and Monsignor Archbishop Brancacci, on his left». Then, followed a «large number of footmen and pages. The latter richly clad in golden wool jackets and the others in crimson velvet wrapped in several colours, as well

5 Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico ecclesiastica da San Pietro sino ai nostri giorni* [...], vol. 82 (Roma: Tipografia Emiliana, 1857), 17.

6 On him see Jan Jaroszek, "Michał Radziwiłł Kazimierz", in PSB, vol. 30 (1987), 292-99.

7 On Pope Innocent XI see Ippolito Menniti, "Innocenzo XI papa", in DBI, vol. 62 (2004), 478-95; Richard Bösel, et al., eds. *Innocenzo XI Odescalchi. Papa, politico, committente* (Roma: Viella, 2014). On the pope's anti-Turkish policy see the essay contained within the aforementioned volume: Gaetano Platania, "Un acerrimo nemico dell'infedele Turco: il beato Innocenzo XI Odescalchi", 221-43.

8 Cf. Gaetano Platania, "Il viaggio politico. Il caso di Michele Casimiro Radziwiłł, principe polacco, a Vienna e Roma nella documentazione d'archivio", in *Il viaggio in testi inediti o rari*, ed. Fernanda Rossetti (Roma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 1998); Dominika Walawender-Musz, *Entrata księcia Radziwiłła do Rzymu. Czyli triumf po polsku* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałac w Wilanowie, 2009).

9 «Non essendovi voluto dare l'avviso in Roma al Radzivil mandato Ambasciatore dal Re di Polonia per dimandare aiuti al papa contro il turco, avendo esso Radzivil mandato qua il dispaccio regio al cardinale Vidoni Protettore del Regno, si è tenuta Congregazione di Stati e dicesi che Nostro Signore gli abbia promesso per ora cento cinquanta mila scudi con esibizione di più secondo l'occorrenza». ASR, Archivio Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 87, f. 179r-v.

10 BCor., misc. 41, CCC.D.2, *Copia di lettera scritta da N.N. nella quale si legge la Relazione distinta dell'ingresso, cavalcata e cerimonie fatte in questa città di Roma nell'occasione della venuta del Signor Duca di Radzivil Ambasciatore d'obbedienza appresso la Santità di Nostro Signor PP. Innocenzo XI l'anno MDCLXXX* (Roma: Per Michel' Ercole, 1680); also in ASR, Archivio Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 87, ff. n.n.

11 On him see Armando Petrucci, "Cartari Carlo", in DBI vol. 20 (1977), 783-86; *La storia o le storie del Diario di Carlo Cartari avvocato concistoriale romano*, ed. Letizia Lanzetta (Città di Castello: Luoghi Interiori, 2019). He was usual to write down the information that arrived in Rome from all over Europe and those in the Eternal City.: his diary is a precious source includes a chronological span that goes from 1642 to 1691 (32 volumes in total). The *Archivio di Stato di Roma* collected the entire Cartari collection: the volumes of the *Diario* n. 87 refer to the year 1680 when Radziwiłł stayed in Rome.

as two heads dressed in the order's jackets, the first holding a stick in his hand and the second carrying a fine axe»¹².

On Thursday, 8 August, the cavalcade of honour through the city streets was replicated, this time starting not from Porta del Popolo, but directly from Palazzo del Bufalo in Piazza Colonna, where our guest had temporarily lodged¹³.

The second manifestation of such greatness, that once again involves the entire Roman *popolino* that lived the festive occasion as a moment of diversion from everyday life¹⁴, becoming not only passive spectators but also the "witnesses" of the event, participants in the scenical performance, in its theatre¹⁵. The ceremonial thus became an accurate theatrical representation and a perfect scenic organisation¹⁶. Innocent XI Odescalchi met with this *fanfarone* (boastful) prince at the Quirinal Palace at the end of this second parade. Cartari annotated the meeting, writing: «colà entrato il Signor Ambasciatore, fu introdotto nelle solite camere della foresteria. Venne il Papa nella sala Regia preparata per il Concistoro publico, cioè in quella avanti la cappella, e ricevette l'obbedienza dai cardinali»¹⁷. Indeed, the ride was not unusual itself but undoubtedly far more representative from a political-religious stance. Radziwiłł, in fact, once completed his primary task, that is to pay homage to the Pope by renewing the close bond uniting Poland to the Holy See, was to discuss with the Curia a possibility of an anti-Ottoman league. Challenging and meaningful was the moment of the habitual reading of the Latin oration of the ambassador, when an unexpected event occurred. Almost completely voiceless since his entry into the eternal city, our orator had difficulty in being heard by Innocent XI Odescalchi, except «by those who were very close to him» («non da quei che gli erano vicinissimi»)¹⁸.

The astonishment and wonder were great. The Pontiff was not so amazed as he was annoyed by the unedifying scene. So much so that Monsignor Spinola, Master of Ceremonies, intervened promptly, speaking on behalf of the Pontiff and responding to the few comprehensible words read by the ambassador that completed the formal ceremony by kissing the Pope's foot.

This action concluded the public aspect; soon, the more strictly political meetings, already scheduled for the following days with the representatives of the Curia, were to begin.

Prince Radziwiłł's solemn entry was undoubtedly a massive success in the celebratory event. Of less importance were the political talks that the ambassador had with the Roman Curia and Pope Odescalchi, who was negatively impressed by the Polish representative and his lack of ability to handle diplomatic matters during their meetings¹⁹.

Extremely sick²⁰, and, above all, inconsistent, Radziwiłł was to return to Poland without fulfilling any of the tasks John III Sobieski was hoping for, particularly the anti-Turkish agreement with the Holy See. The latter was, in fact, the real goal that the Polish ambassador in Rome was supposed to pursue and achieve. According to the new policy adopted after Grodno (Hrodna) and the king's decision to fight against the Infidel Turks, he had to plead the cause of the Commonwealth for the imminent war.

12 ASR, Archivio Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 87, 4 August 1680, f. 235r.

13 ASR, Archivio Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 87, *Copia di lettera [...]*, c. 7.

14 Flavia Matitti, "La Festa come «laboratorio» del Barocco", in *La Festa a Roma dal Rinascimento al 1870*, ed. by Marcello Fagiolo (Torino: Allemandi Editore, 1997), 86.

15 The unusual baroque paraphernalia attracted the attention of Marquis Capponi, who did not fail to report it in his diary, describing to the smallest detail the eccentricity and the number of participants. Archivio Storico Capitolino, *Fondo Capponi*, cat. IV, sez. 22, t. 64: VI/2, *Giornali di Casa Capponi*, "Roma 8 agosto 1680", ff. n.n.

16 Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *La città rituale* (Roma: Viella, 2002), 42.

17 ASR, Archivio Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 87, 4 August 1680, f. 242r.

18 ASR, Archivio Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 87, 4 August 1680, f. 243r.

19 On 16 February, Cartari wrote that the Polish ambassador went again to the audience of Our Lord and stayed for five hours. ASR, Archivio Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 87, f. 249v.

20 «Dicesi che il Radzivil partirà da Roma lunedì 7 di ottobre, benché si trovi infermo dal suo male d'aver perduto la voce e grandemente si dubita che per distillazione dalla testa possa aver contaminato le viscere e perciò si dice che difficilmente giungerà vivo in Polonia. L'istesso giorno di venerdì dovevasi, dopo desinare, tener consulto di medici per detta infermità». ASR, Archivio Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 87, f. 256v.

The journey to Rome was initially intended to inform the Pope about Sobieski's new anti-Ottoman intentions, and, at the same time, to try to find solutions to more specific religious issues, such as the old-standing matter of the *jus patronato* claimed by the King of Poland.

These were all the essential political and diplomatic knots of great importance to undo in the new strategy adopted by Sobieski, also concerning ancient conflicts that had long been waiting for a satisfactory solution. So that, to better assist the Polish ambassador in his mission abroad, the Royal Chancellery had prepared precise instructions on the matters to discuss at the Roman court. More specifically, it recommended that Radziwiłł would attest to the Pope the obedience of the King and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, implying Poland's prompt availability to resume the war against the Turks, a readiness closely linked to the financial "aid" that Rome would bestow upon that occasion. The Polish prince was to present the "Kingdom's state" to the Pope, the damage inflicted by the infidels in the past, and the present circumstances. He recalled the Turkish conquest of the fortress of Kamieniec Podolski, the occupation of Podolia and the siege of Lviv. Thus, presenting the desolation and devastation the country was experiencing, notwithstanding «the present king had given more defeats to the Turks», it was not possible to create more favourable conditions for solid and definitive stability. On the contrary, the Kingdom succumbed and accepted unfair peace conditions, which the Poles considered highly detrimental.

By instructing his ambassador, Sobieski hoped to persuade Pope Innocent XI to support an anti-Turkish European coalition, based on the Vienna-Warsaw-Moscow axis, to prepare a great "crusade" with the intervention of the rest of Christian princes. Thus, given a shared vision of the problem, John III Sobieski considered it fundamental to win a precise "categorical response" from the Roman diplomats on the ways and times of the operation. All this was connected to another problem of the Roman financial commitment during the war steps. What and how much support Pope Innocent XI was willing to offer? How long would the Roman court commit to the cause?

Sobieski asked the Holy See for certainties, not hiding his doubts. The Polish sovereign did not want to be abandoned "amid the war" once the tremendous anti-Turkish enterprise had begun. Accordingly, in the instruction given to Radziwiłł, he had stressed the need to understand the Pontiff's intentions on such an important matter. In addition, there was the question as to when Rome would have paid these sums. Sobieski had clearly illustrated to his representative the necessity of implanting in the Pope's mind the possibility for Poland of having a lump-sum cash payment due to the need to make the necessary arrangements immediately, since the war was to begin next autumn²¹. The instructions often return to this point. According to the Polish king, the Pope was the only one who could, at that moment, ensure financial support for the anti-Turkish enterprise. Also, he was the only one who could spend all his authority to urge the other Christian princes to participate in an offensive crusade because Poland was too weakened and impotent on its own²².

The second issue that Sobieski held so dearly should have been the core of the discussions between Radziwiłł and the representatives of the Roman Curia, concerned the *jus patronato* on the abbeys in the Kingdom, another long-standing dispute concerning the so-called "neapolitan sums". The latter was related to the inheritance at the centre of a conflict between the court of Warsaw and Sweden, which concerned the estates formerly belonging to Bona Sforza and the famous loan made by the former sovereign to Philip II, king of Spain. These "sums" had become a complex matter, turning from a financial to a political-legal issue, originating a clash between the Warsaw court, embodied by the Polish sovereign and Queen Christina of Sweden. The queen – by then residing in Rome – was the direct heir of Władysław Vasa, natural son of the late Władysław IV Vasa sovereign of Poland, who had succeeded in asserting his claims on the duchies of Bari and Rossano, which already belonged to the Italian²³.

21 The need for money was really urgent «per il bisogno di far immediatamente gl'apparecchi che occorrono dovendosi cominciar la guerra nel prossimo autunno». AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. Add/4, *Lettere diverse. Estratto di alcuni punti principali della Istruzione del Re e della Repubblica al Signor Duca Radziwiłł di trattare alla Corte Romana la riassunzione della guerra contro il Turco*, ff. n.n.

22 AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. Add/4, *Lettere diverse. Estratto [...]*, ff. n.n.

23 On this intricate affaire, see Giovanna Motta, "Guerra turca e "negoziato napoletano". Un episodio dell'attività diplomatica della Polonia del XVII secolo", in *Fra spazio e tempo. Studi in onore di Luigi de Rosa*, ed. Ilaria Zilli, vol. I (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1996), 569-600. More generally, on the whole "question" of "Somme Napoletane" see

The controversy concerning the Neapolitan dispute did not find the solution that the Polish side hoped for. Tommaso Talenti's correspondence with Carlo Barberini, in his capacity as cardinal protector²⁴, demonstrates this. The subject will be recalled obsessively in his letters, nor will the questions concerning *jus patronato*, and who was to appoint the heads of the vacant abbeys be resolved. Problems, as Alderano Cybo²⁵ wrote to the nuncio in Varsavia, to which Sobieski's special envoy showed himself to be "very passionate" but utterly incapable of finding any solution²⁶.

Radziwiłł, who had claimed, on behalf of the sovereign, royal jurisdiction over abbey appointments, was, therefore, unable to convince either Innocent XI or the Roman Curia of the validity of the requests made by the king of Poland concerning the right of *jus patronato*.

Nevertheless, in the face of the ambassador's insistence, the Pope decided to wait for the decisions of the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory (*Sacra Congregazione Concistoriale*). This institution had been entrusted with finding the solution to the now long-standing *impasse* in the dispute.

The Congregation, mainly composed of cardinals and prelates, could not immediately resolve the conflict. The work would probably have lasted much longer than the stay of the Polish prince, who, aware of this, raised a timid protest, convincing the Pontiff to refer all decisions to an extraordinary Congregation composed of four cardinals and six prelates.

The case was then brought to the attention of the particular Congregation, which, having learned about the theses presented by Monsignor Ignatius Gniński, Abbot of Koronowo (reasons found in the archives and deduced from memoirs, various letters and papal briefs, after the purely doctrinal, juridical and historical discussions) decided that it could not accept the request made in the name and on behalf of Sobieski.

This decision was motivated by the fact that the Holy See did not recognise the existence of the *jus patronato regio*, since no relevant argument had been put forward concerning these matters by Poland. In fact, Cybo wrote to Pallavicini that it does not seem practicable to give any specific answer in such a general matter, resulting from parts of different nature²⁷. The Congregation suggested that the Pope should have examined the individual abbeys whenever they remained vacant. Only in that case, it would be possible to investigate the existence or otherwise of "royal law".

The Holy See protested against the *Rzeczpospolita's* request, not so much for the *jus patronato* as such, but for the concessions that the Polish sovereign had used to make in favour of secular prelates *in commendam*. According to the Roman Curia, this was merely a grace that fell to the Pope and not to the sovereign²⁸.

While the discussions were still underway, after indulging in parties and receptions²⁹, on 16 August

Stanisław Cynarski, "Il ruolo del cardinale Hosio nell'azione diplomatica condotta dalla Corte Reale negli anni 1558–1572 per riacquistare l'eredità della regina Bona", *Studia Italo-Polonica*, n. 3 (1987): 29–41; Paola Pierucci, *Pastorizia e fiscalità in Abruzzo. Secoli XVII–XVIII* (Bari: Grafica Sud, 1984), 105–11.

24 Cf. Gaetano Platania, *Polonica e Curia Romana. Corrispondenza del lucchese Tommaso Talenti segretario del Re di Polonia con Carlo Barberini protettore del regno (1681–1693)* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2004).

25 On him, Cardinal Secretary of State during the pontificate of Innocenzo XI odescalchi, see Enrico Stumpo, "Cibo Alderano", in DBI, vol. 25 (1981), 227–32.

26 AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 183/A, Alderano Cybo a Opizio Pallavicini, Rome 12 October 1680, f. 387r-v.

27 AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 183/A, Alderano Cybo a Opizio Pallavicini, Rome 5 October 1680, ff. 387r–88r.

28 The Holy See did not intend to settle the matter definitively and dramatically. At a particularly delicate moment in the history of Christianity, Pope Odescalchi, hoping to activate the league of Christian princes, did not want to antagonise Sobieski's Poland. The pope, seeing «calamitoso stato di cotesto Regno e quanto importi alla salute pubblica della cristianità il confermarlo, può credere Sua Maestà che la Santità Sua non lascerà alcuno dei modi più opportuni e più propri per incontrar le giuste soddisfazioni di Sua Maestà. Né vorrà mai che per sua colpa avvenga che il Re Giovanni non inferior di merito e di virtù ad alcuno de' suoi chiarissimi predecessori, goda minor prerogative da questa Santa Sede di quelle che essi godarono». AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 183/A, Alderano Cybo a Francesco Martelli, Rome 5 October 1680, ff. 387r–89r. The same issue is also referred to by the new nuncio Opizio Pallavicini who had taken over from Monsignor Martelli who had returned home. AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 100, Opizio Pallavicini to Alderano Cybo, Warsaw 22 April 1682, ff. 143r–46r.

29 «Domenica 11 di agosto l'Ambasciatore Polacco diede lauto desinare ad alcuni de' Signori Cardinali, cioè Cybo e Vidoni: alle 22 ore si vide Sua Eccellenza per il Corso in carrozza a due cavalli, incognito con due Camerate, alle fenestre del Palazzo erano esposte belle portiere di velluto, ed altre di damasco cremesi con trine e frangie d'oro; rendeva anche

1680, Michał was again received by the Pope³⁰, this time without grand ceremony. The time had come to discuss the pressing issues on the table seriously.

The Polish prince visited the papal residence repeatedly throughout his stay in Rome. The talks lasted until 10 September, when the ambassador ascended the Quirinal for the last time to take leave of Innocent XI. From that date to the Pope's actual departure from the capital, Sobieski's representative spent days in *incognito*, by then ill and tired.

In the meantime, his departure from Rome was set for 15 September, after he had taken leave of the Pope, as reported by Cartari in his daily diary:

Domenica 15 di settembre, alle ore 22 partì da Roma l'Ambasciatore di Polonia, apparentemente però per trattarsi anche in Roma qualche giorno incognito. Uscì per Porta del Popolo con quest'accompagnamento tutto di persone in abito da campagna. Forieri a cavallo. Guardie con casacche rosse n. 25, camelli 3 sopra uno de' quali stava un moro. Cavalli a mano n. 13. Trombetti e timpano e questo batteva con la solita bizzarra di gesti col capo e colle mani. Molti a cavallo armati e con pelli di tigri. Molti altri polacchi a cavallo. Palafrenieri, lacché e guardie in truppa. Carrozza da campagna a sei nella quale erano il Cardinale Vidone al primo luogo, al secondo l'Ambasciatore e quattro prelati. Altre cinque carrozze a sei dell'istesso Ambasciatore e circa altre dieci di cardinali. Gli abiti e la comparsa furono gl'istessi che nelle altre cavalcate, solamente qui non si videro le carrozze di velluto. Qui è da notarsi che essendo venuto questo Signore a Roma con pretenzione di avere titolo d'Altezza e qua dal Palazzo negatoli, dicendo non doversegli benché sia cognato del Re di Polonia, la di cui sorella è sua consorte, e perché viene in qualità d'Ambasciatore e perciò non può pretendere di più che l'Eccellenza. Perciò dal Palazzo (e l'Ambasciatore se ne contentò) fu pigliato per mezzo termine di trattarlo in terza persona, ed il primo a dargli del lei fu il Signor Cardinal Cibo. Fu poi quest'esempio seguitato da sei altri Cardinali, cioè Ludovisio, Ottoboni, Pio, Vidoni, Carlo Barberini e Maidaichino, e questi furono visitati dal Signor Ambasciatore (consapevole del trattamento) da' quali fu visitato ed a' quali egli volle far anche la seconda visita prima della partenza³¹.

This time the exit from the city through the *Porta del Popolo* was under the banner of modesty, as seen in the annotation mentioned above, of the well-known consistory lawyer. Indeed, the procession did not resemble the solemnity of the entrance, which had brought Radziwiłł to kiss the Pontiff's foot to renew the "obedience" of *Rzeczpospolita* to the Holy See.

Upon this occasion, either because of the protagonist's severe illness or the negotiations' failure, the departure was in a minor key. In some ways, the ceremonial organisation was reminiscent of that prepared for the departure from Vienna. In that case, the political negotiations had come to a standstill, without determining anything concrete. Similarly, as in Vienna with the Emperor, even in Rome, Radziwiłł could not report anything to Pope Odescalchi about the offensive/defensive anti-Turkish league.

A true *déjà vu*, Sobieski's representative had once again demonstrated he was not a great diplomat, nor possessed any particular gift of eloquence. He was not able to interact with the papal diplomacy, as it had been the case with the imperial diplomacy, on a common strategy aimed at stopping the hegemonic aspirations of the Ottoman Porta in the Danubian-Balkan area and in the heart of continental Europe. The unique concession obtained by Pope Odescalchi was the veiled promise to send 500'000 thalers to Warsaw, if the Christian League would be gathered³².

allegrezza il suono delle trombe, de' timpani e delle piffare dalle finestre; il sorgente della fontana era di vino; alle finestre ardevano torce di cera bianca, e si vedeva innalzata una bella machina di fuochi artificiali, la quale si sparò alle due ore di notte [...]. ASR, Archivio Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 87, ff. 252r-v.

30 ASR, Archivio Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 87, f. 253v.

31 ASR, Archivio Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 87, Rome 15 September 1680, ff. 255v-56r.

32 Indeed, part of the promised sum was sent to Poland in September 1680. Cardinal Cybo wrote to Monsignor Martelli, the nuncio in Warsaw, before the latter left his position for Pallavicini and returned to Italy: «Subito che da Vostra Signoria Illustrissima si abbia il rincontro che dai corrispondenti di questoi Signor Depositario Generale della Camera, sieno a lei sborsati i fiorini 100 mila polacchi di buona moneta che Nostro Signore ha ordinato le si rimettono a buon conto delli 500 mila promessi dalla Santità Sua in aiuto della Polonia contro il Turco, non si lascerà qui di darlene gl'opportuni riscontri

In his egocentricity and eagerness to “count” and be “recognised” as a sovereign, Radziwiłł had failed his essential political and diplomatic mission. Moreover, he had not even grasped the apparent irritation of Innocent XI. The Pope, called upon to support the anti-Turkish war with subsidies, found himself in the presence of a man who lacked diplomatic tact, unregulated in his expenses, arrogant, punctilious on the ceremonial matters, and – what is even more critical – lacked any strategic vision. His evident arrogance prevented him from taking leave of some members of the Sacred College who had denied him the title of *Altezza* (Highness) upon his arrival in the Eternal City. He had repeatedly requested a title but in vain: in fact, the Roman authorities had been opted for *Eccellenza* (Excellence), believed to be more appropriate and in line with the indications of the court ceremonial:

Qui è da notarsi che essendo venuto questo Signore a Roma con pretenzione di avere titolo d'Altezza e qua dal Palazzo negatoli, dicendo non doversegli benché sia cognato del Re di Polonia, la di cui sorella è sua consorte, e perché viene in qualità d'Ambasciatore e perciò non puol pretendere di più che l'Eccellenza. Perciò dal Palazzo (e l'Ambasciatore se ne contentò) fu pigliato per mezo termine di trattarlo in terza persona, ed il primo a dargli del lei fu il Signor Cardinal Cibo. Fu poi quest'esempio seguitato da sei altri Cardinali, cioè Ludovisio, Ottoboni, Pio, Vidoni, Carlo Barberini e Maidalchino, e questi furono visitati dal Signor Ambasciatore (consapevole del trattamento) da' quali fu visitato ed a' quali egli volle far anche la seconda visita prima della partenza.

Essendosi dunque trattato per molti giorni con gli altri Signori Cardinali e stando questi saldi in volergli dare dell'Eccellenza, e quello in non volerla, ma contentarsi del *lei* finalmente partì da Roma l'Ambasciatore senza averli visitati, e perché aveva le lettere del suo Re per ciascun Cardinale, a questi le mandò per il Signor Cavalier Caispoldi, reatino, che si è ingerito nella sua Corte. Li Cardinali che risiedono in Roma (essendo gli altri o alli Vescovati o alle Legazioni) quali non sono stati visitati, sono i seguenti. Homodei, Albrizi, Chigi, Caraffa, Altieri, Rospigliosi, Carpegna, Nitardi, Colonna, marescotti, Rovi, Alberici (infermo però), Spada, Huvad, Azzolino, Savelli, Felice, Rospigliosi, Casamatta e Basadonna che sono al numero di 19³³.

In the meantime, his illness was worsening. Suffering from a tumour, probably of the throat, which was devouring him and had «contaminated his bowels» («aveva contaminato le viscere»), he was given up for dead by the doctors called to his bedside. For this reason, the departure scheduled for 15 September had to be postponed for the first time to 7 October, then again to 27 October, and finally to 2 November 1680.

Despite everything, Michał desired to get to Warsaw as soon as possible. Against the advice of his doctors, convinced that «he would not get there alive, he was in such a bad state of health»³⁴, he decided to set out on his way back, stopping first in Florence to pay homage to the Grand Duke Cosimo de' Medici. The decision was harshly criticised by the cardinal protector Pietro Vidoni [1610–1681]³⁵, and by the Secretary of State Cybo himself, who did everything in their power to persuade the Pole to postpone such a visit, which, in reality, was not particularly appreciated by the Florentine government either. Once again, the protocol and the ceremonial requests made by Radziwiłł were the cause of embarrassment, so much that the Grand Duke made it clear that he would never grant an audience to this “impertinent” Pole.

intorno al modo che dovrà da lei tenersi in tal proposito». AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 183/A, Alderano Cybo a Francesco Martelli, Rome 28 September 1680, ff. 384v–85r.

33 ASR, Archivio Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 78, Rome 15 December 1680, f. 256r–v.

34 ASR, Archivio Cartari-Febei, *Diario*, vol. 87, Rome 19 Nov. 1680, f. 268r: «Vivo non vi sarebbe giunto, talmente era ridotto in stato di cattiva sanità».

35 Pietro Vidoni, already appointed to the Warsaw nunciature from 1652 to 1660, then cardinal from 5 April 1660 and finally protector of the Kingdom of Poland from 1675 to January 1681, the year of his death. AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 94, Alderano Cybo to Opizio Pallavicini, Rome 11 January 1681, f. 46r. Cf. Fernand De Bojani, *Innocent XI. Sa correspondance avec ses Nonces (1676–1684)*, vol. III (Paris: Picarde, 1912), 482. On 5 February the nuncio replied to Cybo that he had received the news of Vidoni's death. AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 94, Opizio Pallavicini a Alderano Cybo, Warsaw 5 February 1681, f. 46r., later deciphered on 6 March of the same year. AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Nunziature diverse*, vol. 221, f. 86r–v. Cf. Maria Domin-Jačov (ed.), *Acta Nuntiaturae Poloniae*, t. XXXIV, *Opitius Pallavicini (1680–1688)*, vol. I: (10 VIII 1680–29 III 1681) (Romae: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae, 1995), 154, 191.

Sobieski's representative abandoned the idea and headed for Bologna, the city where he found death waiting for him. Immediately, Alderano Cybo informed the nuncio in Poland Martelli, attempting to mitigate the Pole's overweening personality in his informative note, recognising merits that – in truth – the prince did not possess:

La morte del Signor Duca Radzivil, che sia in gloria, seguita in Bologna ha recato a Sua Santità una immensa afflizione, come richiedevano le nobilissime qualità e il merito illustre di quel Signore, e la preclara memoria ch'egli ha lasciata in questa Corte delle virtù e dell'ereditaria divozione verso la Santa Sede. Quello che più affligge la Santità Sua è il pensare che Sua Maestà possa gravemente sentire il colpo, perdendo un sì valoroso e fedel Ministro, il qual anche per ogn'altro rispetto poteva contribuir molto alla gloria di Sua Maestà³⁶.

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Death, as they say, erases everything. After his death and out of pure Christian piety, Michał, who had appeared in the eyes of Roman authorities as a fanatical rabble-rouser, became an interlocutor with whom it had been possible to engage in a "negozio" of extreme importance for the Christian world: the birth of a defensive/offensive anti-Turkish league. Radziwiłł had failed to achieve such goal because of his character and lack of preparation. Nevertheless, it did not stop the idea of a new crusade so dearly held by Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi³⁷. The project could be realised in other ways, with different interlocutors, with the patient work and mediation of people of great diplomatic ability (see the nuncios Francesco Buonvisi in Vienna³⁸, Opizio Pallavicini in Warsaw, and those in Madrid or Lisbon)³⁹. We know that the project would have been realised only in 1683, though reduced in its initial inclusive vision of the Christian world, with a simple league between Poles and the Imperial.

For strictly financial reasons, the name of Michał remained a vivid memory for the Pontiff and the Curia members for a long time. The solemn cavalcade through the Eternal City, extraordinary enough to cause a stir among the Roman people, had been financed with money borrowed by the Polish prince from the *Banco di Santo Spirito*, with the obligation to repay the money within a short time. Such a request had quite irritated the Pontiff, but Innocent XI finally had granted it, due to the higher interests of building an anti-Turkish league. Now that the prince had died in Bologna, the demand for the return of the money became more and more urgent, especially given the imminent opening of the military campaign against the enemy of Christianity.

No later than four months after the sad event, as we learn from correspondence between Cybo and Martelli, the time had come to ask his widow, Katarzyna Sobieska⁴⁰, to return the sum advanced to his spouse «to these Depositaries of the Apostolic Chamber» («a questi Depositari della Camera Apostolica»). As expressed by Cybo, it was almost an order to be obeyed urgently and without further delay: a will that we clearly understand from the closing sentence of the same letter: «so that I have nothing more to add» («onde non ho al presente alcuna cosa da aggiungere»)⁴¹.

In the meantime, the 72'000 florins initially requested by Michał had become 112'000 after the second payment of 40'000 florins granted for his return in Poland escorted by his ever-increasing retinue. It was up to Martelli to get the whole sum back and thus close a business that had become highly delicate:

È riuscita materia di particolare gradimento a Nostro Signore, il sentire che Vostra Eccellenza Illustrissima abbia impiegate coll'attenzione che conveniva le sue diligenze per il rimborso delli fiorin i 112 di buona moneta dovuta dalla Signora Duchessa Radziwilla per altri e tanti che in due volte e

36 AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 183/A, Alderano Cybo a Francesco Martelli, Rome 23 November 1680, ff. 405v-06r.

37 Cf. Gaetano Platania, "Innocent XI Odescalchi et l'esprit de croisade", *XVII Siècle. La reconquête catholique en Europe centrale* 199, n. 50/2 (1998): 247-76.

38 On the figure of this very important and capable diplomat of the Holy See, very dear to Pope Odescalchi, see Gaspare De Caro, "Buonvisi Francesco", in DBI, vol. 15 (1972), 319-25; Alessandro Boccolini, *Un lucchese al servizio della Santa Sede. Francesco Buonvisi nunzio a Colonia, Varsavia e Vienna* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2018).

39 In general see the already cited: De Bojani, *Innocent XI*.

40 Cf. Jan Jaroszk, "Radziwiłłowa Katarzyna", in PSB, vol. 30 (1987), 392-96.

41 AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 183/A, Alderano Cybo a Francesco Martelli, Rome 22 September 1681, f. 429r.

d'ordine della Santità Sua sono qui stati sborsati al Signor Duca Radziwiłł suo consorte, sì come apparisce dalle sue richieste [...]. Tutto ciò ho stimato a proposito di significare a Vostra Eccellenza Illustrissima pur ad oggetto ch'ella non prenda errore nella somma precisa che è appunto di fiorini 112 mila di buona moneta divisa in due sborsi: cioè uno di 72mila fiorini e l'altro di 40mila⁴².

In the letter, we have a confirmation of the former Polish envoy's wife's intentions to settle the debt as soon as possible⁴³. Anyway, to do this, the nuncio had to be well informed about the precise amount paid and under what circumstances.

However, things did not turn out as expected. Documents in the Vatican Archives and the historical libraries of Rome tell, as a matter of fact, a different story. The repeated requests to Katarzyna to close the unpleasant case once and for all inform us that it could not be solved in a short time as promised. Part of the debt was repaid many years later, always following repeated requests from Rome.

⁴² AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 183/A, *Alderano Cybo a Francesco Martelli*, Rome 5 April 1681, f. 435r-v.

⁴³ In fact, the Duchess had promised and was obliged to repay the entire sum. In particular, she promised «ancora di far l'accennato pagamento di tutta l'intera somma dentro lo spazio di un mese, ovvero d'un mese e mezzo al più lungo. Onde non par verisimile anche per tal cagione che la Signora Duchessa voglia più oltre procrastinarne l'esecuzione». AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 183/A, *Alderano Cybo to Francesco Martelli*, Rome 5 April 1681, f. 435v.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAV: Archivio Apostolico Vaticano.

ASR: Archivio di Stato di Roma.

Diario: Effemeridi Cartarie. Diario e cronache degli avvenimenti romani e pontifici in particolare e d'Europa in generale con allegati documenti a stampa e stampe, voll. 73-104.

BCors.: Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana-Roma.

DBI: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 100 vols (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Treccani, 1960–2020, 100).

PSB: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, t. I-LII (Kraków: PAN, 1935–2019).

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