

# The Making of a Saint through the Lenses of (Panegyric) Poetry: Aleksander Walenty Szlachtowicz's *Tryumph duchowny* (1628) and Josaphat Kuntsevych's First *processus in partibus*<sup>1</sup>

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**Summary.** The contribution argues that *Tryumph duchowny*, one of the earliest hagiographic pieces devoted to Josaphat Kuntsevych, dwells on those facts known from the records of the first local investigation, which was conducted in Polatsk and Vitsyebsk in 1628, concerning the process for the recognition of his sanctity; thus it must have been composed shortly after the conclusion of this process. The poem, which has been analysed here for the first time in the context of hagiographic practices and writings, explores the militant metaphors used in relation to sanctity, yet it differs slightly from the epic model of hagiographic poetry and has similarities with the concept of the sermon. Apart from the poem's hagiographic goal, it aimed to eulogize the Tyszkiewicz house, which was also involved in Josaphat's saint-making and which apparently also supported the poet Aleksander Walenty Szlachtowicz, the rather obscure Ruthenian author who is profiled here.

**Keywords:** Josaphat Kuntsevych; hagiography; cult of saints; Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; Union of Brest.

## 1. Introduction: Josaphat's Saint-Making and the Local Investigation(s) in Polatsk and Vitsyebsk

On 1 May 1628, Jerzy Tyszkiewicz, the Latin suffragan of Vilnius *cum iure successionis*,<sup>2</sup> drafted a letter to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to promote the cause of Josaphat Kuntsevych's saint-making:

1 This article is a contribution to the project *Caelestis Hierusalem Cives*. The Role and Function of the Latin Hagiographic Epic in Early Modern Saint-Making; Austrian Science Fund (FWF): P 33258-G; cf. P. M. Ryczkowski, 2021.

2 For Jerzy Tyszkiewicz's profile, see L. Jovaiša, 2010; cf. W. F. Wilczewski, 1999, s. 104–105; W. Przyłgowski, 1860, s. 131–145.

therefore, our Ruthenia presents Josaphat, its own son and reason for pride, to the Holy Roman Church. And we beseech you, most illustrious pontiffs, to place God's saint above the clouds of heaven, and so to let it be a sign of the perpetual covenant between the Holy Roman Church and the Union in the North. May thus the impact of the lightening of the celestials and of the virtues delight the city of the triumphant Church of God, and may there be one flock and one shepherd in the Church fighting through the merits and growing number of saints.<sup>3</sup>

Josaphat became a symbol of confessional unification, which was accomplished through the Union of Brest when the majority of the Orthodox bishops in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth acknowledged the supremacy of the pope in a document proclaimed in 1596.<sup>4</sup> Hence, the northern reaches of Europe, where Catholicism had been compromised by Orthodoxy, were 're-integrated' into the matrix of the Roman Church, which, on the wave of Tridentine reforms, strove to increase its impact on the Early Modern world. Tyszkiewicz's letter is marked, strikingly, by hagiographic motifs derived from militant imagery which metaphorically describe the saint-making process; apparently these are not only found in poetry:<sup>5</sup> the letter's addressees are expected to insert Josaphat into the vault of heaven – this alludes to the heavenly triumph, construed as both martyrdom and an act of canonization. The triumph (or elevation to heaven) correlates with the image of the militant Church forced to fight its enemies. Against this backdrop, Josaphat's martyrdom is presented as the local contribution of the Ruthenian lands to the core of Catholicism.

Although it is not mentioned directly in his writing, Tyszkiewicz's request emerged from quite a specific context. The bishop was a member of the commission which, on behalf of Roman authorities, conducted a local investigation from 20 March until 1 April 1628 concerning the process for the recognition of Josaphat's sanctity in Polatsk and Vitsyebk. These are the two cities located in

- 3 *S. Josaphat Hieromartyr. Documenta Romana beatificationis et canonizationis*, vol. 1: 1623–1628, ed. Athanasius Welykyj, Romae: Sumptibus PP. Basilianorum, 1952, p. 296: "dum itaque decus proprium, bonum scilicet filium Josaphat, S. ae R. E. Russia nostra praesentat et nos ... per Vos ipsos, Ill. mi Antistites, obtestantur, ut ... Sanctum Domini ponite super nubes coeli et sit signum foederis perpetuae inter S. R. E. et septentrionem unionis. ... Quatenus fulminis favorum coelestium impetus virtutumque laetificet civitatem Ecclesiae Dei triumphantis sitque in militante meritis Sanctorum et multiplicatione unum ovile, unus pastor".
- 4 For the symbolical dimension of Josaphat's figure, see P. M. Ryczkowski, 2023b, p. 345–350.
- 5 For militant motifs used in the hagiographic poetry of Early Modern times, see P. M. Ryczkowski, 2023a.

the region where Joasaphat Kuntsevych was active and where he was martyred.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, the commission consisted of two judges holding the position of a bishop: Antonii Seliava, Josaphat's fellow colleague and successor to the seat in Polatsk; and Rafail Korsak, Archimandrite of the Basilian monastery in Vilnius, and, after 1626, suffragan *cum iure successionis* of Galicia. It also included Mikołaj Sinnicki, the local canon, whom Eustachy Wołłowicz, the Latin ordinary bishop of Vilnius, had delegated to act on his behalf; Gennady Chmielnicki, hegumen of the Basilians in Polatsk; and Gerwazy Hołystowski, a hegumen from Mogilev. According to the framework of Early Modern saint-making,<sup>7</sup> such local proceedings (*processus in partibus*) aimed to collect evidence which would justify Josaphat's fame for sanctity, including his pious conduct and manner of death, and illustrate his acts of intercession through incidents believed to be miraculous. The enquiries observed the criteria formulated in the *litterae remissoriales* dated 25 September 1625. The protocols comprised, among other things, the testimonies of people from differentiated social backgrounds and those of various groups within the Church, as well as other Christian and non-Christian confessions. Moreover, the examination of Josaphat's remains (*visitatio corporis*) took place in the cathedral in Polatsk on 23 March and was recorded in the relevant protocol. These materials were sent to Rome and evaluated by a commission appointed by the pope (*processus curialis*), who would eventually decide whether or not Josaphat deserved to be proclaimed a saint. Since this first process contained some formal flaws, it needed to be repeated. The second local investigation, guided by the new *litterae remissoriales* dated 7 September 1635, was conducted between 12 and 25 August 1637. After the newly compiled materials were examined, Urban VIII issued an indult on 16 May 1643 which allowed Josaphat's cult to be practiced publicly in Ruthenia and within the Basilian Order; hence, it matched the beatification scheme (restricted, local, or group-specific public veneration).

A few weeks after Tyszkiewicz's letter, which was sent just a month after the conclusion of the first *processus in partibus*, Antonii Seliava pursued a similar strategy. Writing to the Congregation on 10 June 1628, he emphasized the Congregation's role in processing the evidence collected during the public process which had been conducted in Polatsk and Vitsyebsk and was now being passed to Rome.<sup>8</sup>

6 For a summary of Josaphat's saint-making, see A. Welykyj, 1967.

7 For a model description of Early Modern saint-making, see S. Samerski, 2002, S. 81–82.

8 S. *Josaphat Hieromartyr*, 1952, p. 297–298: “vita, mors et miracula Servi Dei Josaphat in conspectu populorum examinata et probata cum pietatis, innocentiae constantiaeque catholicae effigie D.nibus V. Ill.mis atque adeo s. ac universalis iudicio Ecclesiae praesentantur. ... Vestra-

Although further letters expressed his great motivation in having his predecessor canonized,<sup>9</sup> it was Tyszkiewicz's contribution to Josaphat's saint-making which led to it being referenced in contemporary hagiographic texts; and so it was featured in the *Tryumph duchowny*, a Polish poem by Aleksander Walenty Szlachtowicz, printed in 1628 in Lviv.<sup>10</sup>

The two existing copies of the *Tryumph duchowny* belong to the historical collection of Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, which was located in Lviv until 1946 and continued afterwards in Wrocław. One of the copies is held in today's Ossolineum library: the stamp on the title page indicates that it was acquired from the private library of Adam Kłodziński, Zakład's director from 1839 to 1849.<sup>11</sup> The other copy, preserved in the Ossolineum's holdings held by the Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library in Lviv,<sup>12</sup> bears three remarks written by different hands. The first one, on the title page, claims that it was in the possession of Hieronim Juszyński (1760–1830), a bibliographer who mentions the work in his handbook.<sup>13</sup> The second remark on the title page is hard to decipher. The last, inside the booklet, is a Latin remark saying that it was received as a gift from a recently deceased Uniate bishop of Przemyśl, the identity of whom, due to the lack of details, cannot be determined.<sup>14</sup>

## 2. *Josaphat 'Tyszkievicianus'* and Szlachtowicz's (Panegyrical) Lenses

Even if, in the final part, the *Tryumph* focuses on Jerzy Tyszkiewicz's role in the local process of 1628, it is, in fact, dedicated to his father, Eustachy (Ostafian, as

rum itaque partium erit, Ill.mi DD., praeconcepto in fide catholicam Ruthenorum zelo hoc canonisationis negotium promovere ...”.

- 9 See, for example, two further letters, both also dated 10 June 1628, to cardinal Ottavio Bandini, dean of the College of Cardinals, and to Cardinal Francesco Ingoli, secretary of the Congregation; S. *Josaphat Hieromartyr*, 1952, p. 298–299.
- 10 Walenty Aleksander Szlachtowicz, *Tryumph duchowny wielebnego ojca Iozaphata Konczewicza* [...], Lviv: Jan Szeliga, 1628; cf. a partial transcription of the poem in R. Radyszewskij, 1998, s. 113–122.
- 11 Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich [Library of Ossoliński National Institute], SD XVII-2063; cf. M. Pidlypczak-Majerowicz, 2007, s. 4.
- 12 Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені В. Стефаника [Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv], СТ-II-31576 (formerly: 15.708).
- 13 H. Juszyński, 1820, s. 189.
- 14 As in n. 12, p. 3: “hoc munus gratanter accepi a illustrissimo [crossed-out letters] domino episcopo Premislae Ruthenorum qui requiescat in pace pro nobis, ave Maria”.

he is called in the paratexts) Jan Tyszkiewicz, the voivode of Brest from 1615 until his death in 1631 and a supporter of the Uniates, although he was not specifically involved in Josaphat's saint-making.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, the Tyszkiewicz's relative Janusz Skumin, Voivode of Trakai and the Great Scribe of Lithuania, felt inclined to support the ongoing process, and so he addressed Pope Urban VIII in a letter dated 24 June 1628, which was marked by a personal touch: he wrote that, acting under the mandate of Sigismund III Vasa, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, he had presented Josaphat to Polatsk in 1618 when the latter had taken over the ruling of the eparchy.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, Janusz Skumin presents himself as an advocate of the Union, as he had been commemorated in the panegyrics of his protégés;<sup>17</sup> he also highlights the financial aid he had provided to the Basilians in Vilnius and the foundation of a chapel in St. Trinity church, which should become a resting place for him and his late wife.<sup>18</sup> The monks expressed their gratitude in a sermon held during his funeral in 1642 by Aleksander Dubowicz, the Archimandrite in Vilnius. The Tyszkiewicz house's interest in Josaphat thus compares to the attitude of the many generations of the Sapieha family, which is disclosed in Andrzej Młodzianowski's *Icones symbolicae* (1675): the work encourages the young dedicatee, Jerzy Stanisław Sapieha, to follow in his ancestors' footsteps, starting with Lew Sapieha, the Grand Chancellor and Hetman of Lithuania, who assisted Josaphat in fulfilling the task of disseminating the Union and, in addition, headed the trial of his assassins.<sup>19</sup>

Four decades before this paraenetical tribute to the Sapiehas' endeavours, the commitment of the Tyszkiewicz house to the Union's consolidation in general, and

15 See *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego*, 1842, s. 179; for the Voivode of Brest, see *Urzędnicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, 2020, s. 201. In the preface, the dedicatee is said to be also the Voivode of Kamianec, but he is not listed in *Urzędnicy podolscy XIV–XVIII wieku*, 1998, s. 139–150.

16 *S. Josaphat Hieromartyr*, 1952, p. 299–301, at p. 300: "... precor, ut nostrum omnium precibus clementer annuere et eum, quem ego ex speciali sacrae regiae Maiestatis DD. mei clementissimi mandato honoris et a Schismaticorum saevitia securitatis ergo in Archiepiscopatum Polocensem honorificentissime deduxeram, martyrii corona dignum alboque eius sanguine purpureo Beatorum inferre inque numerum Sanctorum coaptare dignetur".

17 For Janusz Skumin Tyszkiewicz's literary patronage, see M. Kuran, 2010.

18 The passing and funeral of Barbara Tyszkiewiczowa in 1627 is discussed in Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski's ode IV 30; see W. Ryczek, 2020.

19 See Andrzej Młodzianowski, *Icones symbolicae vitae et mortis beati Iosaphat martyris* [...], Vilnius: Academy, 1675, fol. Ir–[II3r] (Lithuanian translation in facsimile edition: Andriejus Młodzianovskis, *Palaimintojo kankinio Juozapato, Polocko arkivyvskupo, gyvenimo ir mirties simboliniai atvaizdai: šaltinio vertimas ir studija*, sud. Jolita Liškevičienė, Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2015, p. 180–191); cf. P. M. Ryczkowski, 2023b, p. 350–354.

to Josaphat's saint-making in particular, was appreciated in the *Tryumph*. According to the preface, the poem is a token of gratitude owed to Eustachy Jan by its author, Szlachtowicz, a young man whom he supported, but who remains an obscure figure.<sup>20</sup> Without making any claim to reconstructing his biography, a few details can be derived from his published works and other sources.<sup>21</sup> The title page of his first work, a gratulatory booklet for Andrzej Kłopocki who, on 9 September 1621, obtained a Bachelor's title,<sup>22</sup> reveals that he originated from Jasło.<sup>23</sup> He was, at the time of that first work, already a student of philosophy under Jakub Skwarski at the Academy in Zamość;<sup>24</sup> under Skwarski's supervision, he authored a philosophical *questio* to mark the beginning of the new semester in 1622. This work was dedicated to Jan Wężyk, the recently consecrated (1620) bishop of Przemyśl.<sup>25</sup> In December 1623, he offered to Błażej Żmigrodzki and Marcin Foltynowicz, who were newly promoted graduates, a gratulatory booklet.<sup>26</sup> Its main poem praised the academy and its founder, Jan Zamoyski, but the booklet also comprises a few pieces penned by, among others, Antoni Tyszkiewicz, another son of the *Tryumph*'s dedicatee and

20 A recent publication on literary production in the historical area around Przemyśl does not include any details about Szlachtowicz; *Podkarpacie Literackie*, 2020, s. 579. R. Radyszewskij (1998, s. 113) attempts a short biographic note and assumes that the poet came from a Uniate family, which cannot be proven.

21 For an overview, see K. Estreicher, 1934, s. 282–284; cf. J. K. Kochanowski, 1899–1900, s. XI–XII.

22 The promotion is not recorded in *Album studentów Akademii Zamojskiej*, 1994, s. 36. However, a note in the enrollment list from the year 1623/1624 (s. 115) claims Kłopocki, appointed *notarius publicus* on 20 December 1623, to be already a Bachelor.

23 A[leksander] Walentyn Szlachtowicz, *Sertum Musarum lectissimo* [...] *Andreae Kłopocki* [...], Zamość: Academy, 1621. K. Estreicher (1934, s. 283) knows of a copy preserved in the former library of the Zamoyski ordination. Nowadays, one copy is held in Muzeum Zamojskie in Zamość [Museum of Zamość] (MZ/B/838).

24 For Jakub Skwarski, see V. Lepri, 2019, p. 119.

25 Aleksander Walentyn Szlachtowicz, *Questio metaphysica de prima intelligentia* [...], Zamość: Academy, 1622. K. Estreicher (1934, s. 283) knows of a copy preserved in Biblioteka Jagiellońska [Jagiellonian Library] in Cracow. Two copies can be traced: in Biblioteka Jagiellońska (St. Dr. 53385 I), and in Muzeum Zamojskie in Zamość (MZ/B/842).

26 Aleksander Walentyn Szlachtowicz, *Acroama Musarum lectissimis* [...] *Blasio Zmigrodzki et Martino Foltynowicz* [...], Zamość: Academy, 1623. K. Estreicher (1934, s. 283) consulted two copies, one preserved in the Ossolineum and the other in the library of the Zamoyski ordination. Three copies can be traced: in Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich in Wrocław (XVII-1894-II); in the Biblioteka Narodowa [National Library] in Warsaw, possibly from the Zamoyski ordination (SD XVII.3.16554; it misses the title page and dedication); and (according to the Central Catalogue of the Old Prints accessible in Biblioteka Narodowa, henceforth CCOP) in Biblioteka Śląska [Silesian Library] in Katowice (221565 I).

a contributor to Szlachtowicz's work for Tomasz, the son of the academy's founder,<sup>27</sup> on the occasion of his birthday (1 April) in 1626. The work was offered to Tomasz on the feast day of Thomas the Apostle, his namesake and the patron of the local cathedral,<sup>28</sup> on 21 December, according to the liturgical calendar. At this time – and for the last time – the poet is said to have studied philosophy in Zamość.

Szlachtowicz is listed in the Academy's matricula, however, under two names: 'Valentinus Jaslicensis' and 'Aleksander S(z)lachtowicz' – whereas, his publications are mostly under the second version. On 9 November 1627, under Skwarski's rectorate, he was re-enrolled in the academy with the support of influential protectors after having been expelled in the previous year.<sup>29</sup> In the list for the year 1626/1627, there is a crossed-out note against his name (with a margin reference to the re-enrollment) claiming that he was proscribed on 16 June 1626, as he had not answered a call to stand before the court.<sup>30</sup> Apparently, he had been called before the court as many as four times, and failed to make amends for the delicts he had committed.<sup>31</sup> Assuming that the work for Tomasz Zamoyski, no copy of which was able to be consulted, was said to have been presented after the date of the poet's expulsion, it might be speculated that it was Tomasz who used his position to have the poet re-admitted;<sup>32</sup> in this case, the protection of the house of Tyszkiewicz can be neither confirmed nor excluded.

In 1628, the *Tryumph duchowny* came out. It was Szlachtowicz's first booklet printed outside Zamość and served to praise the house of Tyszkiewicz. He demon-

27 On the impact of his life on literary production at the academy, see H. Gmiterek, 2000, s. 466–467.

28 Aleksander Walenty Szlachtowicz, *Votum illustrissimo domino Thomae Zamoyski* [...], Zamość: Academy, 1626. K. Estreicher (1934, s. 283–284) knows of a copy preserved in the library of the Zamoyski ordination; no copy of the poem – unknown to CCOP – could be found.

29 Since the note which was rewritten in the edition of the matricula (*Album studentów Akademii Zamojskiej*, 1994, s. 126) bears a few mis-readings, see the original note (Biblioteka Narodowa, rps. BOZ 1598, p. 146): "Valentinus Jaslicen[sis] alias Alexander Szlachtowicz, Iunii 16 anno precedenti certis de causis proscribitus, ad instantiam complurium magnae autoritatis personarum [a crossed-out word, hard to decipher] praemissa solem[ni] Academiae deprecatione unanimi DD. professorum consensu restitutus est pro studioso iterum declaratus publice Novembris 19 a[nno] D[omini] 1627".

30 So many details are given in the paraphrase provided in *Album studentów Akademii Zamojskiej*, 1994, s. 123.

31 These details are included in the original note (manuscript as in n. 29, p. 132): "Valentinus Jaslicensis alias Alexander Slachtowicz proscribitus est Iunii 16 a[nno] 1626: eo quod quater in ius vocatus non comparuerit neque ratione delictorum satisfecerit [a word hard to decipher]"; in the margin: "restitutus tandem die 19 Novemb[ris] a[nno] D[omini] 1627".

32 J. K. Kochanowski, 1899–1890, s. 76.

strated attachment to this family again in 1631, as he published a consolatory poem in Polish for the sons of the recently deceased Eustachy Jan, including his fellow student Antoni and Bishop Jerzy Tyszkiewicz.<sup>33</sup> His later fate can be grasped only through a few documents, although it was not possible to cross-check the person cited in the documents with his identity. According to the documents, he was appointed as a legal representative of the Jewish community in Kazimierz in 1636;<sup>34</sup> a Jewish inhabitant of Sandomierz entrusted him with similar authority in 1641.<sup>35</sup> The last trace of him goes back to 12 May 1643, where he was addressed in a letter written by Jan Bartnicki.<sup>36</sup> All told, it seems that Szlachtowicz spent his life mostly in southern Ruthenia, in the region bounded by the closely associated towns of Jasło, Zamość, and Przemyśl. In later life, he apparently formed some ties with Lviv and with the south-eastern part of present-day Poland. His literary production was fuelled by his activities at the Academy in Zamość, which can be verified in the matricula only in part, but this was extinguished rather promptly after his departure. Since no sign of his graduation has been found, his leaving might have resulted from a conflict with law, which then caused a break in his studies. Moreover, during his academic time, he composed in Latin, but published afterwards in Polish to maintain the patronage of the Tyszkiewicz house.

### 3. *Tryumph duchowny*: The Militant Framework

In the preface, the span between the panegyric to his patron and the hagiographic overtone of Josaphat's eulogy is bridged by the juxtaposition of these two figures. The dedicatee is said to receive a poem about a martyr whom he had recently included among his patrons:

33 Aleksander Walenty Szlachtowicz, *Mars żałobny na pogrzebie jaśnie wielmożnego jego mości pana Ostaphiana Tyszkiewicza*, Lviv: Jan Szeliga, 1631. K. Estreicher (1934, s. 283) knows of a copy in the former library of the Zamoyski ordination, Ossolineum, and in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Cracow. CCOP does not know of any copies, but at least two items are preserved in Biblioteka Jagiellońska (St. Dr. 17139 I) and in Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені В. Стефаника [Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv] (CT-I 35870, formerly 15.707; with a stamp of the historical Ossolineum library).

34 *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów Żydów*, 2006, s. 44, No. 197.

35 *Ibid.*, s. 64, No. 341.

36 Biblioteka Narodowa, rps. akc. 15548.

in my writing, the triumph of the new warrior, pleasant to God, is being retold, and you, my gracious Lord, will bother to receive favourably the one whom you have deigned to add to your other saint patrons.<sup>37</sup>

While Eustachy Jan was regarded as an excellent warrior, as Szlachtowicz argues in a later funeral poem, Josaphat is introduced as a new warrior who celebrates his triumph – and this triumph is made the subject of the poem. The parallel between the two individuals, founded on militant aptitude, results from the usual motif of modesty: in order to stress the value of the patronage which he enjoys, the poet diminishes his poetic skills. A supposed *recusatio* is based on a quotation from Propertius, which illustrates the following golden rule: goals which are beyond one's skills ought not be pursued (“*turpe est quod nequeas capiti committere pondus et pressum inflexo mox dare terga genu*”; III 9, 5–6). The rule is explained further through a story about the disappointment which Alexander the Great feels in a work by Choerilus of Iasus, a minor poet who ineptly glorifies his astonishing achievements.<sup>38</sup> Consequently, it is Alexander's wish to commission no other painter but the famous Apelles to create images worthy of such a great warrior. Szlachtowicz sees himself in Choerilus' place; despite his lack of skill, with his patron's help he faces the challenge and composes a work in praise of Josaphat. Against the backdrop of a maritime metaphor for writing poetry, while venturing through an ocean of literary production, he notices the light of the dedicatee's moon and star, which guide him further along his journey. Both these symbols allude to the coat of arms of the Tyszkiewicz house, the so-called *Leliwa*, depicted on the back side of the *Tryumph's* title page with an epigram below: the family members, embodied in the moon and the star, are the favourites of Mars and Minerva and are thereby equal to the gods. In the conclusion, their martial spirit prevails: “who does not see that this house is equally matched with heaven? Therefore, it is not surprising that it always gives rise to heroes”.<sup>39</sup> If the capitalized noun ‘DOM’ (house) does abbreviate the Latin votive phrase ‘*Deo Optimo Maximo*’,<sup>40</sup> the family's

37 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, [preface unnumbered]: “który to tryumph iż nowego a Bogu miłego rycerza tem scriptem moim wyprawuje się i tego, którego się Waszmości, memu miłościwemu Panu, do inszych świętych patronów swoich przybrać zdało, ... łaskawą ręką przyjąć będziez raczył”.

38 On Choerilus and Alexander the Great, see M. Pelucchi, 2022, especially p. 61–111.

39 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, [unnumbered back side of the title page]:  
*Któż nie widzi, że równo ten DOM z niebem chodzi,*  
*Przeto nie dziw, że zawsze bohatyry rodzi.*

40 R. Radyszewskij, 1996, s. 104. Such an interpretation is further supported by an engraving found

courage displays God's working, and it embraces the family's diligence in religious matters, including the (dedicatee's) assistance to the Uniates. Since Eustachy Jan, a great warrior, trusts in an artist as humble as Szlachtowicz, he comes close to being both Alexander the Great and Josaphat, the warrior for the Union's cause.

Following the militant thread in the preface, Szlachtowicz opens his poem with an image of the war which the underworld's forces fight against God and the principles of a pious life – only a courageous warrior following God's instructions can stand against them and reach heaven:

a brave knight is the one who in a bad fortune holds fast his own sword with God and who has reasonably made this human life to a fight. This is a holy war; he is a saint who under these circumstances preserves a reason, for the one will take delight in heaven who has worked for it.<sup>41</sup>

Such a programmatic opening explores the central motif of Early Modern hagiography, which is also used in Bishop Tyszkiewicz's official letter, and construes developments on earth as being an episode in the war between God and Satan: not only are saints and the candidates for sanctity involved, but also every single man is forced to resist his own vices. Furthermore, the conflict might cause the world's order to turn upside down, so that even the rulers might be replaced by their subjects; this echo of the motif of *mundus inversus*<sup>42</sup> points out, as a feature of God's

in Konstanty Kazimierz Rajecki [Tomasz Porzecki], *Triasmus epicriticus analegomatum* [...], Kraków: Stanisław Bertutowicz, 1641, a panegyric dedicated to Janusz Skumin Tyszkiewicz. The image has quite a complex composition, yet attention is drawn to the central figure of the six-handed warrior, Geryon: illuminated by the sun, which through inscribed Hebrew letters embodies God, he holds firmly above his head a depiction of the *Leliwa* coat of arms, tending towards the sun, and he treads on representations of enemies and vices. A motto on his chest proclaims that he, symbol of the Tyszkiewicz house, will not be shattered while protecting the homeland and the faith (*pro fide et patria frangi ne sciam*); cf. M. Kuran, 2010, s. 92–97.

41 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, s. 1–2:  
*Mężny on rycerz, który swojej broni  
Dotrzymał Bogu samemu w złej toni,  
Żołnierską okrzcił ten żywot człowieczy  
Barzo do rzeczy. ...  
Święta to wojna; święty, co w tej mierze  
Przy rozumie się statecznie obierze,  
Bo w niebie sobie ten będzie smakował,  
Co tak pracował.*

42 On *mundus inversus*, see, e.g., E. R. Curtius, 2009, s. 103–107; K. Garber, 2015; V. Robert-Nicoud, 2018.

plan, the hierarchic obedience which is broken by the assault on Josaphat, who, at this point, has not even been mentioned. Instead, the initial remarks draw on a margin quotation from the Book of Job (“*militia est vita hominis super terram*”; Job 7, 1) to enhance, in advance, the biblical dimension of the hagiographic narrative: the protagonist’s war, which is being fought for God, constitutes a chapter in the sacred history.<sup>43</sup> Such a strategy of interpretative parallelism between Josaphat’s particular story and that of the Salvation revealed in the Scripture, is continued in the following lines and also through margin references to other hagiographic or exegetical writings.

Although the framework of God’s universal war, which discloses the metaphysical dimension of an internal conflict, is developed from biblical citation, it characterizes the contemporary hagiographic poetry, which might have been familiar to Szlachetkiewicz. An instructive example is found in the poem about St. Francis of Assisi: originally, the *Seraphicae in divi Francisci vitam* by Girolamo Malipiero were published in 1531 in Venice;<sup>44</sup> they were reissued in Cracow in 1594.<sup>45</sup> In the same year, a Polish version, *Wzory cnot*, came out,<sup>46</sup> which was re-edited in 1608.<sup>47</sup> Both 1594 editions were associated with the South-East of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: the Latin verses were addressed to Jerzy Mniszek, the Voivode of Sandomierz and Starost of Lviv and Sambir; whereas, the Polish version was dedicated to Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł ‘Sierotka’, Prince of Olyka and Nyasvizh, and Voivode of Trakai.<sup>48</sup> As the *Tryumph* commences with a promise of a place in heaven reserved for God’s brave warrior; so too are the *Seraphicae* said, in a way typical for Latin epics based on Virgil’s *Aeneis* (I 1–7), to praise the chief Franciscan who was inserted among the stars:

we praise the great deeds of the illustrious leader of the minor friars, which are not weaker than the accomplishments of the father, if it is proper to sing about the ones

43 On sacred history, see, e.g., S. Ditchfield, 2012, especially p. 74–85.

44 Girolamo Malipiero, *Seraphicae in divi Francisci vitam* [...], Venice: Giovanni Tacuino, 1531; for an overview of the content, see L. Braun, 2020, S. 34–48.

45 [Girolamo Malipiero], *Seraphicae in divi Francisci vitam* [...], Kraków: [Andrzej Piotrkowczyk], 1594 (the author has been anonymized); for contextualization, see Cz. Hernas, 2008, s. 197–199.

46 [Girolamo Malipiero], *Wzory cnot albo przedziwny żywot anielskiego y błogosławionego s. Franciszka* [...], Kraków: [Andrzej Piotrkowczyk], 1594 (the author, and the translator or editor, have been anonymized).

47 [Girolamo Malipiero], *Wzory cnot albo przedziwny żywot anielskiego y błogosławionego s. Franciszka* [...], ed. Hipolit Liricius, Kraków: [Andrzej Piotrkowczyk], 1608 (the author and translator have been anonymized; whereas, as the editor, Hipolit Liricius is named).

48 On Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł’s literary environment, see E. Terleckienė, 2023.

who the Holy Church, having examined their cases, inserted among shining stars and set them in the heaven. I beseech you, good Jesus, to support this endeavour: may you come who are to be praised in that one.<sup>49</sup>

Francis of Assisi, a warrior fighting for his Church and thus worthy of veneration, appears to be a tool of Christ. The militant dimension displayed at the lexical level (*inclyta facta militiae*) and implied through the motif of heavenly triumph, is expanded in the Polish version:

I wish to sing about the noble deeds of a noble hetman which, although humble (if it is appropriate to say so), equal to the combats of all great man who led the troops and fought bravely for God's name, and so the Holy Church cherish them and venerates for their courageous deeds – among them, there is also this one. You only guide me, the highest hetman in heaven, as this glory of him embraces you as well.<sup>50</sup>

On the grounds of using more terms from the militant context, the Polish verses concentrate on the veneration of the warrior who follows in the footsteps of previous soldiers. According to his position in the Order, Francis is called 'hetman', which means 'commander-in-chief'; with this rank, he is comparable to Christ, the highest leader in heaven. Such a reference to actual engagement in militant actions exceeds the metaphoric language of the Latin version: its imaginary layer gets simplified in the Polish text, which lacks the typical elements of the militant metaphor used in relation to sanctity, the triumph, and elevation to the stars. Moreover, for both versions, God's war had a counterpart in the real world: the Turkish

49 [G. Maliperio], *Seraphicae*, 1594, fol. Ar:  
*Inclyta magnamini canimus ducis facta Minorum  
Militiae, nullis patris cedentia gestis,  
Dicere si fast est, quos sancta Ecclesia, causis  
Cunctorum expensis, fulgentibus addidit astris  
Inseruitque polo. Faveas precor, optime Iesu,  
Incaeptis: venies et tu laudandus in illo ...*

50 [G. Malipiero], *Wzory*, 1594, fol. Ar:  
*Zacne sprawy śpiewać chcę hetmana zacnego,  
Zrównane (wolnoli rzec) aczkolwiek małego  
Żołnierstwa ze wszystkimi co wojska wozdili  
A mężnie dla Pańskiego imienia się bili,  
Których za dzielne sprawy po dziś Kościół święty  
Sławiąc, czci – między temi jest też i ten wzięty.  
Ty tylko sam mię kieruj, najwyższy na niebie  
Hetmanie: tknie się o nim sława ta i ciebie.*

threat<sup>51</sup> attained a specific meaning in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as the echo of the 1621 battle of Chocim (Khotyn) had not yet passed; on the contrary, it was leveraged to sustain the Catholic resistance.<sup>52</sup> Although it is not mentioned in the *Tryumph*, the experience of this peril, which still looms nearby, makes the metaphysical God's war, being fought by the protagonist, more comprehensible for the recipients.

In this time of struggle, Josaphat steps forward, a new warrior who has been called to sanctity by God even before his birth: he preserves the purity of his heart and thus is spared vices and Satan's influence.<sup>53</sup> Similar to the case of Scipio Africanus – the Roman conqueror of Carthage who distinguished himself through continence and thus avoidance of women<sup>54</sup> – the protagonist's purity pertains to his body. His chastity joins together the metaphorical armour of the Christian warrior protecting God's message:

for he hid himself by the justice, he hid himself by the unshaken stability of faith;  
God's word has a durable armour held together by chastity.<sup>55</sup>

Josaphat's immaculate lifestyle thus holds together a sheathing made from his sense of justice, which translates into an incontestable attachment to the Catholic faith. Such an understanding is supported by a biblical verse quoted in the margin: in his letter, Paul invites the Ephesians to wear the armour of justice and to take up the shield of faith while disseminating God's word ("*induti loriam iustitiae et calceati pedes in praeparatione Evangelii pacis in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei*"; Eph 6, 14–6, 16).<sup>56</sup> Paul's exhortation enhances the poem's ideological message; he himself serves as an example within the narrative: in contrast to Josaphat, he follows his carnal desires, which is illustrated in another citation in the margin (Rom 7,

51 On the Turks, see [G. Maliperio], *Seraphicae*, 1594, fol. Ov–P3v; cf. [G. Maliperio], *Wzory*, 1594, fol. Ir–I2v.

52 On the propagandistic uses of the victory at Chocim (Khotyn) in 1621, see P. M. Ryczkowski, 2022.

53 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, s. 3.

54 On the continence of Scipio Africanus, see, e.g., W. Keulen, 2019; D. Kunze, 2002, p. 507–572.

55 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, s. 4:  
*Bo się ten ukrył mąż sprawiedliwością,*  
*Ukrył głęboką wiary statecznością,*  
*Ma słowo Boże paiz nie pożyty*  
*Czystością zbity.*

56 On the armour of the *miles Christianus* in the biblical context, see A. Wang, 1975, S. 46–59.

23). With this ultimate proof of Josaphat's purity, the narrator asks the celestials to excuse what he is going to say: Kuntsevych is like an angel in the body of a man, like a sapphire shining in the mud.<sup>57</sup> Being modest, the protagonist would not approve of such overly-panegyric words, but the narrator still expresses what he knows well: "hence my rhymes would not frighten to tell the truth, even if God's power would bring him back to us".<sup>58</sup> Hence, he claims that his poem conveys nothing but truth about Josaphat's conduct and that it constitutes a reliable account which only God could modify through a miracle, as he had done so when he had unveiled his omnipotence in the biblical story of Aaron's rod which sprouted growth (Num 17, 8) to mark God's favour for his chosen priest, that is – a spiritual leader in matters of war (*duchowny hetman*).

#### 4. *Tryumph duchowny* and the *processus in partibus* of 1628 (?): Josaphat's Vocation to Sanctity

After the reference to Aaron, God's herald and first high-priest of the Jews, the narrator moves to the miracle which outlines Josaphat's vocation to sanctity:

so that the world would also know well that this reverend father will take his place in the ranks of saints, God showed this through a miracle presented publicly to the people.<sup>59</sup>

A description of an incident from Josaphat's early life follows: at the age of five, while visiting a local church with his father, he saw the crucifix and wondered what it might depict. Having learnt that it is the Saviour, he experiences a light reaching out to him from the cross:

57 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, s. 5.

58 Ibid., s. 6:

*... przetoby się rhythy me nie bały  
prawdę powiedzieć, choćby Boża siła  
nam go wskrzesiła.*

59 Ibid., s. 6:

*Żeby świat także dobrze o tym wiedział,  
Że w poczcie świętych ten to będzie siedział  
Ociec wolebny, ukazał Bóg cudem  
Jawnie przed ludem.*

suddenly, a blow of light with rays strikes from that cross: it is not a minor miracle. This truth has witnesses – who wants [to know], should ask in Volodymyr where this fame is nowadays still vivid among the people, and it will never perish.<sup>60</sup>

In the conclusion, the narrator feels the urge to advance the narrative's reliability: any recipients doubting his words are advised to speak to the witnesses in Josaphat's hometown where this memory, a sign of his *fama sanctitatis*, which was under investigation during the *processus in partibus*, is still cultivated.

The story related above is the first incident from Josaphat's life which is actually retold in the poem: up to this point, it has concerned his qualities, and so it provided only general remarks about his nature. Strikingly, the episode cannot be found in Josaphat's first *vita*, published as early as in 1624 under the name of Yoakhym Morokhovsky,<sup>61</sup> but it does come up in the canonical work of Yakiv Ivan Susza (printed in 1665), who must have derived it from the documents of both local investigations and the sources re-used during the proceedings.<sup>62</sup> The episode can also be found in the protocol of the deposition delivered on 12 August 1637 by Gennady Chmielnicki, the hegumen of the Basilian monastery in Navahrudak and a judge involved in the first investigation.<sup>63</sup> He claimed to have heard the story directly from Josaphat; at the time, Chmielnicki served as a hegumen in Polatsk and as Kuntsevych's confessor. Chmielnicki gave the same details in 1628 concerning Josaphat's birth and baptism as those which would have been verifiable in the documents deposited in the Basilian monastery in Vilnius. However, this remark does not have to apply to the incident of the spark descending from the crucifix which was retold afterwards. His testimony is, admittedly, included in the acts of

60 Ibid., s. 7:

*Wtym nań uderzy światłość z promieniami,  
Które od tegoż krzyża wynikały:  
Cud to nie mały.*

*Prawda ma świadki – kto chce, niech się pyta  
We Włodzimierzu, gdzie tego obfita  
Sława u ludzi i po dziś dzień słynie,  
Nigdy nie zginie.*

61 On the text and its versions, see *Pirmasis Juozapato Kuncevičiaus gyvenimo aprašymas*, 2023, p. 13–145.

62 Jakub Jan Susza, *Cursus vitae et certamen martyrii b. Iosaphat Kuncevicii* [...], Rome: Varesius, 1665, p. 2; cf. Ryczkowski 2023a, p. 354–356.

63 *S. Josaphat Hieromartyr. Documenta Romana beatificationis et canonizationis*, vol. 2: 1628–1637, ed. Athanasius Welykyj, Romae: PP. Basiliani, 1955, p. 215–230, at p. 216–217.

the first investigation transmitted to Rome,<sup>64</sup> however, he is not as specific about Josaphat's age as he was in 1637, and he does not mention the spark incident at all. Conversely, it is disclosed in the testimony of Rafail Korsak, bishop of Galicia and judge, delivered in 1628,<sup>65</sup> who reports, in Latin (the language which would have been comprehensible to the Roman Curia), on Josaphat's funeral sermon, given originally in Ruthenian and then published in Polish in 1625 by Lev Kreuza, bishop of Smolensk and Josaphat's fellow colleague and frequent conversation partner.<sup>66</sup>

Kreuza's sermon dwelt on a biblical phrase traditionally ascribed to the wise King Solomon, which was put in the heading and formulates the concept of the death suffered by a just man ("*sprawiedliwy ginie w sprawiedliwości swoiey*", or "*ius-tus perit in iustitia sua*"; Eccl 7, 16).<sup>67</sup> The introduction explains the motto and sets the framework for the following argument, which is divided into two sections: while the first is concerned with Josaphat's life, the second focuses on his martyrdom. Although the sermon is intended to be a eulogy to the protagonist, it primarily conveys exegetical remarks concerning the biblical quotation, which are substantiated, or exemplified, at the relevant places through a selection of facts known about Josaphat and his qualities, which are not sorted in a strict chronological order. This biblical, or exegetical, frame is fully omitted in Korsak's report, who exclusively summarizes only what Kreuza said directly about Josaphat, so that the sermon, in a recapitulated form, can be turned into evidence.<sup>68</sup> His report is structured as points which follow the sermon's composition; point 13 includes the spark incident which is said to have been entrusted to Kreuza by Josaphat himself.<sup>69</sup> While in both versions it is retold to the full extent in direct speech – i.e., as Josaphat's own words, in the *Tryumph*, the same details are developed into a short narrative by

64 S. *Josaphat Hieromartyr*, 1952, p. 174–185.

65 Ibid., p. 166–173, at p. 169.

66 Leon Kreuza, *Kazanie o świętobliwym żywocie i chwalebnej śmierci [...] Iosaphata Kuncewicza [...]*, [Vilnius: s.n., 1625]. Two copies were consulted: the item stored in Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw (SD XVII.3.5759) is missing fol. Br-[D4v]; a full copy can be accessed at Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka [Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences] in Vilnius (XVII-101-10). Korsak mentioned the sermon, without any details of its content, in his letter dated 24 April 1625, which described Josaphat's funeral for Francesco Ingoli, secretary of the Congregation; cf. S. *Josaphat Hieromartyr*, 1952, p. 58–61, at p. 60.

67 On the sermon, see Л. Тимошенко, 2020, с. 453–523 (with further references).

68 S. *Josaphat Hieromartyr*, 1952, p. 167–170, at p. 167: "puncta tamen ex illa [concione in depositione corporis Servi Dei Polociae anno 1625 habita] ad propositum servientia hic inseri [testis] petiit ...".

69 Ibid., p. 169; cf. L. Kreuza, 1625, fol. C2v.

using fabricated quotations of words uttered by Josaphat and his father. However, there are two differences: in contrast to the poem, which is quite precise about Josaphat's age, the other texts relate only that the incident happened sometime in his youth. Secondly, the light mentioned in the *Tryumph*, in Kreuza's and Korsak's words, is actually the spark of divine fire (*iskierka miłości bożej, amoris divinae scintilla*), whereas, in Chmielnicki's phrasing, it is just a spark of fire.

Strikingly, the concept of the *Tryumph* is redolent of Kreuza's sermon, as the narrative frame is developed from a biblical quotation which transforms the poem into a meditation on God's word, based on Josaphat's example: the story of Salvation becomes embodied in an exemplary hagiographic narrative. The poem thus differs from the hagiographic epic of the time, which adopts the Virgilian model and militant motifs to illustrate God's war with Satan, fought by (potential) saints. The programmatic dominance of the biblical thread causes Szlachtowicz's narrator to entangle the details about Josaphat with the narrative as explanations or examples. Hence, it would be tempting to regard the reference to justice, construed as Josaphat's unshaken fidelity to his faith, as a reminiscence of Kreuza's sermon; however, as has been shown, this topic dwells directly on the biblical citation written in the margin. Therefore, on the basis of the spark incident, it cannot be determined if Szlachtowicz used Kreuza's text from 1625, or rather employed its recapitulation put together by Korsak in 1628; but he did not borrow the incident from Morokhovsky's *vita* published in 1624. Given the preface, his work revised Josaphat's life: "I went roughly through the life of the mentioned blessed father, bishop of Vitsyebesk, and put it into print".<sup>70</sup> The question arises as to whether the word 'life' (*żywot*) means specifically the *vita*, an account of life and miracles which might be associated either with Morokhovsky's text or, crossing generic boundaries, Kreuza's sermon. Apart from a poem by Josaphat Isakowicz,<sup>71</sup> no other text about Josaphat is known to have been composed before 1628.<sup>72</sup> Without pleading the case for the *Tryumph*'s dependence on one of these sources, which would require further research, it can be argued, in the end, that the poem matches the statements recorded, at the earliest, in the documents of the *processus in partibus* of 1628.

70 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, [preface unnumbered]: "... żywot pomienionego ojca błogosławionego, episkopa witepskiego, co z większego przetrząsnąwszy do druku podałem ...".

71 Josaphat Isakowicz, *Iosaphatidos sive de nece b. Iosaphat Kuncewicz* [...], [Vilnius: s.n., 1628]. The poem will be discussed in the project monograph; see note 1.

72 For the working list of the Uniates' biographic writings (missing the *Tryumph*), see M. Čiurinskas, 2008, p. 208–211.

## 5. *Tryumph duchowny* and *processus in partibus* of 1628: Jerzy Tyszkiewicz's Contribution

Among Josaphat's qualities, central meaning is attached to his commitment to the task of a pastor (following the reference to the biblical Aaron) and of the influential preacher who, remaining innocent, guides his people through their sinful lives, regarded as a labyrinth and mundane pilgrimage;<sup>73</sup> he therefore symbolizes Hercules at the crossroads or, in hagiographic terms, *Hercules Christianus*, as an expression of the Christian warrior.<sup>74</sup> Next, such features, which are illustrated through mythological allusions and suit the epic model of heroism, are contextualized within a hagiographic setting. Striving to overcome the confessional rift in Ruthenia and, in particular, the resistance occurring in Vitsyebesk, Josaphat wanders, metaphorically, through the abyss:

even the Jews admitted that what was said about St. Louis Beltrán could be said about him: the saint is seen every day walking through the abyss of hell.<sup>75</sup>

It is through two overlapping allusions that the metaphoric image of Josaphat's confrontation with the Union's opponents is created. First, it appears as a rumour spread by the Jews: given the direct context of the above-presented passage, which stresses the reunion with Rome, it refers to the Jews' testimonies that they had heard Josaphat insisting on being a Uniate.<sup>76</sup> Second, the rumour is comparable to a saying disseminated about Luis Beltrán (1526–1581), a Spanish Dominican and missionary in South America, whose limited public cult was authorized in 1608. The parallel between Josaphat and this 'apostle of Catholicism', recently recognized by the Church, raises Kuntsevych's own claim for sanctity, which is currently under investigation. The narrator's words are confirmed through a sentence about Luis

73 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, s. 10–11; cf. R. Radyszewskýj, 1996, s. 106.

74 Specifically in the Polish-Lithuanian context, see J. Banach, 1984, s. 91–130 (hagiographic profile of Hercules is argued by using the example of St. Casimir Jagiellon, s. 116–121); cf. A. Wang 1975, S. 195–207.

75 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, s. 16:  
*Któremu Żydzi nawet to przyznali,  
O Ludowiku co Świętym mawiali  
Bertrardzie, że choć śródkiem drogi chodzi,  
Widzieć się godzi,  
Co dzień świętego w odmencie piekielnym.*

76 S. *Josaphat Hieromartyr*, 1952, p. 195–196 (in Polatsk), 218 (in Vitsyebesk).

which is quoted in Latin in the margin;<sup>77</sup> it is said to have been borrowed from a *vita* authored by Vincente Justiniano Antist (published in both Spanish and Italian).<sup>78</sup> The Latin sentence is an accurate paraphrase of the expression found in both versions, yet in different chapters;<sup>79</sup> however, neither a Latin nor a Polish text of the *vita* is known.<sup>80</sup>

After the allusion to Beltrán, the narrator turns to Josaphat's martyrdom, commenting on the event in which his body was given back by the river; he then eventually passes to Josaphat's reception in heaven:

I assert constantly that this is a confirmation that God had put him already long ago into the book of saints for all eternity, and now he received him, as he had taken him out of his body.<sup>81</sup>

Repeatedly declaring the poem's reliability, the narrator uses the motif of the separation of the soul from the body to take up Josaphat's miraculous intercession. While the protagonist abides in heaven and works through his remains on earth, he is able to accomplish more than he did before his death, as is proven by the many miracles which he brings about:

Noble Tyszkiewicz, bishop of Methone, you know this and it is all found in your possession: you know about his virtues and guard them, so that the plain truth would not have any exaggeration. Holy Father, the highest pontiff, therefore, appointed you and two other bishops, being under oath, to investigate his body and thus to give a certain account of everything. You have compiled three hundred and some more miracles in a catalogue.<sup>82</sup>

77 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, s. 16: "ecce nunc quotidiem possumus videre Sanctum in medio inferni ambulantem. P. Vincentius Iustinianus in vita illius cap. I".

78 On Antist, see L. Robles 1979–1980; L. Robles (online).

79 Both versions have the following remark in chapter six: Vincente Justiniano Antist, *Verdadera relacion de la vida y muerte del Padre Fray Luys Bertran* [...], Valencia: Huede widow, 1582, p. 33: "agora podemos dezir que cada dia vemos un sancto en medio del inferno"; Vincente Justiniano Antist, *Vera relatione de la vita et morte del p. f. Luigi Bertrando*, Genua: [s.n.], 1583, p. 31: "hora si, che potremo dire di veder'ogni giorno un santo nel bel mezzo de l'inferno".

80 See, e.g., Jacobus Quetif, Jacobus Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 2, Paris: Christoph Ballard, Nicolaus Simart, 1721, p. 326; cf. K. Estreicher, 1891, s. 179.

81 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, s. 20:  
*Próbą tej prawdy, ja mówię statecznie,  
Że go Bóg sobie w poczet świętych wiecznie  
Dawno napisał; teraz jusz go przyjął,  
Gdy z ciała wyjął.*

82 Ibid., s. 21–22:

The apostrophe to Bishop Tyszkiewicz, addressed by his titular denomination for the suffragans in Vilnius, shifts the focus from the account of Josaphat's martyrdom to the local investigation in 1628, as presented from his perspective. The narrator knows that Tyszkiewicz was nominated as judge by the pope, and that he was accompanied by two other bishops, that is, Seliava and Korsak (for Wołłowicz acted a representative). In addition, the bishop's own deposition as well as the many testimonies collected in the protocol of the interrogations conducted in Polatsk and Vitsyebesk are mentioned. The narrator does not fail to touch upon the investigation of Josaphat's remains, rightly said to have been an assignment entrusted to the commission. The following lines say that the remains appear as a medium for intercession: clothed in a cilice and the robes of a bishop, the remains are as precious and effective as miraculous stones healing people.<sup>83</sup> Although the cilice has been brought up before in the context of Josaphat's devotion,<sup>84</sup> the vestments refer to the *visitatio corporis*: in the opened coffin, the judges discover the body, which they describe in detail; it is not rotten, in contrast to the clothes which conceal the cilice.<sup>85</sup> The miraculous effect produced by Josaphat's remains is furthermore authenticated by the image of a crowd of the former assassins, and their relatives and neighbours, who, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, recognize Josaphat's sanctity, which proclaims that he wears a martyr's crown in heaven.<sup>86</sup> This change in the observers' attitudes is recorded in the protocol as well:

*Cny Tyszkiewiczzu, metoński biskupie,  
Tyś świadom tego, u ciebie to w kupie  
Wszystko się znajdzie, wiesz o cnotach jego,  
Przestrzegasz tego,  
By prawda szczerą nimiała przysady. ...  
Przeto nawyższy biskup, Ociec Święty ...  
z dwiema władykami  
Ciebie naznaczył, pod przysięgą sami,  
Abyście ciało to rewidowali,  
Pewną dawali  
O wszystkim sprawę. Trzystaście złożyli  
I kilka cudów w catalog ...*

83 Ibid., s. 22.

84 Ibid., s. 4, 9.

85 The protocol transcribes A. Welykyj, 1952, p. 191–193, at p. 191–192: “aperta tumba corpus integerrimum reperimus .... Sed cum ad vestitum corporis ventum est, qui totus fuerat episcopalis coloris albi, totus quantus putridus invenimus .... Cumque aliis detractis ad cilicium ventum sit, quo coprus supernudum tegebatur ...”.

86 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, s. 22–[23] (the pagination has a typo).

“among this great number of officials and devotees, even some of the schismatics heaped up, who, having seen the most untainted body of God’s servant, publicly and with many tears acknowledged their sin, and said now that they would become the most faithful Uniates in the future, and they deeply lamented over the blasphemies against the saint.”<sup>87</sup> The Orthodox inhabitants, promising to convert to Catholicism, now regretted their *blasphemia*, which stands for the misdeeds perpetrated against the martyred bishop: after all, it was the Orthodox inhabitants of Vitsyebsk who refused to hand over the churches which he had claimed for the Uniates. On the one hand, this allusion stresses the wide support and impact of Josaphat’s saint-making; on the other hand, it takes the recipients precisely into the middle of the investigation.

Next, there is a request for the bishop to bear witness, through means of the poem, to what he experienced during the procedure:

you say yourself, noble priest, suffragan bishop, you were present at the place: there were many clergymen and laymen with you in the church. Testify with them to the fragrance which seized you from the sacred body. You saw the coffin already rotten on the top.<sup>88</sup>

Continuing the apostrophe, the narrator speaks about the odour which could be smelt, but the bishop’s deposition and the protocol remain silent about this; however, this is quite a typical feature of (potential) saints.<sup>89</sup> Subsequently, three elements are discussed which are specified in the 1628 protocol of the *visitatio corporis*. First, on the bottom of the rotten coffin, a board is revealed which bears a perfectly preserved, most faithful image of Josaphat.<sup>90</sup> The protocol mentions

87 S. *Josaphat Hieromartyr*, 1952, p. 192–193: “inter illam Officialium, et Religiosorum multitudinem aliqui etiam ex Schismaticis sese ingesserunt, qui viso interegerrimo Servi Dei corpore, publica voce, non sine lachrymis, peccatum suum agnoscebant, nunc se fideles unitissimos futuros dicebant, de blasphemiis in Sanctum vehementer dolebant”.

88 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, s. [23]:

*Ty powiedz, cnotliwy kapłanie,  
Sam suffraganie,  
Byłeś sam przy tym, było barzo wiele  
Z tobą duchownych i świeckich w kościele;  
Świadczy z niemi, jak cię wonność obleciała  
Z świętego ciała.  
Widziałeś trumnę z wierzchu już spróchniałą ....*

89 See, e.g., J.-L. Benoit, 2012.

90 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, s. [23]:

Josaphat's portrayal, although it was examined as a separate object: it was located near the tomb and surrounded by the many votive offerings, including a lamp.<sup>91</sup> A similar set of objects was discovered during the second investigation on 21 August 1637: although the protocol is more specific, it remains unclear whether an image found among these objects was the same as the one found earlier.<sup>92</sup> Second, Josaphat's unspoiled remains were clothed with new vestments: while the re-clothing forms part of the apostrophe to Bishop Tyszkiewicz,<sup>93</sup> the protocol consequently speaks of the commission's collective effort.<sup>94</sup> In addition, it stresses that, before the remains were put back in the grave, they were presented to the public: the many observers kissed Josaphat's head, hands, and feet. Third, Bishop Tyszkiewicz is said to have seen Josaphat crying:<sup>95</sup> the tears and drops of sweat are attested not only in the protocol,<sup>96</sup> but also in the bishop's personal deposition as his only reference to the *visitatio corporis*.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, he asserts that this miraculous incident was noticed by the other judges and, in addition, by Stanisław Kosiński, Rector of the Jesuit college in Polatsk, who reported that some of the Jesuits venerating Josaphat's body also perceived the tears and sweat on his face. Given the impact of this miracle-like event, it became standard content in Josaphat's *vita* and can be found in the catalogue included in Yakiv Ivan Susza's work.<sup>98</sup> He explicitly goes

... żywy prawie

Jako na jawie

Na sobie obraz nosi malowany

Ojca świętego nic nie nadpsowany ....

91 S. *Josaphat Hieromartyr*, 1952, p. 193: "sed et imaginem Servi Dei Josaphat revisimus. Sita illa fuerat supra pannum rubrum. Circum illam itaque votiva invenimus argentea; ante eandem, atque ipsum corpus lampadem ...".

92 Ibid., p. 331–332; cf. A. Gil, 2005, s. 68.

93 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, s. 24:

*Tyś sam ochotnie ubierał to ciało,*

*Bo na niem było wszystko pobutwiało.*

94 S. *Josaphat Hieromartyr*, 1952, p. 192: "itaque supra dictam mensam corpus sedere fecimus ..., vestivimus alba nova, et casula sericea rubri coloris, stola etiam episcopali, et manipularibus additis".

95 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, s. 24:

... widział i łzy one

Z oczu pusczone.

96 A. Welykyj, 1952, p. 192: "... videbatur Servus Dei lachrymasse, et sudasse ...".

97 Ibid., p. 166: "sed et mirabile quoddam sub tempus revisionis servi Dei Josaphat corporis accidisse, nempe dum privatim prius revisio dicta absolveretur, guttae, inquit, lachrymarum ex oculis Servi Dei cadebant".

98 J. J. Susza, 1665, p. 121.

back to the first local investigation, but gives more details than recorded in the documents; according to Susha, Jerzy Tyszkiewicz should have waved Josaphat's hand in the gesture of blessing, and the tears were said to have been collected and used afterwards to cure various diseases.<sup>99</sup>

As an essential feature of Josaphat's profile, his tears are explored further in a direct address to the crying protagonist:

reverend father, why do you, already slain, shed such a copious stream of tears? Is it your humility which makes the highest pontiff to prepare you to be included among the ranks of God's favourites?<sup>100</sup>

Showing that he is aware that the process towards the recognition of Josaphat's sanctity is still ongoing, the narrator concentrates on the protagonist's merit, which has already been discussed: even after death, Josaphat laments over the rift between the Catholics and the Orthodox inhabitants which tears Ruthenia apart. Hence, he should now advocate in heaven for the reunification with Rome to ensure peace for the Church and the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Such an outcome is certain to come about, owing to Josaphat's triumph:

when the angels play the lute and the harp, they sing a joyful song: "this is a mighty and holy knight! This is a brave warrior, the one who shed his blood for his Lord; he came here after a great toil, he crossed the bloody fords, he washed himself with his own blood, so that he might be clean for the feast where a banquet is held and blood-marked knights commune with God. He is now being crowned, and everyone congratulate him to this victory. Let also us cheer for his triumph and play our usual song".<sup>101</sup>

99 The collection of tears during the first process is known from the testimony of Michał Tyszkiewicz, delivered in 1637 (*S. Josaphat Hieromartyr*, 1955, p. 251); it is not mentioned in his deposition from 1628 (*S. Josaphat Hieromartyr*, 1952, p. 124).

100 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, s. 24:

*Ojczye wielebny, czemu i zabity  
Strumień łez twoich wylewasz obfity?  
Czyli to twoja pokora sprawuje,  
Że cię gotuje  
Nawwyższy biskup do pocztu wybranych  
Bożych?*

101 *Ibid.*, s. 24–25:

*Gdyć w lutnie, w arfy aniołowie grają,  
One śpiewają  
Wesołą piosnkę: ów ci to potężny  
Ten rycerz święty! Ten wojennik mężny,*

Since Josaphat, who is presented in line with the poem's agenda as a new warrior and triumphant leader, shed blood for God's cause, he is received into heaven to be crowned as a martyr. An image of a feast celebrated in God's presence and attended by martyrs, relates, through a margin reference, to the Scripture: in New Jerusalem, the martyrs wash their blood-stained vestments white in the blood of the Lamb of God ("*hi sunt qui venerunt de tribulatione magna et laverunt stolas suas et dealbaverunt eas in sanguine agni*"; Apc 7, 14). A symmetrical form of composition can be noticed: the heavenly triumph closes the narrative, just as it was to be expected from the initial image of the holy war which was established in the preface and at the poem's beginning. While, in the preface, it says that the poem should be read as Josaphat's *vita*, in the final verses, it is claimed, in accordance with the motif of triumph, to repeat Josaphat's eulogy as sung in heaven. As a textual version of this heavenly song, the poem enjoys the authority of the Scripture, and thus its reliability is enhanced.

This metaleptic moment closes the narrative; the poem concludes with an apostrophe to the protagonist. Despite encouraging Josaphat to enjoy the triumph for all eternity, he should also protect the devotees seeking his help on earth. Among them, the dedicatee embodies, in advance of his funeral profile in Szlachtowicz's poem<sup>102</sup> and following the *Tryumph's* preface, both a wise man (Nestor) and a warrior (Alcides), yet he wishes to gain the support also of the protagonist, the saint-to-be:

Noble Ostafian Tyszkiewicz has recognized this in you that you have great power with our Creator and he thus wants you to be his patron: hence, do not disdain him, and be his patron, be his guardian.<sup>103</sup>

*Ten to, co przelał krew dla Pana swego;  
Z trudu wielkiego  
Ten ci to przyszedł, przebrnął krwawe brody  
Omył się własną krwią, aby na gody  
Czystym się stawił, gdzie się bankietuje,  
Z Bogiem obcuje  
Krwawe rycerstwo. Jusz go koronują,  
Wszyscy zwycięstwa tego mu winszują.  
I o tryumfie i my zaśpiewajmy  
Pieśń zwykłą grajmy.*

102 See R. Radyszewski, 1996, s. 107.

103 A. W. Szlachtowicz, 1628, s. 25:

*Cny Ostaphian Tyszkewic to sobie  
Upatrzył w tobie,*

Szlachtowicz, a devoted protégé, asks the protagonist to protect the dedicatee and to provide him with a long life, as he is still needed on earth.<sup>104</sup> Nevertheless, a proper place in heaven should also be prepared for him: upon the time of death, having deposited the corporal remains, the dedicatee's soul would like to enjoy eternal fame next to Josaphat.<sup>105</sup> Such a topical request not only brings the poem to an end, but considering its basis in the materials of the *processus in partibus* of 1628, it also points out a devotional practice which is evident from the materials compiled in 1637. The protocol of the second *visitatio corporis* transcribes a note left in the coffin during the previous examination: a few people involved in the earlier procedure chose Josaphat for their patron, and Jerzy Tyszkiewicz was among them.<sup>106</sup> Their example followed other officials present at the process, including further members of the Tyszkiewicz house linked to Polatsk: Aleksander, *iudex terrestris*,<sup>107</sup> and Michał, *notarius terrestris*,<sup>108</sup> both of whom were witnesses in 1628.<sup>109</sup> The dedicatee's name, however, does not come up in the protocols: the edited materials of the first investigation include neither his testimony nor any remark which would suggest his participation in Josaphat's saint-making. Considering Szlachtowicz's poem, it may be assumed that he obeyed the common practice of declaring Josaphat his patron saint. More importantly, in the view of the narrative strategy, his unnoticed contribution to the process is compensated through an emphasis put on the role which his son – a Church leader and an appointee of the Holy See – played in the investigation: he was privileged to witness not only the

*Że wiele możesz u Stwórcy naszego,  
Chce cię mieć tedy za patrona swego;  
A ty niem nie gardź – bądź mu ty patronem,  
Bądź opiekunem.*

104 Ibid., s. 26.

105 Ibid., s. 26:

*... cielesny budynek  
oddawszy na czas ziemi w odpoczynek,  
wolną od śmierci część mógł złożyć siebie  
gdzie blisko ciebie.*

106 S. *Josaphat Hieromartyr*, 1955, p. 332–333, at p. 332: “ad sinistram manum plurimae inventae sunt chartulae, in quibus nomina illorum continebantur, qui sub tempus inquisitionis apostolicae primae Servum Dei in patronum sibi scriptis litteris eligebant et in particulari invenimus litteras infrascriptas Ill. DD. Iudicum praecedentium ...”.

107 *Urządnicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, 2018, s. 194.

108 Ibid., s. 168.

109 See the testimonies in S. *Josaphat Hieromartyr*, 1952, p. 122–123 (Aleksander) and p. 124 (Michał).

presence of Josaphat's remains, but also his miraculous activity, which made the protagonist's case stronger and developed his legend.

## 5. Conclusions: Towards the Definition of a Hagiographic Patchwork

As a piece of panegyric poetry which aims to express attachment to Josaphat, cultivated by the Tyszkiewicz house, Szlachtowicz's *Tryumph duchowny* belongs to the local context: the praise of the protagonist, a candidate for sanctity, serves as a eulogy to the dedicatee, pursued, however, through the figure of his son, Jerzy Tyszkiewicz, one of the Church's leaders in Lithuania and, above all, one of the main participants of Josaphat's *processus in partibus* of 1628. The panegyric strategy is quite ambiguous: the dedicatee is programmatically placed above the protagonist, who, however, remains the centre of attention, even if this drifts away to one of the subsidiary actors. In the last part, distinguished by a continuous apostrophe to Bishop Jerzy, the narrator draws on events which can be traced back to the protocols submitted to the Roman Curia, yet they were not – as far as is known – printed or disseminated in any other way. Looking into later accounts of Josaphat's life, which are still accessible in our own time, these events were retold as late as 1665 in Yakiv Ivan Susha's *vita*; since he refers to the process of 1628, it can be assumed that the author, at this time staying and publishing in Rome, might have consulted the materials transmitted previously from Lithuania. A question arises as to whether Szlachtowicz knew about the course of proceedings from rumours circulating in his region, or if he participated in the process itself; should the latter be the case, he was rather an observer, as his name is not mentioned in the protocols. Due to the lack of evidence, this answer must remain only speculation. Nevertheless, the *terminus post quem* for the *Tryumph* is 26 March 1628 (*visitatio corporis*) or 1 April 1628 (conclusion of the first local process).

In reusing the facts known from the materials of the first *processus in partibus* in a poetic form, the *Tryumph* indicates that the usual and quite simplistic understanding of hagiography, which reduces the genre to the accounts of saints' lives and miracles, is far too narrow:<sup>110</sup> not only does the definition of hagiography need to include canonization records,<sup>111</sup> but also the impact of poetic sources in profiling

110 See, e.g., M. Bergengruen, 2007.

111 See S. Ditchfield, 2009, p. 554.

Early Modern saints must not be undervalued. Specifically, the composition of the *Tryumph*, which might be approached from the angle of heroic poetry, differs from contemporary hagiographic poems based on the epic model; it rather develops a hagiographic narrative from the biblical concept, and so it comes close to the sermon. Consequently, it offers universal remarks based on the Scripture and is substantiated with examples from the life and qualities of a martyr and saint-to-be. Moreover, such parallelism between a hagiographic narrative and biblical, or exegetical, argument is enhanced through references to exegetical or hagiographic works, and further allusions to mythology and the Roman past, so that the protagonist, presented through the lenses of his canonization procedure, becomes involved in a complex narrative patchwork consisting of many overlapping layers. Included in this are the militant *topoi* which, as ‘typically poetic’ motifs’ mark other sources, begin with the letters exchanged in the cause of Josaphat’s saint-making and, in particular, written by bishop Tyszkiewicz. A hagiographic patchwork thus constitutes a net of interconnected allusions which exceed the textual frameworks and allow the complex profile of a saint to be constructed, founded on various sources which need to be read collectively.

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