

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.

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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-Weitz 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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FRANCESCO BUONVISI AND OPIZIO PALLAVICINI: CORRESPONDENCE AND ACTIVITIES OF TWO APOSTOLIC Nuncios IN THE SERVICE OF POPE INNOCENT XI ODESCALCHI (1676–1689)¹

ABSTRACT

Based on the correspondence of two apostolic nunciatures this investigation aims at exploring the relationship between two papal diplomats who were in office under Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi (1676–1689). The Roman Curia and the apostolic nunciatures are both considered as a centre for processing information and a place for the exchange of information with communication being a central, governmental tool of the Church. Focusing especially on the apostolic nunciature at the imperial court and the *Nunziatura di Varsavia* in the second half of the seventeenth century or rather on two great papal diplomats in this century namely, Cardinal Francesco Buonvisi (1675–1689) and Cardinal Opizio Pallavicini (1680–1688), it becomes evident that the apostolic nuncios are the most important mediators and indispensable agents between Rome and the local level. To examine the roles of the two papal diplomats as actors themselves undoubtedly offers a way to a better understanding of the strategies of communication, dynamics and the interplay between the nunciatures and the Roman Curia, the Pope and resp. to other actors of this period and represents a specific feature of papal diplomacy.

KEYWORDS: Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi; Francesco Buonvisi; Opizio Pallavicini; Apostolic Nunciature; Correspondence.

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INTRODUCTION

Non posso esprimere il giubilo di questa Corte, [...] e non posso nemmeno tacere le grandi, e strepitosi applausi che si fanno a monsignore Pallavicino, acclamando ognuno la sua prudente condotta, la sua indefessa applicazione, e l'infinito suo vigore d'animo per superare tante difficoltà che ci sono state fino all'ultima hora, in modo che tutti lo stimano degno della più alta ricompensa, et io posso essere testimonio delle sue belle, e virtuose operazioni².

On 24 April 1683, the papal diplomat at the Vienna nunciature³, Francesco Buonvisi (1626–1700) sent a letter from Vienna to the Cardinal Secretary of the State Alderano Cybo (1613–1700)⁴, expressing his praise and appreciation for the work of his colleague in Warsaw, Opizio Pallavicini (1632–1700).

¹ This article is based on recent research as part of the ongoing PhD thesis by Claudia Curcuruto, *Tridentine Ideal and Ecclesiastical Realities. The Congregation of the Council and the Apostolic Nuncios under Pope Innocent XI (1676–1689)* (Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz) and an incipient project to edit the nunciature's correspondence of Francesco Buonvisi during his time as papal representative at the imperial court in Vienna (1675–1689).

² AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, vol. 207, *Francesco Buonvisi to Alderano Cybo*, Vienna 24 April 1683, ff. 307r-v, here f. 307r.

³ An overview of the papal legations is provided by Knut Walf, *Die Entwicklung des päpstlichen Gesandtschaftswesens in dem Zeitabschnitt zwischen Dekretalenrecht und Wiener Kongreß (1159–1815)* (München: Hueber, 1966); and Erwin Gatz, "Gesandtschaftswesen, Päpstliches", *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, 12 (1984), 540–47.

⁴ On the office of the Cardinal Secretary of the State cf. Birgit Emich, "Die Karriere des Staatssekretärs. Das Schicksal des Nepoten?", in *Offices et papauté (XIV^e–XVII^e siècle), Charges, hommes, destins*, eds. Armand Jammé and Oliver Poncet, (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 2005), 341–55. Specifically on the Cardinal Secretary of the State of Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi cf. Enrico Stumpo, "Cibo Alderano", in DBI, vol. 25 (1981), 227–32.

Five days earlier, the nuncio Pallavicini had informed the Pope and Buonvisi (18 April 1683)⁵ of the approval of the treaty between Leopold I⁶ and John III Sobieski⁷ by the Polish *sejm* during the night between the 17 and 18 April 1683. Certainly the repeated interventions of the Polish head of state, but also the incessant mediation and negotiation work⁸ of Pallavicini were decisive for this, as well as of the nuncio at the imperial court, Francesco Buonvisi, which in the end was so essential that it was generally recognized⁹.

The essay does not aim at going into detail considering the various and diverse political-ecclesiastical topics of correspondence that became the subject of communication between the two diplomats. Rather, it is intended to present a corpus of sources that is still little known and that were important for the history of Poland and Europe in the early modern period and in the religio-political relations between the *Curia romana*¹⁰ and the respective representations of the Holy See. Instead, this paper draws attention to phenomena that have not yet been sufficiently illuminated in research on early modern foreign relations and diplomatic actors¹¹ meaning the dynamic, written interactions and regular reporting practices between the representatives of Pope Innocent XI's Odescalchi¹², Francesco Buonvisi and his colleague *ad Regem Poloniae* Opizio Pallavicini between 1680 and 1688¹³.

The translation and exchange of knowledge¹⁴ is therefore not only based on the Cardinal Secretary of

5 AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 101, *Opizio Pallavicini to Alderano Cybo*, Warsaw 31 March 1683, ff. 138r-48r.

6 On Emperor Leopold I [1640–1705] cf. especially John P. Spielman, *Leopold I. Zur Macht nicht geboren* (Graz-Wien-Köln: Styria, 1981) and Jean Bérenger, *Léopold I^{er} (1640–1705). Fondateur de la puissance autrichienne* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2004).

7 For general information on John III Sobieski [1629–1696] see the revised new edition of Otto Forst de Battaglia, *Jan Sobieski, König von Polen* (Graz, et al.: Styria, 1982); Zbigniew Wójcik, *Jan Sobieski (1629–1692)* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1983), and at last *L'Europa di Giovanni Sobieski. Cultura, politica, mercatura e società*, ed. Gaetano Platania (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2005). For a biography of the Polish ruler that focuses particularly on the Vienna event, see Gerda Hagenau, *Jan Sobieski: der Retter Wiens* (Wien et al.: Amalthea, 1983).

8 On the concept of negotiation cf. Jean-Claude Waquet, “Verhandeln in der Frühen Neuzeit. Vom Orator zum Diplomaten”, *Akteure der Außenbeziehungen. Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel*, eds. Hillard von Thiesen and Christian Windler (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 2010), 113–31. See here fundamentally *Paroles de négociateurs: l'entretien dans la pratique diplomatique de la fin du moyen âge à la fin du XIX^e siècle*, ed. Stefano Andretta (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 2010); Christian Windler, “Praktiken des Handelns. Zur Einführung”, in *Praktiken der Frühen Neuzeit. Akteure-Handlungen-Artefakte*, ed. Arndt Brendecke, (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 2015), 509–13.

9 In this regard, the secretary of the Polish King Sobieski, Tommaso Talenti, wrote: «Devo pure far giustizia a monsignor nunzio col significare a Vostra Eminenza che questo gran prelato si immortala in questa dieta non dormendo, ne riposando per redur gli animi alla concordia e al dovere, e resta scandalizatissimo a vedere le presenti stravaganze et eccessi». BAV, Barb. Lat. 6424, *Tommaso Talenti to Carlo Barberini*, Warsaw 14 April 1683, ff. 260r–63r, here f. 260r.

10 On the Roman Curia cf. most recently Mario Rosa, *La Curia romana nell'età moderna. Istituzioni, cultura, carriere* (Roma: Viella, 2013).

11 Fundamental to this is the study by Sabina Brevaglieri and Matthias Schnettger, eds., *Transferprozesse zwischen dem Alten Reich und Italien im 17. Jahrhundert. Wissenskonfigurationen-Akteure-Netzwerke* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2018). An overview of the state of research can be found at Hillard von Thiesen, *Diplomatie und Patronage. Die spanisch-römischen Beziehungen 1605–1621 in akteurszentrierter Perspektive* (Epfendorf: Bibliotheca Academica-Verlag, 2010), 4–27.

12 An anthology on the pontificate of Innocent XI has recently been published, cf. *Innocenzo XI Odescalchi. Papa, politico, committente*, eds. Richard Bösel et al. (Roma: Viella, 2014), in particular see Gaetano Platania, “Un acerrimo nemico dell'infedele Turco: il beato Innocenzo XI Odescalchi”, 221–43. On the Pontifex, see also the article by Antonio Menniti Ippolito, “Innocenzo XI, papa”, in DBI, vol. 62 (2004), 478–95.

13 A regular and punctual correspondence between the Secretary of the State and the nuncios had already been ordered by Pope Paul III in 1537 (cf. Hans Kramer, “Forschungsberichte. Die Erforschung und Herausgabe der Nuntiaturberichte”, *MÖStA*, n. 1 (1948): 492–514, here 495). Cf. generally on the correspondence of the apostolic nuncios Fridolin Dörner, “Der Schriftverkehr zwischen dem päpstlichen Staatssekretariat und der Apostolischen Nuntiatur Wien in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Erschließungsplan, Kanzlei- und Aktenkundliche Beobachtungen”, *RHM*, n. 4 (1960/1961): 63–246.

14 In the conception of Olaf Breidbach, knowledge is «nicht einfach ein Mehr an Information, sondern es ist strukturierte Information, [...]» and furthermore «interpretierte Information. Es bestünde nicht einfach in der Aneinanderreihung von Informationen, sondern in der Form, in der diese Informationen zum Teil eines Ganzen werden, aus dem heraus und auf das hin wir agieren. Wissen ist demnach durch die Ordnung bestimmt, in der wir es präsentieren», (Olaf Breidbach, *Neue Wissensordnungen. Wie aus Informationen und Nachrichten kulturelles Wissen entsteht*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2008), 12–26).

the State Cybo as the central authority of papal diplomacy, but also between the papal representations in Europe in the early modern period. This so-called semi-official correspondence, preserved in the personal archive of the apostolic nuncio Buonvisi in Lucca¹⁵, is based on an extensive fundamental constituted dialogicity. The continuous, high-frequency rhythm of correspondence, as well as the establishment of a shared context of knowledge that keeps the procedure of negotiation up to date¹⁶, serves as a guide for the apostolic nuncios in their (independent) diplomatic activities on the local level. This information-based policy addressed to the apostolic nunciature, as well as towards his colleagues at the other papal representation¹⁷ created space of action for the papal envoys. Thus this became a guideline for both nuncios in their political actions¹⁸. The two directives “to negotiate” and “to inform” cannot be separated in the curial practice of reporting¹⁹. The viability of this methodological approach will be illustrated below using the example of the correspondence between the two actors in early modern diplomatic history in the second half of the seventeenth century²⁰.

INTERTWINED LIVES OF TWO PAPAL DIPLOMATS: FRANCESCO BUONVISI AND OPIZIO PALLAVICINI

In a relation to the papal court of Count Orazio Elci of the year 1699²¹, the apostolic nuncio at the imperial court Francesco Buonvisi's²² *grand'habilità politica*, the *vivacità di spirito* and the great ability for any negotiation is praised – no matter how difficult it might have been. Just like «his counterpart in Vienna» (*suo omologo a Vienna*)²³, Opizio Pallavicini²⁴, was held in high esteem for his diplomatic skill, which was mainly due to his diligence (*prudenza*) and steadfastness (*costanza*) in his service at

- 15 Francesco Buonvisi had built up a circle of permanent correspondence partners during his long time at the various nunciatures. The distinction between the official exchange of letters with the Secretary of the State and the semi-official correspondence with other correspondence partners outside the Secretariat of the State proves to be unambiguous in this case and thus meaningful for identifying the nuncio's letters with the various recipients.
- 16 Cf. Lars Behrisch, “Zu viele Informationen! Die Aggregierung des Wissens in der Frühen Neuzeit”, in *Information in der Frühen Neuzeit: Status, Bestände, Strategien*, eds. Arndt Brendecke, Markus Friedrich and Susanne Friedrich (Berlin: LIT, 2008), 455-73, here 426.
- 17 Matthias Pohlig, “Informationsgewinnung und Entscheidung. Entscheidungspraktiken und Entscheidungskultur der englischen Regierung um 1700”, in Brendecke, *Praktiken der Frühen Neuzeit*, 667-77, here 669.
- 18 Cf. on this already Claudia Curcuruto, “... la buona corrispondenza de gl'animi è quella che facilità tutti i negozii. Die Wiener Nuntiatur als Institution der Informations- und Wissensressource (1675–1689)”, *QFIAB*, n. 98 (2019): 303-25.
- 19 Paolo Prodi, for example, opposes a separation of diplomatic “negotiation” and “informing” in the case of papal envoys, Paolo Prodi, *Diplomazia del cinquecento. Istituzioni e prassi* (Bologna: Riccardo Pàtron, 1963), 51.
- 20 On the actor-centred approach cf. Hillard von Thiesen, “Diplomatie vom *type ancien*: Überlegungen zu einem Idealtypus des frühneuzeitlichen Gesandtschaftswesens”, in *Akteure der Außenbeziehungen. Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel*, eds. Hillard von Thiesen and Christian Windler (Köln: Böhlau, 2010), 471-503, in particular 475-77.
- 21 The treatise by the Count Orazio d'Elci is devoted to biographies of the cardinals and bishops considered *papabili* and is entitled: BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2686, *Relatione della corte romana composta dal Conte Orazio d'Elci per servizio di Sua Eccellenza signor marchese Clemente Vitelli ambasciatore straordinario al Sommo Pontefice Innocenzo Duodecimo per Sua Altezza Reale il Gran Duca di Toscana Cosimo Terzo felicemente dominante*, ff. 106r-11v. On the work and the edition of the relation cf. Sabrina M. Seidler, *Il teatro del mondo. Diplomatische und journalistische Relationen vom römischen Hof aus dem 17. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996).
- 22 On the *vita* of Cardinal Francesco Buonvisi [1 September 1626 in Lucca–25 August 1700], cf. the biographical article by Gaspare De Caro, “Buonvisi, Francesco”, in *DBI*, vol. 15 (1972), 319-25. To Buonvisi last Alessandro Boccolini, *Un lucchese al servizio della Santa Sede. Francesco Buonvisi, nunzio a Colonia, Varsavia e Vienna* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2018).
- 23 ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/52, n. 136, *Opizio Pallavicini to Francesco Buonvisi*, Warsaw 26 March 1681.
- 24 On Cardinal Opizio Pallavicini [13 October 1632 in Genoa–11 February 1700 in Rome] cf. Antonio Menniti Ippolito, “Pallavicini Opizio”, in *DBI*, vol. 80 (2014), 541-43 and lastly Jyri Hasecker, “Pallavicini Opizio”, in *Personen und Profile 1542–1700*, eds. Hubert Wolf, Jyri Hasecker and Judith Schepers, vol. 2: *L–Z* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2020), 1140-41. A biographical overview of the nuncio is also provided in the introduction to the edition of Pallavicini's nunciature correspondence with the Secretariat of the State in Rome by Maria Domin-Jáčov in *ANP*, t. XXXIV: *Opitius Pallavicini (1680–1688)*, vol. I: *10 VIII 1680–29 III 1681*, (Romae: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae, 1995), V–XVI. On the family history of the Pallavicini and their family archive, cf. *Gli archivi Pallavicini di Genova* vol. I: *Archivi propri. Inventario*, ed. Marco Bologna (Roma: Ministero per i beni culturali, 1994).

the Polish nunciature between 1680 and 1688²⁵. Also, the historiography praises the diplomatic skills of the two nuncios²⁶.

The time of Francesco Buonvisi as apostolic nuncio at the imperial court between September 1675 and August 1689, as well as the office of his colleague at the Polish nunciature between September 1680 and September 1688, are both astonishing in several respects: the term of office of the Viennese nuncio were not only formed the bracket between two pontificates (Clement X Altieri/Innocent XI Odescalchi), but he also worked for a total of 18 years in «*scabrosissime nunziature*»²⁷, as he himself retrospectively described this period in his autograph *vita*²⁸. Furthermore, the diplomat, who had already proven himself in Cologne (1670–1672) and Poland (1672–1675), remained at the Viennese nunciature for 14 years²⁹. The extremely above-average duration was compounded by the peculiarity that Buonvisi remained at the imperial court for fourteen years even after his promotion to the rank of cardinal on 1 September 1681³⁰.

Just like Francesco Buonvisi, Opizio Pallavicini exercised a long diplomatic activity for the Holy See, first at the nunciature of Florence (1668–1672), then as nuncio *ad Tractum Rheni Coloniae* (1673–1680)³¹ and subsequently as nuncio at the Polish Nunciature³². Just like the nuncio of Vienna, Pallavicini was a *creatura* of Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi; he received the cardinalate on 2 September 1686³³. After completing his term of office, Buonvisi returned to Rome following the death of Pope Innocent XI on 12 August 1689 to take part in the conclave as a cardinal; he also served in various congregations

25 BAV, Ottob. Lat., 2686, ff. 114r–16v.

26 Gaetano Platania describes the apostolic nuncio as the «diamond point of papal diplomacy», who proved himself «by his actions to be an attentive representative of Rome's interests». (Gaetano Platania, «Asburgo d'Austria, Santa Sede e area danubiano-balcanica nelle carte del nunzio Francesco Buonvisi», in *Gli archivi della Santa Sede e il mondo asburgico nella prima età moderna*, eds. Matteo Sanfilippo, Alexander Koller and Giovanni Pizzorusso (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2004), 227–93, here 228). The praise and appreciation for Buonvisi can likewise be adopted for the nuncio Opizio Pallavicini, cf. for example Gaetano Platania, «Santa Sede e sussidi per la Guerra contro il Turco nella seconda metà del XVII secolo (Opizio Pallavicini nunzio a Varsavia e la liberazione di Vienna)», in *Il buon senso e la ragione. Miscellanea di studi in onore di Giovanni Crapulli*, eds. Nadia Boccara and Gaetano Platania (Viterbo: Sette Città, 1997), 103–38, here 112.

27 Tommaso F. Trenta, *Memorie per servire alla storia politica del cardinale Francesco Buonvisi, patrizio lucchese*, 2 vols (Lucca: Tipografia Bertini, 1818), here vol. I, 256–57.

28 ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/66, n. 1, *Vita del Cardinale Francesco Buonvisi*.

29 An overview of his time as a papal diplomat in the three nunciatures is provided by Eugenio Lazzareschi, «Le Nunziature del Cardinale Francesco Buonvisi a Colonia, a Varsavia e a Vienna», *Notizie degli Archivi di Stato*, n. 3/2 (1943): 124–29. The publication of the correspondence of his Cologne nunciature period can be found by Furio Diaz, ed., *Francesco Buonvisi: Nunziatura a Colonia*, 2 vols (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1959), and his nunciature in Warsaw, Furio Diaz and Nicola Carranza, eds., *Francesco Buonvisi: Nunziatura a Varsavia*, 2 vols (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1965).

30 Buonvisi received the notification of his promotion on a Saturday morning, 13 September 1681 (cf. AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, vol. 204, *Francesco Buonvisi to Alderano Cybo*, Vienna 13 September 1681, f. 606r). In a personal letter of thanks from Buonvisi to Pope Innocent XI, he describes himself as «suo humile, e riverente servo, e creatura» (AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, vol. 204, *Buonvisi to Cybo*, Vienna 14 September 1681, ff. 606r–07r).

31 At the age of 36, he was appointed by Pope Clement IX Rospigliosi with the title of an Titular Archbishop of Ephesus on 27 February 1668 and sent as nuncio to Tuscany on the following 1 June (cf. AAV, *Epistolae ad Principes*, vol. 67, f. 369v). He stayed in Florence from 14 June 1668 until 27 December 1672, when he was nominated nuncio to Cologne by Clement X Altieri on 29 November 1672. Pallavicini thus succeeded Buonvisi, cf. ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/27, n. 201, *Paluzzo Paluzzi-Altieri to Francesco Buonvisi*, Rome 22 October 1672: «Già si è dichiarato il successore a Vostra Signoria in cotesta carica, ed è monsignor l'arcivescovo Pallavicino, hora nunzio in Fiorenza, la cui sufficienza accreditata in questa Corte ne renderà plausibile la elezione». Buonvisi instead is appointed extraordinary nuncio in Varsavia, cf. Ibid. II/7, n. 121, *Francesco Buonvisi to Paluzzo Paluzzi-Altieri*, Siegburg 13 November 1672: «Quando più haverei bisogno di esprimere con efficacia l'infinita obbligazioni che professo a Nostro Signore et a Vostra Eminenza per havermi destinato nuntio straordinario in Polonia per occasione così importante a quel regno et alla christianità».

32 See the letter of Cardinal Alderano Cybo to Opizio Pallavicini, Rome 10 August 1680, AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Colonia*, vol. 221, ff. 250v–51v: «[...] che venendo hora la vacanza della Nunziatura in Polonia a cagione del male di monsignor Martelli e della necessità che perciò egli tiene di far ritorno in Italia, ha subito posto l'occhio Sua Beatitudine nella Persona di Lei, destinandola a tale impiego». Pallavicini left Cologne on 12 October 1680 and arrived in Warsaw on 12 November (AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 98, f. 544r; ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/49, n. 23).

33 On 2 September 1686, Pallavicini was elevated to the cardinalate by Pope Innocent XI, along with 26 other prelates, at a secret consistory meeting in the Quirinal's Palace, cf. AAV, *Archivio Concistoriale*, Acta Camerarii 23, ff. 190v–91r.

at the Roman Curia³⁴. After the election of Pope Innocent XII Pignatelli in 1691³⁵, Buonvisi finally left the Curia in November and transferred as bishop to his diocese of Lucca, where he died on 25 August 1700³⁶. He is buried in the family chapel of Sant'Anna in San Frediano in Lucca³⁷.

Pallavicini, unlike Buonvisi, did not return to Rome immediately, but took up his legation in Urbino after his nomination on 12 July 1688 (until 1690)³⁸. It was not until the pontificate of Alexander VIII Ottoboni in November 1689 that he returned to Rome, where he was assigned both the titular church (14 November) and his functions at the papal court in several congregations³⁹. Pallavicini resided as bishop in the diocese of Osimo, where he devoted himself to diocesan government until 1700⁴⁰. He then died at his home in Palazzo Buratti on 11 February 1700 and is buried in his titular church of San Martino ai Monti in Rome⁴¹.

This brief overview already underlines that the curial office careers of the two diplomats correspond to the second half of the seventeenth century⁴². The careers of the two prelates were decisively promoted by their own families⁴³. In particular, Pope Innocent X Pamphilj promoted the rise of the Pallavicini family from Genoa and the pontificate of Alexander VII Chigi exerted a lasting influence to the Buonvisi from Lucca. Previously to their diplomatic activity at the nunciature, the two prelates held key curial offices at the Curia⁴⁴ and both were elevated to the rank of titular archbishop, which was

- 34 Francesco Buonvisi, for example, regularly attended the meetings of the Congregation of the Council between 26 November 1689 and 27 September 1690, cf. AAV, *Congregazione del Concilio*, Libri Decret. 39, f. 371r (26 November 1689) to vol. 40, fol. 653r (27 September 1690).
- 35 On Francesco Buonvisi's participation in the conclave of 1691, cf. the study by Domenico Corsi, "Il Conclave del 1691 ed il Cardinale Francesco Buonvisi di Lucca", *Bollettino Storico Lucchese*, 10 (1938): 165-70.
- 36 Cf. Anna Maria Trivellini, *Il Cardinale Francesco Buonvisi. Nunzio a Vienna (1675-1689)* (Firenze: Olschki, 1958), here 4, 51.
- 37 On the Buonvisi family chapel, see Gino Arrighi, "Sulla Cappella Buonvisi in S. Frediano di Lucca", *Lucca. Rassegna del Comune*, n. 1 (1957): 25-30.
- 38 Cf. the original letters of the Cardinal Legate of Urbino, Opizio Pallavicini, to the Secretary of the State AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Legazione di Urbino*, vol. 2, and the register of letters from the Secretariat of the State to the Legate cf. *Ibid.*, vol. 97.
- 39 This included, for example, the membership in the Congregation of the Index and irregularly in the Congregation of the Council (cf. AAV, *Congregazione del Concilio*, Libri Decret. 39, f. 371r (26 November 1689) and lastly on 22 September 1691, cf. *Ibid.* 41, f. 172r).
- 40 On 28 November of the same year Pallavicini was appointed Bishop of Spoleto, and two years later, on 8 August 1691, he was appointed to the diocese of Osimo. In 1692 he took part in the election of Innocent XII Pignatelli.
- 41 He was buried in the vestibule of the subterranean church of his title, where a magnificent funeral oration could be read above a magnificently decorated panel, cf. Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri. Raccolte e pubblicate*, vol. IV (Roma: Tipografia dei Fratelli Bencini, 1874), here n. 75, p. 30.
- 42 On the career of the papal nuncios at the imperial court between 1559 and 1655, see Alexander Koller, *Imperator und Pontifex. Forschungen zum Verhältnis von Kaiserhof und römischer Kurie im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung (1555-1648)* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2012), here 287-301.
- 43 Pallavicini moved to Rome during the pontificate of Innocent X Pamphilj, where the Jesuit Sforza Pallavicino from the Parma branch of the family and especially another influential relative, Lazzaro Pallavicino (who was appointed cardinal in 1669), were already active. The protection he enjoyed favoured his access to the Curia, sanctioned by his appointment as *referendarius utriusque signaturae*, which can be dated to 1657 (cf. *Die päpstlichen Referendare 1566-1809. Chronologie und Prosopographie*, 3 vols, ed. Christoph Weber (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2003-2004), here vol. 3, 231, 238, 242, 786). Thanks to Cardinal Lazzaro, an important marriage between Pallavicini and Rospigliosi was concluded and in June 1667 Pope Giulio Rospigliosi was elected. Pope Clement IX appointed Opizio Pallavicini as apostolic nuncio in Florence in 1668, a few days after consecrating him Bishop of Ephesus. Cf. Bologna, *Gli Archivi Pallavicini di Genova*, 11 and note 11. Francesco Buonvisi instead was summoned to Rome in November 1644 as the nephew of Girolamo Buonvisi (1607-1677). But when Girolamo fell out of favour with Innocent X Pamphilj he retired to Lucca and Francesco Buonvisi followed him. The death of Innocent X and the subsequent election of Fabio Chigi, Girolamo Buonvisi's protector, as pope, prompted the latter and his nephew to return to Rome. Alexander VII Chigi immediately showed his favour towards the two *Lucchesi*, conferring the purple on Girolamo at the first appointment of cardinals on 9 April 1657, while Francesco was appointed *maestro di camera* to Cardinal Flavio Chigi, a nephew of the pope. Buonvisi remained in this office for twelve years. It was certainly to Girolamo Buonvisi's credit that Clement X Altieri chose Buonvisi for the important nunciature in Cologne on 21 July 1670. On this occasion, Clement X installed Buonvisi as Archbishop of Thessaloniki. Cf. De Caro, "Buonvisi Francesco", 319-20.
- 44 Opizio Pallavicini, after his clerkship at the two signatures, was district head (governor) of various places in the Papal

then followed by secondment to the nunciature in Florence for Pallavicini and Cologne for Buonvisi. Cardinal Opizio Pallavicini had thus administered six governorates in the Papal States and three nunciatures (Florence, Cologne, Warsaw) during his career until he received the cardinal's hat in 1686⁴⁵. On the other hand, Cardinal Francesco Buonvisi had acquired a relevant diplomatic practice in France and also administered three nunciatures (Cologne, Warsaw, Vienna) until he was elevated to the rank of cardinal in 1681. While Buonvisi was not recalled from the imperial nunciature after receiving the cardinalate and remained at the *Nunziatura di Vienna* for another seven years, Pallavicini received the red hat after six years of service at the Warsaw nunciature⁴⁶. He was able to leave the Polish nunciature on 2 October 1688⁴⁷ with the appointment of the extraordinary nuncio Giacomo Cantelmo for the *sejm* of Grodno in 1688⁴⁸. The elevation to the rank of cardinal of both nuncios can be seen as a merital mark for their diplomatic success and as a mark of an outstanding nuncio's career⁴⁹.

THE DIPLOMATIC-CURIAL REPORTING PRACTICES BETWEEN VIENNA AND WARSAW

Apostolic nunciatures formed a sub-segment in the curial system of information and knowledge administration and were characterized in particular by their relations with the Secretariat of the State. Following the concept coined by Markus Friedrich in his studies on the administrative organization of the Jesuit order in the early modern period⁵⁰, one can speak of a «papierbasierten

States for seven years, such as the towns of San Severino Marche (1659), Rieti (1661), Fabriano (1662), Orvieto (1663), Montalto (1664), Ascoli Piceno (1665) and Fermo (1666). Cf. Christoph Weber, *Legati e governatori dello Stato pontificio (1550–1809)* (Roma: Ministero per i beni culturali, 1994), 124, 225, 247, 298, 323, 381, 418, 818. Buonvisi took part in the papal legation sent to Paris by Alexander VII in 1664 in the entourage of Flavio Chigi. On his return from this mission, the pope caused the young man to don the ecclesiastical habit and appointed him Canon of the Lateran Basilica of San Giovanni and, on 24 January 1668, Referendary of Both Signatures (cf. Weber, *Die päpstlichen Referendariat I*, nn. 129, 251).

45 Pallavicini himself wrote to Buonvisi from Warsaw on 3 December 1687 that he had been in the service of the Holy See for 30 years, 20 of them as nuncio (cf. ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/52, n. 248).

46 The Polish nunciature is considered second class and ranked behind the nunciatures of Paris, Vienna and Madrid, see Jan Kopiec, "Zur Geschichte der Apostolischen Nuntiatur in Polen", *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 88 (1993): 134–56, here 135. Pallavicini did not work at any of the "great" nunciatures, but after Buonvisi's appointment as cardinal in September 1681 he hoped to be able to transfer to the significant imperial nunciature, as he himself wrote in a letter to Buonvisi: «Io non so se havere la fortuna d'essere successore dell'Eminenza Vostra la desidero bensì vivamente et dove l'Eminenza Vostra col suo credito e favore possa aggiustameci, la supplico ad obligarsi me perpetuamente col farlo» (ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/52, n. 143, Warsaw 24 September 1681).

47 «Era necessaria la missione del nunzio straordinario in Polonia per liberare il signor Cardinale Pallavicino dall'angustie, e per non lasciar la Dieta senza Ministro Apostolico che diriga la nave fra le tempeste; [...] monsignor Cantelmo, come già scrissi, ha qualità da riuscire meravigliosamente e mentre desidero che sortisca buoni successi» (AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, vol. 214, *Francesco Buonvisi to Alderano Cybo*, Vienna 11 January 1688, f. 16r). On 3 December 1687 Pallavicini expressed his hope that they will both soon be able to return to Italy: «Vostra Eminenza avrà intesa la destinatione di monsignore Cantelmi in nuntio straordinario alla Dieta, onde parmi di vedere porto, e così spero sarà anco di Vostra Eminenza e che ce n'andremo insieme in Italia» (ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/52, n. 248).

48 The *sejm* of Grodno was convened on 18 November 1687 and began its work on 27 January 1688. Innocent XI had decided to send an extraordinary nuncio to the Imperial Diet with the intention of promoting preparations for the decisive anti-Ottoman offensive. On the extraordinary nuncio Giacomo Cantelmo, see Vittor Ivo Comparato, "Cantelmo, Giacomo", in DBI, vol. 18 (1975), 267–71 (with further references).

49 Christoph Weber, who made an important contribution to the system-immanent mechanisms of the College of Cardinals in his work "Senatus Divinus", summarizes the two cardinals' life in a central chapter under "Gescheiterte Karrieren" therefore "failed careers". (Cf. *Senatus Divinus. Verborgene Strukturen im Kardinalskollegium der frühen Neuzeit (1500–1800)* (Frankfurt am Main, Wien et al.: Lang, 1996) here chapter 3, 142–67), although the two prelates of Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi already received the cardinal's hat during their nunciature and both were given rich dioceses (Lucca, Osimo). On the conclusion of a nuncio's career, cf. in detail Koller, *Imperator und Pontifex*, 297–300.

50 Markus Friedrich, *Der lange Arm Roms? Globale Verwaltung und Kommunikation im Jesuitenorden 1540–1773* (Frankfurt-New York: Campus, 2011); as well as Markus Friedrich, "Delegierter Augenschein als Strukturprinzip administrativer Informationsgewinnung. Der Konflikt zwischen Claudio Acquaviva und den memorialistas um die Rolle von Information im Jesuitenorden", in *Information in der Frühen Neuzeit: Status, Bestände, Strategien*, eds. Arndt Brendecke, Markus Friedrich and Susanne Friedrich (Berlin: LIT, 2008), 109–35.

Informationssystem»⁵¹ (paper-based system of information) with regard to generating information⁵² and communication between the Roman Curia and the nunciatures that is based on written, reciprocal reporting. In addition to the daily correspondence between the nuncio and the Cardinal Secretary of the State, a special feature of the history of the papal representations is an extensive correspondence between the nuncio at the imperial court, Francesco Buonvisi and his colleague in Warsaw – Opizio Pallavicini –. This correspondence that has hardly been analysed so far and is still partly unpublished in the *Archivio di Stato di Lucca*. The regular reporting between the two nunciatures⁵³ on the one hand and between a nunciature and the Secretariat of the State on the other not only enabled the formation of new heterogeneous knowledge, but also created a fundamental dialogicity⁵⁴. Yet only the indexing of the entire correspondence, the “complete information”, as it also became a fixed formula in the nunciature correspondence⁵⁵, represents the key through which a nunciature’s relevant matters are expressed and offers a comprehensive picture on the understanding of a nunciature as a knowledge-processing institution of the *Curia romana*. In the synopsis of the correspondences, therefore, it is possible to understand the involvement of the two nuncios and papal policy between 1680 and 1688, and at the same time the difficult relations between John III Sobieski and Leopold I Habsburg, especially after the victory in Vienna on 12 September 1683. Here, important information were reported on the internal politics of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the politics of the Empire, but also on the relations of the Warsaw and imperial courts with the rest of Europe. The contextualization of the correspondence foregrounds⁵⁶ that duplicity or multiple strands and communication through additional channels had been fundamental principles of written negotiations at the Roman Curia. The extraordinarily cohesive written tradition of the Buonvisi-Pallavicini correspondence, which was conducted between Vienna and Warsaw from 1680 to 1688, shall be examined in the following.

THE WRITTEN RECORDS

From 1680 onwards, which was the year in which Opizio Pallavicini was nominated papal representative *ad Regem Poloniae*, a rich and regular correspondence with the nuncio Francesco Buonvisi began. The considerable number of letters exchanged between 30 September 1680 and 29 September 1688 proves invaluable for historical research, because «rarely, [...], are the correspondences of the nuncios among themselves preserved and discoverable»⁵⁷. It is a fortunate circumstance that the personal archive of

51 Friedrich, *Delegierter Augenschein*, 117.

52 The term generation is used to describe «der gesamte Vorgang von der Datengewinnung über die Informationsaufbereitung bis hin zum Wissen im hier verstandenen praxisbezogenen Sinne verstanden». Winfried Kluth, “Die Strukturierung von Wissensgenerierung durch das Verwaltungsorganisationsrecht”, in *Generierung und Transfer staatlichen Wissens im System des Verwaltungsrechts*, eds. Peter Collin and Indra Piecker genannt Döhmann (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 73–92, here 78.

53 In this context, the instructions and directives issued from Rome prevent uncontrolled initiatives on the part of the papal diplomat. It must be ensured on the part of the Roman Curia that the apostolic nuncio fulfils his task and provides the Secretariat of the State with the necessary information through a continuous, high-frequency correspondence rhythm or keeps it informed about the course of the negotiations, cf. Curcuruto, *Die Wiener Nuntiatur als Institution*, 324–25.

54 On the concept of communication, cf. Susanne Friedrich, *Drehscheibe Regensburg. Das Informations- und Kommunikationssystem des Immerwährenden Reichstags um 1700* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2007), 20–2.

55 «Benissimo informato», «esser informatissimo» or the receipt or possession of «piena informazione» were central vocabulary in the understanding of the nuncios, cf. for example AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, vol. 207, f. 181r.

56 However, the interaction is not only shaped by the relationship between the Secretariat of the State and/or the nunciatures themselves, but also by the extensive network of the nuncios with many other partners in correspondence as well as other Roman authorities of the Curia (especially the dicasteries). For example, the relationship of the Vienna nunciature to the ecclesiastical institution of Propaganda Fide, cf. the essay by Rotraud Becker, “Die Wiener Nuntiatur im Dienst der Propagandakongregation. Italienische Franziskaner als Missionare in Ungarn um 1630”, QFIAB, n. 88 (2008): 369–419 and generally Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Per servizio della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide: I nunzi apostolici e le missione tra centralità romana e chiesa universale (1622–1660)”, *Cheiron*, n. 30 (1998): 201–27.

57 «Selten aber sind auch die Korrespondenzen der Nuntien untereinander erhalten und auffindbar» (Almut Bues, “Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae. Zur Erschließung einer Quellengattung für die osteuropäische Geschichte”, *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, n. 41 (1992): 386–98, here 388).

nuncio Buonvisi⁵⁸ is known, because it contains his very correspondence with his colleague in Warsaw preserved in various volumes and found under its shelf mark *Archivio Buonvisi, II parte*⁵⁹. Although largely preserved, the correspondence has not yet been analysed in its entirety and has received little attention from researchers. Thanks to the *Institutum Historicum Polonicum* in Rome, which since 1986 has been dedicated to publishing the Polish nunciature documents in the series *Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae*, and which since 2003 has been continued by the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow, it is possible to access the sources⁶⁰. The term of office of Opizio Pallavicini from 10 August 1680 to 30 June 1684 has been published in eight volumes so far, including Pallavicini's correspondence with Francesco Buonvisi⁶¹.

COMMUNICATION FREQUENCIES AND REGULARITIES

As a matter of routine, a postal package (*dispaccio, piego*) was compiled in the Viennese and Polish nunciatures every week⁶². In order to obtain an overview of the correspondence between Vienna and Warsaw between 12 November 1680 (Pallavicini's arrival in Warsaw) and 29 September 1688 (Pallavicini's last letter to Buonvisi), as it is illustrated by the following table:

1680–1688	Buonvisi/Vienna → Pallavicini/Warsaw	Pallavicini/Warsaw → Buonvisi/Vienna
Original of which autograph minutes/ autographs:	— 276 (1686–1687 missing)	457 21
of which cipher/decipher	1 (29 March 1688)	8
Total	276	457
Monthly postal consignment	[46]	57

Based on a statistical analysis it becomes evident that Buonvisi sent up to 276 letters (excluding the years 1686 and 1687, which are missing), while those sent by Pallavicini are a total number of 457; this gives an average of four to five items per month meaning that usually one letter was sent every week, which would have been an exchange of 46 or 57 packages of letters (*dispacci*) between Vienna and Warsaw every year (excluding 1686 and 1687 for Vienna). The language in which the traffic between the nuncios was conducted was Italian. Buonvisi's correspondence was mainly issued in Vienna, but he also issued letters in Schwechat, Linz, Ödenburg, Braunau, Prague and Linz. The letters of Buonvisi to Pallavicini arriving from Vienna were always issued on a Monday; Sunday, on the other hand, was the nuncio's "writing day" for letters to Rome. Pallavicini, on the other hand, wrote his letters largely

58 On the Buonvisi family archive in Lucca cf. *Inventario del R. Archivio di Stato in Lucca*, volume V: *Archivi Gentilizi*, ed. Eugenio Lazzareschi (Pescia: Benedetti, 1946).

59 The originals of the papal diplomat in Warsaw are with all *dispacci* in the Buonvisi family archive, more precisely the volumes ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/21, 35, 45, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 57. The original letters from Buonvisi to Pallavicini between 1680 and 1688, which were in the Central Historical Archives in Warsaw (AGAD), were completely burnt with the fire of 19 September 1944. For this reason, the minutes of Buonvisi, i.e. the concepts for the letters to be sent, preserved in the State Archives of Lucca are invaluable. These *registri* volumes of the autograph minutes sent by the Viennese nuncio to Pallavicini are in the volumes 16 to 20 and 23 to 25. The years 1686 and 1687 have not survived or are not preserved in the State Archives of Lucca.

60 The pilot volume proves to be a *vademecum* for the nunciature correspondence of the Polish nuncios, cf. Henryk Damian Wojtyśka, ANP, t. I: *De fontibus eorumque investigatione et editionibus Instructio ad editionem Nuntiorum series chronologica* (Romae: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae, 1990), here especially 3–82.

61 On the nuncio's diplomatic activity and correspondence with the Secretariat of the State, see the important work of Maria Domin-Jačov, ed., ANP, t. XXXIV, 9 vols (Romae-Cracoviae: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae/Academia Scientiarum et Litterarum Polona, 1995–2021), published until 30 December 1684.

62 *Piego* or *dispaccio*, without further definition, refers to any consignment, usually of several documents, contained in a common envelope. Cf. Dörrer, *Schriftverkehr zwischen dem päpstlichen Staatssekretariat*, 209, 216–17.

from Warsaw⁶³ and, like his letters to Rome, they were usually dated on a Wenesday.

Five main points can be identified as the practice of report between Buonvisi and Pallavicini: First, the nuncios are always located where the respective court is⁶⁴. Secondly, the courier (*ordinario*) was probably dispatched on the nuncio's "writing day" (Monday/Wenesday)⁶⁵. Thirdly, information is given on the modalities of writing letters⁶⁶; and fourthly, Buonvisi acted as a hinge for Pallavicini, as the latter had to forward the *dispacci di palazzo* between Rome and Warsaw via Vienna to Rome⁶⁷. Fifthly, special attention is paid to the dispatch of the courier (*ordinario/straordinario*; date of forwarding)⁶⁸. The postal receipt or the letter accompanying to *dispaccio* is considered particularly important⁶⁹. It is a *lettera in piano* that comments on the entire postal item of the day (type, number and sometimes also content), the newsletters (*avvisi*), and the enclosures⁷⁰. In few cases, the correspondence shows that a letter is missing or that entire *dispacci* have not arrived or have arrived late⁷¹. In most cases, however, the punctual receipt of the complete *piego* is confirmed with the *ordinario*. The accompanying letter for each *dispaccio* ensured complete control of all the correspondence.

The frequency of communication between Vienna and Warsaw was linked to the duration of transport and two postal connections were considered for the traffic: the ordinary, somewhat slower public *ordinari* post via Prague⁷², where the letters were forwarded to Wrocław (Vratislavia), and the staffette

63 However, he was also in Cracow (30 July–9 March 1683), Jaworów (16 March–19 July 1684; 1 May–5 June 1686), Żółkiew (26 July–o August 1684; 29 November–19 December 1684; 5 December–11 December 1685), Lviv (o6 August–23 November 1684; 26 December 1684–4 February 1685; 13 September–27 November 1685; 18 December 1685–24 April 1686; o2 July 1686–2 October 1687) and Stryj (o9 June–26 June 1686). The dates are taken from the letters of Pallavicini to Buonvisi.

64 Cf. for example in the autograph letter of Pallavicini to Buonvisi from Cracow of 1 August 1683, ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/45, n. 102: «Giunse Sua Maestà qui giovedì notte et io venerdì mattina».

65 Cf. Dörrer, *Schriftverkehr zwischen dem päpstlichen Staatssekretariat*, 202.

66 Thus, Francesco Buonvisi recommends to Pallavicini, already at the beginning of his tenure in Poland, not to write the letters *per mano propria*, but through a secretary, ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/17, n. 96, Vienna 10 March 1681: «[...] e la prego di scrivere per mano di segretario, perché alle volte scappa qualche parola senz' intenderla e può alterare tutta la sostanza e farmi far degl'errori».

67 Pallavicini often asked Buonvisi to forward the letter packages to Rome («di mandarlo con prima occasione al signor Cardinal Cibo», «a fare passar a Roma con posta di domenica le lettere per il signor Cibo»), cf. the examples in ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/48, n. 65; II/52, n. 132, 137 and 173. Letters to Rome were also sent in the opposite direction to Warsaw via Vienna, cf. ASL, Ibid., II/45, n. 81, *Opizio Pallavicini to Francesco Buonvisi*, Cracow 21 November 1683: «Ho ricevuto il dispaccio di Vostra Eminenza de' 5 e con esso quello del signor Cardinal Cibo, giuntole col ritorno del corriere che portò a Roma l'avviso della vittoria di Barcan».

68 The latter point is always urged on the nuncios by the Secretariat of the State not to omit any courier, even if he has nothing to write. Delays that occurred in the correspondence had to be explained, which represented a deviation from the «Norm des zuverlässigen Antwortbriefs» («norm of the reliable reply letter»: Maria Stüber, *Zwischen Rom und dem Erdkreis. Die gelehrte Korrespondenz des Kardinals Stefano Borgia (1731–1804)* (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 60 and 186).

69 The cover letter for each *dispaccio* ensured complete control of all correspondence. First, the cover letter confirms the post received from the other side during the week, often with details of the postal route and any delays.

70 ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/64, n. 17 (s.d.): «Quando si negotia e si scrive spesso il negotiato si vuole accusare il di della data delle precedenti, ed ancora il contenuto per qual via si sono spedite e perche si manda la presente et me l'ultime, e penultime me furono del primo, e de gl'otto di questa indirizzata a N.N. per N.N».

71 The fact that the "ordinary" mail arrived later was relatively rare and was due to climatic conditions (floods, high water, snow), for example, ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/52, n. 154 (Warsaw 17 December 1681): «La posta è stata trattenuta dalle nevi cadute, [...]». Or, on the other hand, by the late arrival of the courier: «Io non so a che attribuire simil tardanza. Non è male ricedere talvolta i sigilli, perche non mancan de curiosi. Io osservo quelli di Vostra Eminenza, e sin hora mi son parsi sempre intatti», (Ibid., II/57, n. 32, Lviv 4 February 1686) or the negligence or disorder of the post office (cf. Ibid., II/17, n. 292; II/19, n. 366; II/19, n. 383; II/20, n. 23 and 129). Extraordinary mailings due to imperial postal delivery, cf. Ibid., II/52, nn. 132 and 145. Missing letters also occur, cf. Ibid. II/17, n. 292; II/19, n. 366; II/19, n. 383; II/20, n. 23 and 129. «Parmi d'esser all'Indie mancando affatto di lettere esterne, et anco dalla Corte, che è a Visosco», Ibid., II/52, n. 200, Lviv 30 September 1685.

72 Cf. for example ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/20, n. 98, as well as ibid., II/52, n. 178: «Questa la mando per la via di Praga per la qual si spedirà in apresso ogni giovedì». On the transport of postal parcels, cf. the work by Giuseppe Miselli (1637–1695), papal postal official under Innocent XI Odescalchi (cf. «*Il Burattino veridico o vero istruzione generale per chi viaggia [...]*», (Roma: Per Michel'Ercole, 1682), here 167, 169: «Finisce questo dell'Imperio a Praga, Metropoli della Boemia, ove si rimettono le lettere per Egra, e per la Slesia, Lignitz, Glogau, Lubë, Brelsau, o Vratislavia, Olmuz, Troppau, Sagà, Znomo, Iglau Città della Moravia. [...], scrivendo da Roma per Polonia, l'Ordinario lascia il piego a Praga, acciò d'indi

connection (express post) between Vienna and Warsaw via the imperial representative in Poland, Johannes Christoph Zierwosky⁷³.

The same lines were used in the opposite direction. The *ordinari* mail via Prague arrived in Vienna on Saturday or Monday and left the imperial city again on Monday evening⁷⁴. The mail to Warsaw arrived on Wednesday (*colla posta di mercoledì*) and left the Polish residential city again on the same day⁷⁵. In general, the postal connection was quite reliable and brought a consignment from Vienna to Warsaw to its destination in 10 days, the *dispaccio* from Warsaw to Vienna in about 11 days (if arriving on Saturday) or 13 days (if arriving on Monday); the express mail after 8 to 9 days⁷⁶ (see Appendix I).

Thus, Francesco Buonvisi could usually take into account the letters sent from Poland approximately three weeks earlier and vice versa. To illustrate this in more detail: If nuncio Pallavicini received a letter sent from Vienna on 7 April 1683 (Wednesday), dated 29 March, he answered the *dispaccio* and sent the *replica* to the Viennese nuncio, who arrived on 19 April. This means that Francesco Buonvisi did not receive a reply to his letter of 29 March from Warsaw until 22 days later. Such a rhythm of communication was faithfully maintained by both nuncios until the end of Pallavicini's tenure at the end of September 1688.

THE ACTIVITIES OF TWO APOSTOLIC Nuncios IN THE SERVICE OF POPE INNOCENT XI ODESCALCHI (1676–1689)

It is clear that the Polish question formed an integral part of papal diplomacy and European politics. Thus, in particular, it was the persistent threat of the Turks that «gave the Polish nunciature a character of its own that set it apart from the other nunciatures until the beginning of the eighteenth century»⁷⁷. Reading the correspondence, it becomes clear that the two nuncios, Opizio Pallavicini and Francesco Buonvisi, were working to realise Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi's project of a united Christian front against the *comun nemico*⁷⁸. Moreover, the subject of the Turkish problem was so seriously addressed in the Polish-papal negotiations that all other religio-political questions were subordinated in the correspondence between Vienna and Warsaw. Buonvisi, for his part, kept a close eye on what was happening in Poland from Vienna, and as an expert on "Polish things" he reassured his *omologo* in Warsaw by constantly communicating his thoughts on the matter⁷⁹. Pallavicini, on the other hand,

sia inviato a Polonia». For the edition and interpretation of the work cf. Gaetano Platania, *Giuseppe Miselli. Tra la polvere delle strade e il lusso delle corti* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2014).

73 ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/57, n. 14, *Opizio Pallavicini to Francesco Buonvisi*, Lviv 13 December 1686: «Spedendo costà il signore Residente Cesareo una staffetta, non ho voluto che venga senza i miei essequii a Vostra Eminenza, e senza le parole nuove, che posso parteciparle».

74 ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/19, n. 120, 128 and 147 (Vienna 5 April 1683, 12 April 1683 and 26 April 1683).

75 ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/49, n. 22, Warsaw 29 November 1680.

76 ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/19, n. 277 (Passau 23 August 1683): «Dalla lettera di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima delli 15 del corrente e dall'avviso di un Cavaliero habbiamo saputo la partenza del Re, e non ho stimato necessario spedire staffetta col piego di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima per il Signor Cardinal Cybo, perché le lettere che si spediranno mercordì arriveranno in 13 giorni et anderanno più sicure, oltre che già con le passate avvisai Sua Santità che il Re partiva e così haverà havuta la consolazione che Vostra Signoria Illustrissima desiderava di anticiparli. Non lascerò però di accennare il pensiero che ella haveva havuto».

77 Henryk Damian Wojtyska, "Zur Entstehung und Organisation der polnischen Nuntiatur bis 1572", *MÖStA*, n.33 (1980): 58-76, here 63 («der polnischen Nuntiatur einen eigenen Charakter verlieh, der sie von den anderen Nuntiaturen bis zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts abhob»).

78 Cf. on this Gaetano Platania, "Innocent XI Odescalchi et l'esprit de croisade", *XVII Siècle. La reconquête catholique en Europe centrale*, n. 50/2 (1998): 247-76, and the same, "Innocenzo XI Odescalchi e l'idea di Crociata al tempo della liberazione di Vienna", *Est Europa*, 2 (1986): 69-106.

79 See for example AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 183A, *Alderano Cybo to Opizio Pallavicini*, Rome 6 December 1681: f. 498r: «È piaciuto ancora alla Sua Santità ch'ella di tutto habbia fatta intera relazione al signor Cardinal Buonvisi, onde possa l'Eminenza Sua valersene opportunamente in quella corte».

was reassured by the constant advice he received from Buonvisi⁸⁰.

Thus, between 1680 and 1688, both papal diplomats followed the directives from Rome and Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi⁸¹, respectively, on two specific and constant guidelines: first, to form a strong anti-Ottoman alliance with Poland under John III Sobieski⁸² and second to drive the Polish kingdom to war against the Turks or to continue the war against the Turks⁸³, who were then conducting their greatest offensive in Europe. The pope's priority, and therefore that of the nuncios, was to found and maintain the Holy League⁸⁴ and to consolidate the Polish-Imperial union, and to remove all doubts and suspicions that complicated relations between the Polish sovereign and Leopold I Habsburg⁸⁵. The mediation of the Buonvisi *in concerto* with the Polish nuncio Pallavicini proved to be fundamental in overcoming all the difficulties inherent in the relations between the Polish sovereign and Leopold I⁸⁶.

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- 80 Cf. for example ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, III/48, n. 143, *Opizio Pallavicini to Francesco Buonvisi*, Lviv 20 October 1686: «La benignissima di Vostra Eminenza de i 7 è stata per me il filo d'Arianna per uscire da un Laborinto assai intricato».
- 81 Compliance with the directives from Rome concerning the foundation of the Holy League, or before that the foundation of a defensive league (*lega defensiva*), was taken very seriously in Rome. Buonvisi and Pallavicini were called to order by the Cardinal Secretary of the State to always pass on information to Rome: «Forse ho errato in non partecipare a Vostra Eminenza le prime notizie di monsignor Nunzio, ma stimai superfluo il farlo, finché egli non mi mandava le proposizioni digerite» (AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, vol. 204, *Francesco Buonvisi to Alderano Cybo*, Ödenburg 28 December 1681, ff. 839r-v, here 839v.). The instructions of Pope Innocent XI are to be awaited in future negotiations: «[...] essendosegli pur anche di qua scritto di non avvanzarsi più in avvenire a tali negoziazioni, senza preciso ordine di Nostro Signore» (ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/36, n. 6, *Cybo to Buonvisi*, Rome 17 January 1682). The criticism is accepted by nuncio Buonvisi of limiting the autonomy of action in this *negozio*, respectively «che dà noi non si deve fare alcun passo, senza ordine preciso di Nostro Signore, che sa quello che vada fatto» (AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, vol. 205, *Buonvisi to Cibo*, Vienna 8 February 1682, f. 86r).
- 82 The treaty between Leopold I and John III Sobieski was approved by the Polish Diet in the night between 17 and 18 April 1683, cf. Maria Letizia Siloni, «Il progetto di una *pace perpetua* tra polacchi e moscoviti nell'azione politico-diplomatica del cardinale Francesco Buonvisio, nunzio a Vienna», in *L'ombra della Russia sull'Europa di centro tra storia e letteratura* (secc. XV-XX), ed. Gaetano Platania (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2007), 165-83.
- 83 For example, in the unsuccessful Polish campaign in Moldavia in 1686 and in the subsequent effort of the nuncios to guarantee the preparations for a subsequent campaign, cf. on this unfortunate undertaking for example Maria Letizia Sileoni, «La difficile campagna militare anti-turca in Moldavia di Giovanni Sobieski (1686) nelle carte vaticane», in *L'Europa centro-orientale e il pericolo turco tra Sei e Settecento*, ed. Gaetano Platania (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2000), 173-91, and Fabio Marco Fabbri, «Da Vienna a Buda: il percorso della diplomazia», in Platania, *L'Europa di Giovanni Sobieski*, 337-68.
- 84 AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 9, *Opizio Pallavicini to Alderano Cybo*, Warsaw 12 November 1681, ff. 623r-26v, here f. 624r: «Quando toccai qui queste materie, scrissi anco al signor Cardinal Bonvisi, dicendo come hora mi pareva tempo opportuno d'unire questo Re e l'Imperatore per un' fine sì necessario e sì utile ad ambe due. Sopra di che Sua Eminenza mi risponde d'haver parlato con Sua Maestà Cesarea e che la Maestà Sua le havea detto che per la lega difensiva era sempre pronta, ma che l'offensiva ricercava l'istesse considerazioni havutesi altre volte, perché il solo motivarla offendeva il Turco senza la sicurezza di concluderla. Non esserci in Polonia la Dieta né apparir dispositione prossima a convocarla. Sapersi le contraditioni del Regno et il poco segreto del negoziare, e però non poter dire cosa positiva sopra la lega offensiva, assicurava bensì d'esser sempre pronta alla difensiva».
- 85 AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, vol. 206, *Alderano Cybo to Francesco Buonvisi*, Rome 27 November 1683, ff. 41v-2r: «Giungono qua notizie da più parti, che tra cotesta Corte, et il Re di Polonia nascono ogni di più delle diffidenze, e dell'ombre, le quali possono prorompere in manifeste scissure, e troncane nell maggiori urgenze il corso della lega con gravissimo sentimento di Sua Santità la quale non ha cosa, che le stia più a cuore della medesima lega, da cui sono uscite le vittorie e dipende lo stabilimento della sicurezza publica». Pallavicini with explicit instruction from Rome had to reaffirm negotiations around the Holy League, «il proprio zelo a promuovere quest'impresa, la quale sola può apportar la quiete e la sicurezza a quel Regno ed a tutto il remanente della Christianità confinante col Turco [...] al buon servizio di Sua Santità, la quale non ha certamente desiderio, né premura maggiore di questa, cioè di veder la Polonia armata a depressione della potenza Ottomana» (AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Colonia*, vol. 221, *Alderano Cybo to Opizio Pallavicini*, Rome 24 August 1680, ff. 259r-v).
- 86 At the express command from Rome, the two nuncios began to work vigorously and together to ensure that the League was signed as soon as possible. Buonvisi told Pallavicini to move «in concerto con Vostra Signoria Illustrissima» (ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/19, n. 47, *Francesco Buonvisi to Opizio Pallavicini*, Vienna 8 February 1683). Alderano Cybo repeatedly emphasized to the two nuncios to work together, so he wrote to Opizio Pallavicini on 11 December 1683: «È stato effetto della sua diligente attenzione e del suo zelo l'haver tutto comunicato al signor Cardinal Buonvisi, con cui dovrà ella intendersi sì in questa come in ogn'altra cosa che riguardi e gl'affari della guerra, e il mantenimento stabile della lega istessa, poiché colla buona corrispondenza e salda unione di queste due potenze gran bene può farsi ai Regni, lor soggetti, et alla Christianità tutta» (AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia*, vol. 185, ff. 124v-25r).

Vuole però Sua Santità che Vostra Eminenza, la quale si è acquistato un così gran merito nella conclusione, nel mantenimento sin hora di detta lega, procuri di ritrovare il fondo, e l'origine di dette diffidenze et usi dopo tutta la sua attenzione, e zelo per impedirne il male, che ne potrebbe nascere, con far riflettere all'Imperatore; et a suoi Ministri, che la liberazione di Vienna, et in conseguenza la salvezza degli stati di Sua Maestà Cesarea è nata principalmente dall'opportuno soccorso, e dal gran valore del Re di Polonia, [...] Vostra Eminenza può continuare ad intendersele con monsignore Nunzio Pallavicini per ricever da lui, e dargli i lumi necessari alla conservatione di un bene così grande, e così importante, com'è l'unione tra l'Imperatore e la Polonia. Di tutto quello che le anderà giungendo a notizia intorno alla diffidenze tra le parti⁸⁷.

As can be seen in the constant instructions of the correspondence, the efforts of the nuncios must always be aimed at achieving a resumption of negotiations in order to be able to turn their forces peacefully against the "common enemy", especially in Hungary, as a common interest of all Christendom⁸⁸. Cooperation between the nuncios is therefore always encouraged⁸⁹, because Cybo or the pope expected communicative action and reporting between the two: «Vostra Eminenza continui ad intendersele con monsignor nunzio in Polonia per dissipar d'accordo tutte le ombre, che potessero insorgere non meno dall'una, che dall'altra parte»⁹⁰.

Additionally, the issue of the continuous subsidies that the Holy See should grant in the fight against the Turks is a recurring theme of the correspondence. The requests for financial support to continue the campaigns are a recurring theme in the correspondence of the two nuncios⁹¹. The task of the two nuncios here was to inform the allies of the pope's constant obligation to send sums of money for the army's expenses or exhaustion of funds and to avoid jealousies between the two allies⁹². It was also due to the extensive mediation of diplomatic negotiations by Francesco Buonvisi in Vienna and Opizio Pallavicini in Warsaw that Innocent XI Odescalchi succeeded⁹³ in having an alliance concluded between Emperor Leopold I and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in April 1683⁹⁴.

The constant effort and the alliance were to lead to a great victory on 12 September 1683, forcing the Turks to flee in haste towards Belgrade: «A memorable victory that not only saved Vienna, the capital of the Empire, but also the whole of Europe, which saw the disappearance of a danger that had threatened it for centuries»⁹⁵.

87 AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, vol. 206, Alderano Cybo to Francesco Buonvisi, Rome 27 November 1683, ff. 41v-2r.

88 This includes gathering information about Sobieski's actual relations with Tököly and to report it to the Emperor in order to convince him of the Polish king's good faith and loyalty, cf. AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, vol. 38, Alderano Cybo to Francesco Buonvisi, Rome 8 January 1684, ff. 274v-75v. Cf. in detail Péter Tusor, "La Santa Sede e l'Ungheria durante il pontificato di Innocenzo XI", in Bösel, *Innocenzo XI Odescalchi*, 209-20 and Agostino Borromeo, "Le direttrici della politica antiottomana della Santa Sede durante il pontificato di Innocenzo XI (1676-1689)", RHM, n. 26 (1984): 303-30.

89 The cooperation is repeatedly evident in the correspondence, for example ASL, Archivio Buonvisi, II/19, n. 352: «Gratissimo mi è stato l'avviso che Vostra Signoria Illustrissima mi ha dato con la benignissima sua delli X del corrente»; Ibid., II/51, n. 82: «Ho la benignissima di Vostra Eminenza de' 13 corrente, e dopo haverle reso humilissime gratie per una comunicazione che a me è di sommo gusto e profitto per le gravi e belle riflessioni che fa sulle materie delle quali cade il discorso, risponderò a quel ch'occorre et avviserò quello che so e non stimo immeritevole d'esser partecipato a Vostra Eminenza».

90 AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, vol. 206, Alderano Cybo to Francesco Buonvisi, Rome 11 December 1683, ff. 43v-4r, here f. 43v.

91 Cf. Platania, *Santa Sede e sussidi per la Guerra contro il Turco*, 103-38.

92 AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, vol. 38, Alderano Cybo to Francesco Buonvisi, Rome 23 February 1686, ff. 655v-56r.

93 It is clearly evident that although the nuncios appeared independently on the political stage and mediated between the two courts with great skill, this was done only with «ordine preciso di Nostro Signore, che sa quello che vada fatto» and no step was taken without his instruction («che da noi non si deve fare alcun passo», cf. AAV, *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, vol. 205, Francesco Buonvisi to Alderano Cybo, Vienna 8 February 1682, f. 96r).

94 Stefano Pifferi, "Papa Odescalchi dai trionfi del "possesso della cattedra" a quelli della lega santa polacco-imperiale del 1683", in Platania, *L'Europa di Giovanni Sobieski*, 139-78, here 150.

95 Gaetano Platania, "Le fonti per la storia dell'Europa orientale: la Polonia e la Santa Sede", in *Gli archivi della Santa Sede come fonte per la storia moderna e contemporanea*, eds. Matteo Sanfilippo and Giovanni Pizzorusso (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2001), 133-235, here 162: «Una memorabile vittoria che non salvò solo Vienna, capitale dell'impero, ma l'intera Europa: quest'ultima vide così allontanarsi un pericolo che da secoli la minacciava costantemente».

CONCLUSION

Francesco Buonvisi and Opizio Pallavicini perfectly fulfilled the directives of Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi in the course of their legations, which Gaetano Platania defined as a «constructive and indispensable contribution»⁹⁶. Both can be described as the great builders of the Holy League, that is, the maintenance of the League itself and its extension on the alliance to other Christian powers, especially Venice and Muscovy.

At the end of this overall picture, it should be noted that the correspondence between the two papal diplomats from 1680 to 1688 offers far more than a truthful panorama of the religio-political relations between Rome, Vienna and Warsaw during these years. The most striking feature of the volume of letters (from Vienna to Poland and from Poland to Vienna) is the extraordinary richness of detailed information. A serious study of the correspondence produced by the two important papal diplomats during their legations at the imperial court and in Poland therefore seems necessary not only to make a further contribution to the history of the events considering Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi, but also to offer a clearer understanding for the study of the history of the relations between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the imperial court and the papacy, as well as for the understanding of the political and diplomatic history of Europe in the early modern period⁹⁷.

96 Platania, *Odescalchi e l'idea di "Crociata"*, 93-4. Commenting on her performance, Pierre Blet writes: «La délivrance de Vienne était l'œuvre de la diplomatie du pape Innocent XI et de ses nonces, qui avaient su réunir contre l'envahisseur les armées de la Pologne avec celles de l'Empire». Pierre Blet, *Les nonces du pape à la cour de Louis XIV* (Paris: Perrin, 2002), 398.

97 Cf. Platania, *Le fonti per la storia*, 163, 171.

RHYTHM OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN FRANCESCO BUONVISI AND OPIZIO PALLAVICINI (17 MARCH TO 3 MAY 1683)⁹⁸

Postal consignment	Confirmation of the letters	Buonvisi to Pallavicini	Pallavicini to Buonvisi	Confirmation of the letters	Postal consignment
			17.03. (We), Warsaw		<i>Staffetta</i> (express delivery)
<i>Ordinario</i> (regular delivery)		19.03. (Fr), Vienna			
			21.03. (So), Warsaw	–	<i>Spedizione straordinaria</i> (extraordinary expedition)
<i>Ordinario</i>	10.03.	22.03. (Mo), Vienna			
			24.03. (We), Warsaw	No arrival of letters	<i>Ordinario</i> [24.03. – trattenuta dall'acque]
<i>Ordinario</i>	17.03. (Arrival: 24.03.)	29.03. (Mo), Vienna			
			31.03. (We), Warsaw	14.03. 15.03. 19.03. 22.03.	<i>Ordinario</i>
<i>Ordinario</i>	21.03. (Arrival: 29.03.)	05.04. (Mo), Vienna			
			07.04. (We), Warsaw	29.03.	<i>Ordinario</i>
<i>Ordinario</i>	24.03. 31.03. (Arrival: 10.04.)	12.04. (Mo), Vienna	12.04. (Mo), Warsaw	–	<i>Staffetta</i>
			14.04. (We), Warsaw	05.04.	
			18.04. (So), Warsaw		<i>Spedizione straordinaria</i>
<i>Ordinario</i>	07.04.	19.04. (Mo), Vienna			<i>Ordinario</i>
			21.04. (We), Warsaw	12.04.	<i>Ordinario</i>
<i>Ordinario</i>	14.04. (Arrival: 24.04.)	26.04. (Mo), Vienna			
			26.04. (Mo), Warsaw	–	<i>Ordinario</i>
			28.04. (We), Warsaw	19.04.	<i>Ordinario</i>
<i>Ordinario</i>	21.04.	03.05. (Mo), Vienna			

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Cf. the original letters of Opizio Pallavicini in: ASL, *Archivio Buonvisi*, II/45, n. 70 (17 March); n. 69 (21 March); n. 67 (24 March); n. 58 (31 March); n. 66 (07 April); n. 65 (12 April); n. 61 (14 April); n. 76 (18 April); n. 60 (21 April); n. 103 (26 April); n. 74 (28 April). The autograph minutes of the Buonvisi can be found in ASL, *Archivio Buonvisi*, II/19, n. 94 (19 March); n. 98 (22 March); n. 114 (29 March); n. 120 (05 April); n. 128 (12 April); n. 135 (19 April); n. 147 (26 April); n. 154 (03 May).

ABBREVIATIONS

- AAV: Archivio Apostolico Vaticano.
 ANP: *Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae*, t. I-LVII (Romae/Cracoviae: 1990–2021).
 ASL: Archivio di Stato di Lucca.
 BAV: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
 Ottob. Lat.: *Fondo Ottoboniano Latino*.
 DBI: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 100 vols (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Treccani, 1960–2020, 100).
 MÖStA: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*.
 QFIAB: *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*.
 RHM: *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*.

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