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How to Become a Missionary in the Orient? *Litterae indipetae* and Other Strategies of the Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits (1612–1721)

W jaki sposób można było zostać misjonarzem w Oriencie? *Litterae indipetae* i inne strategie jezuitów z Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów (1612–1721)

Abstract

In the Early Modern Period, many a Jesuit sought a place on the overseas missions. The *litterae indipetae* – the petitions sent by the candidates to the General – provide evidence of the collective phenomenon of mass vocations among the members of the order. The present article provides an analysis of the requests sent by Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits for the Crimean Khanate, the Ottoman Empire and Persia in the period between 1610s–1720s. It aims to understand how the candidates conceptualised these territories, and what knowledge about the dreamed destination they decided to reveal in the petitions. It also explores how they explained their inclination towards serving in the Muslim Orient and the religiously ambiguous Circassia. While many of the Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits followed the standard procedure of seeking the General's consent for a mission

abroad, only a few received his permission. Most probably, the real need of priestly ministry in Poland-Lithuania itself, played an important role in the superior's indifference to the poignant descriptions of the suffering captives and their unbaptized children, as well as to a tempting picture of supposedly Christian inhabitants of the Northern Caucasus, who could be easily won for the Catholic faith. It deserves attention that numerous Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits, who spent some time preaching God's Word in the Orient, did not send petitions before reaching their missionary destinations. Many of them traveled eastwards as the chaplains of the Polish-Lithuanian envoys. Those of the missionaries, who decided to stay abroad for a longer period, usually made an effort to receive *post factum* the General's approval. Finally, we find one more group among the Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits serving in Persia and Northern Caucasus namely the supplicants for China, who failed to reach the Far-East and settled for less prestigious missionary posts.

Keywords: *litterae indipetae*, Jesuits, Crimean Khanate, Circassia, Ottoman Empire, Persia, Orient

Abstrakt

W epoce nowożytnej wielu jezuitów zwracało się do generała zakonu z prośbą o pozwolenie na udział w misji zagranicznej. Ich petycje, tzw. *litterae indipetae*, świadczą o licznych powołaniach członków zakonu do służby w dalekich krajach. Artykuł zawiera analizę próśb napisanych przez jezuitów z prowincji polskiej i litewskiej w okresie od drugiej dekady XVII w. do trzeciej dekady następnego stulecia. Podejmuje próbę ustalenia, jaki obraz wymarzonych terytoriów działalności misyjnej wyłania się z petycji kandydatów, a także do jakiej wiedzy o Oriencie przyznawali się oni przed przełożonym. Artykuł opisuje również, jak suplikanci motywowali konieczność inwestycji środków Towarzystwa Jezusowego właśnie w działalność misyjną na wybranych przez nich terytoriach, tj. muzułmańskim Wschodzie i krajach czerkieskich, których przynależność religijna nie była prosta do ustalenia w owej epoce. Warto podkreślić, że wielu jezuitów z Rzeczypospolitej stosowało się do standardowej procedury dla kandydatów na misjonarzy, która zakładała uzyskanie zgody generała. Wydaje się, że udzielał on jej tak rzadko ze względu na ogromne potrzeby kadrowe zakonu w samym państwie polsko-litewskim. Z tego powodu zdawał się obojętny na poruszające wizje cierpiących jeńców i ich nieochrzczonych dzieci, rzadko też ulegał kuszącym obrazom Czerkiesów, którzy mieli znać pewne podstawowe zwyczaje chrześcijańskie i w związku z tym wydawali się aplikującym grupą stosunkowo łatwą do pozyskania dla Kościoła katolickiego. Wielu spośród polskich i litewskich jezuitów, którzy są wspomniani w źródłach jako misjonarze w Oriencie, nie wysłało próśby do generała przed podróżą na Wschód. Wydaje się,

że posługa członkom poselstw do władców muzułmańskich, jak i osobiste poparcie udzielone przez polskich władców i magnatów umożliwiło im zrealizowanie chociaż na krótko marzenia o misjonarskim życiu. Zwraca uwagę fakt, że ci z nich, którzy zdecydowali się na pozostanie dłużej na misji, próbowali uzyskać *post factum* błogosławieństwo generała. Należy wspomnieć o jeszcze jednej grupie polskich i litewskich jezuitów, których spotykamy w Persji i na Kaukazie, tzn. o kandydatach na misje w Chinach, którym nie udało się dotrzeć na Daleki Wschód i w związku z tym musieli się zadowolić posługą w mniej prestiżowym miejsku.

Słowa klucze: *litterae indipetae*, jezuita, chanat krymski, imperium osmańskie, Persja, Orient

In the Early Modern Period, many a Jesuit sought a place on the overseas missions. The *litterae indipetae* provide evidence of the collective phenomenon of mass vocations among the members of the order. In this article, we will analyse the petitions sent by Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits as well as other missionary sources to explore the strategies they employed to serve in the Crimean Khanate, the Ottoman Empire and Persia in the period between 1612, when the first Polish Jesuit reached the Crimea,¹ and the beginning of the 1720s. The ending date was dictated by two considerations. First, the last preserved Polish-Lithuanian petition dates back to the 1710s.² Second, the first quarter of the 18th century witnessed two breaking points in the history of Poland-Lithuania and the Middle East: the end of the Great Northern War and the Persian Revolution.

My study focuses on the members of the order, whose lives were to lesser or greater extent influenced by the idea of serving in the Orient. For clarity purposes, they are divided into four groups. The first one consists of the authors of *litterae indipetea*, who unsuccessfully petitioned to preach God's Word in the Ottoman Empire, the Crimean Khanate or Persia. The second one of the successful petitioners for the same destinations. The third one of those who petitioned for other regions and

1 Marek Ingot, "Misjonarze jezuita na Krymie od początku XVII do połowy XVIII wieku", in: *Polacy na Krymie*, ed. Edward Walewander (Lublin: Studio Komputerowo Wydawnicze „Bamka”, 2004), 183; Mieczysław Madaj, „Z dziejów misji polskiej na Krymie”, *Sacrum Poloniae Millenium* 5 (1958): 521–538.

2 See the petition written by Stanislaus Starkowiecki for the mission in Persia dated on 6 March 1712 (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu; hereafter ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 230r-v). The research for the present paper was conducted in the framework of the grant project, headed by Dariusz Kołodziejczyk and titled: "Tracing the Great and Little Divergence through Corporate Lenses: Central-Eastern Europeans in Asia in the Seventeenth Century", funded by the National Science Centre, Poland (no. 2017/27/B/HS3/00151).

did not reach the desired location, but ended up serving in the Orient. The sources inform us of yet another group – the Polish-Lithuanian missionaries in the discussed region, who seemed to circumvent the step of petitioning to the General and used other strategies to find their way to the East.

This is, perhaps, the proper place to discuss the role played by the Jesuit seat in Jassy in Moldavia in the missionary activity of its Polish-Lithuanian members. As will be explained below, some of them saw the town as a convenient place of departure to the Ottoman Empire, the Crimean Khanate and Persia. The first Jesuits reached the hospodar's capital and its surroundings already at the beginning of the 17th century, but their permanent station was founded much later – in the 1640s – thanks to the support of Jerzy Kutnarski, a secretary and confidante of the Moldavian ruler. Till his death in 1653, Kutnarski acted as a Polish agent who supported the strengthening of Polish-Moldavian alliance.³ Most probably, he counted on the Jesuit mission becoming an efficacious means of Polish influence in the region. This hope was only partially fulfilled as the newcomers had to navigate in the tangled web of the local Orthodox and Catholic institutions.⁴ The Jesuit activities centred in two small stations located in Jassy and Kutnary, where about fifty Polish-Lithuanian missionaries served to the local Ruthenians and Poles during next hundred years.⁵ Here, we discuss the activity of only these among

3 Dariusz Milewski, "Jerzy Kutnarski – Polak w służbie moldawskiej i polskiej", *Echa Przeszłości* 13 (2012): 107–131.

4 For relevant studies on this point see: Jan Reychman, *Biskupstwo bakowskie w świetle literatury historycznej rumuńskiej* (Kraków: Nasza Przeszłość, 1948); Krzysztof R. Prokop, *Rzymskokatolicki biskupi ordynariusze diecezji na ziemiach ruskich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów (do czasów I wojny światowej)* (Warszawa–Drohiczyń: Drukarnia Akcydensowa Andrzej Dorosz, 2014), 115–117, 133–135, 142–144, 162, 184–186, 204–206, 229–231; 251–256, 324–326; 346–347; 448–449; 458–460; Ilona Czamańska, "Religia i polityka. Rola kościoła katolickiego i cerkwi prawosławnej w stosunkach polsko-moldawskich w XVII wieku", in: *Bliżej siebie: Rumuni i Polacy w Europie. Historia i dzień dzisiejszy*, eds. Stanisława Iachimovschi, Elżbieta Wieruszewska (Suceava: Uniunea Polonezilor din România, 2006), 168–171; Paul Shore, *Narratives of Adversity. Jesuits in the Eastern Peripheries of the Habsburg Realms (1640–1773)* (Budapest–New York: CEU Press, 2012), 229; Lilia Zabolotnaia, "Populația catolică în orașele din Moldova (secolele XVI–XVII)", in: *Bliżej siebie. Polacy i Rumuni a historyczne i kulturowe dziedzictwo Europy*, eds. S. Iachimovschi, E. Wieruszewska (Suceava: Uniunea Polonezilor din România, 2007), 156–173.

5 For the list of the Jesuit missionaries in Jassy and Kutnary see: *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995*, oprac. Ludwik Grzebień SJ przy współpracy zespołu jezuitów (Kraków: Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna „Ignatianum”, Wydawnictwo WAM, 2004), 246, 350.

them, who next to preaching in Moldavia, expressed desire to serve in the Orient, or found their way eastwards.

The paper uses over sixty *indipetae* sent between the years 1612 and 1721 by twenty-seven Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits, who successfully or unsuccessfully petitioned to preach there God's Word. The database is expanded by the letters sent by six missionaries, who sought a place in other destinations,⁶ but whom we eventually find serving in the Orient, as well as by the correspondence of the missionaries, who either did not petition to the General prior for permission to travel eastwards or no trace of their efforts has survived to our times.⁷ Information on the career and demeanour of the individual Jesuits preserved in ARSI, as well as archival materials preserved in the Propaganda Fide Historical Archives in Rome (hereafter: APF), the General Archives of the Order of Preachers in Rome (hereafter AGOP) connected with the Jesuit missionary activity in the location under research are also used.

***Litterae indipetae* and how Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits applied for the mission in the Orient**

As it has been observed in the recent scholarship, the Jesuits standardized the process of application for the missions abroad already by the end of the 16th century. The candidates were expected to send petitions (*littera indipeta*) to the General in Rome. Although there is still much to learn about the selection process, his decisive role in determining the appointments is indicated in numerous studies devoted to the *indipetae*. The detailed analyses of successful and unsuccessful applications, undertaken by a growing number of researchers, indicate that the choice of the future missionaries was also influenced by political considerations, circumstances in the home province of the petitioners as well connections

6 As Monika Miazek-Męczyńska points out in her recently published studies devoted to the *indipetae* sent by Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits, the Far East remained the most desired missionary destination in the 17th and 18th centuries. Although many petitioners mentioned "the Indies" in their requests, only a few received permissions to serve there. The researcher meticulously informs us that only four out of over two hundred applicants reached China, Monika Miazek-Męczyńska, *Indipetae Polonae – kołatanie do drzwi misji chińskiej* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2015), 73–82.

7 ARSI, Pol. 79. Table 1 lists the Jesuits, about whom we succeeded to find information in the archives and literature, divided into the four groups.

of their families.⁸ The recent studies based among others on the petitions, *Epistulae Generalium*⁹ and *Catalogi Triennales*¹⁰ point also to other factors affecting the process of selection (e.g., excellent education, determination, personal qualities, and deep faith of the candidates), and brings us closer to understanding the strategy for appointing missionaries overseas.

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- 8 The collection of *litterae indipetae* were discussed by, among others: Noël Golvers, “«Litterae Indipetae» from the Jesuit Provincia Flandro-Belgica 1640/1660–1700”, in: *Light a Candle. Encounters and Friendship with China. Festschrift in Honour of Angelo S. Lazzarotto P.I.M.E.*, eds. Roman Małek S.V.D., Gianni Criveller P.I.M.E. (Sankt-Augustin–Nettetal: Steyler Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2010), 226; Elisa Frei, “*In Nomine Patris: The Struggle Between an Indipeta, his Father, and the Superior Generals of the Society of Jesus (ca. 1701–1724)*”, *Chronica mundi* 13 (2018): 107–23; *eadem*, “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*, 85 (2016), 365–404; Miazek-Męczyńska, *Indipetae Polonae – kołatanie do drzwi misji chińskiej*; *eadem*, “Polish Jesuits and Their Dreams about Missions in China, According to the Litterae indipetae”, *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 5 (2018): 404–420; Camilla Russell, “Imagining the «Indies»: Italian Jesuit Petitions for the Overseas Missions at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century”, in: *L’Europa divisa e i nuovi mondi. Per Adriano Prosperi*, eds. Massimo Donattini, Giuseppe Marcocci, Stefania Pastore (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2011), vol. 2, 179–189; *eadem*, “Vocation to the East: Italian Candidates for the Jesuit China Mission at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century”, in: *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, eds. Machtelt Israëls, Louis Waldman (Florence, Villa I Tatti: The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 2013), vol. 2, 313–327. Gian Carlo Roscioni, *Il desiderio delle Indie. Storie, sogni e fughe di giovani gesuiti italiani* (Torino: Einaudi, 2001); Laura Souza, Marina Massimi, “Il desiderio dell’oltremare nelle litterae Indipetae: le condizioni psicologiche per l’azione nella narrativa di giovani gesuiti del sedicesimo secolo”, *Memorandum* 3 (2002): 55–71.
- 9 *Epistulae Generalium* contain the abbreviated letters sent by the General to the members of the order. For more on this archival collection, see: Edmond Lamalle, “L’archivio di un grande Ordine religioso. L’Archivio Generale della Compagnia di Gesù”, *Archiva Ecclesiae* 24–25 (1981–1982): 114–116; Frei, “The Many Faces of Ignazio Maria Romeo”, 369–372; Alena Bočková, “Epistolae Generalium ad Nostros – Rádová korespondence jako biografický pramen”, *Folia Historica Bohemica*, 26 (2011): 403–416.
- 10 *Catalogi triennales* are divided into three parts and were supposed to be prepared every three years for all Jesuit houses. In the *Catalogus primus* we find general information about the ethnic origins and career of individual members. The *Catalogus secundus* provides their deeper characteristic as it contains assessment of the members’ talents, intelligence, judgment, discernment, experience, temperament, and attitudes. The access to these records was strictly limited to the Provincial and the General. The *Catalogus tertius* registered data the material state of the houses. For more on this collection, see: Lamalle, “L’archivio di un grande Ordine religioso”, 100–102; Kateřina Bobková-Valentová, “Come elaborare la biografia di un gesuita? Rassegna delle fonti di registro dell’ordine, loro conservazione, accessibilità e valore documentario nella prospettiva di una sistematica elaborazione di un database biografico”, *Bollettino dell’Istituto Storico Ceco di Roma* 9 (2014): 111–145; Cristiano Casalini, “Discerning Skills: Psychological Insight at the Core of Jesuit Identity”, in: *Exploring Jesuit Distinctiveness. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Ways of Proceeding within the Society of Jesus*, ed. Robert Aleksander Maryks (Brill, Leiden–Boston, 2016), 189–211.

The petitions sent by Jesuits from different provinces to the General, as Miazek-Męczyńska argues, are similar in tone, emotional message, and arguments.¹¹ Having compared the petitions for China and Japan written by the Polish Jesuits with those sent from other provinces, the researcher observes that:

In each of these collections of letters we find the same missionary zeal, readiness to die a martyr's death, and references to the intercessory prayers of Francis Xavier and the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola (...) Vantard enumerates among the most frequent issues mentioned in the French letters include a desire to be a missionary from early childhood, missionary work as a reason for joining the Society of Jesus, a desire for God that grows over time, the image of a vineyard deprived of laborers, supernatural powers (e.g., the visions of Francis Xavier), willingness to use the gifts received from God (e.g., language skills) in a responsible manner, impatience, and inability to wait for a long time, missionary work as a path to self-improvement, and a desire for suffering, difficulties, and death. Similarly, the most common reasons to go on a foreign mission mentioned in the Spanish *indipetae* included salvation of one's soul, an opportunity to help other people, the greater glory of God, gratefulness for all the kindness and worldly goods received from God, spreading and protecting Catholic doctrine, a willingness to sacrifice one's life in Christ's name, and achieving self-perfection.¹²

Miazek-Męczyńska's description fits also to the petitions sent by the Polish Jesuits for the Oriental missions. Thus, the present study does not elaborate on the petitioners' efforts to demonstrate their vocation in terms of Jesuit ethos. Instead, it focuses on how they conceptualised the Crimean Khanate, Circassia, the Ottoman Empire and Persia, and what knowledge about the dreamed destination they decided to reveal in the petitions. It also explores how they explained their inclination towards serving in the Muslim Orient and the religiously ambiguous Circassia.

A thirty years old Jesuit from Cracow, Piotr Dunin, authored the eldest preserved Polish *indipeta* containing a profound analysis of the Crimean Khanate and Circassia as prospective missionary fields. In his letter to the General dated on 13 May 1646, he stressed the importance of ministering in the Crimean Khanate. He bitterly observed that the

11 Miazek-Męczyńska, "Polish Jesuits and Their Dreams about Missions in China", 419; *eadem*, *Indipetae Poloniae – kołatanie do drzwi misji chińskiej*, 161–163.

12 Miazek-Męczyńska, "Polish Jesuits and Their Dreams about Missions in China", 419–420.

Polish Jesuits could not preach God's Word in this neighbouring state in contrast to the Dominicans and other orders. He commented on the glorious perspectives for the members of the rival missionary, whose member received the title of the bishop of Caffa. The Jesuit candidate emphasized that that his letter was based on a reliable account of a Dominican missionary, who was travelling through the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth from “Scythia.” Although Dunin avoided using names, the other missionary sources allow to identify both Dominicans as the titular bishop of Caffa, Sigismund Miaskowski and Giovanni Giuliani da Lucca. The first one, who was appointed the bishop of Caffa in November 1644, lingered on in Poland-Lithuania till at least September 1646.¹³ He never reached his destination because he died *en route* in 1647.¹⁴ The second one is the author of the famous description of the Black Sea Region, where he has served as a missionary starting from 1625.¹⁵ Known as a fervent advocate of preaching God's Word among Circassians,¹⁶ he must have inspired Dunin. In his second petition to the General dated on 1 January 1647, the Jesuit elaborated on the perspectives awaiting for the missionaries on the territories located in vicinity of Caffa. He urged the superior to allow him to serve to the *Christiani Cirkassi*, who knew God's name, the sign of the cross, and the custom to use the holy water, but remained oblivious to the profound meaning of these symbols.¹⁷ His remarks on Circassians resemble these authored by Giovanni da Lucca, who conducted numerous missionary travels through their

13 The letter of Sigismund Miaskowski to Francesco Ingoli, the secretary of the Congregation, sent from Poznań is dated on 2 September 1646; APF, SOCG, vol. 63, f. 150r, 151r.

14 Ambrosius Eszer, *Missionen in Randzonen der Weltgeschichte. Krim, Kaukasien und Georgien* in: *Sacra Congregationis De Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum 1622–1972*, ed. Josef Metzler, vol. 1, part 1: 1622–1700 (Rome: Herder, 1971), 657–658.

15 Ambrosius Eszer, “Giovanni Giuliani di Lucca O.P. Forschungen zu seinem Leben und zu seinen Schriften”, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 37 (1967): 353–468.

16 The history of Giovanni da Lucca's fascination with Circassia as a missionary field is described by Natalia Królikowska-Jedlińska, see: “The Northern Caucasus Viewed by the Catholic Missionaries, 1625–1720s”, in: *Eastern Europe, Safavid Persia and the Iberian World. Frontiers and Circulations at the Edge of Empires*, eds. José Cutillas Ferrer, Óscar Recio (Valencia: Albatros, 2018), 127–138; *eadem*, “Slaves of the Crimean Khan or Muslim Warriors? The Status of Circassians in the Early Modern Period”, in: *Slavery in the Black Sea Region c. 900–1900. Forms of Unfreedom at the Intersection between Christianity and Islam*, ed. Felicia Roşu (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2022), 364–384.

17 The *indipetae* of Piotr Dunin sent to Vincenzo Carafa, the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, dated on 13 May 1646 and 1 January 1647, ARSI, Pol. 79, fols. 45r–46v, 52r–v; Miazek-Męczynska, *Indipetae Poloniae – kołatanie do drzwi misji chińskiej*, 106–107. For the medieval attempts to convert Circassians, see Roman Hautala, *Catholic Missions in the Golden Horde Territory in, From Pax Mongolica to Pax Ottomanica*. eds. Ovidiu Cristea and Liviu Pilat (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2020), 39–65.

lands between 1629 and 1646. In the second half of the year 1645,¹⁸ we find the Italian Dominican passing through the Commonwealth on his way to the Crimea. The aging missionary's last letter sent in April 1646 from Caffa to Francesco Ingoli, the Secretary of the Congregation of the Propagation of Faith, informs of his plans to set forth on a journey to Northern Caucasus.¹⁹ It also corroborates how passionately and zealously he hoped to restore Circassians to the Christian faith. After Dunin, who died prematurely during the uprising of Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1648, only a few Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits referred to the supposedly Christian inhabitants of the Caucasus in mounting a case for obtaining permission to preach in the region. Such remarks we find in the petitions written by Franciscus Marillier in 1650,²⁰ Paulus Kostanecki in 1687,²¹ and finally in the letter sent by Ignatius Zapolski.²² The latter, who became a missionary in Persia in the early 1690s, returned to the idea of establishing a mission in the Caucasian mountains in the letter sent from Isfahan to General Thyrsus González de Santalla in 1694 and again in the petition written upon his arrival from Persia to Silesia in 1697. Zapolski, like da Lucca and earlier Jesuit supplicants before him, maintained that Circassians knew the sign of the cross and preserved some Christian customs. For this reason, he argued, the Polish Jesuits should be given a chance to establish a permanent mission in Ganja in the then Safavid Empire to minister to

18 The letters sent by Giovanni da Lucca from Bar to Innocentius X and Francesco Ingoli, the secretary of the Congregation, are dated on 25 and 28 August 1645; APE, SOCG, vol. 62, f. 142r, 161r.

19 The letter of Giovanni da Lucca to Francesco Ingoli, the secretary of the Congregation, sent from Caffa is dated on 2 April 1646; APE, SOCG, vol. 65, f. 296.

20 Franciscus Marillier (1615?–1650) arrived to the Commonwealth together with Gulielmus Rose, the confessor of Queen Louise Marie de Gonzaga Nevers, in 1649 or 1650 (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, 407, 575). His petition to the General for Moldavia, the Crimean Khanate and its surroundings is dated on 26 March 1650 (ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 60r–61r).

21 The letter of Paulus Kostanecki sent to Thyrsus González de Santalla, the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, dated on 4 August 1687 ARSI, Pol. 79, f.171r–172r. For more about petitions sent by Kostanecki for the overseas missions, see: Miazek-Męczyńska, *Indipetae Poloniae – kołatanie do drzwi misji chińskiej*, 17, 90, 137, 144, 157–158.

22 Life of Ignacy Zapolski (1645–1703), a Jesuit missionary, who twice performed the duty of the envoy of John III Sobieski to the Persian shahs Safi II and Huseyn, drew attention of numerous scholars, see for example: Mieczysław Bednarz, “Ignacy Franciszek Zapolski SI. Dyplomata i misjonarz w Persji pod koniec XVII w.”, in: *Gdy Europa szukała Azji*, ed. Felix Plattner, Kraków 1975, 372–378; Joseph Krzyszowski, “Entre Varsovie et Ispahan. Le P. Ignace-François Zapolski S.I.”, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu* 18 (1949), 85–117; Rudi Matthee, “Poverty and Perseverance: The Jesuit Mission of Isfahan and Shamakhi in Late Safavid Iran”, *Al-Qantara* 36 (2015): 463–501.

the Caucasian people, who could still be won for the Catholic faith. He warned his superiors that any further delay would put the supposedly Christians' souls in danger, because the "Turks" were seducing them to their Islamic errors.

Notwithstanding these passionate argumentation, the Circassians remained on the margins of the missionary activities of the Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits. The *indipetea* of the candidates for the Orient and the missionary reports sent from these destinations clearly point to Christian slaves and captives as the most important target group. It is hardly surprising given the traumatic traces left by the Tatar slave raids on the Polish collective memory in the Early Modern Period, which have been recently convincingly described by Andrzej Gliwa.²³ Poles and Ruthenians suffering in the Tatar and Ottoman captivity remain an ubiquitous theme in Old-Polish literature, which must have reinforce the image of Muslim neighbours as slave hunters and slaveholders.²⁴ Similarly to Camilla Russell's findings on the Italian candidates for the overseas missions, the Polish-Lithuanians did not mention the published travel or missionary accounts. More frequently, they made references to the oral transmission of information.²⁵ Personal encounters with the members of the orders, who have succeeded to preach in the Orient, inspired many candidates. Such information we find in the petitions sent among others, by Stanislaus Bobrowski, Thomas Młodzianowski,²⁶ Stanislaus Jasiński,²⁷

23 Andrzej Gliwa, "Doświadczenie inwazji tatarskich w narracjach ludowych i pamięci zbiorowej jako niematerialne dziedzictwo kulturowe Polski południowo-wschodniej", *Ochrona zabytków* 1 (2014): 53–73; *idem*, *Kraina upartych niepogód. Zniszczenia wojenne na obszarze ziemi przemyskiej w XVII wieku* (Przemyśl: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk im. Kazimierza Marii Osieńskiego w Przemyślu, 2013).

24 On the phenomenon of inhabitants of Poland-Lithuania enslaved by the Tatars and the Ottomans in the Old-Polish literature, see Renata Ryba, *Literatura staropolska wobec zjawiska niewoli tatarsko-tureckiej* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2014).

25 Russell, "Imagining the «Indie»", 182.

26 Stanislaus Bobrowski and Thomas Młodzianowski mentioned as their source of inspiration Franciscus Rigordi, the famous Jesuit missionary in Persia, who travelled through Poland-Lithuania in 1648. Both candidates sent their petitions from the same Jesuit house in Cracow and both letters are dated on 21 February 1649, see: ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 56–57. For Franciscus Rigordi, see: Matthee, "Poverty and Perseverance", 468–472.

27 Stanislaus Jasiński's vocation for the Crimean Khanate was influenced by Paulus Beke, see Jasiński's *indipeta* dated on 27 December 1647 (ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 54–55f). For Paulus Beke, who travelled to Cioburciu in 1644, see Paul Shore, *Narratives of Adversity*, 229. In the 17th-century, Cioburciu inhabited by a few Christian families of Hungarian and Saxon origins, was located in Budjak, which at least nominally was under the control of the Crimean khans. Thus, the Dominicans considered it as a part of their

Franciscus Gasparus Tausch,²⁸ and numerous Polish-Lithuanian members of the order dreaming to accompany Ignatius Zapolski to Persia.²⁹ Among the Polish-Lithuanian requests for an assignment allowing to minister to the captives in the Muslim orient, we find many sent by young Jesuits. Often, these short one-off requests contain reference to the approval of the provincial or a professor in the local collegium. Never followed by a second letter, these appeals seems to be based on a short-lived enthusiasm. As we find such *indipetae* sent by a group of colleagues from the same house and approved by the same superior, they might testify to an unofficial obligation to show a pious vocation. To illustrate this phenomenon it is worth referring to the petitions sent by Simon Wdziekoński, Andreas Borysowicz, Adalbertus Grabenius, Joannes Wołkowicz, Sebastianus Majewski and Andreas Wiczorkowski. These supplicants from the Lithuanian province decided to write short, not-detailed requests for missions in Turkey or Muscovy in the years 1644–1645. Provincial Joannes Grażewski approved all of them. From the *Catalogus Primus Collegii Vilnensis* for the year 1642 and 1645, we learn that four of them (Wdziekoński, Wołkowicz, Borysowicz and Grabenius) have been living in the same house in this period.³⁰

The candidates' descriptions of Christian slaves in the Muslim countries focus on the sad fate of their kinsmen deprived of religious consolation. During Polish-Ottoman military conflict in 1676, Alexius Cieński, for example, observed that the whole Christianity pitied the terrible fate of people from Poland-Lithuania taken into captivity by Turks and Tatars. He lamented over their lives destitute of spiritual consolation as they have been living without altars, priests and sacraments (*sine altari, sine sacerdoce, sine sacramentis*). He expressed sorrow that they suffered

missionary territory, which covered the Crimean khanate and the Ottoman province of Caffa. Ambrosius Eszer devoted one of his studies to the activity of the Catholic missionaries in Cioburciu. In 1659, Giovanni Crisostomo da Cosenza di Calabria O.P. informs the Dominican General on the Jesuits and Franciscans from Moldavia, who were seeking pretexts to establish their missionary posts in the village (Ambrosius Eszer, "Die Gemeinde von Čobruči am Dnestr und die II. Krim-Mission der Dominikaner", *Angelicum* 46/3–4 (1969): 366–386).

- 28 Franciscus Gasparus Tausch hoped to accompany Paulus Kostanecki in the Crimea, see his petition dated on 7 November 1687, ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 175.
- 29 See the petitions written by Tomasz Załęski (9 July 1695; ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 201), Stanisław Repelowski (17 November 1696; ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 205), Petrus Mikuliński (27 January 1697; ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 206), and Joannes Reuth (14 September 1697; ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 208).
- 30 ARSI, *Catalogus Primus Collegii Vilnensis* Anno 1642, Lith. 9, fol. 107r–116r; *Catalogus Primus Collegii Vilnensis* Anno 1645, Lith. 10, f. 27r–30r; Pol. 79, fol. 36–43.

in body and soul in the servitude. The children, he continued, either perished without being baptized, or were raised among the barbarians in ignorance of God.³¹ A year later in 1677, Joannes Godebski asked for permission to minister to poor Christians taken into captivity from the Ruthenian Voivodship. He left a moving picture of their miserable life destitute of any help. He stresses that most of the victims turned into slavery were his kinsmen: Ruthenians.³² Christophorus Zdanowicz argued his case to serve among Muscovite, Ruthenian, Lithuanian and Polish captives in the Crimea by referring to his education received at the Mohyla Academy.³³ The candidates mentioned above emphasized that they had the necessary linguistic skills to serve among the people of these ethnic origins. Similar arguments we find in the letters sent by the Polish Jesuits, who have already had the experience of ministering in the Orient. Nicolaus Rubinkowski and Stanislaus Solski maintained that they, in contrast to the French Jesuits of Galata, could easily communicate, and thus offer comfort to the slaves and captives of various Slavic origins.³⁴ Solski also suggested that he was more suitable than French missionaries to take care of the religious needs of these individuals as he had no fear of getting infected in the unhealthy districts of Istanbul, where their larger groups were kept under guard.³⁵

Accurate information on slave raids and military conflicts between Poland-Lithuania and its Muslim neighbouring states are present in

31 The *indipeta* of Alexius Cieński to Joannes Paulus Oliva, the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, dated on 10 February 1676, ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 131r.

32 The *indipeta* of Joannes Godębski to Joannes Paulus Oliva, the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, dated on 15 December 1677, ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 137 r.; *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, 185.

33 The *indipeta* of Christophorus Zdanowicz is dated on 26 April 1682 (ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 147).

34 Two *indipetae* of Nicolaus Rubinkowski to Vincentius Carafa, the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, dated on 25 June and 4 August 1646, ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 48–50; Stanislaus Solski's letter to Gosvinus Nickel, the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, written on 14 December 1654 (ARSI, Gal. III, f. 173–174). For more on Stanisław Solski, see Karolina Targosz, *Jan III Sobieski mecenasem nauk i uczonych* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałac w Wilanowie, 2012), 443–456.

35 Even a summary of the recently growing research field of slavery studies in the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean Khanate is beyond the scope of this article, but such information is available in the articles of Ehud Toledano (“Enslavement in the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Period”, in: *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, eds. David Eltis, Stanley Engerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 25–46) and Mikhail Kizilov (“The Black Sea and the Slave Trade: The Role of Crimean Maritime Towns in the Trade in Slaves and Captives in the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries”, in: *Critical Readings on Global Slavery*, eds. Damian Alan Pargas, Felicia Roşu, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2018, 958–982).

numerous petitions. In the vast majority of cases these references were supposed to support the authors' request for a missionary appointment in the Orient to serve, for example, the captives. In some cases, however, they were designed to secure a more desirable assignment in the Oriental Indies. Franciscus Gasparus Tausch, for example, informed the General that he managed to travel as far as the Wallachian border during the military campaign conducted by Poland-Lithuania against the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire in 1688. There, he learned that journey into the Tatar lands was far too dangerous. Thus, he could not reach the missionary destination for which he had earlier sought the superiors' consent. Thus, he begged Thyrsus González de Santalla to permit him to join the missionary expedition to China headed by a French Jesuit, Philippe d'Avril.³⁶ This approach demonstrated both his adaptability and readiness to serve abroad.

Finally, it is worth asking how many of the supplicants from Poland-Lithuania were successful in obtaining permission to preach in the Orient? From twenty-seven Jesuits, who sent their requests before undertaking a journey to the East, only three received the General's consent. There are several reasons why preference was shown towards these particular candidates.

In August 1646, Nicolaus Rubinkowski sent a request to General Vincentius Caraffa to be allowed to serve again as a missionary in Istanbul. His petition is well-argued and proves his experience and detailed knowledge about the missionary activity in the Ottoman capital. He stated that his previous mission conducted as a chaplain of a Polish envoy to the Sublime Porte in the 1640s. has received an approval of General Mutio Vitteleschi.³⁷ Some personal connections on the royal court might have helped him in joining this diplomatic mission. Rubinkowski served as a chaplain during the military campaign against Muscovy commanded by King Ladislaus IV in 1633–1634.³⁸ From his letter to the General sent

36 The *indipeta* of Franciscus Gasparus Tausch to Thyrsus González de Santalla, the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, dated on 11 December 1688, ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 190. On the military campaign of the year 1688, see Marek Wagner, "Kampania kamieniecka 1688 roku", in: *Jarżmo Ligi Świętej? Jan III Sobieski i Rzeczpospolita w latach 1684–1696*, red. Dariusz Milewski (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2017), 187–213. The missionary expedition of Philippe d'Avril is relatively well described, cf.: D'Avril Philippe, *Voyage en divers états d'Europe e d'Asie, entreprise pour découvrir une nouveau chemin à la Chine*, Paris, 1693; Bednarz, *Ignacy Franciszek Zapolski SI*, 373–76.

37 Nicolaus Rubinkowski to Vincentius Carafa, the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, dated on 4 August 1646; ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 50.

38 Edmund Nowak, *Rys duszpasterstwa wojskowego w Polsce 968–1831* (Wojskowy Instytut Naukowo-Wydawniczy: Warszawa, 1932), 55.

in January of the year 1647, we learn that he obtained the General blessing to conduct a second mission in Istanbul.³⁹ Yet, information about his career from the *Catalogi primi* suggest that he has never returned to the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁰

The second successful petitioner was Thomas Młodzianowski, who joined the newly established French mission in Isfahan in the 1650s. From the correspondence of Alexandre de Rhodes, the head of the Jesuit station in the Safavid capital, we learn that the Order was compelled to accept a Polish missionary in gratitude to Queen Louise Marie de Gonzaga Nevers's financial support.⁴¹ Most probably, Młodzianowski was selected out of two reasons. Firstly, he has sent two *indipetae* for Persia in a period immediately preceding the foundation of the Jesuit mission in the Safavid Empire.⁴² From the first one, we learn that he made a favourable impression on Franciscus Rigordi, who was deeply involved in establishing the station in Isfahan. Thus, this personal encounter must have improve Młodzianowski's chances. Secondly, he was related to a well-known Jesuit, Stanisław Kukliński, who was held in high esteem by king and queen in the early 1650s.⁴³ Thus, from his family connections, Młodzianowski could no doubt easily have acquired royal favour, which must have been crucial in case of selecting a Polish candidate for this mission.

The story of Joannes Reuth, the third successful supplicant, suggests that criterions of organisational skills and considerable personal funds

39 Nicolaus Rubinkowski to Vincentius Carafa, the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, dated on 18 January 1647; ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 53.

40 *Catalogus Primus Personarum Collegii Leopoliensis Anno Domini 1655*, Pol. 13, f. 44r.

41 The letter sent by Alexandre de Rhodes to Gosvinus Nickel, the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, dated on 2 March 1653; ARSI, Gal. 96II, f. 73; On the financial support of the Polish Queen, see the letter of Franciscus Rigordi to the General, dated on 20 February 1653, ARSI, Gal. 103I, f. 16r; *Appendix to De legationibus Persico-Polonicis*, in: Joannes Krusiński, *Prodromus ad tragicam vertentis belli Persici historiam*, (L'viv: Typis Collegii Societatis Iesu, 1734), 269. The complex relations between the missionary orders in Persia are recently described by Christian Windler, *Missionare in Persien. Kulturelle Diversität und Normenkonkurrenz im frühneuzeitlichen Katholizismus (17.-18. Jahrhundert)* (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau-Verlag, 2018) and Alberto Tiburcio, *Muslim-Christian Polemics in Safavid Iran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020).

42 Two *indipetae* of Thomas Młodzianowski dated on 21 February 1649 and 21 January 1650, ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 56, 59.

43 Rafał Panfil, "Starania Stanisława Kuklińskiego o przejęcie kościoła zamkowego w Malborku", *Echa Przeszłości* 18 (2017), 171-198; *idem*, "Pierwsi Jezuici w Malborku jako reprezentanci wielokulturowego społeczeństwa Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów", in *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 1, eds. Wojciech Walczak, Karol Łopatecki (Białystok: Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2017), 243-295.

donated for the maintenance of the relevant station played important role in the selection process, as well. In 1697, Reuth made a request to accompany Ignatius Zapolski in Persia. His petition provides evidence that he was fully aware of the precarious financial situation of the Polish missionaries in Persia. Because of that, he asked for permission to allocate to the needs of the Persian station a considerable amount of money, which he had previously donated to the Society. Moreover, he promised to raise more funds from various benefactors to sustain the mission. In the same letter, he came off as a good administrator, who spared no efforts to fulfil the assigned task of constructing a new collegium in Krasnystaw.⁴⁴ The General's decision might have been also influenced by Zapolski's favourable opinion about Reuth, whom the famous missionary considered to be a perfect candidate "for Persia."⁴⁵ In the favourable political situation of the beginning of the 18th century, Zapolski and Reuth managed to establish the missionary station in Ganja. During the subsequent decade, it hosted numerous Polish missionaries including Joannes Krusiński, who left the most famous description of the fall of the Safavid dynasty.⁴⁶

Other strategies to become a missionary in the Orient

As it has been emphasized above only three out of twenty-seven candidates for the Orient successfully went through the selection procedure. Given this fact and the relative proximity of the Crimean and Ottoman border, it comes as no surprise that many Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits employed differed strategies to achieve this outcome.

44 The *indipeta* of Joannes Reuth to Thyrsus González de Santalla, the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, dated on 14 September 1697, ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 208.

45 The *indipeta* of Ignatius Zapolski to Thyrsus González de Santalla, the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, dated on 19 December 1697, ARSI, Pol. 79, f. 211r–212v. Joannes Reuth

46 The life and works of Joannes Krusiński attract constant attention of the scholars in the field. For the 19th-century studies, see: Stanisław Załęski, *Misje w Persji w XVII i XVIII wieku pod protektoratem Polski* (Kraków: Drukarnia „Czasu” Fr. Kulczyckiego i spółki, 1882); *idem*, *Jezuici w Polsce*, vol. 2, part 2 (Lwów: Drukarnia Ludowa, 1902), 859–892. For the overview of the recent literature on the subject, see: Ryszard Skowron, “Tłumaczenia i recepcja w Europie i Turcji prac Judy Tadeusza Krusińskiego o wojnie afgańsko-perskiej i upadku dynastii Safawidów”, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego Prace Historyczne* 147/1 (2020): 13–36, and Rudi Matthee, “Introduction”, in: Judas Thaddeus Krusinski, *The History of the Revolution of Persia: An Eyewitness Account of the Fall of the Safavi Dynasty* (I.B. Tauris: London–New York, 2018), VII–XVII.

A vast majority of the Jesuits, who either did not petition to the General prior for permission to travel eastwards or no trace of their efforts has survived to our times, reached the desired destination as the members of the retinue of the Polish-Lithuanian envoys. Stanislaus Solski, for example, accompanied Mikołaj Bieganowski sent to the Sublime Porte in 1654.⁴⁷ Theophilus Rutka served as a chaplain to Władysław Szmeling in the Crimea in 1661.⁴⁸ Franciscus Świerzewicz worked as a chaplain for Hieronim Radziejowski during his difficult mission to Sultan Mehmed IV in 1667.⁴⁹ Albertus Rybczewski performed religious ceremonies and services for Jan Gniński, the great envoy to the Ottoman Empire in 1678.⁵⁰ Eventually, Franciscus Gościecki and Martinus Kiernożycki served as the chaplains of Stanisław Chomętowski dispatched to Istanbul in 1712.⁵¹ It is not entirely clear why the above mentioned Jesuits did not seek the General approval. Perhaps, they perceived their relatively short stays rather as a particularly challenging chaplaincy that the regular mission abroad, which required the special permission from the General. Some of them, who like Stanislaus Solski, did not return with the envoy to Poland-Lithuania, but spent a few years serving as a missionary, sought the General's consent to remain in the Orient.⁵²

A careful analyses of the Jesuits' careers indicates that some of them could rely on the powerful protectors from among the Polish-Lithuanian magnates to support and facilitate their plans to serve abroad. Stanisław Mniszek, whom we find preaching God's Word in Istanbul in 1651, served earlier at the court of Crown Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski.⁵³ Another Jesuit, Martinus Rybicki was a military chaplain of Stanisław Lanckoroński. In this moment, the latter should be counted among the closest supporters of the royal couple and an important commander of the Polish army fighting against the Tatars and Cossacks, in the military

47 Targosz, *Jan III Sobieski mecenasem nauk i uczonych*, 443–445.

48 *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, 586.

49 *Vita mortuorum in Collegio Camenecensi Societatis Iesu*, ARSI, Pol. 68II, f. 523.

50 *Eloqui mortuorum in Collegio Premisliensis ab Anno 1693*, ARSI, Pol. 68II, f. 983.

51 *Catalogus Defunctorum in Residentia Samborid Societatis Iesu ab Anno 1727 ad 1730. 21. Maii*, Pol. 69, f. 551; *Catalogus Defunctorum in Collegio Camenecensi Societatis .Iesu ab anno 1727 ad 1730*, Pol. 69, f. 481.

52 Stanislaus Solski to Gosvinus Nickel, the Superior-General of the Society of Jesus, dated on 5 May 1654, ARSI, Gal, 103II, f. 157r.

53 *Catalogus Primus Missionis Moldavicae et Turcicae Anno 1651*, ARSI, Pol. 12, f. 182r; the letter of Stanislaus Mniszek to Franciscus Piccolomini, the Superior General from Constantinople, dated on 6 January 1651, ARSI, Pol. 77II, f. 416; *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, 432.

conflict, which culminated in the Battle of Beresteczko. Lanckoroński's letter to the Jesuit General sent in February 1651 describes Rybicki as a devoted priest, whom he wished to keep in his service.⁵⁴ In 1654, Rybicki, accompanied by Alexander Zawalski, yet another courtier of Lanckoroński, entered into a competition over the Crimean mission against the Dominicans. A very short note written down in the *Catalogus Primus* next to their names suggests that Rybicki and Zawalski's missionary activity enjoyed support of the royal couple and a few senators.⁵⁵ Other sources inform us that they received funds for the mission from the Polish Queen. Most probably, John Casimir and Louise Marie de Gonzaga Nevers hoped that a Jesuit station controlled by two former chaplains of Lanckoroński, who remained their loyal adherent at the moment, would become a valuable diplomatic asset in the Crimea. Only the decisive steps undertaken by the latter's prefect, Raymund Charzewski, forced the newcomers, to leave the peninsula.⁵⁶

Conclusions

As we have seen, the Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits resorted to a variety of strategies to become missionaries in the Orient. While many of them followed the standard procedure of seeking the General's consent and sent well-argued petitions, only a few received his permission. Most probably, the real need of priestly ministry in Poland-Lithuania itself, played an important role in the superior's indifference to the poignant descriptions of the suffering captives, their unbaptized children, and supposedly Christian inhabitants of the Northern Caucasus. It deserves attention that numerous Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits, who spent some time preaching God's Word in the Orient, did not send petitions before reaching their missionary destinations. They could travel eastwards as chaplains of the Polish-Lithuanian envoys. Those of the missionaries, who decided to stay abroad for a longer period, usually made an effort to receive *post factum* the General's approval. Finally, we find one more group among the Polish-Lithuanian Jesuits serving in Persia and Northern Caucasus

54 The letter of Stanisław Lanckoroński to Franciscus Piccolomini, the Superior-General, dated on 6 February 1651, ARSI, Pol. 77II, f. 417-418.

55 *Missiones Provinciae Polonae Societatis Jesu [1655]*, ARSI, Pol. 13, f. 64r.

56 *Petitiones Sacrae Congregationi de Propaganda Fide a Praefecto Missionis Tartariae O.P. porrectae, 1656*, AGOP, XIII, 076900, f. 2.

namely the supplicants for China, who failed to reach the Far-East and settled for less prestigious missionary posts.

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Unsuccessful petitioners for the mission in the Orient	Successful petitioners for the mission in the Orient	Petitioners for other destinations, who served in the Orient	Missionaries, who did not send a petition to serve in the Orient before their departure or whose petition did not survive.
1. Simon Wdziekoński 2. Stanisław Kosiński 3. Adalbertus Grabenius 4. Sebastianus Majewski 5. Petrus Dunin 6. Martinus Cykler 7. Stanisław Jasiński 8. Franciscus Marillier 9. Gasparus Solski 10. Maximilian Pruszkowski 11. Joannes Hagi 12. Ignatius Stephanus Wysocki 13. Alexius Cieński 14. Joannes Godebski 15. Christophorus Zdanowicz 16. Franciscus Gasparus Tausch 17. Alexander Wietwiński 18. Thomas Załęski 19. Stanisław Repelowski 20. Petrus Mikuliński 21. Josephat Sokołowski 22. Dominicus Rudnicki 23. Casimirus Twardochlebowicz 24. Stanisław Starkowiecki	1. Thomas Młodzianowski 2. Nicolaus Rubinkowski 3. Joannes Reuth	1. Paulus Kostanecki 2. Ignatius Zapolski 3. Conradus Terpiłowski 4. Joannes Gostkowski 5. Joannes Ośnicki 6. Michael Wiczorkowski	1. Stanisław Solski 2. Stanisław Mniszek 3. Paulus Ulanowski 4. Paulus Wroczyński 5. Alexander Zawalski 6. Martinus Rybicki 7. Christophorus Wierzchowski 8. Franciscus Gościecki 9. Teofilus Rutka 10. Franciscus Świerzewicz 11. Alexander Kulesza 12. Albertus Rybczewski 13. Franciscus Malechowski 14. Martinus Kiernożycki 15. Andreas Zielonacki 16. Joannes Krusiński