

Muzio Vitelleschi Replies to *Litterae Indipetae*: Two Case Studies from the Austrian Province in the Seventeenth Century

Elisa Frei*

Università di Macerata (Italy) – Boston College (USA)

Oh, such a great and big consolation did Your Paternity's reply bring to my heart! My mouth testifies it, having kissed the letter with devotion and veneration. My heart can tell it, being filled with such happiness. The fathers of this college can confirm it as well, having seen my interior happiness manifested outside too!¹

This was the reaction of an early modern Jesuit (1643), who received a reply from his Superior General to his petition for the Indies. Other Jesuits showed a similar joy, after having their names inscribed in a register of aspiring missionaries.² The petitions Jesuits wrote, seeking to be assigned as missionaries in the "Indies" (which at the time included both East and West Indies), are known today as *Litterae Indipetae*. Over the last few decades, these sources have been the subject of multiple studies. A project presently in progress at the Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies, Boston College, and the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) aims to transcribe

* Elisa Frei is a research fellow at the University of Macerata, with a project examining the Catholic missionaries' perceptions of sacrifices and self-sacrifice in Asia during the early modern period. She also works as a project assistant for the Digital *Indipetae Database*, hosted by Boston College, and is a research associate at the University of York. She wishes to thank her friends and readers Alessandro Arcangeli, Francisco Malta Romeiras, and Frederik Vermote for helping her during the revision of this article, and Camilla Russell for the precious advice given in the final stage.

1 "O quanta e quanto grande consolazione che nel Signor nostro Giesù christo la risposta di Vostra Paternità ha apportato a questo mio cuore. bensi lo potrà dire la mia bocca che tante volte per la divotione e veneratione ha bagiata la lettera, il cuore ancora lo dirà che con tant'allegrezza fu ripieno, e finalmente lo potran dire li padri di questo Collegio che scorgevano l'allegrezza dentro redondare nel fuori" exclaimed the Italian Jesuit Girolamo Gambacorta (ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico* [henceforth FG], 744 f. 69, Noto, 7 May 1643). For the sake of clarity, in this article the expanded parts of the abbreviations appear in italics (e.g., V.P. is rendered as *Vostra Paternità*).

2 ARSI, FG 755, f. 115, Graz, 8 March 1642.

all of them. Their number is astounding: more than 20,000 *Indipetae* have been preserved from the early modern period as well as the from after the 1814 Restoration of the Society of Jesus. The petitions have generated considerable interest from scholars in many fields, including cultural studies, religious history, history of emotions, and psychology.³

Jesuits who applied for the Indies were subjected to complex negotiations — within and outside their religious institute — that determined whether they would serve as missionaries. Petitioners were at the centre of a dense network; however, because of the hierarchical structure of the Society and the fact that the overseas missions came under the direct oversight of the Superior General, he appears to have had the last word on who was appointed. Yet, as he could not personally know every Jesuit in Europe, he relied on what others said about petitioners. Jesuit superiors (Provincials, Spiritual Fathers, Procurators) could support a candidacy, but also warn the General not to accept a Jesuit. The natural families of the petitioners played a vital role as well within the Superior General's consulting apparatus.⁴

From the 1580s until recent times, the Roman secretaries carefully read *Indipetae* letters as soon as they arrived. They took note of their content and in some cases summarized it on the back of the letters. This way, it was easier for 'missionary recruiters' to have the main information readily available, without reading the entire (sometimes very long) memorial a second time. Furthermore, the names of (at least some of) the candidates to the Indies were written in what petitioners called *album candidatorum*. This kind of register is also mentioned in the *Indipetae* under consideration in this article, while the practice most visible in the extant Jesuit documentation refers to simple lists with names of aspiring missionaries.⁵

3 One of the first scholars who briefly wrote about petitions for the Indies was Lamalle, "L'archivio di un grande ordine religioso", 89–120. For a table with their precise distribution in the Roman Archive, see Maldavsky, "Pedir las Indias", 147–81). Concerning petitioners of the Old Society, see, amongst others, Roscioni, *Il desiderio delle Indie*, Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza* (esp. 549–684) and Guerra, "Per un'archeologia della strategia missionaria dei Gesuiti", 109–92. As for the *Indipetae* of the Old and New Society of Jesus, and further bibliographical data, see Colombo and Massimi, *In viaggio*.

4 See Frei, "The Many Faces of Ignazio Maria Romeo", 365–404.

5 No proper "album candidatorum" has been found by the author of this article. As for the lists, usually available among *Litterae Indipetae*, see Russell, "Becoming Indians".

The second phase of an application for the Indies was for a Jesuit to receive an answer from Rome. As recent studies demonstrated it was not uncommon, and this often happened after just a few weeks. The General's replies had in many cases not a generic tone, but were clearly and specifically addressed to a Jesuit and concerning his case. In the ARSI registers known as *Epistulae Generalium*, every letter sent from the Superior General to his addressees was listed and summarized, and within this corpus appear records, and summarized contents, of the Generals' replies sent to individual petitioners for the Indies.⁶

Until now, however, there was no trace of this second phase of the missionary appointment in its original form, because no letter sent from the office of the Superior General to petitioners for the Indies seemed to exist. The documents presented here in the Appendix are a unique exception, and they consist in three original replies from General Muzio Vitelleschi sent to two candidates for the Indies.⁷ The letters are dated between 1640 and 1642, and are addressed to Jesuits from the Austrian Province, Georg Harman (1617–79) and Ernest Pfliegl (1615–56). Usually remaining in the possession of the recipients (and mostly lost), letters of this type are extremely rare for their survival: these letters came to be preserved in Rome only because they were sent back by the recipients to the General together with, and in support of, the applicants' further petitions for the Indies.

These rare examples of the General's original letters to petitioners, identified and analyzed for the first time here, provide the focal point for this case study that permits a reconstruction and analysis of both the texts and contexts for this initial phase of vocation, evaluation, and appointment (or not) to the Jesuit missionary enterprise. They add a previously unknown documentary piece in the puzzle of how this enterprise worked, and a new perspective with respect to the burgeoning scholarship on the *Litterae Indipetiae*. They show that the possible paths to an appointment varied considerably, and are fundamental in reconstructing the various phases of missionary vocations, themselves the foundations for the Jesuit overseas missionary enterprise.⁸

6 See Frei, "The Many Faces of Ignazio Maria Romeo", 365–404, and Chapter 6 of Miazek-Męczyńska, *Indipetiae Polonae*.

7 Muzio Vitelleschi, * 2.XII.1563 Rome (Italy), SJ 15.VIII.1583 Rome, † 9.II.1645 Rome (DHCJ II, p. 1621). See also Negruzzo, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 99 (2020); online.

8 See on this topic Russell, "Becoming 'Indians'", 9–50.

Harman and Pfliegl's *historia indipetarum*

The two Jesuits, Harman and Pfliegl, were 'typical' petitioners for the Indies of the early modern age: not much of them is known, except for a few mentions in official documents and their own *Litterae Indipetae*.⁹ Harman was born in 1617 in Prague, and died in Vienna when he was sixty-two. He joined the Society of Jesus at the age of fifteen, then moved between Vienna and Passau for the rest of his life. He studied and taught, preached and was confessor, and became a professed member of the Society, with four vows.

Pfliegl was born in Graz in 1615 and died in Vienna aged forty-one, soon after taking the three vows. He spent his life mainly in the Habsburg capital, with the exception of some time in Linz, Klagenfurt, and Passau. He entered the Society of Jesus in Vienna, at the age of seventeen. After some primary studies, he was twenty-five when he started taking care of the sick as a temporal coadjutor, and did this work for the rest of his life.

Harman wrote eight *Indipetae* during the years 1641–46. All of them were in Latin, and sent from two different Austrian residences: Graz and Linz. Harman's first petition is quite peculiar: although its handwriting is extremely clear *per se*, the characters are minuscule and every line contains many words. The letter's length is two *folii* (and not the usual half-empty page), and the subjects Harman approached in it are many: why, then, did the Roman secretary summarize it only with a single word about its subject: "Indias"? It is probable that the secretaries actually never read Harman's long letter for a very concrete reason, which was explained in a later reply: its characters were too small, and almost impossible to see. Therefore, no particular note was taken, not even the relevant points about his linguistic skills.

Harman started by excusing himself for his "quite long letter", afraid that this would be "a burden" to the Superior General. He tested his three-year-long vocation for the overseas missions with multiple means: "as our *Constitutions* very wisely recommend, through prayers, meditations, communions, and mortifications". He shared the substance of this desire with most of his confreres: "I feel the Holy Spirit is calling me to convert the peoples in the Indies". Not many of them, however, had tested their vocations with Harman's same severity: "I tried to convince myself that this was not true, that it was a vocation sent not by a good Spirit, but by a bad one [...] But, alas! It is so hard to resist the Holy Spirit!"

⁹ For basic biographical details, see Lukács, *Catalogi*, vol. II, 704.

Using a common trope of the *indipetae*, Harman describes that in the midst of interior struggles, a ‘providential’ illness caught him. The doctors did not know anything about it, except for the fact that it was very serious. After some time, Harman finally decided to share his calling with a superior. He immediately recovered: “Oh, what amazing miracles God operates! What an endless goodness, and mercy God has!” Harman filled the rest of his letter with pleas and interjections. These expressions and thoughts are deeply-rooted in Ignatian spirituality, which identified discernment as the source for every Jesuit’s choice.¹⁰

At the end of his first letter, as a short *curriculum vitae*, he stated that he had been in the Society for nine years. Being born in the cosmopolitan city of Prague and thanks to his time in the Society, he was able to speak German, Latin, Italian, and French. Moreover, he described himself as very good at learning new languages, “especially if the Holy Spirit helps me with it”.¹¹ Probably to testify to his gift with tongues, he compiled the address on the *verso* of his letter in Italian (Superior General Vitelleschi was a member of an important Roman family) and not in the Latin language of the rest of the letter. It is not clear whether the office of the Superior General in Rome took note of his gift with languages as the basis for noting simply “Indias” (possibly in reference to his suitability, as well as the letter’s subject). Whatever the case, aside from the personal vocation of their author, *Litterae Indipetae* were used to investigate and evaluate skills for missionary roles in the Society. Harman’s ease with learning languages would have been of the utmost relevance in many different scenarios — and not only overseas.

After a few months, Harman pleaded his case again, with his very small handwriting, and an epistle thickly filled with words.

10 Drawing on the *Spiritual Exercises*, only through a correct discernment could a Jesuit decide about the appropriateness of a missionary appointment. On discernment, see: Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, and Massimi and Brunello, “*Indipetae e conoscenza di sé*”, 119–52.

11 “longioribus literis, aliquam molestiam allaturus sum [...] ut Constitutiones nostrae sapientissime exigunt, diligenter expensa, tum per me, tum per alios, crebriis Orationibus, Meditationibus, frequentioribus Communionibus, et Mortificationibus [...] ad conversionem Gentium à Spiritu Sancto vocari sentio [...] persuadebam, sed falso, quod Vocatio illa, non a bono Spiritu, sed potius malo procederet [...] Sed, eheu! quam difficile est Spiritui Sancto resistere [...] O quam mirabilis Deus in operibus suis! qua Dei bonitas, et infinita misericordia [...] iudico me facilitatem in addiscendis linguis habiturum maximam, praecipue ubi divini Spiritus ad tale opus me vocantis, accesserit gratia” (ARSL, FG 755, f. 87, Graz, 15 August 1641).

He thanked the General for the reply from Rome, and confirmed how “my only desire is that Your Reverence keeps memory of my Vocation in case the right conjunction arrives, and to have my name inscribed in the register of candidates”. He regretted not having applied for the Indies in the three previous years, when he already felt a “burning desire” and “vehement impulses”. Knowing he was not worthy of this grace, he asked the Superior General to fulfil his wish not for him, but “in the name of Xavier, who I know is the real author and promotor of this Vocation”.¹²

At the end of December 1641, Harman wrote to General Vitelleschi again, but with a completely different handwriting. He mentions that his spiritual father Ferdinand Sinabel (1604–44)¹³ forwarded him a letter from the General, which gave him “very good hopes” of being among the next chosen ones.¹⁴ The back of Harman’s letter confirms that Sinabel was recommending him for this position, because his “desire for the Indian missions was growing every day more and more”.¹⁵ Harman thanked Vitelleschi as soon as he answered him,¹⁶ pleased to know that his name had been signed “in Albo Candidatorum”.¹⁷

A month later, Harman wished the Superior General happy Easter festivities and asked him for “a grace so big that you cannot find a bigger one on Heaven and earth”: being ordained priest. He also attached an “Easter badge”, with all the penances he was observing before the date: communions, meditations, fasting, rosaries, and cilices among others.¹⁸

12 “(quod unice desidero) meae Vocationis memorem futurum cum eius occasio fuerit, descripto interea in albo candidatorum meo nomine [...] ardenti illius desiderio [...] vehementes impulsos [...] Indiarum Apostolum Franciscum Xaverium [...], qui post Deum huius meae tam diurna Vocationis author, et ut quotidie experior clarissime promotor maximus est” (ARSI, FG 755, f. 89, Graz, 1 November 1641).

13 Lukacs, *Catalogi*, 753.

14 “spem optimam” (ARSI, FG 755, f. 92 Graz, 29 December 1641).

15 “Graecium Pater Ferdinandus Sinabel Commendat pro Indijs Georgium Harman [...] interpellans pro Charissimo nostro Fratre Georgio Harman, cuius ad Indicas missiones quotidie magis magisque crescit desiderium, ad quas ipse (me teste consciente) solidis virtutum exercitijs se se peraptum reddit” (ARSI, FG 755, 91r).

16 ARSI, FG 755, f. 146, Rome, 8 February 1642.

17 ARSI, FG 755, f. 115, Graz, 8 March 1642.

18 “gratiam, cui nec Coelum similem, nec terra maiorem habet [...] Tesseram Paschalis gaudij nec non Observantiae Filialis Admodum Reverendo Patri Suo,

After that, Harman waited a whole year before contacting the Superior General again. Returning to his previous minuscule characters, he updated him on his mother's spiritual situation. She was born a Calvinist, and Harman had tried in every way to convert her in the past ten years — but his efforts had not paid off yet. Despite this, he wished his "very constant desires, and very ardent vows" to be fulfilled as soon as possible by way of a missionary appointment.¹⁹

For three years, Harman apparently refrained from applying for the overseas missions. His next letter is dated 1646 and comes from another Jesuit residence, in Judenburg. In the meantime, a new General of the Society of Jesus had been appointed: Vitelleschi died in 1645 and was succeeded in 1646 by Vincenzo Carafa (1563–1649).²⁰ Harman addressed his letter to Carafa, reminding him that the previous General had almost granted a license to leave. To support his claim, he attached two letters sent to him by Vitelleschi, dated 1641 and 1642; they are still preserved with Harman's *Indipetae*. In his letter, Harman mentioned the Procurator of Japan, and the fervour he and his confreres shared for the martyrs of Japan. He seemed keenly interested in that particular destination — at the time, closed to any foreigner.²¹

After just four months, Harman wrote to Carafa again. He thanked him for the reply to his previous letter, which relieved him because he was "thinking that my letter has been lost, and this is why I sent another one on the same subjects". He updated the Superior General about his successes in converting "thousands of souls" in nearby territories: Hungary, Transylvania, and Moldova. He was studying Hungarian to improve his chances there, and planning to study Logic and Philosophy in Vienna. As for him, he was "totally indifferent to which mission I will be sent to", and ready to lose his life anywhere. Of this commendable detail the Roman secretary also took note, on the back of Harman's last

filius indignissimus exhibebat. Communiones 12. Cilicia 12. Disciplinas 12. Meditationes 12. Rosaria 12. Jeiunia 12. Abstinencias 12. Officia Beatae Virginis 12. Mortificationes varias 12" (ARSI, FG 755, f. 102, Graz, 6 April 1642).

19 "desideria mea constantissima, et vota ardentissima" (ARSI, FG 755, f. 129, Graz, 29 March 1643).

20 Vincenzo Carafa, * 9.V.1585 Andria (Italy), SJ 4.X.1604 Naples, † 8.VI.1649 Rome (Italy) (DHCJ II, p. 1627).

21 ARSI, FG 755, f. 144, Judenburg, 21 April 1646.

petition for the Indies.²² Maybe because he had reached a mature age (he was thirty-three at the time), or maybe because his interest moved to the Near instead of Far East, Harman did not apply for the overseas missions anymore after that.²³

Harman's confrere Pfiegl started applying for the Indies when he was twenty-six, and continued for the remaining fifteen years of his life. Like Harman's letters, all of his *Indipetae* were written in Latin. Pfiegl was more succinct and sober than Harman: none of his *Indipetae* was longer than a page. The first petition was sent from Linz, and starts with a brief autobiography. He had been a member of the Society for eight years, but even four years before that, while he was still a student, he had "burned with the desire of serving the wretched in those Barbarian Indies". His country of election was Japan, and he was "not able to restrain [him]self from such a fire, that breaks out of [him]". This desire had been tested by himself, and it was approved by his superiors. Pfiegl belonged to a minority of Jesuits in general, and petitioners for the Indies in particular: he was a temporal coadjutor. He professed himself "totally unworthy, and unable to become a priest", but did not see why he could not be sent to Japan as a domestic helper. He knew that some temporal coadjutors had worked in the East Indies like, for instance Martines and three of the first 'Japanese martyrs' had that status.²⁴ Pfiegl, moreover, had practical and very useful skills: he was taught how to manage the kitchen and take care of domestic works. He was specialized in cooking and assisting the sick — also the pestilent ones — and had experience in these tasks, without ever contracting any negative consequence for his health. His vocation was solid: "I tested not only my spirit, but my body as well". He invoked Mary, Ignatius and the martyrs of Japan — on whose feast day (February, 5th) he composed his letter.²⁵

22 "in via perditas existimabam, ideoque secundas eiusdem argumenti transmisi [...] myriades animarum [...] ex parte mea indifferentiam ad quascumque missiones nullatenus" (ARSI, FG 755, f. 152, Judenburg, 4 August 1646).

23 On the motivations of German Jesuits, see Chapter 6 of Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*. See also Colombo and Massimi, *In viaggio, passim*.

24 He may be writing about Francesco Martines (1570–1606), whose native name was Fangji, Huang Mingsha, * 1568 Macau (China), SJ I.1591 Zhaozhou (China), † 31.III.1606 Guangzhou (China) (DHCJ II, p. 1961). He was a Chinese Jesuit lay brother and martyr (Dehergne, *Repertoire*, 167).

25 "Anni iam sunt duodecim, quotuor extra, in Societate octo [...] desiderio ardeo

After two months, in May of 1640, Pfliegl sent another letter to Vitelleschi. He assured him that his Provincial had approved his vocation for the overseas missions, and added to the aforementioned saints of his ‘pantheon’ also Francis Xavier, the “Apostle of Japan”.²⁶ He could “feel more and more that the Indies are a vocation coming from God”. Ready to leave as soon as possible, “to go there without supplies, by foot (and also, if this would be humanly possible, without food and water)”, he was also willing to die as a martyr the first day he set foot in Japan. He concluded by begging to be informed as soon as an expedition for Japan was been planned: “not to do mine, but my superiors’ and God’s will”. The Roman secretary annotated on the back of Pfliegl’s letter that he asked “for the Indies ardently”.²⁷

After three months, Pfliegl applied again in July of the same year, excusing himself “if any annoyance has come to you because of my Japanese vocation”. He felt the urge to contact the Superior General because he was aware that there were “many opportunities” to leave soon. He confirmed that his Provincial gave him permission to leave, and concluded with his dream: “On the day of our forty-four Martyrs! Oh, would I be the forty-fifth one?”²⁸ At the end of the same year, however, Pfliegl had not been sent anywhere other than the professed house of Vienna. Even if he was working as an “infirmary, to mature experience”, his only goal remained Japan, for which he was “burning vehemently”.²⁹ Half a year later, Pfliegl still lived in Vienna and worked “as a doorkeeper, but always

serviendi miseris illis Barbaris Indiae [...] nec possum amplius cohibere hunc tantum ignem, quo erumpat [...] Sacerdotio indignissimus sum, et ineptissimus [...] Coadiutorum temporalium [...] ut in Sinis Martinez, in Japonia tres nostri primi Martyres, et alij nostri alibi [...] ad quod extra Societatem adhuc coquere, et similia munia domestica obire didici, probatus deinde in Societate in ministerijs culinae, cura aegrorum (etiam pestiferorum) [...] Probavi animam, probavi corpus” (ARSI, FG 755, f. 66, Linz, 5 February 1640).

26 See for instance Colombo, “Francesco Saverio nelle *Indipetae*”.

27 “Apostolus Japoniae [...] Sentio Admodum Reverende pater, sentio magis et magis indies hanc esse mentem, hanc Dei vocationem [...] absque omni Viatico, pedes (etiam si humanitus possibile, sine cibo, et potu [...] non mea, sed Dei, et superiorum voluntas fiat [...] ardenter Indias” (ARSI, FG 755, f. 67, Linz, 19 May 1640).

28 “si toties molestem propter vocationem meam Japonicam [...] occasiones quamplurimas [...] in festo nostrorum 44 Martyrum! ô, et ego illo tempore fuisse quadragesimus quintus” (ARSI, FG 755, f. 68, Linz, 15 July 1640).

29 “Infirarium [...] ut experimentum faciam [...] vehementius me sentio inflammari” (ARSI, FG 755, f. 63, Vienna, 2 November 1640).

hoping for Japan". All his previous applications had been approved by his Provincial, now sick. Not being able to count on the latter's recommendation, Pfliegl took up the quill and wrote again.³⁰

Four months later, in October, Pfliegl had to rectify his dream's geographical coordinates. In the meantime, in fact, the news had come that the Japanese archipelago was not reachable anymore. He promptly found an alternative: the Philippines, "that flourishing vineyard of the Lord", where he would have gone as a resourceful domestic coadjutor. He also mentioned his correspondence with Johann Schega (1595–1694), his master of novices, by then confessor of the brother of the Austrian archduke.³¹ After a few months, Pfliegl wrote again, from Vienna. His desire for the East Asian missions was renewed thanks to a confrere, Andreas Koffler (1603–51).³² This Austrian Jesuit had been sent, together with the Polish Jesuit Michał Piotr Boym (1612–59),³³ to the court of the Yongli emperor (reigning 1646–62). Having read Koffler's memories, Pfliegl felt "new flames" in his heart. He desired "the Japanese or the Indian missions": he could have had Asia in mind, or no particular place at all.³⁴

After this communication, Pfliegl fell silent for the next eight years. In the meantime, the Superiors General changed: Vitelleschi died in 1645, Carafa died in 1649, and the next Jesuit to be elected was, in 1649, Francesco Piccolomini (1582–1651). To him, Pfliegl wrote in January of 1650 from Vienna. Pfliegl remembered the "very frequent letters" he had sent to Vitelleschi and highlighted the favor of his Provincial, who recommended him while he was in Rome. After Vitelleschi's death, Pfliegl "was forced to stop asking for the Japanese missions, because of the bellicose situation there". Invoking Ignatius and "the Apostle of Japan Saint Xavier", he asked once again to be sent there as a temporal coadjutor. He had a longtime experience in "taking care of the sick, partly working in the kitchen, partly practising in pharmacy". Since his decade-long

30 "Ago nunc Janitorem Domus professa, spe itineris Japonici" (ARSI, FG 755, f. 83, Vienna, 8 June 1641).

31 "Ad Insulas philippinas floridam illam Domini Vineam" (ARSI, FG 755, f. 84, Graz, 14 October 1641).

32 Wolfgang Andreas Xaver Koffler, * 1612 Vienna (Austria), SJ 16.X.1627 Vienna, † 12.XII.1652 Tianzhu (China) (DHCJ III, p. 2210).

33 Michał Piotr Boym, * 1612 Lvov (Ukraine), SJ 16.VIII.1631 Krakow (Poland), † 22.VIII.1659 Guangxi (China) (DHCJ I, p. 517).

34 "novas in me flamas excitaverunt" (ARSI, FG 755, f. 99, Vienna, 5 April 1642).

desire for Japan had been paused, he would be glad to be sent to the Philippines instead, where some of his confreres were working. As the archival note on the back shows, the office of the Superior General sent a reply to his letter just a month later.³⁵

On the same day, Pfliegl wrote another petition but addressed it to Johann Baptist/Giovanni Battista Bucelleni (1600–69), Austrian Provincial in Rome.³⁶ Pfliegl was advised to do so, to show to General Piccolomini, as well his “ardent and continuous desire to die in Japan [...] to follow the Xaverian ways”. He exclaimed: “I long for Japan, those Barbarian lands [...] O, Saint Xavier, intercede for me!” He had waited too long, and quoted Xavier himself: “It is enough now, Lord”.³⁷

At the end of the following year, Pfliegl was still in Vienna. General Piccolomini had died in June 1651 and Aloysius Gottifredi (1595–1652) was appointed as his successor, if only for two months, in January 1652. Pfliegl remembered how Generals Vitelleschi and Piccolomini had answered before, and that Bucelleri was aware of his missionary desire and made it known while in Rome as well. All these efforts had brought, “with my utmost satisfaction”, Pfliegl’s name to be inscribed “in Catalogo Indianorum” destined to Nuno da Cunha, the Assistant of the Portuguese Province from 1646 to 1649. Pfliegl impatiently waited to read just one word: “Come”. Even if he expected some difficulties in the new languages, he was ready nonetheless to work everywhere: “I offer myself as a porter, as an infirmary, as a cook”.³⁸ What comes immediately after this letter,

35 “literas frequentiores meas [...] Defuncto igitur Admodum Reverendo Patri Muzio, rogare missionem Japonicam intermittere coactus sum, ob missionem quatuor fere annis in castris capacis bellicum [...] Japoniae Apostolus Sanctus Xaverius [...] coadiutorem egi annis quatuor, ubi infirmis servivi duobusque, uno partem in culina, partem in pharmacopolia exercitatus” (ARSI, FG 755, f. 165, Vienna, 8 January 1650).

36 Lukacs, *Catalogi*, 555.

37 “desiderium ardendi et continuum exeundi in Japoniam [...] barbaros illas terras anhelo [...] sequi vias Xaverianas cupio, Tu o sancte Francisce partes age meas [...] cum Sancto Xaverio Satis est Domine” (ARSI, FG 755, f. 168, Vienna, 8 January 1650).

38 “cum mei maxima consolatione, nomen meum Catalogo Indianorum relatum, de tempore missionis Reverendum patrem Nonnium de Cunha significaturum [...] Veni [...] Si fortassis de comparatione linguarum illarum, difficultas aliqua manetur; Ecce me baiulum, infirmarium, et cocum [...] me offero” (ARSI, FG 755, f. 172, Vienna, 16 December 1651). Nuno da Cunha was the recipient of several *Indipetae*, as the document nr. 174 in the same archival collection testifies, whose author thanks for being put “inter Candidatos Indiarum”.

is the original reply by Vitelleschi of eleven years previously, attached as a proof of the veracity of Pfiegl's words.³⁹

After four years, Pfiegl had to contact another Superior General: Goschwin Nickel (1582–1664, in office from 1652).⁴⁰ He seemed exasperated by the fact that his "Xaverian soul" had been suffering for "twenty years, and more", with letters addressed to all of Nickel's predecessors, starting with Vitelleschi.⁴¹ Pfiegl's handwriting had become more and more uncertain. It turns out that the only thing that could stop Pfiegl's yearnings for the Indies was his death, which happened a year later. Pfiegl passed away in Vienna in 1656.

Vitelleschi's replies to *Litterae Indipetae*

Each missionary assignment was influenced by political factors, the candidates' families, as well as the local superiors' opinions.⁴² During the early modern period, hundreds of *Indipetae* were sent to the Superior General from all over Europe every year.⁴³ Not all of them were answered, even if the evidence clearly shows how (at least for certain years and Provinces) a good number of the *Indipetae* received a reply, and that this was done very quickly.⁴⁴ Answering the *Indipetae* was, moreover, not among the main goals of the General and his secretaries: there would have been no reason to establish such a relationship with every Jesuit who wanted to leave for the overseas missions. The apostolic *stimulus* was at the core of the Society's operations, and every Jesuit was expected not only to feel it, but to express it.

This notwithstanding, it was not uncommon for aspiring missionaries to receive letters from Rome. They were usually balanced, relatively standardized in some cases, and significantly personalized in others. None of them went into a detailed

39 ARSI, FG 755, f. 173, Rome, 11 August 1640.

40 Goschwin Nickel, * 1.V.1584 Koslar (Germany), SJ 3.IV.1604 Trier, † 31.VII.1664 Roma (Italy) (*DHCJ* II, p. 1631).

41 "Xaverianus animus à viginti annis, et ultra" (ARI, FG 755, f. 195, Vienna, 17 April 1655).

42 See for instance Frei, "*In nomine patris*", 107–123.

43 See on this kind of data Colombo, *Indipetae and Numbers*.

44 This information is corroborated not only by the petitioners' statements (happy after receiving words of acknowledgment and hope from Rome), but also by the *Epistulae Generalium*. See Frei, "Le risposte dei Generali".

description of a spiritual or theological nature. Their subject was the same as that of the *Indipetae* themselves: obtaining/allowing a missionary appointment. As for this, they usually contained no peremptory or definitive statements: too much negativity could have discouraged a petitioner's enthusiasm, also causing his exit from the Society. The tendency was rather to invite perseverance, submission, and patience, while giving more or less vague hopes to everyone. When the General explicitly 'promised' a missionary assignment, this usually happened.

On the contrary, there was no reason for the General to guarantee something that would never take place. As such, in some answers, there was no hope given at all. This happened mainly when the petitioners expressed conflicting feelings, insisted almost maniacally and for no apparent reason on one destination, did not show enough 'indifference' and lived a life full of difficulties and disagreements with their confreres and superiors. The Generals also did not give many hopes to petitioners who did not seem able to contribute significantly to the Jesuit mission overseas (too ignorant, lacking any ability), or of a too advanced age.⁴⁵

The *Epistulae Generalium* offer the most important contribution to current studies on the *Indipetae* when it comes to finding proof of interference from the Jesuits' families, both natural, and spiritual. Relatives and religious superiors could, in fact, try to hijack, delay, or cancel their sons' departures for the Indies. The data emerging from the letter books are often unique, and sometimes the only way to trace back the "domestic enemies" of many petitioners.⁴⁶ Thanks to this source, as precious as it is lacking and difficult to read, the General's (and his office's) *modus operandi* becomes more comprehensible, and shows itself in all its global complexity.

When the Generals replied to petitioners for the Indies, they did it in a way that was at the same time "rigorous" and "personal", with a *ratio* which tended to combine "spiritual and organizational" aims; the Jesuit leadership had to mediate among all of the parts involved in a process that was "negotiated" and

45 The age-limit, however, seems a very subjective and variable element, because Jesuits over thirty leaving for the Indies were not rare. At that age, actually, they used to be more reliable and mature than their teenager confreres: see Frei, "Sfoghi di un cuore infiammato", 52–59.

46 As the Italian Jesuit Ignazio Maria Romeo expressed himself about his family: "nimici domestici" (ARSL, FG 750, f.170, Palermo, 12 July 1704).

"highly interactive".⁴⁷ The examples presented here of the extant original letters signed by General Vitelleschi — sent out to the two petitioners and then finding their way back to Jesuit headquarters where they were preserved in ARSI — are rather improbable since, once the Jesuits received them, there was no obvious reason to send them back. We shall discover why they were sent back in the discussion that follows, below. In terms of their value, and when placed alongside their abbreviated versions in the *Epistulae Generalium*, they underscore what is already present in these registers of letters: the very personal nature of epistolary exchanges between Jesuit petitioners and their 'Father', the General.

Yet, as Aliocha Maldavsky notes, the *Indipetae* had an unmistakably practical function: "in terms of the Society's governance, they were a juridical proof of the Jesuit's will against protests from his family, and an administrative instrument to manage vocations". From the perspective of the Jesuit, Maldavsky further observes, they were "a spiritual relation of his missionary vocation [...] and [an] administrative document" that made the case for a mission outside one's home Province.⁴⁸ Even if it is not clear yet how crucial their role was to select the 'right' missionary, it is sure that they were of the utmost importance for those who wrote them. Through this written *medium*, every Jesuit could (and possibly had to) recall the footsteps of his vocation to the Society of Jesus before that to the missions. This is precisely what Harman did in his letters, describing his spiritual meditations.

The spiritual dimensions of the *Indipetae* to some extent precluded the necessity of a reply from the General. When replies arrived, however, for the Jesuits who received them and had longed for a missionary destiny, they were a precious treasure worth keeping until the end of their life, a *memento* of the acceptance of their vocation by their highest authority after God. Nevertheless, their value was not only spiritual and affective: they were also a formal proof of their application's acceptance. It is for this very reason that Harman and Pfliegl attached Vitelleschi's original letters to two of their applications. Even if Vitelleschi's answers were written in

⁴⁷ Russell, "Becoming 'Indians'", 31.

⁴⁸ "La carta *indipeta* era para el redactor un relato espiritual de su vocación por la misión y una manifestación abierta de su motivación, un documento a la vez espiritual y administrativo. Para la institución, era una prueba jurídica de la voluntad propia del candidato frente a eventuales reclamos de la familia y un instrumento de administración de las vocaciones" (Maldavsky, "Pedir las Indias", 171–72).

1640, 1641, and 1642, they were sent together with their *Indipetae* of several years later (1646 and 1651), when the Superior General was not Vitelleschi anymore, but his successors Carafa (1646) and Piccolomini (1651).

All of Vitelleschi's letters start, as usual, with a *salutatio*. The first document here analyzed is a reply to Harman's first petition, dated August 1641.⁴⁹ Harman had applied again, before waiting for the reply by the General dated a few weeks later.⁵⁰ Vitelleschi's letter is attached to Harman's petition dated five years later: he sent it after Vitelleschi's death, to show the subsequent Superiors General the solidity of the promises he had received about the overseas missions.⁵¹ Vitelleschi thanked Harman for applying, but emphasized that his letters could win little influence, as they weary the reader with their faintness.⁵² Notwithstanding, the General perceived his motivation and desire, and guaranteed him a place "in albo candidatorum". Vitelleschi exhorted him to "cultivate his virtue and education in order to be ready for such a difficult endeavor".

The second answer by the Italian General dates back to the beginning of 1642 and answered Harman's petition of the end of the previous year;⁵³ it was then attached to Harman's letter of five years later.⁵⁴ Vitelleschi thanked Harman again for the prayers and masses he offered him, wishing him many times the same. The General confirmed Harman that "the memory of Your vocation has been inscribed in the register of the candidates."⁵⁵ Inviting him to show himself worthy of the missions, he closed the letter with his autograph signature and final greetings.

The third letter sent by Vitelleschi⁵⁶ is a reply to Pfiegl's petition

49 ARSI, FG 755, f. 87, Graz, 15 August 1641.

50 ARSI, FG 755, f. 89, Graz, 1 November 1641.

51 ARSI, FG 755, f. 144, Judenburg, 21 April 1646.

52 "fatigant legentem exilitate characteris [...] ut sedula contentione ad litteras et virtutem te pergas idoneum ad tam arduas expeditiones praestare" (ARI, FG 755, f. 147, Rome, 21 September 1641).

53 ARSI, FG 755, f. 92, Graz, 29 December 1641.

54 ARSI, FG 755, f. 144, Judenburg, 21 April 1646.

55 "Vocationis tuae memoria in albo candidatorum consignata est" (ARI, FG 755, f. 146, Rome, 8 February 1642).

56 ARSI, FG 755, f. 173, Rome, 11 August 1640.

of 1640,⁵⁷ and was attached to his petition dated a decade later.⁵⁸ Vitelleschi's answer to Pfliegl started with similar greetings, but had different focuses. He reminded him that "I did not forget about you,"⁵⁹ but no expedition for Japan had been organized in the meantime in which to include the aspiring missionary. Inviting him to correspond to the divine call with high thoughts, Vitelleschi greeted him.

All of these epistles include two different handwritings: while the *corpus* of the letter was written by a secretary, the General (probably) signed it personally. All of them confirm how the Jesuit leadership had a concrete intention of sending the petitioners to the longed-for missions. All of them contain generic formulas that could be used for every petitioner (greetings, the invitation to maintain a strong vocation, the advice to study), but also personalized elements. Only someone informed of Pfliegl's history as a petitioner could answer that his desire for the Japan mission had not been forgotten. Similarly, only someone really reading — or trying to read — Harman's *Indipetae* could mildly reprimand him for his bad handwriting. Both comments are present in these letters.

Why have these letters been attached to Harman's and Pfliegl's *Indipetae* of a few years later, during other generalates? After Vitelleschi's death, both Jesuits were afraid that their 'cause' had lost visibility in Rome. For them, this was hard to accept, not only because they still wanted to leave, after years of applying, but also because their pleas seemed to have been almost accepted by the previous General, Vitelleschi, only to have their possible success thwarted at his death.

In some cases, petitioners for the Indies tried to take advantage of the changing Jesuit leadership, as members either died, in the case of the Generals, or changed roles, as with Provincials and Procurators. Many insisted in their letters on how they had understood from the previous General that departure was imminent.⁶⁰ In this case, the Austrian Jesuits attached a written proof of the trustworthiness

⁵⁷ It is not clear to which one of Pfliegl's *Indipetae* this answer is related. At the bottom of Vitelleschi's letter, Pfliegl's letter (dated December 2nd) is mentioned, and this probably refers to his letter dated November 2nd, which is however consecutive to Vitelleschi's letter, dated August of the same year.

⁵⁸ ARSI, FG 755, f. 172, Vienna, 16 December 1651.

⁵⁹ "Ego tui oblitus non sum" (ARSI, FG 755, f. 173, Rome, 11 August 1640).

⁶⁰ See for instance Frei, "The Many Faces of Ignazio Maria Romeo", 365–404.

of their claim: what was better than an original reply from the General?

Conclusions

This article has taken into consideration the main sources related to the steps in an overseas appointment in the Society of Jesus during the early modern period. Jesuits used to share their missionary vocation first of all with their local superiors, orally. Once the nature of this desire was approved, they were allowed to communicate directly with the Superior General in Rome. They did so through *Litterae Indipetae*: the abundance of these epistles, together with the meticulousness of their preservation, testifies to their importance for the Society of Jesus until very recent times.

When *Litterae Indipetae* arrived in Rome, their main addressee would probably not have been able to read them personally one by one. It was the General's secretaryship that managed this kind of correspondence. Every petition was read, and every detail which could become useful in selecting the best missionary was accurately annotated on its back.

It is probable that the names of some aspiring missionaries were also inscribed into an *ad hoc* register. *Specimina* of these "alba candidatorum", however, have not survived until today as such, or were in any case not systematically preserved. Among *Litterae Indipetae*, on the contrary, it is not uncommon to find more or less detailed lists of candidates, approved or recommended by local superiors, Provincials or most of all Procurators of the overseas missions. Sometimes, these lists also contained data about the peculiar characteristics, temperament, and inclinations of the applicants.

The majority of Jesuit petitioners never set foot on a ship headed to the East or West Indies. Some of them never received an answer at all, and vehemently complained about being ignored. Others, on the contrary, were at least rewarded with a reply from Rome — and not just a generic one. As this article showed, even if the replies were written by a secretary, they were personally signed by the Superior General of the time. For these petitioners, the careful preservation among their papers of such an important testimony of attention and affection from the Superior General points to the letters' value in the life of the individual Jesuit.

The main aim of this paper was to present for the first time a type of document that, by its very nature, normally did not find its way back to the Roman archives. It also showed the importance of these rare examples of signed letters from the Superior General.

Jesuits who applied for the Indies confided heartily in their main authority, the Superior General, who tried as much as he could to strengthen and reinvigorate their apostolic zeal.

Summary

This article presents two case studies that explain and contextualize a new documentary discovery for the history of the *Litterae Indipetae*. These letters of petition for the ‘Indies’ addressed to the Superior General are a genre unique to the Society of Jesus and the focus of substantial scholarly attention in recent years. Through analysis of the various known sources connected to the *Indipetae*, as well as of the petitions themselves, the article introduces and transcribes a new source connected to them in the form of three original and autograph letters now preserved at ARSI. The letters were sent as replies to petitioners from Superior General Muzio Vitelleschi (1563–1645; elected 1615). The essay reconstructs and analyses the relevant documentation relating to the missionary vocations of the letters’ two recipients, Georg Harman and Ernest Pfliegl, Austrian Jesuits who applied for the East Asian missions. While recent studies of the Generals’ letter-books confirmed how Superiors General answered some *Litterae Indipetae*, this is the first time that the original letters sent from Rome to individual petitioners have been identified in ARSI.

Sommario

Questa nota di ricerca presenta e contestualizza la scoperta di tre epistole composte dalla segreteria di Muzio Vitelleschi (1563–1645), Generale della Compagnia di Gesù dal 1615 al 1645, che le firmò di propria mano. Vitelleschi rispondeva in esse a Georg Harman ed Ernest Pfliegl, due gesuiti austriaci che avevano chiesto di essere inviati nelle Indie orientali come missionari. Benché sia stato dimostrato come per i Superiori Generali non fosse insolito rispondere alle *Litterae Indipetae*, queste sono le prime testimonianze (in originale, e non in forma di regesto come conservato nelle *Epistulae Generalium*) di risposte inviate da Roma a singoli candidati per le Indie. Le risposte dei generali suscitavano grande gioia negli aspiranti missionari, i quali le conservavano gelosamente e le usavano in casi di necessità come quelli qui riportati.

Appendix: Muzio Vitelleschi's replies

Muzio Vitelleschi to Georg Harman, Rome 8 February 1642 ARSI, FG 755 f. 146

Iesus

Carissime in Christo frater

Pax Christi

Suffragia quibus mihi annum inenuntem adornasti gratissima habui, et magnas tibi pro illis gratias ago, Deum precatus ut vicissim te donis suae gratiae lucupletet. Vocationis tuae memoria in albo candidatorum consignata est; ex quo reperetur, cum occasio fuerit. Tu te interim illa dignum praesta, et perge me in tuis Orationibus Deo commendare.

Tuus Servus in Christo

Mutius Vitillescus

Ioannes Georgio Harman Graetium

Romae 8. Februarii 1642

Vitelleschi to Harman, Rome 21 September 1641

ARSI, FG 755 f. 147

Iesus

Carissime in Christo frater

Pax Christi

Parum possunt obtainere gratiae litterae tuae, quae fatigant legentem exilitate characteris. Nihilominus cum earum argumentum vocumque perceperim, memorem me fore tuae vocationis recipio, cum fuerit eius occasio, descripto interea in albo candidatorum tuo nomine, reque admonito, ut sedula contentione ad litteras et virtutem te pergas idoneum ad tam arduas expeditiones praestare. His me tuis Orationibus enixè commendo.

Tuus Servus in Christo

Mutius Vitilliscus

Georgio Harman Graetium

Romae 21. Septembris 1641.

Vitelleschi to Ernest Pfliegl, Rome, 11 August 1640
ARSI, FG 755 f. 173

Carissime in Christo frater

Pax Christi

Ego tui oblitus non sum: sed cum nulla sit in Japoniam expeditio,
neque est praeperopere deliberandi necessitas: et interim habebis
agenda coram cum *Patre Provinciali* copiam, qui suum de te sensum
ad me referet. Tu praecelsis cogitationibus tuis opere responde,
meque in tuis Orationibus De[o] commenda.

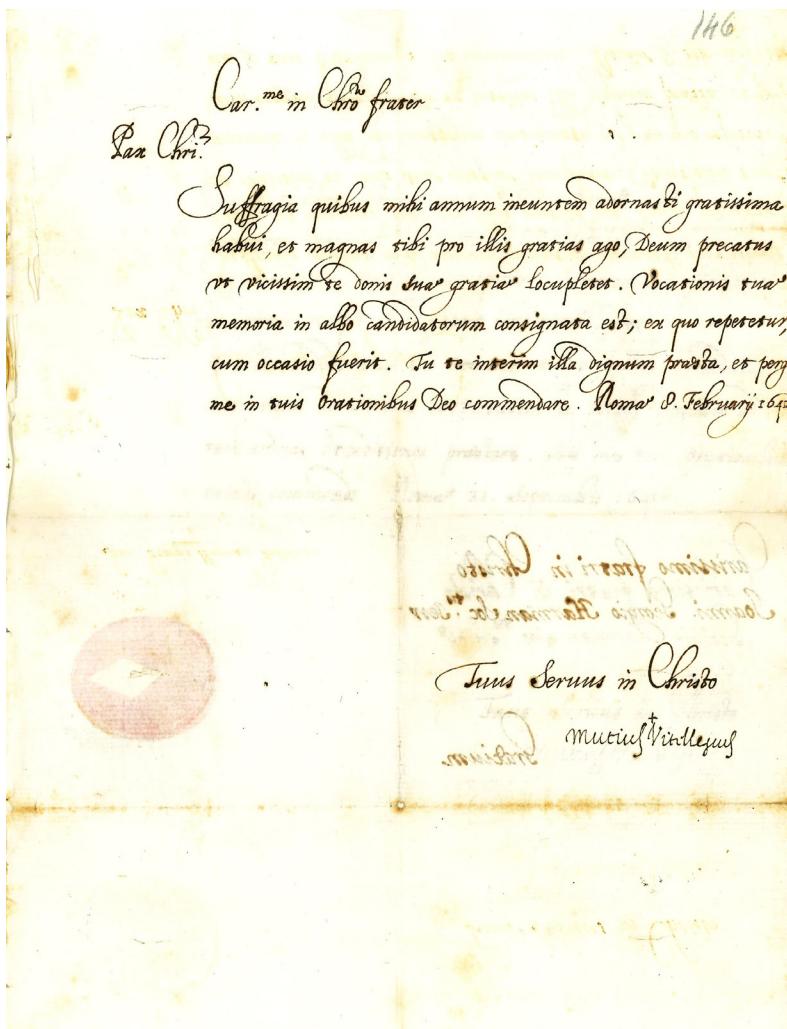
Tuus in Christo Servus.

+

Mutius Vitillescus

Ernesto Pfliegl. Lintzium recepi 2. Decembre

Romae 11. Augusti 1640.



Muzio Vitelleschi to Georg Harman, Rome, 8 February 1642
ARSI, FG 755, f. 146

Th

147

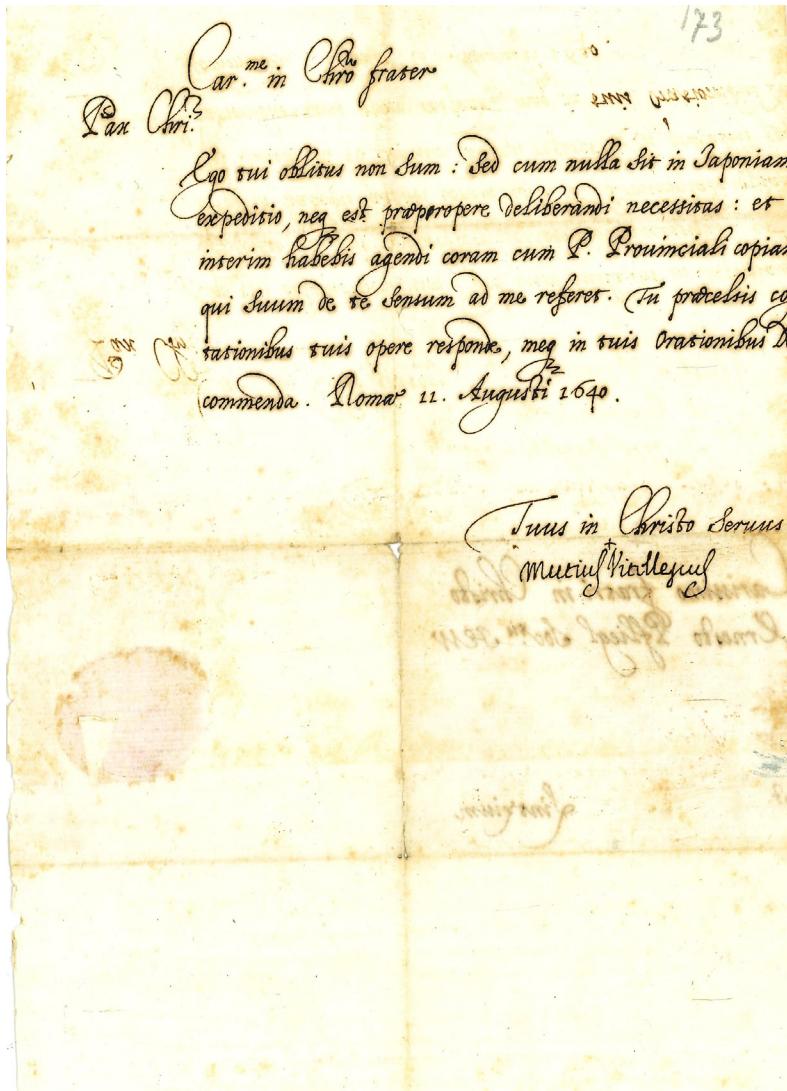
Car. m. O^ro frater
Pax Chri^t

Parum possunt obtinere gratia litterarum sue, quia fatigant
 legentem exiliose characteris. Nihilominus cum earum
 argumentum vocum percepimus, memor me fore tuar
 vocacionis recipio, cum fuerit eius occasio, descripsi interea
 in albo candidatorum tuo nomine, regi admonito, ut deula
 contentione ad litteras et virtutem te pergas doneum ad
 tam arduas expeditiones probare. His me suis orationibus
 erice commendo. Romae 21. Septembris 1641.

*ad hanc diu invenit omnia
 quae solo natus est apud*

*Tuus seruus in Christo
 Martinus Vitelleschi*

Vitelleschi to Harman, Rome, 21 September 1641
 ARSI, FG 755, f. 147



Vitelleschi to Ernest Pfiegl, Rome, 11 August 1640
 ARSI, FG 755, f. 173

Cited Works

Manuscript Sources

Rome. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI)
Fondo Gesuitico 744, Italia. 1643-46.
Fondo Gesuitico 755, Austria. 1614-1730.

Secondary Sources

- Clossey, Luke. *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Colombo, Emanuele and Marina Massimi. *In viaggio. Gesuiti italiani candidati alle missioni tra Antica e Nuova Compagnia*. Milano: Il Sole 24 ore, 2014.
- _____. "Francesco Saverio nelle *Indipetae*". In Girolamo Imbruglia, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, and Guido Mongini, eds.. *Litterae Indipetae. Una fonte lunga cinque secoli*. Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, forthcoming.
- _____. "*Indipetae and Numbers*". In Seth Meehan ed.. *Engaging Sources: The Tradition and Future of Collecting History in the Society of Jesus*. Boston: IJS Studies–Research on Jesuits and the Society of Jesus, forthcoming.
- Dehergne, Joseph. *Repertoire des Jesuites de Chine*. Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu: Roma, 1973.
- Frei, Elisa. "Le risposte dei Generali". Girolamo Imbruglia, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, and Guido Mongini, eds.. *Litterae Indipetae. Una fonte lunga cinque secoli*. Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, forthcoming.
- _____. "Sfoghi di un cuore infiammato". *Il desiderio dei gesuiti italiani per le Indie orientali (1687–1730)*. PhD diss. University of Trieste/Udine, 2017.
- _____. "*In nomine patris. The Struggle Between an Indipeta, his Father, and the Superior Generals of the Society of Jesus (1701–1724 ca.)*". *Chronica Mundi* 13/I (2018): 107–123.
- _____. "The Many Faces of Ignazio Maria Romeo, SJ (1676–1724?), Petitioner for the Indies: A Jesuit Seen through his *Litterae Indipetae* and the *Epistulae Generalium*". *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, LXXXV/170 (2016/II): 365–404.
- _____. "*You only torment and upset yourself. Jesuits between Indifference and Restlessness (Sicily, 17-18th centuries)*". In Seth Meehan, ed.. *Engaging Sources: The Tradition and Future of Collecting History in the Society of Jesus*. Boston: IJS Studies–Research on Jesuits and the Society of Jesus, forthcoming.

- Guerra, Alessandro. "Per un'archeologia della strategia missionaria dei Gesuiti: le *indipetae* e il sacrificio nella 'vigna del Signore'". *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 13 (2000): 109-92
- Lamalle, Edmond. "L'archivio di un grande ordine religioso: l'Archivio Generale della Compagnia di Gesù". *Archiva Ecclesiae* 34-35/1 (1981-82): 89-120.
- Lukács, Ladislaus. *Catalogi personarum et officiorum Provinciae Austriae S.I.*. Romae: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1982.
- Maldavsky, Aliocha. "Pedir las Indias. Las cartas 'indipetae' de los jesuitas europeos, siglos XVI-XVII, ensayo historiográfico". *Relaciones* XXXIII/132 (2012): 147-81.
- Massimi, Marina and Mauro Brunello. "Indipetae e conoscenza di sé: discernimento ignaziano e psicologia moderna nel XX secolo". *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa* 45/88 (2016): 119-52.
- Miazek-Męczyńska, Monika. *Indipetae Polonae — kołatanie do drzwi misji chińskiej*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2015.
- Negruzzo, Simona. Muzio Vitelleschi. 99 (2020). Online at *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/muzio-vitelleschi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\).](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/muzio-vitelleschi_(Dizionario-Biografico).)
- Prosperi, Adriano. *Tribunali della coscienza: inquisitori, confessori, missionari*. Torino: Einaudi, 1996.
- Roscioni, Gian Carlo. *Il desiderio delle Indie. Storie, sogni e fughe di giovani gesuiti italiani*. Torino: Einaudi, 2001.
- Russell, Camilla. "Becoming 'Indians'. The Jesuit Missionary Path from Italy to Asia". *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 43/1 (2020): 9-50.
- Sluhovsky, Moshe. *Believe Not Every Spirit. Possession, Mysticism, and Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

