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ANTONIO SANTA CROCE
AND GIOVANNI BATTISTA PALLOTTA –
COOPERATION BETWEEN THE WARSAW
AND VIENNA NUNCIATURES IN 1629.
A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY
OF HORIZONTAL COMMUNICATION
WITHIN THE STRUCTURES
OF THE PAPAL DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Abstract

The article deals with communication and interaction between papal diplomatic missions in the early modern era. Mainly due to a lack of extant source materials, it remains the white spot in the research into the history of Polish and foreign nuncios. However, thanks to materials from Archivio di Stato di Roma, namely the section of Archivio Santa Croce containing the originals of letters received by Nuncio Antonio Santa Croce in 1629, it is possible to attempt at least a partial reconstruction of the collaboration between the papal diplomat residing at the Court of Warsaw and his counterpart at the Court of Emperor Ferdinand II of Habsburg in Vienna, Giovanni Battista Pallotta. The correspondence analysis allows us to conclude that the contacts between the papal diplomats residing in Warsaw and Vienna in 1629, and probably earlier and later, were regular and intensive. We can assume that the routine products of the information and analytical work carried out for the Secretariat of State by both papal missions were shared in the correspondence, and the Nunciatures of Vienna

and Warsaw were thus well informed about the course of affairs related to the pan-European conflict in several theatres of war. However, they also communicated and cooperated on strictly ecclesiastical matters, such as the ongoing reform of religious congregations in the 1620s.

Keywords: nuncios, Poland-Lithuania, correspondence, Antonio Santa Croce, Giovanni Battista Pallotta

The primary tasks of apostolic nunciatures – permanent diplomatic representations of the Holy See to Catholic courts – were, on the one hand, to influence the rulers and elites of a given state to pursue a policy convergent with the vision of the Roman Curia and, on the other, to inform about events taking place in the mission state and its immediate vicinity. The accomplishment of the second of these tasks required the papal diplomat to create his network of domestic and foreign informants, which would ensure the possibility of obtaining information on domestic events and linking them to the political situation in Europe.¹ In the context of acquiring information relating to interstate affairs, the cooperation of individual nunciatures was necessary. The topic of communication and collaboration of papal diplomatic missions in the early modern era is poorly recognised in historiography. Researchers of the history of nunciature usually analyse the exchange of correspondence between specific diplomats of the Holy See and the Roman dicasteries. Research on the so-called horizontal communication is hindered by the lack of preserved direct correspondence between individual papal representatives, making it extremely difficult to reconstruct the scale of this phenomenon.

The case of Antonio Santa Croce, titular archbishop of Seleucia and nuncio to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from 1627 to 1630, may be regarded as an exception. In the *Archivio di Stato* in

¹ For more on how the nuncio obtained information, see Wojciech Tygielski, *Z Rzymu do Rzeczypospolitej. Studia z dziejów nuncjatury apostolskiej w Polsce, XVI–XVII w.* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Fundacji “Historia pro Futuro”, 1992), pp. 65–69; id., ‘Źródła informacji papieskich dyplomatów’, in *Nuncjatura Apostolska w Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. by Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel, Katarzyna Wiszowata-Walczak (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Benkowski, 2012), pp. 75–94.

Rome, in the section of Archivio Santa Croce, an enormous volume has been preserved with the number 774, discovered by Prof. Henryk Damian Wojtyśka, which contains the originals of letters received by the abovementioned papal diplomat in 1629.² In a group of 846 letters, we can distinguish 85 dispatches sent by Apostolic Nunciates residing in other European countries. Among the correspondents of the Archbishop of Seleucia were: the nuncio in Vienna, Giovanni Battista Pallotta; the ordinary and extraordinary nuncios in Madrid, Giovanni Battista Pamphili and Cesare Monti; the nuncio in Paris, Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno; the nuncio in Brussels, Fabio Lagonissa; the nuncio in Cologne, Pier Luigi Carafa; the nuncio in Lucerne, Ciriaco Rocci; the nuncio in Florence, Alfonso Giglioli; and the nuncio in Venice, Giovanni Battista Agucchi. In addition, the papal representative in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth maintained contact by letter with Pope Urban VIII's extraordinary representative for the Mantuan conflict Giovanni Giacomo Panzirolli. Santa Croce corresponded most intensively with the nuncio on a mission to the imperial court. The analysis of the correspondence gathered in the abovementioned collection allows us to attempt at least a partial reconstruction of the phenomenon of cooperation between the apostolic nunciatures in Warsaw and Vienna in quantitative and qualitative terms.

The increased exchange of correspondence between Santa Croce and Pallotti can be justified primarily by geopolitical considerations. The nunciature in Vienna was the closest diplomatic post of the Holy See to the Commonwealth and had a higher rank in the papal hierarchy, being the so-called nunciature of the first category.³ Moreover, together with the Venice and Florence missions, it was a pivotal point on the route of couriers transporting correspondence from Warsaw to Rome. *Santa Sede's* representatives residing in those cities acted as intermediaries in distributing papal diplomatic mail. It was also crucial that the

² An analysis of the correspondence collected in the above-mentioned volume was made by Henryk Litwin, see id., 'Krąg korespondentów nuncjusza Antonio Santa Croce w świetle zbioru listów otrzymanych w roku 1929', in *Nuncjatura Apostolska*, pp. 223–31.

³ Tygielski, *Z Rzymu do Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 21–22.

Habsburgs, through the so-called Family Pact of 1613, were the closest allies of the Polish Vasa dynasty. Rome was well aware of the common interests of both dynasties. As a result, the Secretariat of State repeatedly recommended they cooperate when preparing instructions for newly appointed papal diplomats traveling to the Danube or the Vistula in the first half of the seventeenth century.

For example, Lelio Ruini, the papal nuncio to Poland from 1613 to 1614, was instructed to cooperate with his Viennese counterpart Placido de Marra in establishing an alliance between Sigismund III Vasa and Matthias I of Habsburg. Francesco Diotallevi, nuncio in Poland between 1614 and 1621, was entrusted with a similar task concerning the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, just like Cosimo de Torres, nuncio in Poland in 1621 and 1622, concerning the Polish-Turkish War.⁴ Similar, though slightly more generally formulated, directives were contained in the instructions to the Viennese nuncio. The document prepared for Stefano Ferreri, dated 20 January 1604, stressed the pope's desire to bring about an alliance between the emperor and the ruler of the Commonwealth, 'col mezzo dei suoi nuntii',⁵ while the instruction to Carlo Carafa of 12 April 1621 stressed the importance of efforts to 'unione di Sua Maestà e del Polacco'.⁶

Undoubtedly, the recommendations of the Curia were put into practice, and the papal diplomats in Warsaw and Vienna conducted regular and intensive exchanges of correspondence, passing on vital information.⁷ In the case of Santa Croce and Pallotta, it is also worth

⁴ Henryk Litwin, *Chwała Północy. Rzeczpospolita w polityce Stolicy Apostolskiej 1598–1648* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 2018), pp. 123, 129–30, 155.

⁵ *Die Hauptinstruktionen Clemens' VIII. für die Nuntien und Legaten an den europäischen Fürstenhöfen (1592–1605)*, ed. by Klaus Jaitner (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1994), p. 723.

⁶ *Die Hauptinstruktionen Gregors XV.: für die Nuntien und Gesandten an den europäischen Fürstenhöfen, 1621–1623*, ed. K. Jaitner, Tübingen 1997, pp. 637–638.

⁷ As an example, the Nuncio in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Giovanni Battista Lancellotti cooperated with his Viennese counterpart Carlo Carafa during the expedition of troops enlisted by Gustav II Adolf in Mecklenburg to Poland. In his reports, Carafa kept the Secretariat of State and the Nuncio in Warsaw informed on the course of the mercenary march. For more on this, see Paweł Duda, 'Wojna o ujście Wisły w relacjach i ocenie dyplomacji papieskiej. Kampania roku 1627', in

noting the thread of affection between them, probably resulting from their similar ages and curial careers.

SANTA CROCE AND PALLOTTA – EXECUTORS OF PAPAL POLICY IN WARSAW AND VIENNA

Antonio Santa Croce came from a well-known Roman aristocratic family that had several cardinal ancestors, among whom a special mention should be made of Prospero Santa Croce, the founder of the family's modern career, who was several times a nuncio in Vienna, Paris, Madrid, and Lisbon, as well as cardinal and archbishop of Arles from 1565.⁸ The desire to equal his ancestors undoubtedly stimulated Antonio to quickly and skillfully overcome successive levels of curial career.

The future nuncio to Poland was born on 1 August 1599 in Riofreddo. He lost his parents early and grew up under the care of his uncle Tarquinio and brother Valerio. While studying at the Collegio Romano, from which he graduated with a doctorate *in utroque iure*, he made the acquaintance of Francesco Barberini, nephew of Cardinal Maffeo Barberini. This friendship understandably had a significant impact on Antonio's subsequent career. In 1620, Santa Croce became an apostolic protonotary under Pope Paul V. Two years later, under Pope Gregory XV, he became a referendary of both signatures and vice-legate of Viterbo.

Studia nad staropolską sztuką wojenną, 5, ed. by Zbigniew Hundert, Karolo Źojdź, and Jan Jerzy Sowa (Oświęcim: Wydawnictwo Napoleon, 2017), pp. 109–15; id., *Krzyż i karabela. Polityka zagraniczna Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w ocenie dyplomacji papieskiej w latach 1623–1635* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2019), pp. 98–100.

⁸ For more on Antonio Santa Croce, see Alberto Tanturri, 'Santacroce Antonio', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (hereafter cited as: DBI), 90 (2017); 'De Antonio Santa Croce nuntio eiusque sociis', in *Acta Nuntiaturae Poloniae* (hereafter cited as: ANP), 23: *Antonius Santa Croce (1627–1630)*, vol. 1 (1 III 1627 – 29 VII 1628), ed. by Henryk Litwin (Romae: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae, 1996), pp. v–xix; id., *Chwała Północy*, pp. 224–27; Henryk Damian Wojtyśka CP, *Nuncjusze papiescy w Polsce od XVI do końca XVIII wieku. Materiały pozostawione do publikacji przygotował do druku i wydał bp Jan Kopiec* (Gliwice: Studio IMPRESO Przemysław Biliczak, 2020), pp. 213–17; Jean Sėniė, 'Santacroce Prospero', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 90 (2017).

When Maffeo Barberini was elected pope in 1623, taking the name of Urban VIII, and his nephew took the position of *cardinale nipote*, the career of Antonio, a friend of the latter, gained momentum. In 1624 he was ordained a priest, and the following year he was promoted to governor of the provinces of Campagna and Maritima. The confidence Santa Croce enjoyed from the Barberinis is confirmed by his participation in the diplomatic mission of Francesco Barberini to France and Spain in 1626. This mission was undertaken in connection with the political tension between the monarchies of Philip IV and Louis XIII over the dispute of sovereignty over the Valtellina Valley.⁹

On 27 February 1627, at the age of 28, Santa Croce was appointed nuncio to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, making history as the youngest papal ambassador to Warsaw.¹⁰ Along with his nomination, he received the dignity of the titular archbishop of Seleucia. He arrived in Warsaw at a memorable moment – on the one hand, after the Polish forces' successful military campaign, crowned with the recapture of

⁹ For more on Barberini's mission to France and Spain, see Pierre Blet, *Histoire de la Représentation Diplomatique du Saint Siège des origines à l'aube du XIX siècle* (Vatican City: Archivio Vaticano, 1982), pp. 337–43; Augusto Bazzoni, 'Il cardinale Francesco Barberini legato in Francia ed in Ispagna nel 1625–1626', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Serie V, 12, no. 192 (1893), pp. 335–60; Antonio Malvezzi, 'Papa Urbano VIII e la questione della Valtellina. Nuovi documenti', *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 84 (1957), pp. 3–111; Georg Lutz, 'Rom und Europa während des Pontifikats Urbans VIII. Politik und Diplomatie – Wirtschaft und Finanzen – Kultur und Religion', in *Rom in der Neuzeit. Politische, kirchliche und kulturelle Aspekte*, ed. by Reinhard Elze, Heinrich Schmidinger, Hendrik Schulte Nordholt (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976), pp. 76–77; Silvano Giordano, 'Urbano VIII, la casa d'Austria e la liberta d'Italia', in *Papato e Impero nel pontificato di Urbano VIII (1623–1644)*, ed. by Irene Fosi, Alexander Koller (Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2013), pp. 66–73.

¹⁰ Of the papal representatives designated to Warsaw in the first half of the seventeenth century, Santa Croce was the only one under 30 years of age at the time of his nomination. Among the nuncios of the so-called first category (Madrid, Paris, Vienna), only three similar cases can be found in the analysed period: Roberto Ubaldini – Apostolic Nuncio in Paris from 1607 to 1616 was nominated at the age of 26; Bernardino Spada – Nuncio in Paris from 1623 to 1627 was nominated at the age of 29; and Vittaliano Visconti Borromeo – Nuncio in Vienna from 1616 to 1617, received an appointment at the age of 25.

Puck and the defeat of their enemy in the Battle of Hammerstein, and on the other hand, at the time when Dutch mediators appeared in the Commonwealth, wanting to bring the war over the Vistula mouth to an end. The nuncio's main task was to prolong the conflict and prevent Gustav II Adolf from intervening in the Reich. During his stay on the Vistula, he showed significant activity in the diplomatic field. He managed to create a wide circle of correspondents, which could include the elites of the Commonwealth at that time,¹¹ and gain the trust of King Sigismund III, Queen Constance of Austria,¹² and Prince Ladislaus Sigismund of whom he became a confidant.¹³ He effectively took care of his interests. In the case of the monarch's efforts to obtain a cardinal's hat for the previous nuncio, Giovanni Battista Lancellotti,¹⁴

¹¹ Among Santa Croce's correspondents were: Jan Wężyk, Marcin Szyszkowski, Stanisław Łubieński, Andrzej Lipski, Abraham Woyna, Remigiusz Koniecpolski, Adam Nowodworski, Jakub Zadzik, Mikołaj Wolski, the Radziejowski family (Stanisław, Mikołaj and Hieronim), Jerzy Zbaraski, Lew Sapieha, Stanisław Przyjemski, Jan Eustachy Tyszkiewicz, Stanisław Koniecpolski, Jan Lipski, Henryk Firlej; see Litwin, 'Krag korespondentów', pp. 228–29.

¹² For more on the Nuncio's relationship with Constance of Habsburg, see Henryk Litwin, Paweł Duda, 'Nuncjusz, królowa i inne damy. Obraz kobiet w korespondencji Antonia Santa Crocego', *Kronika Zamkowa – Roczniki*, 72, no. 6 (2019), 113–31.

¹³ A particularly close relationship between Santa Croce and Ladislaus Sigismund can be seen in the summer of 1628, when the prince got into a dispute with King Sigismund III. The argument was provoked by the son's political ambitions and the father's unwillingness to fulfil them and by different concepts of the young Vasa's marriage. During this period, the prince complained several times to the nuncio, and the papal envoy tried to play the role of a mediator. See ANP, 23/1, no. 317, pp. 310–11, Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Warsaw, 29 July 1629; ANP, 23: *Antonius Santa Croce (1627–1630)*, vol. 2 (*I VIII 1628 – 31 III 1629*), ed. by Henryk Litwin, Paweł Duda (Cracoviae: Academia Scientiarum et Litterarum Polona, 2021), no. 327, pp. 15–17, the same to the same, Warsaw, 11 Aug. 1628; *ibid.*, no. 335, pp. 22–23, the same to the same, Warsaw, 19 Aug. 1628; *ibid.*, no. 395, pp. 87–88, the same to the same, Warsaw, 28 Oct. 1628.

¹⁴ For more on Giovanni Battista Lancellotti, see Laura Ronchi de Michelis, *Lancellotti Giovanni Battista*, in DBI, vol. 63 (2004); *De Ioanne Baptista Lancellotti tricesimo primo nuntio apostolico apud Polonos*, in ANP 22: *Ioannes Baptista Lancellotti (1622–1627)*, vol. 1 (*22 XI 1622 – 31 XII 1623*), ed. by Tadeusz Fitych (Cracoviae: Academia Scientiarum et Litterarum Polona, 2001), pp. v–l; *id.*, *Struktura i funkcjonowanie nuncjatury Giovanniego Battisty Lancellottiego (1622–1627)* (Opole:

he mediated in such a skilful manner that the reluctant to the candidacy of Lancellotti Urban VIII bestowed the cardinalate of Santa Croce in the belief that this would satisfy the ruler of the Polish-Lithuanian state. The archbishop of Seleucia received his cardinal appointment on 19 November 1629, at the age of 30, making his mark in the history of the Polish nunciature as a beneficiary of rapid promotion and a sophisticated aristocrat.

Giovanni Battista Pallotta was only five years older than Santa Croce. He was born in 1594 in the town of Coldarola in Umbria.¹⁵ Like the archbishop of Seleucia, he came from a family of merit for the Papacy. His ancestor was Archbishop Giovanni Evangelista Pallotta of Cosenza.¹⁶ After studying philosophy and law in Perugia, he began his career in the structures of the Curia, becoming a referendary of both signatures in 1611, and a vice-legate in Ferrara from 1621 to 1623. Again, his curial career gained momentum under Pope Urban VIII. He was first sent as the apostolic collector to Portugal in 1624, then briefly served as governor of Rome. On 8 April 1628, he was elevated to the post of extraordinary nuncio in Vienna, where he was to work to dissuade Emperor Ferdinand II of Habsburg from the idea of engaging in the War of the Mantuan Succession. In September, he succeeded Carlo Carafa as ordinary nuncio while obtaining the dignity of the titular archbishop of Thessaloniki.¹⁷ Pallotta received his cardinal's hat at the same time as Santa Croce and, like his Warsaw counterpart, ended his nunciature a year later.¹⁸

Redakcja Wydawnictw Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2005), pp. 53–78; Litwin, *Chwała Północy*, pp. 224–27.

¹⁵ For more on Giovanni Battista Pallotta, see Antonio D' Amico, 'Pallotta Giovanni Evangelista', in DBI, vol. 80 (2014); Donato Squicciarini, *Nunzi apostolici a Vienna* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1998), pp. 117–19; *Leben des Pallotta bis 1628*, in *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken, Abteilung IV, Nuntiatur des Pallotta 1628–1630*, ed. by Hans Kiewning, 1–2 (Berlin: Verlag Von A. Bath, 1895), pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.

¹⁶ D'Amico, *Pallotta Giovanni Evangelista*.

¹⁷ Robert Bireley, *Ferdynand II (1578–1637). Cesarz kontrreformacji*, trans. Katarzyna Pachniak (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 2020), p. 216.

¹⁸ On this occasion, Pallotta sent to Santa Croce letter with congratulations, see: Archivio di Stato di Roma (hereafter cited as: ASR), Archivio Santa Croce (hereafter

The two diplomats had the opportunity to meet personally in May 1630, when Santa Croce, returning from Warsaw to Rome, visited Vienna, where he was received with all honours by his counterpart. As he recalled in one of his letters: 'Giunsi hieri a Vienna incontrato fuori dall' Illustrissimo Signor Cardinal Pallotta, che condottomi alla sua habitatione, proseguo a cumularmi continuamente di favori'.¹⁹ Then, on 9–11 May, the papal diplomats travelled together from Vienna to Bratislava for a meeting with Emperor Ferdinand II.²⁰

FREQUENCY AND ORGANISATION OF THE EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE NUNCIATURES IN WARSAW AND VIENNA

In a letter addressed to Rome, dated 28 October 1628, and replying to a letter of 23 September, announcing the appointment of the archbishop of Thessalonica as ordinary nuncio to the imperial court, Santa Croce declared his willingness to continue working with his Viennese counterpart, writing: 'l'altra m'avvisa la deputatione di Monsignor Arcivescovo di Tessalonica alla Nuntiatura Ordinaria di Germania, acciò m'intenda inavvenire con esso lui, ne gli affari che concernono il servitio della Santa Sede'.²¹

cited as: ASC), vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 28 Nov. 1629. Warsaw Nuncio most likely did not respond, as at the time of the announcement of cardinals' nominations, due to the plague in the Commonwealth, he temporarily ceased any correspondence with Rome and other nunciatures.

¹⁹ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter cited as: BAV), Barberiniani Lattini, vol. 6159, fol. 20^r, Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Vienna, 7 May 1630: 'I arrived in Vienna yesterday, welcomed outside the city by H.E. Cardinal Pallotta, who escorted me to his residence, continually showing favor'. The manner in which the Nuncio of Vienna received Santa Croce met with the approval of the Secretariat of State, see *ibid.*, vol. 6226, fol. 195^v Francesco Barberini to Antonio Santa Croce, Rome 1 June 1630.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 6159, fols 20^v–21^r, Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Vienna 11 May 1630.

²¹ '[...] another [aviso] informs of the appointment of his Lordship the Archbishop of Thessaloniki as Ordinary Nuncio in Germany, by which I intend to collaborate with him in matters that concern the service of the Holy See': ANP, 23/2, no. 392, pp. 82–83, Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Warsaw, 28 Oct. 1628.

A similar declaration was made by Pallotta, who undertook to send weekly reports from the imperial court to Warsaw.²² Based on the archival material preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Rome, it can be concluded that the mutual declarations of the papal diplomats were not merely a form of courtesy, and the exchange of correspondence that took place between them in 1629 was quite intense.

The Archivio Santa Croce volume 774, kept at the Archivio di Stato di Roma, contains 36 letters sent by the nuncio from Vienna to his Warsaw counterpart. These are so-called *lettere piane* – short letters containing general information concerning the flow of correspondence and news about the mission's progress, of a conventional character, saturated with standard courtesy formulas.²³ Moreover, in the context of his letters, Pallotta referred to 28 letters (*piego*) which he received from the Nuncio residing in Warsaw.²⁴ Thus, it can be assumed that in 1629 the two diplomats exchanged at least 64 epistles.

The 36 dispatches sent from the Danube to the Vistula allow us to conclude that the representative of Pope Urban VIII residing at the imperial court sent his Warsaw counterpart information on average every ten days. Santa Croce's activity in this respect is slightly less intense – on average, a letter every 13 days. This statistic is understated by the lack of letters from the archbishop of Seleucia after 11 October.²⁵ The suspension of the exchange of letters between Warsaw, Vienna, and

²² *Ibid.*, no. 547, pp. 232–233, Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 28 Feb. 1629.

²³ Dorota Gregorowicz, *Tiara w gry o koronę, Stolica Apostolska wobec wolnych elekcji w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w drugiej połowie XVI wieku* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2019), pp. 19–20.

²⁴ Pallotta's recovered correspondence includes references to 32 dispatches he received from Santa Croce, including four from December 1628 and 28 sent the following year.

²⁵ Santa Croce's letter of 11 October is the last recorded by Pallotta, see ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 30 Oct. 1629. Based on the content of the reports of the same day sent by the Nuncio of Warsaw to Rome, it can be assumed that it contained information about the conclusion of the Altmark truce, see Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (hereafter cited as: AAV), Nunziatura di Polonia, vol. 42, fol. 115^r, Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Warsaw, 11 Oct. 1629; *ibid.*, fols 116^r–17^r, the same to the same, Warsaw, 11 Oct. 1629.

Rome can be explained by the plague which struck Poland in the last months of 1629.²⁶ In a letter dated 20 October, Santa Croce informed the Secretariat of State of the plague, which resulted in the death of two persons from among his servants (the so-called *Famiglia Bassa*), of his departure from the capital, and stipulated: ‘resterò qualche tempo senza scrivere’.²⁷ In fact, for the next two months, until 20 December, Santa Croce did not maintain correspondence with the Roman dicasteries or other nunciatures. In the last months of 1629, he stayed in the provinces on the estates of the Mazovian nobility and then at the royal residence at Nieporęt before finally returning to Warsaw and staying at the Jan Wężyk’s residence.²⁸ As he himself explained in one of his later dispatches: ‘per molte settimane il contagio, che regni in questa città, mi spinse in luogo remoto e mi privò d’ogni comodità di scrivere’.²⁹

During this time, Barberini and Pallotta repeatedly complained about the lack of news from the archbishop of Seleucia.³⁰ The nuncio to the imperial court obtained information on the events on the Vistula River

²⁶ Andrzej Karpiński, *W walce z niewidzialnym wrogiem. Epidemie chorób zakaźnych w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku i ich następstwa demograficzne, społeczno-ekonomiczne i polityczne* (Warszawa: Neriton–Instytut Historii PAN, 2000), p. 70; Stanisław Hoszowski, Stanisław, ‘Kłęski elementarne w Polsce w latach 1587–1648’, in *Prace z dziejów Polski feudalnej ofiarowane Romanowi Grodeckiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. by Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960), p. 462.

²⁷ ‘I will not write for some time’: AAV, Nunziatura di Polonia, vol. 42, fol. 120^r; Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Villa Barecki, 20 Oct. 1629.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, fols 121^r–22^r, Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Warsaw, 20 Dec. 1629.

²⁹ ‘[...] for many weeks, the epidemic that rules in this city has forced me into isolation and deprived me of the possibility of writing’: BAV, Barberini Latini, vol. 6584, fol. 232, Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Warsaw 9 Feb. 1630.

³⁰ AAV, Nunziatura di Polonia, vol. 174, fol. 154^v, Francesco Barberini to Antonio Santa Croce, Rome, 10 Dec. 1629; *ibid.*, fols 154^v–55^r, the same to the same, Rome 15 Dec. 1629; *ibid.*, fol. 155^r, the same to the same, Rome, 22 Dec. 1629; *ibid.*, fols 155^r–55^v, the same to the same, Rome, 29 Dec. 1629; *ibid.*, fol. 157^r, the same to the same, Rome, 3 Jan. 1630; *ibid.*, fols 157^r–58^r, the same to the same, Rome, 26 Jan. 1630; *ibid.*, fol. 158^r, the same to the same, Rome, 2 Feb. 1630; ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 13 Nov. 1629; *ibid.*, n.p., the same to the same, Vienna, 28 Nov. 1629; *ibid.*, n.p., the same to the same, Vienna, 11 Dec. 1629.

from an unidentified person he described as ‘Residente di Sua Maestà’.³¹ The correspondence between Warsaw, Vienna, and Rome was resumed in the first months of 1630.³²

Two more circumstances must be considered when evaluating the intensity and frequency of the two nuncios’ correspondence. The letters contained in the volume of interest are not a complete set received by the archbishop of Seleucia in 1629. We know this for sure, as it lacks the otherwise known letters of the Uniate Metropolitan Józef Wielamin Rutski and the dispatches from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Therefore, letters from correspondents of the Warsaw Nunciature may also have been unarchived in this volume. Moreover, it is worth noting the repeated expressions in Pallotta’s letters concerning the parcels received from Warsaw: *con quest’ordinario, ordinario passato, ordinario seguente*. They prove that the correspondence between nuncios was sent through regular couriers. Numerous editions of the epistolography of papal envoys from the first half of the seventeenth century show that they prepared their reports for Rome weekly.³³ The exchange of information between the Warsaw and Vienna nuncios must have taken place in such cycles unless some force majeure in the form of bad weather, pestilence, or warfare disrupted this rhythm.

³¹ Ibid., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna 28 Nov. 1629. It is not known who was the enigmatic resident of Sigismund III in Vienna in 1629. The literature mentions later representatives of Polish monarchs in the capital on the Danube, the first of whom would be Francesco Bibboni, see Tessa Capponi-Borawska, ‘Un fiorentino a confronto con la politica polacca. Niccolò Siri a Cracovia e Varsavia (1642–1647), *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 39 (1995), 150, especially fn. 5. It is also known that in the 1640s and 1650s, a similar function was performed by Angelo Simonelli, previously court musician to Sigismund III. The last trace of his stay in Poland comes from 1628, and it is known that in 1631 he had already been in Vienna for some time; see Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, ‘Muzyczne kontakty dworów polskich Wazów i austriackich Habsburgów w świetle dawniejszych i nowych badań’, *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska*, 9, no. 1 (2011), 50. It is, therefore, possible that it was Simonelli who served as a resident of Sigismund III in 1629.

³² AAV, Nunziatura di Polonia, vol. 174, fols 158^r–58^v, Francesco Barberini to Antonio Santa Croce, Rome 9 Feb. 1630.

³³ Janusz Andrzej Drób, *Obieg informacji w Europie w połowie XVII wieku w świetle drukowanych i rękopiśmiennych gazet w zbiorach watykańskich* (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, 1993), pp. 21–22.

The dates of the letters preserved and mentioned in the correspondence may also prove this. Very often, they are separated by periods of seven days.

Mail delivery between Warsaw and Vienna was the responsibility of the nuncio's service or trusted merchants.³⁴ It is known that Pallotta and Santa Croce used the services of the Pestalozzi family of merchants settled in Vienna.³⁵ The couriers setting off from the Vistula usually travelled along the route Warsaw–Cracow–Vienna to go on to Venice and Rome. In the context of the circulation of papal correspondence, the Viennese nunciature played an important role, as the nuncio there had the task of distributing it to specific diplomatic posts of the Holy See.³⁶ For example, Pallotta undertook to send – through the Flanders nunciature to the representative of Urban VIII in Paris Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno – Santa Croce's report from early August, containing information about the failure of military operations conducted by the Polish and imperial armies against the Swedes at Malbork and Białogóra:³⁷ 'Il piego di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima de 9 corrente ch'ella mi significa haver inviato per messo a posta mi capito hieri per la via ordinaria. Domani l'indrizzarò a Monsignor Nuntio di Fiandra l'accluso per Monsignor Nuntio di Francia al quale per questa strada

³⁴ Gregorowicz, *Tiara w grze o koronę*, p. 303.

³⁵ ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 9 Apr. 1629; *ibid.*, the same to the same, Vienna, 18 Apr. 1629; Lech Szczucki, 'Pestalozzi Fabrizio', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 25 (1980), 654.

³⁶ For more on the organization of the post and the work of couriers, see Stanisław Grzybowski, 'Organizacja polskiej służby dyplomatycznej w latach 1573–1605', in *Polska służba dyplomatyczna XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. by Zbigniew Wójcik (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966), p. 168; Drób, *Obieg informacji*; Henryk Damian Wojtyśka, 'Avvisi jako szczególny gatunek informacji gromadzonej przez papieską służbę dyplomatyczną w Polsce XVI i XVII wieku', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 42 (1998), 55; Fitych, *Struktura i funkcjonowanie*, pp. 347–56.

³⁷ AAV, Nunziatura di Polonia, vol. 40, fols 444^r–44^v, Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Warsaw, 9 Aug. 1629. For more on the siege of Malbork and the imperial storming of the Swedish entrenchments near Białogóra, see: 'Kontynuacja djarjusza o dalszych postępkach wojennych z Szwedami a die 1 Julii (1629)', in 'Przyczynki do działań hetmana polnego koronnego Stanisław Koniecpolskiego w Prusach Wschodnich i na Pomorzu przeciwko Gustawowi Adolfowi', ed. by Otto Laskowski, *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy*, 9, no. 3 (1936), 431–44.

doverà giunger non men più sicura'.³⁸ Sending information to Paris had its justification. After all, the Parisian court showed great interest in the war for the mouth of the Vistula and the peace negotiations led by King Louis XIII's representative, Hercules Girard Baron de Charnacé.³⁹ The nuncio to Vienna was also the distributor of Guidi di Bagno's reply to Warsaw.⁴⁰

Sometimes dispatches addressed to the nuncio residing at the imperial court were accompanied by messages for other persons not connected with the papal diplomatic service. In a communication written at the end of January, Pallotta noted that a letter from Warsaw, dated 6 January 1629, contained a message addressed to Baron Charles de Bonnières de Auchy, who happened to be in Vienna.⁴¹ According to other dispatches from the nuncio to Vienna, Santa Croce sent his letters to Archduke Leopold Habsburg and Claudia de Medici.⁴²

The archival material gathered in the Archivio di Stato di Roma allows an attempt to estimate the speed of the exchange of papal correspondence between Warsaw and Vienna.⁴³ Although none of the Santa Croce

³⁸ 'Your Majesty's despatch of the 5th of this [month], which you indicated you sent by messenger, arrived yesterday by the usual route. Tomorrow I shall address it to your Nuncio in Flanders enclosed for your Nuncio in France, to whom it should thus reach no less safely': ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 28 Aug. 1629.

³⁹ For more on Charnacé's activities in the Commonwealth, see Marian Cichocki, *Mediacja Francji w rozejmie altmarskim* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1928), pp. 101–32; Maciej Jerzy Serwański, *Francja wobec Polski w dobie wojny trzydziestoletniej (1618–1648)* (Poznań: Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1986), pp. 60–69.

⁴⁰ ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 30 Oct. 1629.

⁴¹ ANP, 23/2, no. 489, pp. 169–170, the same to the same, Vienna, 24 Jan. 1629.

⁴² ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., the same to the same, Vienna, 23 July 1629. Most likely, the nuncio's letter to the archduke and archduchess was in response to the archduchess's letter of 5 June, see *ibid.*, Claudia Medici to Antonio Santa Croce, Innsbruck, 5 June 1629; *ibid.*, Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 2 Oct. 1629.

⁴³ Polish historiography has repeatedly tried to determine the speed of the exchange of correspondence between the Commonwealth and the Holy See, see Tygielski, *Z Rzymu do Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 76–78; Wojtyska, 'Avvisi jako szczególny gatunek', p. 56; Fitych, *Struktura i funkcjonowanie*, pp. 354–56.

family's letters kept in the archives included office data in the form of the so-called *recapiti*, Pallotta himself, on the pages of his dispatches, practically every time referred to parcels received from the Vistula River. The timing of the exchange of correspondence between Warsaw and Vienna depended mainly on the time of year and the weather conditions prevailing on the couriers' routes. In the first quarter of 1629, i.e. during the winter months, the nuncio in Vienna usually replied to letters after 25 days, while between April and October – usually after 18–19 days. The fastest response occurred after 16 days.⁴⁴ Of course, there were cases when one had to wait much longer for a reply from the Viennese nuncio, but these were sporadic and probably related to postal delays. Considering the time needed to prepare letters and that the day of sending a letter depended on couriers' work, it can be assumed that in favourable weather conditions, the time of sending papal correspondence between the nunciatures in Warsaw and Vienna amounted to about two weeks.

In the absence of the Viennese nuncio at the imperial court, dispatches sent to him from Warsaw were distributed to his current location. Such a situation can be seen in May 1629, when archbishop of Thessaloniki left Vienna and went for a time to the Habsburg summer residence at Laxenburg, where, as he noted: 'essendomi capitata la lettera di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima qui in Loxsineburgh dove io mi ritrovo da alcuni giorni in qua servendo alla Maestà dell'Imperatore'.⁴⁵

In addition to the *lettere piane*, the nuncios sent each other *avvisi*, informing themselves of events in the countries of their missions. Pallotta repeatedly thanked Santa Croce for such news in his correspondence and reciprocated with similar ones. This can be seen in his letters in statements such as: 'Invio a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima con la presente la novità qua udite', 'Trasemetto a Vostra Signoria

⁴⁴ In a letter of 8 October, Pallotta thanked the Nuncio of Warsaw for the dispatch of 22 September, see ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 8 Oct. 1629.

⁴⁵ 'I have received a letter from H.E. here in Laxenburg, where I have been for some days, serving His Imperial Majesty': *ibid.*, Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Laxenburg, 19 May 1629.

Illustrissima con la presente la novità qua udite',⁴⁶ or 'Trasemetto a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima il solito foglio di queste occorrenze'.⁴⁷ These were undoubtedly copies of reports prepared by the nuncios for the Secretariat of State of the Holy See. It is confirmed by an excerpt from a letter from the archbishop of Thessaloniki to Francesco Barberini dated 3 February 1629, in which, referring to information received from the Vistula River, he wrote: 'da gli ultimi avvisi di Polonia, li quali suppongo da monsignor nuntio siano stati inviati a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima'.⁴⁸

Other items were occasionally attached to the shipments. In a letter dated 8 May, Pallotta informed Santa Croce that, per the Emperor's order, he was sending him two gold medals with a request to forward them to the envoys of King Tejmuraz I of Kakheti, Nicefor Irubakidze-Czolokashvili, who was residing in the Commonwealth, and an unidentified clergyman,⁴⁹ who had been seeking support at European courts against the Ottoman Ports between 1626 and 1629.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ 'I send His Majesty [a file] with today's news heard here': *ibid.*, the same to the same, Vienna, 28 Aug. 1629.

⁴⁷ 'I transmit to His Majesty the usual charter of the events here': *ibid.*, the same to the same, Vienna, 13 Nov. 1629.

⁴⁸ '[...] of the last advices from Poland, which I believe were also sent to you by the Nuncio [Santa Croce]': *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken*, 4: *Nuntiatur des Pallotta 1628–1630*, ed. by Hans Kiewning, vols 1–2 (Berlin: Verlag Von A. Bath, 1895), vol. 2, no. 29, p. 47, Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Francesco Barberini, Vienna, 3 Feb. 1629.

⁴⁹ ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 8 May 1629; *ibid.*, the same to the same, 11 May 1629. In a later letter, he requested that the medals be sent back to Vienna if the Nuncio of Warsaw had failed to deliver them to the addressee, see *ibid.*, Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 8 Oct. 1629.

⁵⁰ The prevailing view in older historiography is that this mission was to establish an anti-Ottoman coalition. In 1990, this view was revised, see Michael Svanidze, 'Mission of Nikipor Irbakh (Cholokashvili) to Europe for the purpose of creation of anti-Ottoman coalition in 1626–1629', in *Essays of the Georgian-Ottoman History* (Tbilisi, 1990), cited after: Alasania Giuli, 'Georgia as a Transit Territory Linking Persia to Europe (the 16th–17th centuries)', *Caucasus Journal of Social Sciences*, 7, no. 1 (2014), 1–22 (p. 16).

THE NUNCIATURE IN WARSAW AND VIENNA –
LEVELS OF COOPERATION IN 1629

The corpus of source materials preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Roma allows us to describe the collaboration between the nunciature in Warsaw and Vienna as multifaceted – a kind of synergy between Santa Croce and Pallotta related to external and internal politics, ecclesiastical matters, and even personal interests.

The international situation in Europe at the end of 1628 and early 1629 determined the diplomatic activity of individual Catholic courts and their nunciatures. At that time, the interdependencies between all parts of the Old Continent became more apparent than ever before. The conflicts that remained in an active phase, although taking place at a considerable distance from each other, were part of a complex of issues related to the confrontation between the Catholic and Protestant camps, supported by France and Venice. In the Danish theatre of the Thirty Years' War, Christian IV's forces were driven out of the Reich, and imperial troops entered Jutland. The two sides began peace negotiations, which eventually culminated in a treaty concluded at Lübeck in May. Even before the end of the conflict with Denmark, Ferdinand II sent his troops to different parts of the Old Continent, where conflicts indirectly influenced the Habsburg house – to the north of the Apennine Peninsula, to Friesland, and Gdansk Pomerania.⁵¹

In the context of the cooperation between the nunciatures in Warsaw and Vienna, the latter conflict was particularly important. Both the Empire and the Papacy were concerned about the prospect of the end of the War for the Vistula Estuary and Gustav II Adolf's military intervention in the Reich. As a result, in Vienna and Rome, the information

⁵¹ For more on the political situation in Europe in 1629, see Gunner Lind, 'Interpreting a lost war: Danish experiences 1625 to 1629', in *Religionskriege im alten Reich und in Alten Europa*, ed. by Franz Brendle, Anton Schindling (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2006), pp. 487–510; Henryk Litwin, 'Rok 1629. Stolica Apostolska i Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów w grze europejskich potęg', in *Dyplomacja papieska wobec Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. by Wojciech Walczak (Białystok: Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2016), pp. 189–202; Peter H. Wilson, *Wojna trzydziestoletnia 1618–1648. Tragedia Europy*, transl. Maciej Kapalczyński (Oświęcim: Wydawnictwo Napoleon V, 2017), pp. 415–48.

coming from the Commonwealth through the Nuncio was followed with attention and due interest. In addition, through Santa Croce, efforts were made to verify information obtained through other channels. For example, in a letter dated 17 July 1629, Pallotta, based on news sent by King Sigismund III to Ferdinand II, asked the nuncio to confirm information concerning the Battle of Trzciana, writing: 'Qua per corriero spedito da Sua Maestà all Imperadore si è intesa la rotta data a Gostavo. Io resto attendendo dal favor delle lettere di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima con l'ordinario seguente più distinta notizia del successo'.⁵² In turn, in a letter of 28 August, the archbishop of Thessaloniki, basing himself on the already mentioned report of Santa Croce of 9 August and other sources of information, lamented the military defeats suffered by the Polish and imperial troops at Malbork and Białogóra at the end of July.⁵³ Already a week later, probably after having obtained reports from other sources, he expressed doubts as to the actual outcome of the clash.⁵⁴

In addition to transmitting and verifying information on the course of the War for the Vistula mouth, papal diplomats cooperated, intending to prevent the conflict from ending. It was reflected in the mission of Baron de Auchy to Vienna at the end of 1628, which was the Catholic camp's response to the offer of mediation made by Elector George William Hohenzollern of Brandenburg.⁵⁵ Philip IV's representative, who

⁵² 'By means of a courier sent to the Emperor by His Majesty, information has arrived of the defeat inflicted on Gustavus. I expect the letters of the next despatch from His Majesty the much-desired information of this success': ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 17 July 1629.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, the same to the same, Vienna, 28 Aug. 1629. For a laconic description of the clash the Nuncio of Vienna sent to Rome, see *Nuntiaturlberichte*, vol. 2, no. 167, p. 307, Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Francesco Barberini, Vienna, 28 Aug. 1629.

⁵⁴ ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 4 Sep. 1629.

⁵⁵ ANP, 23/2, no. 438, pp. 122–24, Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Warsaw, 23 Dec. 1628. This mission was similarly interpreted by the Viennese nuncio, see *ibid.*, Nunziatura di Germania, vol. 118, fol. 90^r, Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Francesco Barberini, Vienna, 3 March 1629; *ibid.*, vol. 118, fol. 144^v, the same to the same, Vienna, 7 Apr. 1629. For more on the Baron de Auchy's mission to Vienna, see Adam Szelągowski, *O ujście Wisły. Wielka wojna pruska* (Lviv: Bebethner i Wolff, 1905), p. 312; Václav Letošník, 'Polsko, dům Rakouský a Albrecht Valdštejna za pruské války roku 1626–1629', *Časopis Národního muzea*, 111 (1937), 43; Ryszard Skowron,

had been in the Commonwealth since 1627, quickly established cordial relations with Santa Croce. The two diplomats met frequently and corresponded regularly.⁵⁶ Personal sympathies and the fact that Rome and Madrid's generally divergent political interests coincided exceptionally in the Commonwealth ensured Auchy's support for papal diplomacy. In a letter of 6 December addressed to his Viennese counterpart, he appealed for cooperation with Flamand and all possible assistance during the mission on the Danube.⁵⁷ The recommendation of the Archbishop of Seleucia brought the expected results since Pallotta and de Auchy started to collaborate, which is confirmed by the messages both sent to the Nuncio in Warsaw⁵⁸. The final result of the meeting Philip IV's diplomat held with Ferdinand II and Albrecht von Wallenstein was the Emperor's decision to send armed reinforcements to Poland.⁵⁹

Although the Imperial Expeditionary Corps under the command of Hans Georg von Arnim did not play a decisive role in the next phase of the Polish-Swedish confrontation in Prussia, the mere fact of providing military support to the Commonwealth allowed the Emperor to postpone the Swedish intervention in the Reich. Finally, given the

Olivares, Wazowie i Bałtyk. Polska w polityce zagranicznej Hiszpanii w latach 1621–32 (Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze "Historia Iagellonica", 2002), pp. 243–44; Duda, *Krzyż i karabela*, p. 132.

⁵⁶ The intimacy of contacts between Santa Croce and Baron de Auchy is evidenced by the fact that their messages are partly encrypted. In the volume 774 (Archivio di Stato di Roma, Archivio Santa Croce), there are twenty letters from Baron de Auchy to Santa Croce. For more on the collaboration between Santa Croce and Auchy, see Skowron, *Olivares*, p. 180; Duda, *Krzyż i karabela*, pp. 121–27.

⁵⁷ ANP, 23/2, no. 489, pp. 169–70, Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 24 Jan. 1629.

⁵⁸ ANP, 23/2, no. 491, pp. 172–73, Charles de Bonnières to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 26 Jan. 1629.

⁵⁹ Jan Seredyka, 'Wzwanie posiłków cesarskich do Polski w 1629 roku', *Zeszyty Naukowe WSP w Opolu*, Historia, 14 (1977), 87–97; Paweł Duda, 'Działalność oddziałów Hansa Georga von Arnima w Rzeczypospolitej z punktu widzenia nuncjusza papieskiego Antonia Santacrocego', in *Od Kijowa do Rzymu. Z dziejów stosunków Rzeczypospolitej ze Stolicą Apostolską i Ukrainą*, ed. by Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel, Mariusz Drozdowski, Wojciech Walczak, Katarzyna Wiszowata-Walczak (Białystok: Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2012), pp. 511–32; Duda, *Krzyż i karabela*, pp. 127–37.

disastrous financial situation of the Polish-Lithuanian State, the raging pestilence, and the relative balance of forces at the front, the Altmar Truce was signed on 25 September, ending the war for the mouth of the Vistula River. In a letter dated 11 October, Santa Croce informed his superiors in Rome of the end of the war, sending a copy of the treaty as an attachment.⁶⁰ The nuncio of Warsaw sent a similar letter to his counterpart in Vienna.⁶¹ Although the Armistice of Altmark did not suit the interests of Rome and Vienna, Pallotta treated the news of its conclusion with prudence typical of the papal diplomatic service, expressing his joy at the fact that the end of the conflict with Sweden would bring peace to the Commonwealth.⁶²

An important topic in the correspondence of the two nuncios was the war of the Mantuan succession in the north of the Italian peninsula.⁶³ In this case, Pallotta was Santa Croce's primary source of information. In three letters written towards the end of 1629, the Viennese nuncio reported to his Warsaw counterpart on the course of hostilities and the diplomatic activity of the imperial court that accompanied them. The increased interest in the conflict in the north of the Apennine Peninsula was undoubtedly connected with the offensive of the imperial army, commanded by Rinaldo Collalto, which was deployed in the vicinity of Mantua and laid siege to the city in October. For example, in a letter written at the end of October, the archbishop of Thessaloniki reported that the emperor had sent his diplomat to Lodi to conduct peace negotiations and also noted that Pope Urban VIII was considering acting as a mediator.⁶⁴ In later letters, Pallotta saw the possibility of a forceful

⁶⁰ AAV, Nunziatura di Polonia, vol. 42, fol. 115^r; Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Warsaw, 11 Oct. 1629.

⁶¹ ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 30 Oct. 1629.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ For more on the War of the Mantuan Succession, see Romolo Quazza, *Mantova e Monferrato, nella politica europea alla vigilia della guerra per la successione (1624–1627)* (Mantova: Mondovi, 1922); *id.*, *La guerra per la successione di Mantova e del Monferrato (1628–31)* (Mantova: Mondovi, 1926); Wilson, *Wojna trzydziestoletnia*, pp. 433–36.

⁶⁴ ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 23 Oct. 1629.

conflict resolution. In a dispatch of 13 November, he reported on the progress of the imperial troops in the region of Mantua.⁶⁵ A month later, he speculated that the imperial troops were preparing to storm the city despite the ongoing peace negotiations. The Viennese nuncio did not give this initiative much chance of success because the besiegers received reinforcements. The predictions of the papal diplomat proved correct, as the assaults on the city failed, and Collalto decided to take Mantua by starvation.⁶⁶

The cooperation between the nuncios in Warsaw and Vienna was not limited to matters of European policy. An important area of collaboration was the pursuit of particular interests of the Vasa dynasty. In this context, the issue of granting the Olomouc bishopric's coadjutorship to one of Sigismund III's sons was of particular importance. Although the papal correspondence on the subject did not indicate which of the Polish monarch's descendants was involved, Walter Leitsch did name John Albert as the beneficiary.⁶⁷ The first actions in this regard were initiated by the ruler of the Commonwealth as early as 1625, but they met with the refusal of the Bishop of Olomouc Franz von Dietrichstein. The king returned to his idea at the end of 1627, at the same time involving the Apostolic Nunciature in the matter. Through Pavel Piasecki, he disclosed his intention to Santa Croce, simultaneously asking that the latter induce the Viennese Nuncio Carlo Carafa to negotiate with Dietrichstein. The Warsaw nuncio's involvement in the talks was justified, as he knew the bishop of Olomouc.⁶⁸ The archbishop of Seleucia complied with the monarch's request and sent the appropriate letter to his Viennese counterpart.⁶⁹ In the spring of the following year, King

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, the same to the same, Vienna, 13 Nov. 1629.

⁶⁶ Wilson, *Wojna trzydziestoletnia*, p. 434.

⁶⁷ Walter Leitsch, *Das Leben am Hof König Sigismunds III. von Polen*, 1–3 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 3, p. 1762.

⁶⁸ During his journey to the Commonwealth, Santa Croce was Dietrichstein's guest; see ANP, 23/1, no. 26, p. 32, Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Vienna, 30 May 1627; *ibid.*, no. 32, p. 38, the same to the same, Warsaw, 24 June 1627. Cf. Litwin, *Krag korespondentów*, p. 227.

⁶⁹ ANP, 23/1, no. 160, p. 161, Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Warsaw, 24 Dec. 1627.

Sigismund III turned directly to the papal representative at the imperial court.⁷⁰ The bishop of Olomouc responded negatively to this idea, stating that if it were to become a reality, he would resign his bishopric in exchange for appropriate financial gratification.⁷¹ The reply did not discourage the monarch for, in the summer of 1629, with the mediation of Santa Croce and Carafa's successor Pallotta, he made further attempts to negotiate with Dietrichstein.⁷²

At the request of the archbishop of Seleucia, the Viennese nuncio, through his trusted man, presented the matter to the bishop of Olomouc,⁷³ who undertook to send a special letter to the Polish monarch and the nuncio of Warsaw.⁷⁴ In the following months, the king intensified his activities. He disclosed to the nuncio in Warsaw his intention to involve Pope Urban VIII in the negotiations, whom he intended to ask to prepare a unique brief for the Olomouc chapter,⁷⁵ and he sent a letter to Dietrichstein for Pallotta. The nuncio of Vienna resumed his efforts,⁷⁶ and kept Santa Croce informed of their progress.⁷⁷ They did not bring the expected effect, since only two weeks later, in a letter to the nuncio in Warsaw, he enigmatically stated that the issue of the Olomouc bishopric faced considerable difficulties.⁷⁸ Ultimately, the royal concept of granting the coadjutorship of the Olomouc bishopric to one of his sons ended in a fiasco. It seems that the only winner was Santa Croce, who showed considerable commitment during the negotiations, which allowed him to gain the recognition of King Sigismund III and

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 259, p. 257, the same to the same, Warsaw, 1 May 1628.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 23/2, no. 356, pp. 47–50, Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Warsaw, 9 Sep. 1628. See also Leitsch, *Das Leben am Hof*, 2, p. 814.

⁷² AAV, Nunziatura di Polonia, vol. 40, fol. 430, Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Warsaw, 5 July 1629.

⁷³ ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 17 July 1629.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, the same to the same, Vienna, 23 July 1629.

⁷⁵ AAV, Nunziatura di Polonia, vol. 40, fol. 478, Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Warsaw, 27 Oct. 1629.

⁷⁶ ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 8 Oct. 1629.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, the same to the same, Vienna, 16 Oct. 1629.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, the same to the same, Vienna, 23 Oct. 1629.

was of considerable importance in the context of the nuncio's efforts to obtain the cardinalate. As he reported in one of his letters: 'è però mostrata sodisfatta di me, e lodò con parole honorifiche la mia diligenza. Potrebbe forse questo negotio dar occasione a Sua Maestà di mostrar qualche atto d'affettione verso di me più espresso'.⁷⁹

Santa Croce and Pallotta also cooperated in ecclesiastical matters, among others, by coordinating a form of support for Nicolò Crusenio⁸⁰ – the Augustinian visitor in the Commonwealth, whose activities Santa Croce later recommended to the Nuncio in Vienna.⁸¹ Efforts were also made to support Father Prospero Galbiato,⁸² the Bernardine visitor to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, during his stay in Vienna, which Santa Croce called for.⁸³

Moreover, both nuncios were involved in a financial dispute between the Bottini and Moriconi, Italian merchant families from Lucca, who stayed in Cracow. Most probably in the twenties, Moriconi fell into financial problems and could not pay their obligations to Bottini, which later made them bankrupt.⁸⁴ Pallotta became interested in the matter, and in April 1629, he appealed to Santa Croce to use his authority to make Moriconi pay Bottini the money he owed him.⁸⁵ In the following months, the nuncio of Vienna reminded the archbishop of Seleucia about the matter several more times, expressing his hope that the person

⁷⁹ '[He has,] however, shown [to His Majesty] that he is pleased with me and in honorable words has praised my conscientiousness. This affair may enable His Majesty to show me a more marked affectation': ANP, 23/2, no. 356, p. 49, Antonio Santa Croce to Francesco Barberini, Warsaw, 9 Sep. 1628.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 448, pp. 131–32, Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 2 Jan. 1629.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, no. 580, pp. 266–67, Nicolò Crusenio to Antonio Santa Croce, Cracow, 14 March 1629; *ibid.*, no. 601, pp. 292–94, the same to the same, Cracow, 22 March 1629.

⁸² Stefan Kamil Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, 2 (Lwów: Nakładem Prowincji Polskiej oo. Bernardynów, 1933), pp. 87–88.

⁸³ ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 19 May 1629.

⁸⁴ Laura Ronchi de Michelis, 'Moriconi', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 76 (2012).

⁸⁵ ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., Giovanni Battista Pallotta to Antonio Santa Croce, Vienna, 11 Apr. 1629.

of the nuncio would make it possible to end the dispute in Bottini's favour.⁸⁶ Probably the nuncio of Warsaw took some steps in this regard because, in a letter written on 25 June, Pallotta thanked him for having protected the interests of his protégé.⁸⁷

Santa Croce and Pallotta also communicated in private matters. From the letters of the archbishop of Thessaloniki, it is known that, at the request of the Nuncio of Warsaw, he recommended the case of his brother Valerius Santa Croce to the emperor, asking him to send a letter of recommendation to Cornelius Motman,⁸⁸ the auditor of the German Rota. The mentioned correspondence also shows that the nuncio of Vienna, through his Warsaw counterpart, intended to purchase amber crowns.⁸⁹

CONCLUSIONS

The subject of communication and interaction between papal diplomatic missions in the modern era, mainly due to a lack of extant source materials, remains the proverbial white spot in the research of Polish and foreign nuncios. Thanks to a voluminous volume number 774, kept in the Archivio di Stato di Roma in the section of Archivio Santa Croce and containing the originals of letters received by Nuncio Antonio Santa Croce in 1629, it is possible to attempt at least a partial reconstruction of the collaboration between the papal diplomat residing at the court of Warsaw and his counterpart at the court of Emperor Ferdinand II of Habsburg in Vienna, Giovanni Battista Pallotta. An analysis of the correspondence contained in the archives mentioned above allows us to conclude that the contacts between the papal diplomats

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, the same to the same, Vienna, 21 May 1629; *ibid.*, the same to the same, Vienna, 30 Oct. 1629.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, the same to the same, Vienna, 25 June 1629.

⁸⁸ ANP, 23/2, no. 448, pp. 131–32, the same to the same, Vienna, 2 Jan. 1629; *ibid.*, no. 489, p. 162, the same to the same, Vienna, 17 Jan. 1629; *ibid.*, no. 500, pp. 184–85, the same to the same, Vienna, 31 Jan. 1629.

⁸⁹ ASR, ASC, vol. 774, n.p., the same to the same, Vienna, 8 May 1629; *ibid.*, the same to the same, Vienna, 11 May 1629; *ibid.*, the same to the same, Vienna, 30 Oct. 1629.

residing in Warsaw and Vienna in 1629, probably earlier and later, were regular and intensive. Volume 774 contains 36 letters from Pallotta to Santa Croce with references to the receipt of 32 letters from his colleague in Warsaw, who, however, due to an epidemic, ceased his epistolographic activities for at least two months towards the end of 1629. We can assume that the routine products of the information and analytical work carried out for the Secretariat of State by both papal missions were shared in the correspondence mentioned above. The Nunciatures of Vienna and Warsaw were thus well informed about the course of affairs related to the pan-European conflict in several theatres of war. However, they also communicated and cooperated on strictly ecclesiastical matters, such as the ongoing reform of religious congregations in the 1620s. The papal envoys were engaged in their favours for the rulers to whom they were accredited or carried out their own plans or those of their families. Reading the correspondence between nuncios, we have the impression of participating in a dialogue of a largely recurring character, part of the typical activities of a nuncio. There are also traces of contacts with other papal ambassadors scattered across Europe. Correspondence between nuncios in Vienna and Warsaw indicates that apart from the concentric system of work of the papal diplomatic service, there was also its network dimension. A closer examination of this matter requires further research, which will be of interest to the undersigned in the near future.

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APPENDIX

The letters between the nuncios in Warsaw (Antonio Santa Croce) and Vienna (Giovanni Battista Pallotta) sent from January to December 1629, with four letters from Santa Croce dated December 1628

No.	Sender	Recipient	Date and place	Reference
1	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	6 Dec. 1628 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 24 Jan. 1629
2	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	9 Dec. 1628 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 2 Jan. 1629
3	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	16 Dec. 1628 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 2 Jan. 1629
4	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	23 Dec. 1628 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 17 Jan. 1629
5	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	2 Jan. 1629 Vienna	ANP, 23/2, no. 448, pp. 131–32
6	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	17 Jan. 1629 Vienna	ANP, 23/2, no. 480, p. 160
7	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	24 Jan. 1629 Vienna	ANP, 23/2, no. 489, pp. 169–70
8	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	27 Jan. 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 21 Feb. 1629
9	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	31 Jan. 1629 Vienna	ANP, 23/2, no. 500, pp. 184–85
10	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	3 Feb. 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 28 Feb. 1629
11	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	14 Feb. 1629 Vienna	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 9 Apr. 1629
12	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	21 Feb. 1629 Vienna	ANP, 23/2, no. 535, p. 220

No.	Sender	Recipient	Date and place	Reference
13	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	28 Feb. 1629 Vienna	ANP, 23/2, no. 547, pp. 232–33
14	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	10 March 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 4 Apr. 1629
15	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	17 March 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 9 Apr. 1629
16	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	17 March 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions it in his letters of 9 and 11 Apr. 1629
17	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	24 March 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions it in a letter dated 18 Apr. 1629
18	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	31 March 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 18 Apr. 1629
19	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	4 Apr. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
20	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	9 Apr. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
21	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	11 Apr. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
22	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	18 Apr. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
23	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	21 Apr. 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 8 May 1629
24	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	24 Apr. 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 11 May 1629
25	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	3 May 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 21 May 1629
26	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	8 May 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.

No.	Sender	Recipient	Date and place	Reference
27	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	11 May 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
28	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	17 May 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 4 June 1629
29	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	19 May 1629 Laxenburg	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
30	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	21 May 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
31	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	31 May 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 18 June 1629
32	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	4 June 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
33	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	7 June 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 25 June 1629
34	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	18 June 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
35	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	21 June 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 17 July 1629
36	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	25 June 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
37	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	28 June 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 17 July 1629
38	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	5 July 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 23 July 1629
39	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	12 July 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 30 July 1629
40	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	17 July 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
41	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	23 July 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.

No.	Sender	Recipient	Date and place	Reference
42	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	23 July 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
43	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	30 July 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
44	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	9 Aug. 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 28 Aug. 1629
45	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	9 Aug. 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 4 Sep. 1629
46	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	16 Aug. 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 4 Sep. 1629
47	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	23 Aug. 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 11 Sep. 1629
48	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	28 Aug. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
49	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	30 Aug. 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 18 Sep. 1629
50	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	4 Sep. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
51	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	6 Sep. 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 24 Sep. 1629
52	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	11 Sep. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
53	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	13 Sep. 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 2 Oct. 1629
54	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	18 Sep. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
55	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	22 Sep. 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 8 Oct. 1629

No.	Sender	Recipient	Date and place	Reference
56	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	24 Sep. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
57	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	27 Sep. 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 16 Oct. 1629
58	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	2 Oct. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
59	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	4 Oct. 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions it in a letter dated 23 Oct. 1629. The date of the letter written by Santa Croce is not specific, since in the body of the letter Pallotta left a blank; however, based on the frequency of the reports, it can be assumed that the letter was dated 4 Oct. 1629
60	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	8 Oct. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
61	A. Santa Croce	G.B. Pallotta	11 Oct. 1629 Warsaw	The letter has not been found. Pallotta mentions him in a letter dated 30 Oct. 1629
62	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	16 Oct. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
63	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	23 Oct. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
64	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	30 Oct. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
65	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	13 Nov. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
66	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	28 Nov. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
67	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	4 Dec. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.
68	G.B. Pallotta	A. Santa Croce	11 Dec. 1629 Vienna	AS, ASC, vol. 774, n.p.