

The Creation of the Cult of Josaphat Kuntsevych in the Radziwiłł Family's Stately Magnate Home in Biała Radziwiłłowska¹

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Summary. At the beginning of the 18th century, the relics of Josaphat Kuntsevych were transported from Polatsk to the Radziwiłłs' stately family home in Biała Radziwiłłowska (known since 1837 as Biała Podlaska). This was intended to be a form of temporary security for the relics during the Great Northern War and the unstable situation in the Archdiocese of Polatsk. Leon Kiszka, the Proto-Archimandrite of the Basilian Order, decided that the protector of the relics should be the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł, after unsuccessful efforts were made with Lithuania's Field Hetman Michał Serwacy Wiśniowiecki. The Radziwiłłs placed the relics in the family's chapel at the castle, where one of the altars was dedicated to Josaphat; however, they did not take any initiative to spread the cult of the relics. They also returned to Leon Kiszka the magnificent reliquary, in the form of a silver coffin, in which the relics had been displayed in Polatsk. This situation did not change until after 1743 following a decision made by the Basilians at a monastic chapter meeting in Dubno, during which, a compromise was worked out between the Basilian Order and the Radziwiłłs concerning the further fate of the relics. The relics remained in Biała Radziwiłłowska on condition that the Radziwiłłs would finance the building of a new church to house them. In 1743, Anna Radziwiłł issued a foundation document in which she guaranteed funds for the maintenance of six singers who were obliged to sing during liturgies and participate in religious ceremonies in the castle chapel. The Radziwiłłs began to hold indulgence ceremonies at the castle for invited guests from the elite. The setting for these religious ceremonies mimicked the lavish and spectacular Baroque ceremonies of magnate courts. Josaphat was regarded as the noble family's intercessor in matters of health.

The cessation of public worship of the relics for more than half a century contributed to the involvement of the Uniate Church's elite in the creation of Marian cult sites and efforts to organize coronation ceremonies at which papal crowns would be placed on cult images of the Virgin Mary (Zhyrovichy, Chełm). The consequence of the absence of the

¹ This article was created as the result of a research project of the National Science Centre, Poland, No. 2020/39/B/HS3/01232.

martyr's cult centre was the loss of the status of a supra-local cult and the abandonment of forms of worship adequate to the position of the patron of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (proclaimed at the 1673 Sejm).

Keywords: Uniate Church; Basilian Order; Basilian Province of Lithuania; Radziwiłł family; Josaphat Kuntsevych; Biała Podlaska; cult of relics.

For more than two centuries – from about 1707 to 1916 – the relics of Blessed Josaphat Kuntsevych were located in Biała Radziwiłłowska, also called Biała Książęca, and, since 1837, Biała Podlaska. As the name implies, the town was owned by the Radziwiłłs. At the end of the 17th century and throughout the 18th century, the palace at Biała Radziwiłłowska was customarily used as a residence for the widows and younger members of the family. The Radziwiłłs' residence in Biała Radziwiłłowska became its main seat in the early 18th century after the destruction of the Radziwiłłs' stately home in Nyasvizh by the Swedish army during the Great Northern War.

1. Katarzyna Radziwiłł née Sobieska (1634–1694)

A major contributor to the transformation of the Biała Radziwiłłowska² religious space was Katarzyna Radziwiłł née Sobieska. She emulated her parents and her brother, King Jan III Sobieski. She initiated the reconstruction of St. Anne's parish church and founded the Reformed Monastery, which was taken over by the order (Ordo Fratrum Minorum Reformatorum) in 1667. In 1673, she first made a request to her husband to have 'Greek Catholic priests' brought to Biała Radziwiłłowska.³

Katarzyna Radziwiłł's founding of the Basilian Monastery was completed in 1690, following the approval of Bishop Lev Zalesky (Lev Załęski) of the Volodymyr-Brest Eparchy and the Basilian monastic congregation meeting in Minsk in 1690, during which, a letter from Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł, the founder's son, was read out. Following this, in January 1690, the bequest for the foundation of the monastery was confirmed by a bill passed by the Sejm and an entry in the *Lithuanian Metrica*. Katarzyna Radziwiłł's conception envisaged the building of a wooden Uniate church, the establishment of a cemetery and a monastery, and

2 Prior to 1837, Biała Podlaska was known as Biała Radziwiłłowska; where appropriate to the period, I will refer to the town as Biała Radziwiłłowska.

3 J. Pietrzak, 2016, s. 430–441.

material support which guaranteed the subsistence of six monks from the Basilian province of Lithuania. The monks were obliged to carry out pastoral work among the faithful living on the Radziwiłłs' estate, and to say a prayerful remembrance for the foundress and her son, Karol Stanisław. The foundress provided a carriage and a pair of horses for the monks in order that they should make regular journeys around the villages and towns of the Radziwiłłs' Biała Radziwiłłowska estate to preach catechism and perform missionary work among children and adults.⁴ The lack of complaints may indicate that the activities of the monks from the Biała Radziwiłłowska Monastery met with Katarzyna Radziwiłł's expectations.

2. Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł (1669–1719) and Anna Radziwiłłowa née Sanguszko (1646–1746)

After circa 1707, another duty which the Basilians of Biała Radziwiłłowska had was the exercising of care over the relics of Blessed Josaphat. Before being brought to Biała Radziwiłłowska, the relics had been kept in St. Sophia Cathedral in Polatsk where they were displayed in the altar in a silver reliquary in the form of a coffin, after being returned in September 1667 from Zhyrovichy.⁵ The care for and prayers at the altar where the relics were kept were provided by the Basilians from the monastery at St. Sophia Cathedral in the upper castle. The cult of Josaphat, who was proclaimed the patron saint of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Sejm in 1673, was promoted by the support of King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki who donated two *starosties*⁶ – Czerświat and Sudziłowice – to the monks of Polatsk in 1673.⁷

In the early 18th century, invasions by both Swedish and Russian armies posed a major threat, which could have led to the plundering or destruction of the martyr's relics. In 1700, the Chamberlain of Vitsyebesk, Adam Kisiel, anticipating the

4 Bazylianie w Białej, in: Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie [State Archives in Lublin] (hereinafter referred to as *APL*), Akta klasztorów greckokatolickich (bazylianów), sygn. 1, k. 2.

5 P. Krasny, 2000, s. 121–140.

6 The *starosty* was an administrative division.

7 [Kopie przywilejów królów polskich Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego i Augusta II dla prowincji litewskiej bazylianów na dobra Czerstwiat i Sudziłowicze], in: Санкт-Петербургский институт истории Российской академии наук [Saint Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences] (hereinafter referred to as *СПбИИ РАН*), ф. 52, Коллекция П. Н. Доброхотова, оп. 1, д. 248, л. 1.

march of the Russian army, and recalling his previous experience of the robbing of noble manors and fearing for the relics' fate, appealed to the then superior of the Basilian monastery in Polatsk, Leon Kiszka. He asked the superior to – secretly and without publicity – transport the relics from Polatsk to Vilnius.⁸

At the time, there was another factor further aggravating the situation. This was the attitude of Marcjan Białłozor, the Uniate Archbishop of Polatsk, who, in light of the opinion given by the Uniate Metropolitan of Kyiv, Lev Zalensky (presented on 28 July 1699 to Giovanni Davia, the papal nuncio to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), had neglected liturgical life in the Polatsk Cathedral church, appropriated documents from the resources of the Cathedral church, and not resided in his house at the Cathedral for at least a year. Białłozor also failed to surround Uniate believers with pastoral care, and maintained contact with Orthodox believers, and allowed the relics of Josaphat to be touched – not only in the Catholic way, but in a schismatic way – which was considered scandalous by the Uniate community. Conflict with the Jesuits was another factor further aggravating the situation. At the incitement of Archbishop Białłozor, Jesuits from Polatsk Monastery invaded the Basilian monastery and took the image of St. Basil, which they then tore and trampled upon. During these incidents, two Basilians were beaten with sticks, and an attempt was made to drown another in the Dvina River. A space filled with conflict does not always allow for martyr worship. In his correspondence of 20 September 1701, the Order's proto-consultor, Porfiriusz Kulczycki, warned the then father superior of the Polatsk Basilians, Leon Kiszka (later metropolitan), that he should organise the indulgence feast of Blessed Josaphat on 26 September with caution, and urged that the celebration of the martyr's feast should take place without any scandal or tumult. Basilians sought a protector to secure the monastery and property of Polatsk Convent. At the Order's consultorium in Bycien on 9 September 1702, the monks submitted a request to the Lithuanian, Field Hetman Michał Serwacy Wiśniowiecki.⁹ There is no information about the measures taken by Wiśniowiecki to ensure the protection of Josaphat's relics, but he did protect the miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary in 1702–1709 of Boruny Basilian Monastery by keeping it in a military camp.¹⁰

8 [Actorum congregationis nostra Basiliiana], in: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [Austrian National Library, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Manuskript, Cod. Ser. n. 3244, k. 28.

9 Ibid., k. 12, 17, 20–21, 26, 62–72.

10 Leon Kiszka, *Morze łask, y szczeniwości Boskich, w Puszczy Boruńskiej płynące. To iest Cuda Nayśw. Panny Boruńskiej w Borunach doznane a przezemnie Leona Kiszkę Biskupa*

The relics had probably been removed from Polatsk before 1705. The Vilnius Voivode Janusz Antoni Wiśniowiecki (who held office in 1704–1706), in depicting the course of plundering of the Basilian monastery in Polatsk on 11 July 1705 by Tsar Peter I, mentioned that “the body [had] long since [been] removed”.¹¹ At the present stage of research, we do not know the course of events which took place or the chronology of the transfer of the relics from Polatsk to Biała Radziwiłłowska. It is likely that the monks sought to secure the relics by removing them from Polatsk within the possibilities provided by their Order. After their removal, the relics may have been placed in the Basilian monastery in Zhyrovichy. Leon Kiszka sent a letter to Konstanty Kazimierz Brzostowski, the Latin-Rite Bishop of Vilnius, asking him to intervene and to inform the papal nuncio and King Augustus II of the danger threatening Josaphat’s relics and the Zhyrovichy icon. The monks, in order not to create any cause for attack, and to avoid the danger threatening the nobility of the Slonim *powiat*,¹² and “in order not to perturb the Slonim *powiat*”,¹³ took the relics from Zhyrovichy and sought a new location for their preservation. After the invasion of Polatsk by Tsar Peter I and the Russian army, the search intensified for a new location which would offer better security and an influential person to protect them. The murder of the Polatsk monks by the tsar on 11 July 1705 during an unsuccessful search for the relics must have made the monks very aware of the extent of the danger.

It is difficult to assess under what circumstances Leon Kiszka, who at that time held the position of Proto-Archimandrite of the Basilian Order, finally decided to choose the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł, as the protector of the relics.¹⁴ It is probable that the idea of transporting the relics to the Basilian monastery at the Radziwiłł seat of Mir Castle came up within the Order. The care of the relics was to be provided by the monks of the newly founded (1700) Basilian monastery at Mir, which was generously endowed in 1705. It is difficult to confirm whether the relics were transported to Mir and how long they may have

Włodzimirskiego y Brzeskiego, Opata Supraślkiego, Prowincyała Zakonu Bazylego Wielkiego, Supraśl: w Drukarni WW. OO. Bazylianów Unitów, 1712, s. 127.

11 Janusz Antoni Wiśniowiecki, *Ilias Polski (1700–1710)*, wyd. Przemysław P. Romaniuk, Jacek Burdowicz-Nowicki, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2018, s. 188–189.

12 The *powiat* was a territorial, judicial, and tax administrative unit in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

13 Visitationes Monasteriorum 1704–1705, in: СПБИИ РАН, ф. 52, Коллекция П. Н. Доброхотова, оп. 1, д. 328, л. 2110б.

14 A. Deruga, 1936, s. 226.

stayed there. On 27 April 1706, the castle at Mir was burnt down by Charles XII's Swedish army. From around 1706, Prince Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł was chosen as the guarantor for the security for the relics, but also for the monastery's other movable treasures. It was said that his decision was influenced by people in his entourage: "on that account that the prince was happy to be loved by wise and learned people and had such people at his court".¹⁵ It seems unlikely that Prince Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł would have travelled with them to a military camp. Karol was active as an official and a diplomat during the Northern War: in March 1705, in Vilnius, he chaired the Tribunal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; whereas, in August, in Brest, he signed a manifesto against the opponents of Augustus II; and, in September and November, in Hrodna, he headed negotiations with a Russian delegation. The decision to provide care for the relics should perhaps be linked to a change in political options concerning the ongoing conflict for the throne of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In June 1706, he abandoned Augustus II's party (supported by Russia) and began supporting Stanisław Leszczyński (backed by Sweden).¹⁶

The relics were formally deposited with the Radziwiłłs probably around 1707; this can be confirmed by a register of items found with the relics of Blessed Josaphat entrusted to the Radziwiłłs, which was drafted on 21 January 1707.¹⁷ The relics were placed somewhere other than in the Basilian monastery. Fr. Jakub Solikowski (other versions of his name are Solukowski, Sulikowski, and Solichowski), superior of Vilnius Monastery, was delegated to look after them by the Order's authorities. He remained outside the Order's structures, in the service of Prince Radziwiłł as the guardian of the relics for more than a year. A register recording the fabrics and vestments contained in the coffin with the relics, drawn up on 25 January 1708,¹⁸ indicates that the relics were taken to Człuchów (Pomeranian Voivodeship), where Prince Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł, the *starosta* of Człuchów, resided in 1707–1708. Access to information on where the relics were being stored was restricted to only

15 Katalog zmarłych osób w zakonie [świętego Bazylego Wielkiego], Коллекция П. Н. Доброхотова Санкт-Петербургский институт истории Российской академии наук, Санкт-Петербург, ф. 52, оп. 1, д. 324, л. 90.

16 A. Rachuba, 1987, 240–248.

17 Йосафат Скрутень, "Життєписи Василян (Виїмок з рукописного збірника митр. Льва Кишки)", in: *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*, 1924, t. 1, s. 612.

18 [Akta t.s. uposażenia na dobrach radziwiłłowskich klasztoru Bazyljanów w Żyrowicach], in: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw] (hereinafter referred to as AGAD), Archiwum Radziwiłłów, dz. VIII, sygn. 682, k. 20.

a few people, and the information about the location was not recorded and was limited to stating that the relics had been “deposited at a certain place”.¹⁹

The relics were certainly transported to Biała Radziwiłłowska before August 1709. During the 26th Congregation of the Basilian Order, held in Biała Radziwiłłowska from 26 August to 5 September 1709, representatives of the Order, Porfiriusz Kulczycki, Bishop of Pinsk; Gedeon Woyna-Orański, Bishop of Chełm; and Proto-Archimandrite Leon Kiszka were tasked with expressing their thankfulness to Prince Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł for securing the relics of Josaphat. However, the status of the relics was unknown, which caused concern among the Basilians, and the delegates aimed to persuade the prince to declare that he would return the Order’s relics after their temporary storage in Biała Radziwiłłowska. Prince Radziwiłł avoided declaring that he would return them and indicated that the decision as to where to keep the relics, in Biała Radziwiłłowska or in Polatsk, should be left to the Sejm’s discretion.²⁰ Discussions about the relics appear to have been undertaken within a small circle of bishops and the Proto-Archimandrite Leon Kiszka. Decisions about the relics were probably not taken during the chapter’s deliberations, which included the wider community of monks. On 3 September 1709, Karol Stanisław wrote in his diary: “The congregation of the Basilian Order sent envoys to me: Sir Father Bishop of Chełm [G. Wojne-Orański], Sir Father Bishop of Pinsk [P. Kulczycki], Sir Father Proto-Archimandrite [L. Kiszka] in *certis secretis punctis*”.²¹ Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł acted cautiously so as not to risk his security or property. He refused to store valuables and to give shelter to Metropolitan Lev Zalensky or the Bishop of Lutsk, Dionisii Zhabokrytsky, who were wanted by Tsar Peter I. He feared that the tsar would force him to hand over the hierarchs and the Church’s treasures.²²

The relics remained under the control of the Basilians. On 27 September 1724, Proto-Archimandrite Antoni Zawadzki and the father superior of the Biała Radziwiłłowska Monastery, Nikodem Kaszyc, inspected the relics and considered their completeness and degree of dampness. The inspection was conducted in the presence of Princess Anna Radziwiłł, Prince Michał, and the Princesses Konstanc-

19 Katalog zmarłych osób w zakonie [świętego Bazylego Wielkiego] in: СПБИИ РАН, ф. 52, Коллекция П. Н. Доброхотова, оп. 1, д. 324, л. 90; д. 328, л. 219 об.

20 *Археографический Сборник документов, относящийся к истории Северо-Западной Руси*, т. 12, Вильна 1900, с. 167–168.

21 K. Prokop, 2014, s. 16–17.

22 W. Karkucińska, 2000, s. 15, 334–335.

ja, Tekla and Karolina, who placed two gold rings on a blue ribbon next to the relics as a votive offering. Princess Anna Radziwiłł placed another ring with the relics in her own name.²³ There is no information to indicate that Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł and his wife Anna Sanguszko made any initiatives to spread the cult of the martyr; there is also a lack of information on publishing initiatives promoting the cult of Josaphat, even though their efforts to organize and expand the holdings of the ancestral library in Biała Radziwiłłowska may prove that they appreciated the importance of the written word. They liked reading, and the Radziwiłłs' book collection was one of the most valuable in the Crown, and specifically in Lithuania.²⁴

The Radziwiłłs did not plan to display the relics: the silver reliquary (commissioned by the Sapieha family) which housed the relics was given to the Metropolitan Leon Kiszka, who kept it in Zhyrovichy (where it remained until at least 1777). At the present stage of research, there is no information indicating that the Radziwiłłs began any artistic initiatives in regard to a new reliquary.

Anna Radziwiłł née Sanguszko, wife of the late Prince Karol Stanisław, consistently refused requests by the Metropolitan Leon Kiszka (made in January, June, and August 1728) to borrow the relics for the time of the icon's coronation ceremony with papal crowns in Zhyrovichy.²⁵ Blessed Josaphat was the first superior of the monastery and the church in Zhyrovichy, which had both been built in the 17th century. This fact may have been an important argument used in efforts to obtain a decree from the Holy See during the issuing of the decision in 1726 to crown the first Marian image in the Uniate Metropolitanate of Kyiv.

The refusal of the princess must have had its justification. Anna Radziwiłł supported the organization of the coronation event, covered a significant part of the costs of the ceremony, and the papal crowns were brought from Rome by her son, Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł. Her decision affected the setting of the ceremony and the way it was conducted. In the lavish decorations for the coronation ceremony in Zhyrovichy, the Radziwiłłs, despite their financial commitment, were only honoured with the fourth commemorative arch in the decoration programme (after the arch of the Slonim lands, the Crowners-Metropolitan Sheptytsky, and the Potii family). The decorations on the Radziwiłł arch lacked references to the

23 [Akta t.s. uposażenia na dobrach radziwiłłowskich klasztoru Bazyliańów w Żyrowicach], in: AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, dz. VIII, sygn. 682, k. 21.

24 W. Karkucińska, 1995, s. 49–73.

25 Leon Kiszka to Anna Radziwiłł née Sanguszko, in: AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, dz. V, sygn. 6762, k. 77, 81.



Figure 1. Biała Podlaska castle. Drawn by Podbielski, based on a photo by Sztuman.

In: *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 1863, t. 8, nr. 197–222, s. 500.

biography and cult of Josaphat. Only on the eighth day of the coronation ceremony, at the altar of Josaphat in Zhyrovichy church, and by the Basilian consultor of the Lithuanian Province, Fr. Mateusz Kozaczenko, was the votive mass for Josaphat celebrated. The decorations on the altar, made up of tapestries and valuable objects, were enhanced with increased lighting. The Liturgy was celebrated at the altar, ending with a procession with the Blessed Sacrament and with the chanting of litanies by choirs accompanied with music. The faithful were able to kiss the relics,²⁶ though it seems that they had access only to a small part it. There is no information regarding the participation of representatives of the secular elite in the Holy Mass, including the Radziwiłł family.

26 Teofil Jętkiewicz, *Aquila grandis magnarum alarum in Zyroviciana solitudine nidificans, sub corona renascens beatissima Virgo Maria, in parva sua...* Supraśl: typis Ord. D. Basilii M., 1730, s. 30–36, 114–115.

In Biała Radziwiłłowska, the relics were put in the noble family's chapel within the castle, where one of the altars was dedicated to Josaphat. The small brick chapel was situated next to the east turret of the castle. It had a barrel vault with four windows and a shingled gable roof²⁷ (Figure 1). However, while at Anna Radziwiłł's noble court, Josaphat's relics remained locked away, and could not be accessed without the princess' knowledge and consent. The princess had the keys to the relics and would take them with herself whenever she left Biała Radziwiłłowska on a journey. In 1733, during a stay in Człuchów, she entrusted the keys to the relics to one of her courtiers, Jean Deshomme, through a plenipotentiary, Jan Antoni Czarnecki (the king's cup-bearer from Volhynia, and later, Castellan of Bratslav). The relics were to be opened and made available by the superior of the Biała Radziwiłłowska Basilian Monastery for Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł's son, Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł – who was passing through Biała Radziwiłłowska on his way to Warsaw – in order to “take his blessing”. The event was also considered worthy of being recorded in the diary of Michał Radziwiłł, who, together with his wife Franciszka Urszula née Wiśniowiecka and many courtiers, kissed the relics.²⁸

Restrictions on access to the martyr's relics may have contributed to an increase in the dispersion of parts of the relics to different places. In 1715, the Proto-Archimandrite of the Basilian Order, Fr. Bazyli Procewicz, took some of the relics from Biała Radziwiłłowska in order to transfer them to Vitsyebsk.²⁹ It is difficult to decide whether the relics went to Vitsyebsk in accordance with the declaration, since Bazyli Polatyło (Basilian Proto-Archimandrite in 1736–1740) probably took Josaphat's left lower arm and hand from the relics in Biała Radziwiłłowska to Vitsyebsk.³⁰ A finger of the right hand was given to Konstanty Kazimierz Brzostowski, Bishop of the Latin-Rite Diocese of Vilnius (1687–1722), as a token of gratitude for the hierarch's involvement in defending the interests of the Union against Peter I during the Northern War. The finger relic was placed in Vilnius Cathedral and was carried in procession to Vilnius Basilian Monastery as an act of penance. Another part of the relics was donated to the Basilian monastery in Tarakan. The relics were now dispersed. The transfer of Josaphat Kuntsevych was requested by Fr. Ignacy Kulczyński, who was the procurator of the Basilian congregation and Rector of the Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus in Rome from 1727 to 1735. It is likely that

27 R. Aftanazy, 1991, s. 21.

28 J. Dygdała, 2013, s. 73, 86.

29 AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, VIII, sygn. 682, k. 22.

30 APL, Akta klasztorów greckokatolickich (bazylianów), sygn. 1, k. 17.

this request was fulfilled. According to the Basilian friar Andrzej Ładziejowski's account, a large part of the relics was taken to Rome and given to a prelate who was influential in the Holy See circles. At the beginning of the 18th century, some of the relics were donated to the Jesuit church in Warsaw.

After the Union and the situation in the Uniate Church had stabilized, and the wars had ended, the Basilians sought to recover the relics which had been kept away from the faithful, and which remained in the chapel of the Radziwiłłs' castle. Anna Radziwiłł addressed a letter to the monks in 1740, asking them to consider a compromise, proposing a solution which would allow the relics to be kept in Biała Radziwiłłowska. She proposed erecting a church of St. Josaphat in Biała Radziwiłłowska, to which the relics would be transferred. Pastoral care would be entrusted to the Basilians. However, the Lithuanian Province of the Basilians brought a lawsuit before the Holy See against the Radziwiłłs for the return of the relics. The apostolic delegate, Bishop Georgius Maria Lascaris, who was sympathetic to the Radziwiłłs, initiated a compromise, the terms of which were confirmed at the General Chapter of the Basilian Order held in Dubno in 1743. The conflict was resolved in the following manner: the relics were left in Biała Radziwiłłowska, but on condition that a new church would be built to house them, and that the Radziwiłł family would provide funds for the maintenance of the Basilian monastery. Some of the relics in the form of part of the left lower arm and hand were to be transferred to Polatsk Monastery. The compromise was not considered a final solution, at least by part of the Uniate elite community. In his report to Rome of 5 March 1756, Archbishop of Polatsk and Metropolitan of Kyiv Florian Hrebnytsky reported on the construction and furnishing of a new cathedral building in Polatsk and his plans to bring Josaphat's relics to be placed in the Basilians' burial chapel.³¹

After deciding on the future of the relics, which had been made in Dubno, Anna Radziwiłł took steps to revive the cult of Josaphat. In 1743, she established a fund for the maintenance of six singers and for the organization of a ceremony for liturgies and services in the castle chapel. The foundation provided for the provision of victuals for the singers (rye, wheat, barley, buckwheat, butter, cheese, fish, and oil) and the payment of 500 złoty a year, in quarterly instalments, for their clothing and other needs.³²

31 D. Wereda, 2009, 85–97.

32 APL, Akta klasztorów greckokatolickich (bazylianów), sygn. 1, k. 12–13.

3. Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł (1715–1760)

After Anna Radziwiłł died in 1746, the next owner of Biała Radziwiłłowska was her son Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł. He did not match the piety of either his mother or his brother, Michał Kazimierz 'Rybeńko'. He was an organizer of and participant in religious ceremonies, but used them primarily as an opportunity to demonstrate the splendour, glory, and greatness of not only his noble family, but also, to a great extent, his own person. The ceremonies organised by the prince were accompanied by the firing of cannons and guns, and the sound of trumpets, timpani, and horns. Hieronim Florian did not found any new Roman Catholic Church or Uniate Church parishes; rather he impressed people with cabinets of curiosities³³ and invested in theatre, singing, music, and ballet companies.³⁴

Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł used the presence of the relics at the Biała Radziwiłłowska residence to throw lavish indulgence-feast ceremonies, which fell on 26 September, combined with the celebration of his name day on 30 September. Their participants were likely to have been made up of the noble court and guests. In September 1745, one of Hieronim's guests at Biała Radziwiłłowska was the future Bishop of Warmia, the poet and Enlightenment writer Ignacy Krasicki, who was staying with his uncle, Ignacy Sapieha, in nearby Kodeń. Krasicki attended the ceremony at the Radziwiłłs' castle together with his uncle's sons, and preached a sermon during the indulgence Liturgy.³⁵ On 27 September 1748, the numerous visitors to Blessed Josaphat's indulgence feast enjoyed a concert performed by musicians who Hieronim Florian had newly engaged from Vienna: harpist Michael Götz, tenor Franciszek Wittman, and a violinist by the name of Hilverding. The artists' performance was thoroughly enjoyed by the audience and left a positive impression: "with the approbation of all of us who are knowledgeable about it and similar other people having knowledge of music".³⁶ The indulgence-feast ceremonies included the firing of cannons. The content of correspondence sent by Magdalena Radziwiłł née Czapska to her husband Hieronim Florian on 15 September 1749 confirms that indulgence-feast ceremonies were organized in the family's castle chapel the following year. On 27 September 1750, the day-long religious ceremonies were accompanied by the firing of cannons, which, according

33 J. Kowalczyk, 1995, s. 39.

34 I. Bieńkowska, 2013, 317–320.

35 Z. Goliński, 2002, 60–62.

36 Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła diariusze i pisma, p. 82.

to Hieronim Florian, was thanksgiving for the miracles experienced through the mediation of Blessed Josaphat. There is no information about Hieronim Florian commissioning a musical piece in honour of Josaphat or any other artistic form promoting the cult of the martyr. The deposition of the relics in the Radziwiłłs' noble seat contributed to the expansion of the cult of Josaphat among the social elite. The setting of the religious ceremonies mimicked the lavish and spectacular Baroque ceremonies of magnate courts. The organizers and participants' affiliation with the Roman Catholic Church proved not to be a barrier to the promotion and participation in the various forms of worship. Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł did not restrict access to the relics, and his guests were able to visit the nobles' chapel. Visiting Hieronim Florian in June 1748 on financial matters, Maria Józefa Sobieska née Wessel, widow of Prince Jakub Sobieski, adored the relics before departing from Biała Radziwiłłowska. Information about access to the relics spread, and clergy and worshippers flocked to the nobles' chapel in the hope of successfully performing an exorcism. Successful exorcisms were performed at least twice in 1747 at the relics, one of which was with an open coffin and was performed on a young woman, Benedykta Strawińska, lady high steward of Stare Dubno. On the other hand, the exorcisms performed on a Sztobinger clergyman, who had come to Biała Radziwiłłowska after many previous exorcism attempts, for example, in Częstochowa, ended without the expected results.³⁷ And there may have been more visitors to the relics in the nobles' chapel. The events noted by Hieronim Florian may have aroused his interest as a collector of curiosities.

At the nobles' chapel, St. Josaphat Kuntsevych was seen as a patron of healing for health problems. Magdalena Radziwiłł née Czapska (Hieronim's second wife, 1745–1751), during her stay in Biała Radziwiłłowska between 1745 and 1750, described the healing she experienced after reciting the Litany “before the holy body ... mortally ill with unbearable pains when all medicines did not help”. Through the intercession of Blessed Josaphat, the princess and the maidens accompanying her at court had their toothaches relieved, while her husband was cured of a fatal illness.³⁸ In her correspondence dated 29 August 1749, the princess reported the following to her husband: “At the same time, I report that my Saint Josaphat greatly helped the castellan's daughter, Barbara Czapska (daughter of the castellan of Gdańsk, who came to the court in Biała Radziwiłłowska after her father's death

37 *Hieronima Florianiana Radziwiłła diariusze i pisma*, oprac. Maria Brzezina, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Energeia, 1998, s. 40–41, 64, 66, 75, 82, 149.

38 APL, Chełmski Konsystorz Greckokatolicki, sygn. 1224, k. 1.3.

in 1746), by improving her health during a serious illness. In the chapel, prayers were said repeatedly beside the relics for Barbara Czapska's health by courtiers, headed by the prince³⁹. Josaphat was regarded as the noble family's intercessor in difficult issues. Magdalena Radziwiłł, in a letter from January 1749, requested that her husband, Hieronim Florian, should organize prayers for the health of her mother, Konstancja Czapska: "... please order, my Dear Sir, before Saint Josaphat, a Holy Mass, asking that the Lord God comfort her in her sorrows"⁴⁰.

Faith in the intervention of Blessed Josaphat in his recovery from the serious illness mentioned earlier also accompanied Prince Hieronim Florian. His first steps after his illness, in 1749, were through the garden to the chapel and the relics. He credited the presence of the relics in the castle with curing him of the severe headache. In 1750, he attributed the healing of his friend Kazimierz Ottenhaus, a courtier, from the health effects of gout to the intercession of Blessed Josaphat. Hieronim Florian also attributed the supernatural intervention of the 'meritorious' Josaphat in extinguishing a fire in the town which consumed part of the town's buildings near the Uniate church and monastery on 1 August 1749.⁴¹ The content of this correspondence confirms the adoption of the cult among elite circles. The venerated Blessed Josaphat's social status and the fact that he had practised the Greek Rite proved not to be a barrier.

The cult of Josaphat was promoted via the documentation of miracles which had been performed through the martyr's intercession. The documentation was in the form of a book of miracles, though we do not know who initiated the book. The entries testifying to the healings experienced by Duchess Magdalena Radziwiłł and her husband, niece, family members, and members of the court, owing to prayers which were said in front of the coffin containing Josaphat's relics, were recorded by the duchess; as a token of gratitude she placed, next to the coffin, a repoussé image of Josaphat and four angels.⁴²

During the periods of 1742–1745 and 1747–1749, a brick church and a monastery complex were built on the site of the old wooden church; the construction was funded by Prince Florian's elder brother, Michał Kazimierz 'Rybeńko' (these

39 *Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła diariusze i pisma*, s. 82, 113.

40 *Gdybym Cię, moje Serce, za męża nie miała, żyć bym nie mogła: listy Magdaleny z Czapskich do Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła z lat 1744–1759*, oprac. Iwona Maciejewska, Katarzyna Zawilska, Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego, 2016, s. 163, 176.

41 *Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła diariusze i pisma*, s. 82, 106, 111, 144, 156.

42 APL, Chełmski Konsystorz Greckokatolicki, sygn. 1224, k. 13–14

buildings were still being completed in 1759). The construction of the church was conducted under the supervision of the architect A. H. Goffaux, and the work was supervised by the Basilian friar Andrzej Ładziejowski.⁴³

The Radziwiłł court did not create an ideological programme which would refer to the events leading to the death of Bishop Josaphat Kuntsevych, and he was not promoted as the patron saint of the Uniate community or the patron saint of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Nor did the Radziwiłłs act intentionally to promote the idea of patronage for the Uniate community or the Ruthenian community.

4. Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł 'Rybeńko' (1702–1762)

After Hieronim's death (1760), his elder brother Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł became the owner of Biała Radziwiłłowska. The monks took advantage of the prince's absence at the court in Biała Radziwiłłowska, probably for the time of indulgence ceremonies, and took the relics from the palace chapel to the Basilian church. This caused the prince's dissatisfaction. The superior of Biała Radziwiłłowska Monastery, Fr. Ładziejowski, assured Michał Kazimierz that he was still their owner.⁴⁴

As work progressed on the construction of the Basilian church, Michał Kazimierz cut back on worship expenses. On 2 September 1760, he confirmed the foundation for the upkeep of six singers but restricted its validity to the transfer of the relics of Blessed Josaphat from the chapel to the church.

5. Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł 'Panie Kochanku' (1734–1790)

In 1762, Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł 'Panie Kochanku' inherited Biała Radziwiłłowska from his father Michał Kazimierz. In 1764, during the civil war, which broke out after the death of Augustus III, he was the leader of the old-nobility camp associated with the Wettins. As an opponent of the Czartoryski family, he protested against Russian troops entering the country to support them. On 7 May 1764, he signed a manifesto declaring that the Convocation Sejm, which had been held in the

43 AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, dz. VIII, sygn. 17, k. 91–147.

44 AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, dz. V, sygn. 8746, k. 29.

presence of Russian troops, was illegal. At the head of his court troops, he fought and lost a battle against the Russians at Slonim on 26 June, and had to leave the country. The political involvement of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł resulted in Biała Radziwiłłowska's castle being attacked by the Russian army, during which, the palace in Biała Radziwiłłowska was plundered and destroyed. The Basilians hurriedly carried the body of Blessed Josaphat out of the castle's chapel and managed to hide it. The relics were then walled up within one of the palace's rooms. After the prince's departure, and on the initiative of the superior of the Biała Radziwiłłowska Monastery, Teofil Serafinowicz, the relics were secretly moved to a vault above the sacristy in Biała Radziwiłłowska's Basilian church in 1765, as the superior feared that they would be destroyed in the still-fresh damp walls. Initially, they were brought inside the church only during the time of the indulgence feast.⁴⁵ An official ceremony with a processional transfer of the relics from the castle's chapel to the newly-built, magnificent church occurred in 1769, and the care of the relics was taken over by the Basilians.

After 1765, the cult of the relics, animated by the Basilian order, attracted large groups of the faithful, but these were limited to the local communities; whereas, the Radziwiłłs stopped being creators of or participants in religious ceremonies. After this time, there is no information about the involvement of any representatives of the Radziwiłł family in religious practices, ceremonies, or the creation of visuals.

6. Conclusions

The prevention of the public worship of the relics for more than half a century contributed to the involvement of the Uniate Church elite in the creation of Marian cult sites and efforts to organize papal crown coronation ceremonies for images of Virgin Mary (Zhyrovichy, Chelm). The consequence of not having a cult centre for the martyr was that the supra-local cult lost its status, and there was an abandonment of the forms of worship which were appropriate to the position of the patron of the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (proclaimed by the Sejm of 1673); this was similar to the cults of St. Stanislaus, St. Casimir, and St. Voytech. The Blessed Josaphat lost his chance to remain in the pantheon of the

45 Йосафат Скрутень, "Життєписи Василян (Виїмок з рукописного збірника митр. Льва Кишки)", in: *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*, 1924, t. 1, с. 610–613.

patrons of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, who, after his beatification, were consistently promoted to the ranks of the heavenly patrons of the Lithuanian state. Because access to Josaphat's relics was restricted to a small group of people from the Radziwiłłs' court, it was not possible to create a cult centre for supra-regional pilgrimages or a place of consolidation for the Uniate community of Kyiv Metropolitanate.

After the relics were moved from the castle chapel to the newly built Basilian church building in 1765, the cult of the relics, animated by the Basilian Order, attracted large groups of the faithful, which were, nevertheless, limited to the local communities. The Radziwiłłs were neither the creators of nor participants in the religious ceremonies. In their forms of worship, the Basilians were inspired by the Baroque ceremonies of the magnate courts. Josaphat's relics remained in Biała Radziwiłłowska until 1915.

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