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Rationing of knowledge about Polish saints by Tsarist foreign censorship in the years 1865–1904

Abstract: The study utilizes a comprehensive list of Polish-language religious publications imported into the Russian partition between 1865 and 1904 (the vast majority of which were obtained directly) and all the records of the Warsaw Censorship Committee preserved in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, which contain justifications for censorship decisions from that period. The main reasons for the Russian censors' hostile attitude toward Catholic saints stemmed mainly from long-standing conflicts between different branches of Christianity and from the authors' association of the cult of saints with Polishness. The censors' attitude toward individual figures varied. First and foremost, any mention of St. Jozafat Kuncewicz and Blessed Andrzej Bobola, considered the main enemies of Orthodoxy and defenders of the union, was ruthlessly removed. The second group of figures consisted of saints and blessed individuals, in the case of whom only laudatory opinions about their significance for Poland and descriptions of some of their activities were removed, e.g., in the case of St. Jacek Odrowąż – missionary work, and St. Stanisław of Szczepanów – defense of the Church's independence from secular authorities. The third group included saints who appeared in the texts mainly as intermediaries between the faithful and God, offering prayers and songs asking for the prosperity of the homeland and the Catholic faith (St. Stanisław Kostka, St. Kazimierz, St. Jan Kanty). The remaining figures, both Polish (St. Kunegunda, Blessed Bronisława, St. Jan of Dukla) and foreigners with some significant connection to Poland, were much less frequently the subject of interference.

Keywords: Tsarist censorship - foreign censorship – religious publications – Polish language – Russian partition – 19th century – censorship of saints – Polish saints – censorship of imported books – religious press control

Słowa kluczowe: cenzura carska – cenzura zagraniczna – publikacje religijne – język polski – zabór rosyjski – XIX wiek – cenzura świętych – polscy święci – cenzura książek importowanych – kontrola prasy religijnej

1.

The main reasons for the Russian censors' reluctant attitude toward Catholic saints were primarily due to the long-standing conflicts between the various branches of Christianity and the authors' association of the cult of saints with Polishness. Officials reacted especially to the common practice of exalting Catholicism in imported religious publications over other faiths, especially Orthodoxy.

An example is the order to remove the following passage from a translation of one of Joseph Georg von Ehrler's sermons:

[...] there can be no Saints outside the Catholic Church. [...] All other confessions outside the Church cannot show a n y saint whom God would glorify on earth with miracles. Even their founders could not proclaim themselves saints [...] Outside the Church, no one will prove a single miracle¹.

While Tomasz Dąbrowski explained the national affiliation of the saints (and at the same time the geography of their cult) by psychosocial reasons:

The world has more than its illustrious kings, hetmans, lawmakers, scholars: it has painters, sculptors, musicians, whom it admires, glorifies, and boasts of.

The Holy Catholic Church also has a great host of unequally nobler and more perfect people, that is, an innumerable group of saints of different states, sexes, and ages, whom it worships and praises, and considers its most beautiful adornment.

And as among secular heroes, every nation chooses its own and feels a special affection for heroes-countrymates, so Christian souls and hearts are especially drawn to those saints who were born on the same soil as we were, used the same speech as we did, and lived in the same relations as we did.

The Holy Church, knowing this innate human inclination, takes it into account, and for this very reason gives to every nation Saint Patrons - countrymates²,

1 [J.G. von Ehrler] Bishop Ehrler, *Kazanie I. na Niedzielę III. po W. Nocy. Świętość Kościoła*. „Biblioteka Kaznodziejska” 1880, vol. 3, no. 3–4 (item 3245; throughout the article, the numbers refer to the study: J. Kostecki, M. Rowicka, *Granice wolności słowa w zaborze rosyjskim w latach 1865–1904. Wykaz publikacji polskojęzycznych zakwestionowanych oraz dopuszczonych do obiegu przez carską cenzurę zagraniczną*, vol. 1–3, Warszawa 2006, which includes full bibliographic descriptions), p. 289. A little earlier (p. 286), the author further argued that “I w naszym wieku możemy chlubić się wielką liczbą świętych” [And in our age we can boast of a great number of saints] (the cited volume was allowed to circulate under exceptional circumstances). I have deliberately not modernized the spelling in the quotations.

2 T. Dąbrowski, *Kazanie II. na uroczystość św. Stanisława Kostki*, [in:] idem, *Kazania świętalmne i przygodne*, ed. 2 red., Stanisławów 1892 (item 8335), pp. 307–308 (the book conditionally admitted to circulation, after removing, among other things, the quoted passage). Also Rev. Wacław of Sulgustów, or Edward Nowakowski (*Kazanie o czci św. Józefa w dzień konsekracji kościoła oo. Kar-*

Walerian Mrowiński claimed that thanks to Mary's intercession, Poland is among the privileged ones in terms of the number of saints. He explained: since „naród polski czei Maryę szczególnie ulubionym tytułem «Królowa Polska», lub «Królowa Korony polskiej»”, to „Temu nabożeństwu zawdzięcza ojczyzna nasza ten wielki przywilej nieba, że ma bardzo wielu Świętych, i że Polska tyle razy nazwaną została «Matką Świętych». Bo istotnie pobożowiska na całej polskiej ziemi [...] przesiąknięte są krwią Męczenników [...]”³ [the Polish people venerate Mary with the particularly favorite title ‘Queen of Poland,’ or ‘Queen of the Polish Crown,’] then [to this devotion our homeland owes this great privilege of heaven, that it has a great number of Saints, and that Poland has been called ‘Mother of Saints’ so many times. For indeed the battlefields all over the Polish land [...] are saturated with the blood of Martyrs]. Also Józef Leciński pointed out that „[...] nam niezbywa też na męczennikach. Wojciech od Prusaków poległ; Stanisław, zabójcy króla ręką uśpiony; Jozafat Arcybiskup połocki życia pozbawiony; Andrzej Bobola od nieprzyjazynych Kościołowi Rzymskiemu okrutnie zamęczony!”⁴ [we are not short of martyrs either. St. Wojciech from the Prussians fell; Stanisław, the king assassin's hand put to death; Jozafat Archbishop of Polotsk deprived of life; Andrzej Bobola from those hostile to the Roman Church cruelly martyred!].

Regardless of the veracity and reasons for this abundance, Adam Rapała was pleased that

melitów bosych pod wezwaniem św. Józefa w Wadowicach miane r.p. 1899 dnia 27 sierpnia, Kraków 1899, item 11522) stated that one of the greatest blessings God has bestowed on the human race is the saints. „Wskutek tego i całe narody dla Ojczyzny swojej obierają świętych za opiekuńczych patronów, jak n.p. Polska ma za patrona św. Stanisława – Litwa św. Kazimierza” [Consequently, whole nations for their Fatherland choose saints as protective patrons, as, for example, Poland has St. Stanisław as its patron, and Lithuania St. Kazimierz] (p. 7). This brochure (after removing this and one other fragment) was conditionally allowed to circulate.

3 W. Mrowiński, *O czci Matki Boskiej w Polsce*, Lwów 1886 (item 5556), p. 7 (publication retained in its entirety). It is no coincidence that Florian Jaroszewicz titled his book *Matka świętych Polska, albo żywoty świętych, błogosławionych, wielbnych, świętobliwych, pobożnych Polaków i Polek, wszelkiego stanu i kondycji, każdego wieku od zakrzewionej w Polsce wiary osobliwą życia doskonałością słynących* [Poland mother of saints, or the lives of saints, blessed, reverend, saintly, pious Polish women and men, of every status and condition, of every age, from the faith entrenched in Poland, with peculiar perfection of life flowing [...]. This edition with the publishing address: German Piekary 1850 (item 440) was challenged in 1867 by the junior censor Ignaty Rogalski (Central Archives of Historical Records, Warsaw Censorship Committee (hereafter: AGAD WKC), signature 33: Protokoły posiedzeń (Eng. Minutes of meetings; hereafter: PP) No. 7 of 7.02.1867, pp. 84–94v.; in order to find the document in question more easily, dating according to the Julian calendar has been retained). Neither the earlier (Kraków 1767) nor the later editions (Poznań 1893–1896) of this publication were even attempted to be imported during the period under study.

4 [J. Leciński] W. Plebankiewicz, *Nauki religijne*, vol. 2, collected and ed. by S. Barącz, Lviv 1884 (item 4674), p. 8. This publication was conditionally accepted for circulation after the removal of six fragments of several verses.

There are examples in Holy History that saints have always been venerated and worshipped. [...] Oh, how comforting it is that amid our sufferings, calamities and sorrows we have holy Confessors, Martyrs, Bishops and Priests like: [St.] Wojciech, [St.] Stanisław [of Szczepanów], [St.] Jacek [Odrowąż], [St.] Czesław [Odrowąż], [Blessed] Szymon of Lip[nica], [St.] Jan of Kenty [Kęty; Jan Kanty], [Bl. Izajasz Bonner [Boner], St. [Blessed] Jędrzej/[Andrzej] Bobola; and [Blessed] Michał Gedroic [Giedroyc], [St.] Jozafat [Kuncewicz], [St.] Bronisława, [St.] Jadwiga, [St.] Kunegunda and many others, who, on the one hand, are a boast that from our blood and soil they are counted among the saints: on the other hand, they nourish in us an unfading hope that they will not forget this land on which they walked, this kingdom in which they lived, these countrymen of one language and religion whom they left as deputies⁵.

5 A. Rapała, *Kazania przygodne głoszone między ludnością wiejską podczas świąt i odpustów w kościołach dycezyi krakowskiej*, Kraków 1887 (item 6273), p. 83 (collection contested as a whole). At about the same time, Boguchwała (*Jak trzeba wierzyć i jak żyć według wiary, czyli krótki wykład dogmatów i obrzędów rzymsko-katolickiego Kościoła, ze zbijaniem twierdzeń, mniemań mędrców światowych, tudzież słów parę o posłannictwie i stanowisku kobiety w społeczeństwie*, part 2, Kraków 1886 (item 5458), p. 453; book conditionally admitted to circulation) wrote: „[...] the more special Patrons of our whole country and the whole Slavic region, besides the Holy Apostles, Evangelists and Doctors of the Church, which we have already mentioned, are all countrymen, such as Saint Stanisław the Martyr, Bishop of Kraków, Saint Wojciech, Archbishop of Gniezno, Martyr. Saint Kazimierz Jagiellonian, Prince of Poland, Saint Ładysław of Gielniów, Bernardine, a special Patron of Warsaw, where he spent a considerable part of his life. Saints Methodius and Cyril, Bulgarian monks who spread the Holy Faith among the Slavs. Saints Jacek and Czesław Odrowąż of the Dominican Order. Saints Stanisław Kostka, Jan Kanty, Bonifacy, Jan Nepomucen, Władysław, Zygmunt and Waclaw the kings: Blessed Wincenty Kadłubek and Rafał. Saints: Kunegunda the Queen, Salomea the Queen, Jadwiga Duchess of Silesia, Bronisława the Virgin, Ludwika of Kenty and many others”. This is an excerpt from Chapter XII: “O Czcii Katolickiej i Nabożeństwie do Matki Boskiej i Świętych Pańskich” [On Catholic Worship and Devotion to the Virgin Mary and the Saints of the Lord], and there the section “O nabożeństwie do świętych Patronów i św. Aniołów” [On Devotion to Holy Patrons and Holy Angels]. It is hard to figure out why the censor challenged on this page just v. 19 d.: “centy Kadłubek i Rafał [Chyliński, zm. 1741?, Kalinowski, zm. 1907?, obaj kanonizowani dopiero w latach 80. XX w., ale ówczesnie otoczeni kultem]. Święte: Kunegunda królowa [bl., Kinga, obecnie św.], Salomea” [centy Kadłubek and Raphael [Chyliński, d. 1741?, Kalinowski, d. 1907?, both canonized only in the 1980s, but surrounded by veneration at the time]. Saints: Kunegunda the Queen [Blessed, Kinga, now St.], Salomea]. Only as a mistake can also be explained the fact that in vol. 1 of Józef Leciński’s *Nauki religijne*, Lwów 1881 (item 4323), censor instead of v. 11g. on p. 72 (“Czy nie liczą świętych stare Bobole, Kostki, Odrowąże, Kadłubki i wielu innych?” [Don’t the saints of old Bobolas, Kostkas, Odrowązs, Kadłubeks and many others count?]) questioned v. 12g. („Czy nie widziano w nich uczonych zakonników, gorliwych” [Aren’t they seen as learned monks, zealous]). A few years later, however, the following persons of Polish nationality or connected with Poland were mentioned among the Patrons of Poland (alphabetical order): St. Andrzej Bobola, St. [Blessed] Czesław [Odrowąż], St. Jacek [Odrowąż], St. Jadwiga [Silesian], Blessed [Saint] Jan of Dukla, St. Jan Kanty, St. Jozafat [Kuncewicz], Blessed Jakub Strepa, Blessed Jolanta, St. Kazimierz [Jagiellonian], St. Kunegunda [Kinga], St. Stanisław [of Szczepanów], St. Stanisław Kostka, St. [Blessed] Salomea, Blessed Władysław [King], Blessed Władysław of Gielniów, St. [Blessed] Wincenty Kadłubek, St. Wojciech, as well as the Five Brothers Martyrs (three of whom, Izaak, Mateusz, and Krystyn, came from present-day Polish lands). As the Polish Patrons were also perceived: St. Apolonia, St. Barbara, St. Brygida, Sts. Cirill and Methodius, St. Helena, St. Florian, St. Jan

In turn, Paweł Smolikowski argued:

What more prudent than to invoke the help of the Saints of the Lord? God will not deny anything to those who have also rejected Him during their lifetime. So our petitions raised through their mighty intercession will find acceptance with the Lord. He will not look at our unworthiness; He will only see their merits⁶.

And further, quoting Isaiah (59:1), “Behold, the Lord’s hand is not shortened, that it cannot save, or his ear dull, that it cannot hear”, he asserted: “A i Święci nasi patronowie równie są gotowi za nami się wstawiać”⁷ [And our patron Saints are equally ready to intercede for us]. However, he reminded us that, admittedly, „Nadziemskie pomoce Świętych Patronów, dowody ich troskliwości o los kraju, ich gorący udział w potrzebach i niebezpieczeństwach ojczyzny, trwają i powtarzają się przez całą przeszłość naszą aż do końca XVII wieku. Ale nie dłużej – później ustają; już ich zgoła nie widać”⁸ [The heavenly aids of the Saint Patrons, the evidence of their concern for the fate of the country,

Kapistran, St. Jan Nepomucen, St. Joachim, Blessed Margaret [Antiochian], St. Roch, St. Rosalia [of Palermo], St. Ursula and companions, St. Wacław (*Lekcye i ewangelie na wszystkie niedziele i święta. Podług przekł. Ks. Jakóba Wujka stosownie do Mszału rzymskiego*, new revised edition, Gniezno 1892, item 8351, pp. VII–VIII and 309–326). The reader, however, was unable to consult this list, as the censors challenged the entire chapter “Lekcye i ewangelie na święta Patronów Polskich” and the corresponding section of the table of contents. The set of these Polish saints was, of course, in operation much earlier. Teofil Tomasz Klonowski (*Szczeble do nieba czyli zbiór pieśni z melodyjami w Kościele rzymsko-katolickim od najdawniejszych czasów używanych*, vol. 2, Poznań 1867, item 522), citing the preface of the translator of the book *Życie Stanisława Kostki w listach do brata i siostr*. Written in French by A[lberic] de Blanche, published in Paris in 1845, and translated into Polish by Fr. P[aweł] Rzewuski (Warszawa 1849, p. II) stated: „Mamy my świętych obojej płci, mamy świętych wszelkiego wieku i stanu: Biskupi mają piękne wzory do naśladowania w świętych Biskupach: w Stanisławie Szczepanowskim, w [bł.] Wincentym Kadłubku i świętym Józefacie; Kapłani świeccy i zakonnicy, w Świętym Janie Kantym, w ŚŚ. Jacku i Ciesławie; w Świętym Janie z Dukli, w Świętym Szymonie z Lipnicy, w Świętym Władysławie z Gielniowy, w Świętych Andrzeju i Benedykcie, w ŚŚ. Pustelnikach Benedykcie, Janie, Mateuszu i Krystyjanie; mężatki, w świętych Jadwidze i Kunegundzie; panny, w Świętych: Salomei i Bronisławie; młodzianie, w Świętych Kazimierzu i Stanisławie Kostce” [We have saints of both sexes, we have saints of all ages and states: the Bishops have beautiful models to follow in the holy Bishops: in Stanisław Szczepanowski, in [Blessed] Wincenty Kadłubek and St. Jozafat; the diocesan priests and the monks, in St. Jan Kanty, in Sts. Jacek and Czesław; in St. Jan of Dukla, in St. Szymon of Lipnica, in St. Władysław of Gielniów, in Saints Andrzej and Benedykt, in Sts. hermits Benedykt, Jan, Mateusz, and Krystian; married women, in Saints Jadwiga and Kunegunda; maidens, in Ss: Salomea and Bronisława; young men, in Saints Kazimierz and Stanisław Kostka” (p. 1563). This book was allowed to circulate, subject to the removal of, among other things, this page.

6 P. Smolikowski, *Rozmyślenia dla alumnów Kollegium Polskiego w Rzymie*, vol. 2, Kraków 1896 (item 10107), pp. 415–416. This publication was stopped by senior censor Vladimir Stepanovich Dragomirecky (AGAD WKC, call no. 42: PP No. 35 of 16.09.1897, k. 244 v.).

7 P. Smolikowski, op. cit., p. 419.

8 Ibid, p. 420.

their fervent participation in the needs and dangers of the homeland, continue and recur throughout our past until the end of the 17th century. But no longer, later they cease; they are no longer seen]. He then wondered:

And why so, why in the epoch in which the greatest thunderbolts fall on Poland, why in the 18th and 19th centuries, why in our days, no one has heard, no one has read, that any Saint of Poland appeared from heaven and helped us in our miseries, which were and are so many? Why don't our Patron Saints come to our aid at a time when it is most desired?⁹

He explained it as follows:

God knows our needs, but He wants us to ask for their satisfaction; to every nation, every diocese, and every parish He has given intercessors, but He demands that we invoke their help. They are mighty to save us miraculously in times of need, but mighty with our requests. Without human requests, they usually can do nothing for the people¹⁰.

He then went on to instruct:

Let us ask ourselves: What do we know about the Holy Polish Patron Saints? What reverence do we pay to them? Do we invoke their help; do we commend our own, and especially our country's and our Church's needs to their care? [...] Does it ever occur to us, even in the greatest misery, to summon their intercession, does it even presume to be of any use?¹¹

Jan Siemieński similarly appealed to the Polish Catholic:

14. Invoke the support of the holy Patrons and Patronesses of Poland, Ruthenia, and Lithuania, and the countless countrymates who have preceded us to the kingdom of Christ (where, as the French theologian said, Poland was never divided). Neither forget that you, too, by virtue and work, are to earn this kingdom, which God grant¹².

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid, p. 421. However, he did not lose his optimism, adding „że i w naszych czasach ludzie wiary i miłości Ojczyzny zaczynają czuć potrzebę podniesienia czci Patronów Polskich. X. [Walerian] Kalinka [1826–1886, założyciel Polskiej Prowincji Zmartwychwstańców] myślał wciąż o założeniu Bractwa, mającego to na celu, a przed nim Bogdan Jański [1807–1840, założyciel Zmartwychwstańców], między dziełami koniecznymi do podniesienia naszego, zaliczał także: «Rozszerzenie czci ŚŚ. Patronów Polski»” [that also in our time people of faith and love of the homeland are beginning to feel the need to raise the honor of Polish Patrons. Rev. [Walerian] Kalinka [1826–1886, founder of the Polish Province of the Resurrectionists] was still thinking of founding a Brotherhood with this goal, and before him Bogdan Jański [1807–1840, founder of the Resurrectionists], among the works necessary to raise ours, also included: “Expanding the veneration of the Holy Patrons of Poland”] (p. 423).

12 J. Siemieński, *Pięciominutowe rozmyślenia. (Dla inteligencji)*, 2nd ed. doubled in volume, vol. 1, Kraków 1902 (item 13227), p. 635 (excerpted from *Resurrecturis*). The book was challenged in its entirety.

In turn, Smolikowski recalled that Rev. Kalinka “Do potrzeb głównych narodu, które codziennie w modlitwie opiece Świętych Patronów polecał [...], zaliczał: modlitwę o zgodę Polski z Rosją, o nawrócenie żydów, a oraz herezyków i schizmatyków, tych szczególnie, od których Kościół najwięcej ma do ucierpienia”¹³ [Among the main needs of the nation, which he recommended daily in prayer to the care of the Patron Saints [...], he included: prayer for Poland’s agreement with Russia, for the conversion of the Jews, and of heretics and schismatics, those in particular from whom the Church has most to suffer.]

The censors, however, removed supplicatory songs addressed to these saints, e.g., *Do Świętych Polaków, Patronów Polski* [To the Holy Poles, Patrons of Poland] by Franciszek Karpiński:

Saints! Heavenly inhabitants of the land,
To you we run, in time of evil hour!
Whom proclaims as his fellow countrymen,
Our homeland.

Over the same land you walked with us!
From the same springs you drank our water,
Poland, the mother, fed you with her milk,
Nourished with her ground!

Remember, brothers, your compatriots!
Princes of Heaven, for the licentious beggars,
Beg the good God for us,
With your requests.

If hunger, war, and harsh air
Visit the kingdom of the poor,
Defend us, standing on the country’s border,
Holy guardians.

God, this request shall be granted,
As done by Your friends,
And with eternal merits supported
Christ the Lord. Amen¹⁴.

13 P. Smolikowski, op. cit., p. 424.

14 T.T. Klonowski, op. cit., (item 522), p. 913 (the author gives two melodies to which it was sung). See also: *Księżeczka do nabożeństwa dla młodzieży katolickiej*, 3rd revised edition for girls, Gniezno 1865 (item 99, [in:] J. Kostecki, *Trudny proces przenikania. Carska cenzura zagraniczna wobec importu publikacji w języku polskim w latach 1865–1904*, Warszawa 2011, p. 321). The publication was considered by the censorship twice. First, junior censor Oskar Petrovich Stanislavskiy

Pieśń o św. Patronach Polskich [Song of the Holy Patrons of Poland]:

High lords of high heaven,
Mighty Patrons of the weak world:
Save the wretched, save, we beseech you,
For without your rescue, we will perish.

Look upon us from the throne of the Lord,
Incline your gracious ear toward us,
Soothe God's angered heart,
Hold back the arrows of wrath tempered.

All together we humbly invoke,
Whose kingdoms we know as guardians
When you have pleaded with God,
Let peace return and fear cease¹⁵,

or the seemingly completely innocuous *Litany of All Saints*, published in the considered by a junior censor with higher remuneration, Vladimir Ulyanovich Trofimovich, *Wyborek pieśni kościelnych obejmujący najwięcej używane śpiewy*

(AGAD WKC, ref. 33: PP No. 32 of 10.08.1867, pp. 340–340v.) did not question the text. However, a week later, the acting chairman of the WKC, Yuli Osipovich Shriejer, „oświadczył, że przy przypadkowym rozpatrzeniu zauważył, że w wyżej wspomnianej książeczce na str. 228 i 229 wydrukowana jest modlitwa «Do świętych Polaków patronów Polski», która w treści swej tak samo nastawiona jest na rozbudzenie uczuć patriotycznych, jak [zakwestionowana już przez Stanisławskiego] modlitwa za ojczyznę. Wszyscy członkowie Komitetu po bliższym rozpatrzeniu wymienionej modlitwy jednogłośnie oświadczyli, że oni w pełni podzielają opinię p.o. Przewodniczącego i uważają tę modlitwę za podlegającą bezwzględnemu zakazowi. Młodszy cenzor Stanisławski sądził zaś, że modlitwa ta, jako zamieszczona już w wielu innych modlitewnikach, wydrukowanych w Królestwie Polskim za aprobatą Cenzury, nie zawiera niczego nagannego”. Niemniej postanowiono „sporządzić specjalny protokół w tej sprawie ze wspólnym podpisem wszystkich członków Komitetu, przedstawić takowy do zaopiniowania przez Jego Wysokość P. Tajnego Radcę Witte” [stated that on casual examination he noticed that in the above-mentioned booklet on pages 228 and 229 is printed the prayer “To the patron saints of Poland, which in its content is as much oriented toward arousing patriotic feelings as [the prayer for the homeland already questioned by Stanislawski]”. All members of the Committee, upon closer consideration of the said prayer, unanimously declared that they fully share the opinion of the Acting Chairman and consider this prayer to be subject to an absolute ban. The junior censor Stanislawski, on the other hand, believed that the prayer, as already included in many other prayer books printed in the Kingdom of Poland with the approval of the Censorship, contained nothing reprehensible”. Nevertheless, it was decided “to draw up a special protocol on the matter with the joint signature of all members of the Committee, to present such for the opinion of His Majesty the Privy Councillor Witte.” (AGAD WKC, ref. 33, 17.08.1867, pp. 343–344). Karl Georg Fyodor Yuliy Fyodorovich Witte was superintendent of the Warsaw Scientific District from 1866 to 1879.

15 T.T. Klonowski, op. cit., (item 522), pp. 1562–1563. In the version of the song published in this work, these patrons were referred to only in the first three stanzas (the other three referred to the Virgin Mary).

w *Kościele katolickim. Do użytku szkolnego i domowego* [Selection of Church songs covering the most used chants in the Catholic Church. For school and home use], Poznań 1897 (item 11153, pp. 89–94), who noted that “Zbiór [ten] ma charakter modlitewnika, a ponieważ ujawnia się w nim polsko-patriotyczna tendencja, to na podstawie instrukcji Zarządu Głównego do spraw Druku z 20 kwietnia 1872 r. No 1630, należy go zakazać”¹⁶ [This collection is in the nature of a prayer book, and since it reveals a Polish-patriotic tendency, it should be banned on the basis of the instruction of the General Board for Printing of April 20, 1872 No. 1630]. Among the many other saints mentioned there were numerous Poles (Wojciech, Stanisław [of Szczepanów], Jacek, Stanisław Kostka, Sebastian, Jadwiga)¹⁷.

2.

In the case of some saints and blessed individuals, such as Jozafat Kuncewicz¹⁸ and Andrzej Bobola¹⁹, the interference was caused by the mere mention of their names²⁰. Many examples of this practice are provided, particularly in justifications for censoring publications with calendar sections. For instance, senior censor Christofor Vladimirovich Emmausski, referring generally to the “regulations on censorship of calendars”, advocated banning the sixth yearbook of the “Kalendarz Maryański” [Marian Calendar] (Mikołów 1888) because “W liczbie świętych zamieszczony jest biskup męczennik Iosefat Kuncewicz”²¹ [...] [In the number of saints is included the martyr bishop Jozafat Kuncewicz]. Similarly, senior censor Vladimir Mikhailovich Ivanovsky, referring to

16 AGAD WKC, ref. 43: PP No. 23 of 15.06.1899, k. 206v.

17 It is impossible to say whether this particular song was one of the motives for the ban or whether it fell victim to the censor’s generalizing assessment, but the fact remains that it did not reach its audience.

18 Jan Kuncewicz (monastic name Jozafat, Jozefat) 1580–1623 (Włodzimierz in Volhynia, now in Ukraine) – Basilian, Unitarian bishop of Polotsk, murdered in Vitebsk by local townspeople; beatified in 1643, canonized in 1867, minor Patron of Poland.

19 St. Andrzej Bobola 1591–1657 (Janów in Polesie, now in Belarus) – Jesuit, missionary among the Orthodox population, preacher, martyr; beatified in 1853, canonized in 1938, secondary Patron of Poland since 2002.

20 Indeed, according to Circular of the Main Office for Printing No. 1186 of April 10, 1869, in the publications allowed to circulate, “2. W liczbie świętych nie powinno być prześladowców wiary prawosławnej” [2. In the number of saints there should be no persecutors of the Orthodox faith] (N.G. Patrusheva, I.P. Fut [Foote], *Cyrkulary cenzurnego vedomosti Rossiyskoy impierii. Sbornik dokumentov*, Sankt-Petersburg 2016, p. 219). The same was done for the title Mother of God/Divine (but only with the term “Queen of the Polish Crown” or similar). See J. Kostecki, „Polskiej” *Matki Boskiej przykre doświadczenia z carską cenzurą zagraniczną w latach 1865–1904*, „Prace Filologiczne. Literaturoznawstwo” No 15 (18) 2025 (*Censorship* volume), pp. 205–243.

21 Mikołów 1888 (item 6659). AGAD WKC, ref. 39: PP 1889, no. 5 of February 6, k. 20v.

“existing regulations”, did not allow the yearbook of the first “Kalendarz Lekarski Krakowski” [Cracow Medical Calendar] in circulation, because “W kalendarzu tym znajdują się święci Kościoła greko-unickiego, przy czym w liczbie świętych figuruje też Iosafat Kuncewicz”²² [In this calendar there are saints of the Greco-Unionist Church, with the number of saints also including Jozafat Kuncewicz]. On several occasions, this argumentation, though without citing the regulations, was used by junior censor Aleksandr Ivanovich Nikolich in stopping “Łowca. Kalendarz myśliwski, rybacki i leśny” [Hunter. Calendar for hunting, fishing, and forestry] for 1889²³, “Nec plus ultra. Kalendarz, bo za niego nic nie dasz” [Nec plus ultra. Calendar, because you won’t give anything for it] for 1889²⁴ and “Kalendarz Lekarski” [Medical Calendar] for 1890²⁵.

It happened, of course, that the above allegations were presented in a slightly different form or supplemented with additional arguments. Ivanovsky, who has already been quoted many times, requests that the yearbook include one of the “Księdza Kneippa Kalendarz Zdrowia dla Chorych i Zdrowych”²⁶ [Rev. Kneipp’s Calendar of Health for the Sick and Healthy] not be allowed to circulate, reported that in the “W pierwszej części kalendarza [zamieszczono] spis świętych Kościoła katolickiego, między którymi znajdują się patroni Polski a w ich liczbie Iosafat Kuncewicz” [In the first part of the calendar [a list of saints of

22 Kraków 1892 (item 7601). AGAD WKC, call no. 41: PP 1891, no. 45 of November 19, k. 287–287v. In 1896, however, an unknown censor ordered the removal of only the calendar section of 12 unnumbered pages from the voluminous fifth yearbook (Kraków 1896, item 9580) of this publication, which included “Święta Rzymskie” [Roman Holidays] in the left-hand column, “Święta Ruskie” [Ruthenian Holidays] in the right-hand column, and below them in the center, “Kalendarz żydowski” [Jewish Calendar]. At the date of November 2, Kuncewicz wrote in the form “Josafat Archiep. mucz.”. Only the calendar part was also cut from the “Bocian” Calendar for 1905 (Kraków 1904, item 13583), where the formula “Josafat arch” was placed next to the same date. At the beginning of the period under study, the interventions were more limited, as in the yearbook one of the already mentioned “Illustrowany Powszechny Kalendarz dla Wszystkich Stanów” [Illustrated Common Calendar for All Statutes] (Kraków 1869, item 520), which had a similar structure of the calendar part, only single wording was removed: on p. 18, in the left column “Roman holidays” – “26 N 19 after St. Jozafat Bishop”, and in the right column “Ruthenian holidays” – “16 Josaphat archiep. m.”. The same was done in the case of yearbook 18 of the “Kalendarz dla Rodzin Katolickich” [Calendar for Catholic Families] (Kraków 1871, item 11), where on p. 19 (September) in the left column “Roman holidays” it was ordered to remove “26 W. Jozafat bishop and martyr”, and on p. 23 (November) in the right-hand column “Roman holidays” – “2nd Jozafat arch. m.”.

23 Lwów 1888 (item 6682). AGAD WKC, call no. 39: PP 1889, no. 15 of April 24, k. 78. The next annual of this calendar (for 1890, Lwów [1889], item 7145) was retained by Ivanovsky, motivating further that it not only “zawiera świętych Kościoła greko-unickiego”, ale „wydrukowany jest przy tym czcionką łacińską” [contains the saints of the Greco-Uniche Church,” but “is printed at the same time in Latin font] (AGAD WKC, call no. 40: PP 1889, no. 8 of February 27, k. 39).

24 Kraków 1889 (item 6701). AGAD WKC, call no. 39: PP 1889, no. 18 of May 16, k. 96.

25 Lwów 1890 (item 6658). AGAD WKC, call no. 39: PP 1889, no. 44 of November 7, k. 240v.

26 Poznań 1891 (item 7617).

the Catholic Church is included], among which are the patron saints of Poland and in their number Jozafat Kuncewicz] and the total ban was explained by the fact that “na mocy cyrkularza Zarządu Głównego do spraw Druku wykreśleń w kalendarzach nie dopuszcza się”²⁷ [by virtue of the circular of the General Board for Printing, deletions in calendars are not allowed]. In turn, stopping the first and second yearbooks of the “Gospodarz. Kalendarz ludowy” [The Farmer. People’s Calendar] (Lviv 1889, Cieszyn [1890])²⁸, he argued: “W obu kalendarzach zamieszczeni są święci unicy; w pierwszym, oprócz tego, znajduje się cały szereg patriotycznych artykułów, wrogich Rosji i prawosławiu”²⁹ [Both calendars include Unitarian saints; in the first, in addition, there is a whole series of patriotic articles, hostile to Russia and Orthodoxy]. On the other hand, senior censor Vladimir Stepanovich Dragomiretsky, after examining Volume 21 of the “Kalendarz Maryański”³⁰ stated: “W kalendarzu nie ma świętych prawosławnych i nie są oznaczone święta państwowe, z uwagi na to on podlega zakazowi na podstawie rozporządzenia Zarządu Głównego do Spraw Druku z 11 marca 1887 r. o No 1062”³¹ [There are no Orthodox saints in the calendar and state holidays are not marked, thus it is subject to prohibition under the decree of the General Board for Printing of March 11, 1887, No 1062].

The names of both figures were also removed from the calendar sections of imported books. For example, the same Dragomiretsky made a decision not to allow the distribution of the prayer book *Wiara, nadzieja i miłość. Książka do nabożeństwa dla wszystkich katolików, zawierająca najpotrzebniejsze modlitwy i pieśni*³² [Faith, Hope and Love. A Devotional Book for All Catholics, Containing the Most Necessary Prayers and Hymns], motivated, among other things, by the fact that “W liczbie świętych, zamieszczonych w dołączonym do tej książeczki kalendarzu, znajduje się św. Josefát biskup i 5 braci Polaków”³³ [The number of saints in the calendar attached to this booklet includes St. Jozafat the Bishop and 5 Polish brothers]. On the other hand, the senior censor,

27 AGAD WKC, call no. 41: PP 1891, no. 9 of March 4, k. 60v.-61.

28 Respectively: Lwów 1889, item 7584, Cieszyn [1890], item 128, [in:] J. Kostecki, *Trudny proces...*, p. 324.

29 AGAD WKC, ref. 41: PP 1891, no. 38 of September 30, k. 243v.

30 Mikołów [1903] item 13174.

31 AGAD WKC, Ref. 44: PP 1903, No. 38 of September 30, p. 437v. This raises the question of whether Emmaussky’s and Ivanovsky’s previously signaled references to “regulations on censoring calendars” referred to Ordinance No. 1062, or to an order directing that, as in textbooks and publications for children and young people, deletions should also be avoided in calendars.

32 Poznań 1883 (item 5619).

33 AGAD WKC call no. 37: PP No. 13 of 27.03.1886, k. 52v. These five Polish brothers were hermits: two Italian Benedictines (Benedykt and Jan) and two novices and their helper born on Polish soil (Mateusz, Izaak, and Krystyn) – martyrs (1003). Canonized in 1004 by John XVIII (the latter are the first Polish saints).

Friedrich Aleksandrowicz Fecht, justifying a few months later a proposal for a total ban on the publication of *Róża duchowna czyli zbiór nabożeństwa ku czci Boga, Najświętszej Maryi Panny i Świętych Pańskich, dla wygody wiernych Chrystusowych, a mianowicie w Arcybractwie Różańca Świętego zostających* [The Spiritual Rose or a collection of devotions in honor of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Saints of the Lord, for the convenience of the faithful of Christ, namely in the Archbrotherhood of the Holy Rosary staying] (8th ed. red. Krakow 1877 item 5587) drew the Committee's attention to, among other things, page XIX, where in the calendar for September, there was a formula: "26 c Jozafat the Bishop and Martyr"³⁴.

Already much earlier

Junior censor [Ignatius] Rogalski reported to the Committee on four Polish prayer books published in Paris, containing prayers and religious songs, most of which had been used in the country here in former times, but now only corrected stylistically. In the first of these books entitled "Skarb duszy pobożnej [...]"³⁵ the following phrases for exclusion [...] are presented on page 142: "Saint Jozafat, Saint Jędrzej" (v. 3 d.) [...]. In the third book under the title: "Ołtarzyk Ostrobramski [...]"³⁶, the censor presented for exclusion [...] on p. 325 [in the final passage of the Modlitwa do Boskiej Opatrzności] the words: "Saint Jozafat" (v. 17 and 18) and at p. 764 an image and prayer to Andrzej Bobola³⁷.

34 AGAD WKC, sign. 37: PP No. 43 of 23.10.1886, k. 173 v.

35 *Skarb duszy pobożnej zawierający w sobie wybór modlitw z dołączeniem nabożeństwa przegodnego i na każdy dzień tygodnia. Ozdobiony wizerunkami rytami na stali w Paryżu i Londynie podług starożytnych obrazów znajdujących się w kościołach polskich*, Paryż [1860] (item 420).

36 L. Godlewski (L.G. Kanonik), *Ołtarzyk Ostrobramski zawierający w sobie kronikę obrazu Najświętszej Maryi Panny Ostrobramskiej; nabożeństwo do Najświętszej Maryi Panny Boga-Rodzicy; codzienne, niedzielne, roczne i przygodne; oraz modlitwy podczas mszy św., na każdy dzień tygodnia i na wszystkie święta przypadające w roku; jakoteż za dusze wiernych zmarłych, do aniołów świętych pańskich i patronów kraju, tudzież nauki duchowne i myśli chrześcijańskie na wszystkie dni miesiąca; z ksiąg przez Kościół święty zatwierdzonych wyjęte; oraz pieśni kościelne i koniec czterech Ewangelii zawierający: dzieje męki, śmierci i zmartwychwstania Zbawiciela naszego. Ku pobożnemu rozmyślaniu a użytkowi wiernych*, Paryż n.d. (item 412).

37 AGAD WKC, call no. 33: PP No. dated 31.01.1867, k.69–70. Both publications were allowed to circulate on condition that the elements indicated by the censor were removed. Excerpts from the calendar were also challenged in Mateusz Osmański's book, *Nabożeństwo dla ludu katolickiego*. 5th edition, Brodnica 1864, item 527. This was about p. 6 of the unnum. (SEPTEMBER) with the formula "26 c Jozafate B and M" and p. 8 unnum. (NOVEMBER) with the formula "27 b Jozafata Pustel." In turn, from the third edition of *Katolickiej książki misyjnej, czyli przewodnika do życia chrześcijańskiego*, wydanej przez Zgromadzenie Najświętszego Odkupiciela. Transl. and edited by J. Laxy, reviewed and revised by A. Cygan, Głogówek 1870 (item 15) was ordered to remove, among other things, p. X (November and December) due to the notation "27 b. Józafat Pust.", and from the publication of Mikołaj Gregorowicz, *Serdeczne modły, czyli nabożeństwo dla prawowiernych katolików w biegu całego roku porządkiem Grodzisk 1871* (item 985) – p. XVI ("Miesiąc Wrzesień"), as it used the formula: "26 c Jozafat the Bishop and Martyr".

This image was titled: “Błogosławiony Andrzej B.T.J. Podług obrazu znajdującego się w kościele XX Dominikanów w Połocku”³⁸ [Blessed Andrzej B.T.J. According to the image found in the Dominican Fathers’ Church in Polotsk]. The mentioned prayer did not contain anything controversial:

Patronie nasz, Święty Andrzeju bądź Orędownikiem i Przyczyncą naszym do Boga. Niech przed JEgo tronem modły twoje nieustannie błagają za nami. Niech będą nam tarczą, od wszelkich przygód, nieszczęść w życiu; a przy zgonie rękojmią łaski; zbawienia. Amen.
[Our Patron Saint Andrew, be our Advocate and Contributor to God. May before HIS throne your prayers continually plead for us. May they be a shield to us, from all adventures, misfortunes in life; and at death, a guarantee of grace, of salvation. Amen.]

Similarly, this censor in the same year (1867) reacted to *Modlitwa do Bl. Jędrzeja Boboli z Towarzystwa Jezusowego, Patrona polskiego* [The prayer to Bl. Jędrzej Bobola of the Society of Jesus, Patron of Poland]:

Antiphon. He is the lover of the brethren, and of his people, he is the one who prays much for the people and all the holy city.

V. Pray for us Blessed Jędrzej Bobola.

R. That we may become worthy of the promises of the Lord Christ,

Let us pray.

O God! Who, for the sake of confessing the true faith, blessed Jędrzej Bobola, crowned him with a glorious martyrdom through many afflictions; grant, we beseech Thee, that we too, steadfast in this faith, may endure all earthly afflictions rather than have our souls brought to loss. Through Christ our Lord. Amen³⁹.

Andrzej Bobola also played the role of intermediary in the contested *Modlitwa za nawrócenie odszczepieńców* [Prayer for the Conversion of the Renegades]:

38 Polotsk – at that time the capital of the Polotsk province of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, an important center of the Catholic mission (Andrzej Bobola stayed there in 1653), now in northern Belarus. Another image of the Blessed (“Bl. Jędrzej Bobola Męczennik T.J.”) was challenged by the censors in a conditionally approved study by Alojzy Fridrich *Obrazki świętych Pańskich z krótkim ich życiorysem*, part 2, Kraków 1893 (item 8343), p. [125].

39 *Krzyż czyli zbiór nabożeństw dla wszystkich katolików, z przydaniem pieśni nabożnych z ksiąg przez Kościół potwierdzonych, dla użytku wiernych ułożony*, Kraków [1867], p. 575 (item 103, [in:] J. Kostecki, *Trudny proces...*, p. 322). Rogalski challenged 13 pages in the publication, and “Komitet z uwagi na tak liczne i obszerne wykluczenia, postanowił całe to dzieło zakazać dla publiczności” [the Committee, on account of such numerous and extensive exclusions, decided to ban the entire work for the public] (AGAD WKC, ref. 33: PP No. 51 of 29.12.1867, pp. 532–533v.). The same prayer was also challenged in the books: Pasquale di Mattei, *Wzór świętobliwości. Święty Stanisław Kostka w dziesięciu uwagach do naśladowania podany*. Free translation from French, Berlin 1860 (item 24), pp. 99–100, as well as Józef W. Hołubowicz, *Upominek dla młodzieży chrześcijańskiej. Dla młodzieńców*, Kraków 1894 (item 8766), pp. 134–135. Both of these publications were conditionally accepted for circulation after six and two pages were removed, respectively.

O God, lover of peace, giver of unity and concord, in whose hand are the hearts of men, through the merits and cause of Blessed Jędrzej Bobola, Thy martyr, we humbly beseech Thee: that Thou would inspire our erring brethren with the spirit of unity and concord. That we may all, united by the holy knot of Thy Catholic faith, confess Thee with one heart in one Church, and then receive that reward which Thou hast bestowed upon those who love Thee. Through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen⁴⁰.

Already directly addressed to him was a comprehensive *Litania na cześć błogosławionego Jędrzeja Boboli* [Litany in honor of Blessed Jędrzej Bobola]:

Blessed Jędrzej, Vessel chosen of God for the conversion of dissenters to the unity of the Holy Catholic Faith, pray for us. [...]

Blessed Jędrzej, by threats and torments in the faith unshaken, pray for us.

Blessed Jędrzej, amidst the most terrible torments, the most impatient, pray for us.

Blessed Jędrzej, martyred palm and apostolic crown adorned, pray for us.

Blessed Jędrzej, after death with fragrance and spotlessness of body adorned, pray for us.

Blessed Jędrzej, glorified with great wonders from God, pray for us.

Blessed Jędrzej, Glory of our nation, pray for us.

Blessed Jędrzej, Adornment of the Society of Jesus, pray for us.

Blessed Jędrzej, Lover of your people, [pray for us].

Blessed Jędrzej, our new before God Protector, pray for us.

That we may all be united in the unity of the Holy Catholic faith, pray for us.

That we may not be torn away from this, only salutary faith, in anything, pray for us. [...]

Blessed Jędrzej Bobola, martyr of God! Pray for us⁴¹.

Pieśń na cześć błogosławionego Jędrzeja Boboli [The Song in Honor of Blessed Jędrzej Bobola], published in Pasquale di Mattei's study, was also of a similar nature:

Raise your prayers to him, for in heaven BOBOLA,

In a martyr's wreath with the Blessed,

Intercede JEŃDRZEJ BOBOLA for us! [...]

You rush BOBOLA to the holy battle

With faith, love, and a word of peace [...].

Crowded with the ancient truth, the people hanker,

Into one righteous Shepherd's sheepfold.

Hell rasped when so many gains

Your zeal tears from him, BOBOLA,

40 P. di Mattei, op. cit., (item 24), p. 100; J.W. Hołubowicz, op. cit., (item 8766), p. 135.

41 P. di Mattei, op. cit., (item 24), pp. 97–99.

Releases hordes of enraged savagery....
With steel and fire, they destroy the Polish fields.
One hope in despair for the cruel:
To capture or exterminate the valiant JĘDRZEJ!
In vain with terror and threats they tempt you....
They burn, cripple, torment, and torture you.
You win with an invincible soul,
They will snatch your life – from faith, they do not challenge!
Blood pouring, you cry – constancy of sacrifice:
“One God – the Church – one Faith alone!”
Faithful of the Church, faithful son of the fatherland.
You fell!!! And heaven with springs of rays
And miracles glory surrounds your scars; [...].
Oh Martyr, Oh our Apostle,
May your protection save our FAITH!
Oh, by thy torments, by thy holy scars,
Defend the Faith – your dear legacy!⁴²

Undoubtedly, the questioned prayers and songs did not have to be “to” a blessed or saint, it was enough that they were recited during celebrations dedicated to him. An example is the completely “innocent” *Modlitwa w uroczystość ś. Jozafata Kuncewicza. Arcybiskupa Połockiego, męczennika, Patrona polskiego* [Prayer on the Feast of St. Jozafat Kuncewicz. Archbishop of Polotsk, martyr, Patron Saint of Poland]:

Almighty eternal God! who, adorning St. Jozafat with the palm of martyrdom, You have provided the Catholic Church with a new mediator in him, we beseech Thee, may we, through his merits and help, freed from all evil, serve Thy name all the more diligently. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, who lives and reigns with Thee and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen⁴³.

42 *Wzór świętobliwości...* (item 24), pp. 101–102.

43 *Krzyż czyli zbiór nabożeństw...* (item 103, [in:] J. Kostecki, op. cit, p. 322), p. 575. This publication also included a calendar section, so the censor questioned “na str. VIII w kolumnie pierwszej słowa «21 Jozafata Biskupa i Męczen.», w kolumnie drugiej słowa «16. Józafata Arcybiskupa Połock.», na str. IX w kolumnie drugiej słowa «2. Bł. Jozafata męczen.»” [on p. VIII in the first column the words “21 Jozafat Bishop and Martyr.”, in the second column the words “16th Jozafat Archbishop of Polotsk.”, on p. IX in the second column the words “2nd Bl. Josaphat Martyr.”]. Rogalski acted in a similar way in the case of a conditionally approved publication by Łukasz Solecki, *Nabożeństwo chrześcijanina katolika na cały rok*, Lwów 1867 (item 101 in J. Kostecki, *Trudny proces...*, p. 321), in which he questioned, among other things, “na str. XI w pierwszej kolumnie słowa «26 Jozafata Bisk.», w drugiej zaś kolumnie «16 Jozafata Arcyb. Połock.», na str. XIII w pierwszej kolumnie «27 Jozafata Pustel.»” [on p. XI in the first column the words “26 Jozafat

Of course, as in the case of Andrzej Bobola, it was mainly prayers recalling the merits of this martyr that were questioned, as well as requests for further care for the effects of his achievements, such as the *Litany of Blessed Jozafat*, which contains the following passages, among others:

Blessed Jozafat,
Martyr of Christ,
Defender of the truth,
Multiplier of the faith of St. Joseph.
Eradicator of errors,
Diligent caretaker of the salvation of your sheep,
Zealous preacher,
Pillar of unity and concord
Adornment of the Slavic peoples, [...].
Glory and adornment of the order of St. Basil the Great.
Spreader of concord and love of your nation,
For your murderers praying,
In the heavenly homeland, already triumphant [...].
Blessed martyr, we ask you
That God be merciful to us,
That he deigns to give peace and concord to our nation, [...].
That the Christian assembly in true faith
And preserve and defend the holy unity⁴⁴.

On the other hand, in the opinion of the senior censor, Christofor Vladimirovich Emmaussky, examining *Lekcyje i ewangelie na wszystkie niedziele i święta podług przekładu ks. Jakuba Wujka*⁴⁵ [Preaching and gospel for all Sundays and feasts according to Rev. Jakub Wujek's translation] a year after its publication, we read:

Bish.", and in the second column "16 Jozafat Archb. Polotsk", on page XIII in the first column "27 Jozafat Eremit." (AGAD WKC, Ref. 33: PP No. 47 of 23.11.1867, k. 500).

44 L. Solecki, op. cit., (item 101, [in:] J. Kostecki, *Trudny proces...*, p. 321), pp. 704–706. Immediately following the *Litania*... a slightly different version of the prayer to St. Jozafat was printed, quoted from the publication *Krzyż czyli zbiór nabożeństw...* (item 103, [in:] *ibid.* p. 322).

45 This was the 2nd new edition. Gniezno 1888, item 6595 (p. nlb. 2, IV, 364). In 1893, in the previously cited publication with a similar title: *Lekcyje i ewangelie na wszystkie niedziele i święta podług przekładu ks. Jakóba Wujka stosownie do mszału rzymskiego*, new, improved edition, Gniezno 1892, item 8351 (p. VIII, 339, unnumb. 1) ordered, in turn, as we remember, to remove pp. VII–VIII, pp. 309–326, containing either the content of the lesson and gospel passage, or only references to them, when printed earlier on the occasion of another figure (the latter solution was applied there both in the case of Blessed Andrzej Bobola and St. Jozafat – pp. 311 and 320).

Among the number of others in the book are "Preaching and gospels for Polish Patron Saints' feasts", among which are: Andrzej Bobola, Jozafat Kuncewicz, and others, so P. Emmauski proposed to allow this work with the exclusion of pages III and 263–280. The Committee agreed with Mr. Censor's opinion⁴⁶.

That these interferences were subjective is evidenced by the fact that the gospel lessons and passages were, from the censor's point of view, completely neutral. For example, in the case of St. Jozafat, it was a passage from the Epistle of the Apostle James the Lesser (James 1, 12–18) from the words "Blessed is the husband who endures temptation" to "of first fruits of his creatures", as well as a passage from the gospel according to St. Matthew (Matt. 14, 24–27) from the words: "Then Jesus told" to "according to what he has done".

Probably only mentioning the name of this saint also caused the censor to order the removal of the entire book by John B. Delert's only final footnote passage mentioning "true admirations" during prayer, when "nieraz dusza porwana jest tak silnie ku Bogu, iż i ciało z nią unosi się od ziemi"⁴⁷ [sometimes the soul is entrained so strongly toward God that the body with it is lifted from the earth as well].

However, much more often, for example, in the case of the already mentioned publication by Florian Jaroszewicz (item 440), arguments were used such as „Dzieło to zawierające żywoty świętych i w ogóle pobożnych Polaków odnosi się wrogo do wyznawców nauczania religii (wyznania) rosyjskiej i ewangelickiej. Między innymi zawiera ono żywot Josafata Kuncewicza i Andrzeja Boboli. Z tych powodów Cenzor na podstawie § 2 punkt a i b Ustawy o Cenzurze dzieło to przedstawił do zakazania dla publiczności. Komitet postanowił: dzieło to zakazać dla publiczności”⁴⁸ [This work, which contains the lives of saints and pious Poles in general, refers hostilely to adherents of the teaching of the Russian and Evangelical religions (denominations). Among other things, it

46 AGAD WKC, ref. 39: PP No. 40 of 16.10.1889, pp. 215–215v.

47 J.B. Delert, *Modlitwa jako wielki środek zbawienia, czyli wykład o modlitwie ustnej, o rozmyślanii i rekolekcjach*, 2nd ed. red. by „Rozmyślanie świętej Teresy na pacierz”, Poznań 1862 (item 587), p. 15. The clerk left testimony of this phenomenon to St. Teresa of Ávila, but questioned the sentence "To samo unoszenie się w powietrze było z Św. Franciszkiem z Assyza, z Św. Dominikiem, z Św. Tomaszem z Akwinu, z Św. Piotrem z Alkantary, z Św. Filipem Neryuszem, z Św. Józefem z Kopertynu, z Św. Jozafatem Kuncewiczem, z Św. Władysławem z Gielnowa i z wielu innymi, na co mamy najmocniejsze dowody" [The same floating into the air was with St. Teresa, St. Francis of Assisi, with St. Dominic, with St. Thomas Aquinas, with St. Peter of Alcantara, with St. Philip Nereus, with St. Joseph of Copertino, with St. Jozafat Kuncewicz, with St. Władysław of Gielniów and with many others, for which we have the strongest evidence] (p. 16), as well as with St. Alphonsus Liguori. Blessed Władysław of Gielniów was proclaimed patron saint of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania by Clement XIII in 1759.

48 AGAD WKC, ref. 33: PP No. 7 of 7.02.1867, k. 84–84v.

contains the lives of Jozafat Kuncewicz and Andrzej Bobola For these reasons, the Censor, on the basis of §2 items a and b of the Censorship Act, presented this work for banning for the public. The Committee decided: to ban this work for the public].

Rogalski was not exaggerating. The text *Żywot i męczeństwo wielbnego Ks. Andrzeja Boboli Societas Jesu* [The life and martyrdom of the reverend Andrzej Bobola Societas Jesu]⁴⁹ included the following passages, among others:

The field of his holy work was the city of Janów and the entire county of Pińsk in the diocese of Lutsk. This one was so infected with heresy or Greek schism that not only peasant but also noble houses were filled with this infernal venom. Around the conversion of these mad sheeps, without rest rev. Jędrzej has walked for 26 years, going around the villages and towns with fervent sermons, disputing wisely with the schismatic sages, giving salutary teachings to young and old, and most of all shining by the example of a holy life to all [...]. Although the schismatic children, out of their hatred for the Catholic faith, threw mud at him more than once, shouting, mocking, and deriding [...] he walked gaily and cheerfully, rejoicing in the fact that he was allowed to imitate J e s u s⁵⁰.

While carrying out the missions in Balandyza and Udrożyn, villages relatively populous and infected with schism, he so successfully told the truth of the Holy Roman Catholic faith that he won over all the citizens and even the schismatic popes themselves to the Holy Church⁵¹.

The censor's decision was also undoubtedly influenced by the drastic description of Bobola's martyrdom, whom the "Jews and schismatics" handed over to the rebellious Cossacks, and those

[...] enraged, having stripped him of his dress, they tied him to a stake, cruelly chopped him with rods and clubs, pulled out his claws with meat, tore the skin from his hands, and knocked out his teeth. [...] Having strung the wooden crackers with nails, they drove them in, and immediately from their hands they tore the skin off. Then they tore the straps from Fr. Jędrzej's back, and over his neck they tore off the skin up to his eyes and turned it over again. They tore out his eyes, ears, and nose. And since he didn't stop calling the sweetest names Jesus and Mary, they pulled out his tongue with his back. Perceiving that he was still alive, they inflicted two wounds on his neck and head with sabers, and having tied his arms and legs, they hung him from a gallows, crying with laughter: "Look how the Pole jumps." And so Fr. Jędrzej, in imitation of Christ on a stout tree, lived and martyred"⁵².

49 The term "reverend" should come as no surprise, since Bobola's beatification process ended 86 years after the first edition of Jaroszewicz's book was published.

50 F. Jaroszewicz, op. cit., part 2 extended. 5 (item 440), p. 287.

51 Ibid, p. 288.

52 Ibid, pp. 289–290. The text of *Bl. Jędrzej Bobola Męczennik T.J. (23 Maja)* was of a similar nature and was challenged in the already cited study by Fridrich (item 8343, pp. 122–127). On the

Unacceptable was not only this last comparison, but also the description of what happened next, for

How dear his life and death were before the Lord, the light of heaven explained, for as soon as he died, a great brightness appeared over him at once, to which the tyrants of the Cossacks went into disarray. At once, the people came from the area, and looking at the Apostle cruelly murdered, they lamented, crying out: "Ah! A holy priest killed?"⁵³.

After discussing some and enumerating the other miracles that took place through Fr. Jędrzej⁵⁴, the author concluded by expressing his hope that, as:

other hand, a shorter and less vivid description of Bobola's activities and martyrdom was found many years later in already cited publication *Ojców naszych wiara...* (item 11119; pp. 217–218), which was not permitted by senior censor Mikhail Avgustinovich Lagodovsky (AGAD WKC, ref. 43: PP No. 36, dated 15.09.1899, pp. 349–349v.). The unknown author, however, paid more attention to the historical context of the event ("W tym czasie srogie na Polskę zwaliły się klęski. Na Ukrainie Chmielnicki z Kozakami bunt podniósł, przytem Szwedzi, Moskale, Tatarzy, Siedmiogrodzianie i Brandenburczycy uderzyli na Polskę. Na Litwie i Ukrainie rozpoczęło się najsrozsze prześladowanie katolików. Schizmatycy burzyli kościoły i klasztory, księży i wiernych srode męczyli i wyrzynali bez litości" [At that time severe calamities rolled upon Poland. In Ukraine Khmelnytskyi with his Cossacks raised a rebellion, while Swedes, Muscovites, Tatars, Transylvanians and Brandenburgians struck Poland. The most severe persecution of Catholics began in Lithuania and Ukraine. Schismatics demolished churches and monasteries, priests and the faithful were severely tormented and slaughtered without mercy]), as well as on the attitude of the Jesuit ("Błogosławiony męczennik nie zlorzeczył oprowcom, owszem wzywał ich, aby porzucili błędy schizmatyckie, modlił się za nich i powtarzał często imiona Jezusa i Maryi" [The blessed martyr did not malign the oppressors, but rather called on them to abandon schismatic errors, prayed for them and often repeated the names of Jesus and Mary]). Interestingly, in Jan K. Corvin-Piotrowski's work, *Jezuici*, vol. 1, Kraków 1883 (item 4317), the censor challenged only a two-line paragraph: "Tęgoż roku [1657] z rąk czerni kozackiej, ginął w Pińsku polski Jezuita ojciec Andrzej Bobola" [That year [1657] at the hands of the Cossack blacks, the Polish Jesuit Father Andrzej Bobola perished in Pińsk] (p. 319), which was found in the last chapter (IX), between the paragraph on the return of the Jesuits to Venice and the paragraph on the order's successes in South America at the time.

53 F. Jaroszewicz, op. cit., part 2 expanded 5 (item 440), p. 290.

54 Andrzej Bobola also had the ability to reveal himself to selected individuals. Such a lucky person turned out to be "Wielb. Ojciec [Alojzy] Korzeniecki, Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego w Wilnie na Litwie, [który] płakał w zaciszu swojej celi nad losem coraz nieszczęśliwszym Ojczyzny" [Rev. Father [Aloysius] Korzeniecki, of the Order of Preachers in Vilnius, Lithuania, [who] wept in the privacy of his cell over the increasingly unhappy fate of the Fatherland]. When, late at night, „wzniósłszy wzrok błagalny ku Niebu, począł wzywać pomocy Błogoś. Jędrzeja Boboli" [having raised his pleading gaze to Heaven, he began to call for the help of Blessed Jędrzej Bobola], he saw a figure in a Jesuit habit in the middle of his cell. It instructed him to look through the open window: „Ale jakież jego zdziwienie, gdy namiast małego ogródka klasztoru, widzi przed sobą równinę rozległą [...]. «Ta oto równina, którą widzisz, rzekł błogoś. Jędrzej – przedstawia ci obszar Pińska, gdzie miałem to niewymówione szczęście, ponieść męczarnię za Wiarę Chrystusa». [But what was his surprise when, instead of the small garden of the monastery, he sees before him a vast plain [...]. "This is the plain you see, said Blessed Jędrzej - it represents to you the area of Pińsk, where I had the unspeakable good fortune to suffer martyrdom for the Faith of Christ." He then sees that „Oto ową równinę pokrytą niezliczonem mnóstwem Żoldactwa Rossyjskiego, Tureckiego, Francuskiego, Angielskiego,

the devotion of our people to him is multiplying, so it is necessary to expect that in a short time we will speak to him: "Saint Jędrzej Bobola! Pray for us." And now, however, through his merits for us and the entire homeland, which is in great peril, we humbly implore the Divine majesty, whose miraculous power is manifested in this His servant. Amen⁵⁵.

The actualization of the vision of a sinking homeland even imposed itself, so this was undoubtedly an additional factor in favor of not allowing Jaroszewicz's collection to circulate in the Empire.

The text of *Żywot i męczeństwo B. Jozafata Kuncewicza arcybiskupa Połockiego* [The life and martyrdom of B. Jozafat Kuncewicz, Archbishop of Polotsk] was maintained in a similar poetics:

He [Jozafat] was so fortunate in his conversion to the true faith and holy unity, that having found no Unitarian in Polotsk, he converted most of them by his work and teaching, not only from schism, but also from heresy, both Calvinistic and Lutheran; among those he converted were many noblemen and noblewomen, lords and great ladies⁵⁶.

Having arrived in Vitebsk, for two Sundays he lived there, but on Saturday, one uniat [...] Jozafat warned that a council stood at the town hall to kill him the following Sunday. [...] At eight o'clock, the elders boozed the commoners and broke down the gates and the archdeacon's fence, and the servants and the archdeacon began to murder. Hearing this noise and the cries of his own, Jozafat got up from his prayer and went out to the courtyard [...] if you are looking for me, here I am [...].

Two bold [...] shouted, Catch the catholic! [...] one hit him on the head with a stick, that he bent down, and so already lying on the ground, with what they could beat, smashed, by the beard and hair tugged, dragged, and it is difficult to describe how cruelly and wantonly pastored the innocent; at that the saint raised his hand and cried out: Oh my God! Wishing to say: Do not read this as a sin against these, my murderers, for they do not know what

Austriackiego, Pruskiego i innych narodów, których barwy rozpoznać nie mógł. Cała ta hałajstra wila, kręciła się kłębami walki zaciętej – krwawej! Ojczysko na ten widok zgłupiało! Wtedy rzekł błogosł. Męczennik: «Gdy ta wojna, której obraz widziałeś, ustanie a pokój nastąpi – wtedy Polska stanie w całej swej sile na nogi, a Ja będę Jej Patronem nad Patrony!» [Here is this plain covered with countless Ruthenians, Turkish, French, English, Austrian, Prussian and other nations whose colors he could not recognize. The whole hegemony was whirling, spinning in the throes of a fierce battle, bloody! The fatherland at this sight was dumbfounded! Then the Blessed Martyr said: "When this war, the image of which you saw, will cease and peace will come – then Poland will stand in all her strength on her feet, and I will be her Patron above Patrons!"]. As proof of the truth before disappearing, Bobola left the imprints of his hand on the table, which was confirmed in the morning by the summoned "religious brothers" (*Zjawienie się Błogosł. Jędrzeja Boboli w Wilnie r. 1819*, [in:] *Zestawienie objawionych w Kościele rzymsko-katolickim a w znacznej części już spełnionych przepowiedni o losach ziemi, ludzkości i wszechświata*, Lwów 1875 (item 2087), pp. 129–130. The study was allowed to circulate subject to the removal of these pages.

55 F. Jaroszewicz, op. cit., part 2 expanded 5 (item 440), pp. 294–295.

56 Ibid, part 3 expanded 9 (item 440), pp. 393–394.

they are doing. With this voice, they were very much aroused again, with what they could beat, smash, and drag. The women, having already sat on the dead man, drank booze and rejoiced over the killing. Others, having put the killed man on his feet, begged for a blessing [...] They then tore off his dress [...].

Having then tied the body of the father and his shepherd with a rope, the men roamed the city in ridicule. At that time, the sun was eclipsed, and the day turned into night. They were all frightened, and for the most part, abandoned this cruelty. However, others threw the already naked body with a shout from above into the Dźwina River, which flew halfway down the mountain, and for a bit of time, it hung in the air, although the stones at the feet and neck were attached to it. It was then sunk in the Dźwina, where the depth was the greatest; however, above the place there appeared an exceptionally bright pillar, pointing to the martyr's body, which was also seen from Polotsk, so it was taken out by pious people on the sixth day, not having the slightest blemish in it. Indeed, during his life, he was never as beautiful and graceful as he was taken out of the water [...]. Having later arrived in Polotsk by the Dźwina River, the body of Bishop Jozafat to Polotsk, but even this was not without a miracle, because even though the rivers stopped due to severe frosts, the Dźwina did not freeze over until the body of St. Jozafat stood in Polotsk, for the reception of which all people of every condition ran out, not only Catholics and Ruthenians, but heretics and Jews, old and young, towards the river, and with weeping and lamenting condemned the cruelty of the patricide⁵⁷.

When, as a result of news of increasing miracles through Jozafat,⁵⁸ envoys from the Vatican arrived in Polotsk,

First, the body was found robust as alive and by no means intact, from the wound, as fresh blood flowed, with a grateful smell from the body felt, and from the eyes, flowing tears were seen. In the coffin on the bottom board, the image of Bishop the martyr was found.

57 Ibid, pp. 394–396.

58 Minor miracles had already occurred before. For example, Wawrzyniec Puchalski, in his conditionally approved for circulation *Homilie na niedziele całego roku* (Lwów 1895, item 10507), in his homily *Na niedzielę XVIII. po świętkach*, noted that “W żywocie św. Jozafata męczennika czytamy, że kiedy raz nic zgoła w szpiźarni nie było, coby dać zakonnikom na obiad, on z bracią swoją udał się na modlitwę do cerkwi. Po skończonej modlitwie wychodzi, a oto na dziedzińcu klasztoru zajeżdża pięć wozów pełnych rozmaitej żywności, a przy tych wozach służy jakoby od jakiego pana przysłani. Kiedy ich zapytano, czyiby i skąd byli, nic nie odpowiedzieli, i wraz z wozami nie wiedzieć dokąd odeszli. I nie można się było nigdy dowiedzieć, od kogo ich przysłano. I dla cnoty św. Jozafata szpiźarnię klasztorną Bóg cudownie nappełnił” [In the life of St. Jozafat the Martyr we read that once, when there was nothing in the pantry to give to the monks for dinner, he and his brother went to pray in the Orthodox church. When he finished praying, he went out, and behold, five carts full of various foodstuffs pulled into the courtyard of the monastery, and by these carts were servants, as if sent from some lord. When they were asked if and where they were from, they answered nothing, and along with the carts, not knowing where they went. And it was never possible to find out from whom they were sent. And for the virtue of St. Jozafat the monastery's larder was miraculously filled by God] (p. 250).

At the opening of the tomb, many who were sick were healed, and many who were blind regained their sight⁵⁹.

Finally, Pope Urban VIII “sam na sobie cudu B. Jozafata doznawszy, w liczbę go błogosławionych wpisać kazał”⁶⁰ [having experienced himself the miracle

59 Ibid, p. 397.

60 Ibid. This *Żywot* is an abridgement (often with verbatim citations) of *Żywot i męczeństwo błogosławionego Jozafata arcybiskupa Połockiego* [...], P. Skarga, *Żywoty świętych Starego i Nowego Zakonu na każdy dzień przez cały rok, wybranych z poważnych pisarzów i doktorów kościelnych, których imiona wyżej są położone*, [...] part. 2, *Żywoty świętych tymże porządkiem jako i w pierwszej części zebrane i wyłożone* [...], published by K. Maniewski, Vienna 1859 (item 421), pp. 253–260. This publication was allowed to circulate in 1867 on condition of removal of the indicated pages. An even shorter version, entitled *Bl. Jozafata Arcybiskupa Połockiego i Męczennika. Żywot*, was included by Solecki (op. cit., item 101, [in:] J. Kostecki, *Trudny proces...*, 321, pp. 702–704) in the book considered by Rogalski. On the other hand, in the already cited study of *Ojców naszych wiara...* (item 11119), the author only mentioned Jozafat's martyrdom, and instead emphasized the effects of his activities: “Św. Jozafat Kuncewicz, męczennik, patron Polski i Rusi [...] mianowany arcybiskupem połockim, zastał w swej diecezyi wiele chwastu, gdyż niemala część Rusinów skłaniała się ku schizmie. Z niewypowiedzianą gorliwością zaczął tedy pracować nad przywróceniem chwały Bożej na ziemi Ruskiej i tyle dusz do Boga nawrócił, że nieprzyjaciele wiary nazwali go duszochwatem. Pospólstwo podburzone przez popów schizmatyckich, zaczęło mu grozić i na życie jego nastawać; on jednak nie ułękniy przybył do Witebska, gdzie też za wiarę św. został umęczonym” [St. Jozafat Kuncewicz, martyr, patron of Poland and Ruthenia [...] appointed archbishop of Polotsk, found much weed in his diocese, since no small part of the Ruthenia leaned towards schism. With unspeakable zeal he began to work on restoring the glory of God in the land of Rus, and converted so many souls to God that the enemies of the faith called him a soul-worshipper. The common people, incited by schismatic popes, began to threaten him and attack his life; but he, undaunted, came to Vitebsk, where he was also martyred for the Holy Faith] (p. 122). He also mentioned his childhood and religious practices (pp. 168, 282). An extensive rhymed version of the biography, *Pieśń historyczną o zabiciu Błogosławionego Jozafata Męczennika (Podług Bogogłásnika)*, very similar in content to the text of Jaroszewicz, was published in *Kantyczki*, 5th edition, vol. 4. *Pieśni o męce Pańskie*, Paris 1867 (item 443), pp. 75–78, was stopped in its entirety (“na podstawie punktu b § 2 Ustawy o cenzurze, ponieważ zawiera ona rozmaite pieśni odznaczające się polskim patriotycznym nastawieniem i wyłączane z różnych innych tego rodzaju dzieł” [on the basis of point b § 2 of the Censorship Law, since it contains various songs characterized by Polish patriotism and excluded from various other works of this kind]) by the acting chairman of the WKC, Yuli Osipovich Shriejer (AGAD WKC, ref. 33: PP No. 28 of 15.07.1867, k. 301). On the other hand, the text “*Dzień 25. Św. Jozafata męczén.*” counting only four lines, contained in the conditionally approved book *Żywoty świętych Pańskich*. Originally published by the Dominican O.N.N. in Kraków in the 17th century in verse, revised and amended by A[leksander] Ł[adnowski], Bochnia 1864 (item 607), p. LXXIV: “Był pasterzem Jozafat Kuncewicz w Połocku, / Ciało dręczył postami a spiał na klocku; / Syzmatyków chciał przyłączyć do swojej trzody, / Zabili go, po śmierci rwali włosy z brody” [Jozafat Kuncewicz was a shepherd in Polotsk, / He tormented his body with fasts and slept on a block; / The Schismatics wanted to join his flock, / They killed him, after death they tore the hair from his beard]. Also worth mentioning is banned by Lagodovsky's (AGAD WKC, call no. 39: PP No. 7, 20.02.1889, k. 29v.–30) polemical pamphlet *Rusin, Moskal i Polak, czyli kościół unicki a schizma*, Poznań 1873 (item 6730), in which the Pole convinced the Russian that Kuncewicz did not “dopuścić się wielu okrucieństw ażeby od prawosławnej cerkwi spokojnych ludzi oderwać” [commit many atrocities so as to tear peaceful people away from the Orthodox Church], and claimed that “Do największych

of B. Jozefat, had him inscribed in the number of the blessed ordered]. The memory of the event was tried to be kept alive by the already quoted Rapała:

Today, Rome celebrates the second solemnity of the inscription of Jozefat Kuncewicz, Bishop of Polotsk, murdered by schismatics, among the Blessed and Saints of the Lord. And today Catholic Rome rejoices, the whole Christian world rejoices that it has a St. Bishop in heaven, an intercessor with the Lord God [...] ⁶¹.

Also, Bishop Joseph Georg von Ehrler recalled: „Pamiętacie jeszcze wszyscy, jak przed kilku laty zgromadzili się licznie Biskupi w Rzymie na uroczystość kanonizacji Męczenników Japońskich i naszego św. Jozafata Biskupa i Męczennika” ⁶² [You all still remember how a few years ago the Bishops gathered in great numbers in Rome for the canonization of the Martyrs of Japan and our St. Jozefat Bishop and Martyr].

The attention of the censor could also not escape, of course, the motivation attributed to the Pope by Paul Smolikowski for canonizing the martyr. According to him, “Pius IX dla tego świętym ogłosił J o z a f a t a i Rusinom, aby im i nam przypomnieć świętą względem Unii powinność, przez nich zarówno jak przez nas nigdy wiernie nie spełnianą” ⁶³ [Pius IX for this saint proclaimed J o s e p h a t and the Ruthenians, in order to remind them and us of the sacred duty towards the Union, by them both as by us never faithfully fulfilled].

3.

Other Polish saints and blessed were treated differently by the censors, not reacting, for example, to the mere appearance of their names, but interfering with laudatory opinions of their significance and descriptions of specific

zaś cudów, które św. Józafata przyczynie przypisać trzeba, zaliczam ja nawrócenie do Uniji ruskiej wielkiej części morderców Świętego i nawrócenie największego wroga Uniji, Melecego Smotryckiego” [Among the greatest miracles, which St. Jozafat’s cause must be attributed to, I count the conversion to the Russian Uniate of a great part of the Saint’s murderers and the conversion of the Uniate’s greatest enemy, Melecy Smotrycki] (p. 45).

61 A. Rapała, op. cit., (item 6273), p. 34. Unfortunately, however, as we recall, the entire book was banned by the censors.

62 [J.G. von Ehrler] Bishop Ehrler, op. cit., (item 3245), p. 286. Writing about this celebration, Jean Joseph Rivaux (*Opowiadanie dziejów Kościoła rzymsko-katolickiego w streszczeniu*, transl. from the 5th ed. French by Rev. Bogumił of the Wisła River, vol. 3, Kraków 1879, item 2924), “Jozafat Kuncewicz, Archbishop of Polotsk, a Pole of the Slavic rite” was listed first (p. 517). This volume was allowed to circulate on the condition that three passages totaling five pages were removed.

63 P. Smolikowski, op. cit., (item 10107), pp. 418–419. This book, considering many different accusations against it, was restrained in its entirety by Dragomirecky (AGAD WKC, call no. 42: PP No. 35 of 16.09.1897, k. 244v.).

manifestations of their activities. Such a figure was, among others, St. Jacek Odrowąż⁶⁴.

For example, Konstanty Maniewski, while stipulating that “na naszą biedną – obecnemi czasy – ojczyznę chcemy zwrócić oczy” [to our poor, nowadays, homeland we want to turn our eyes], wondered:

To whom do we owe it in the unhappiest moments of the kingdom's existence that, terribly pained, it increased in strength and shone mightily?

Two humble, holy men, Saint Jacek and Blessed Czesław, gave a new spirit to the already declining brethren and to their [Dominican] leaders who doubted their strength. Having settled the great apostle of the north - Saint Jacek - in Cracow, he reigned from there over all of Poland spiritually. His great spirit passed by inheritance to such Birkowskis, Bzowskis, Leszczynskis, and lives to this day, always active and unbroken by any difficulties⁶⁵.

Censors, however, reacted primarily to descriptions of Dominican missionary activity. Already mentioned Łagodowski, justifying the total ban on the distribution of the previously cited collection *Ojców naszych wiara...* [Our Fathers' Faith...] (item 11119), because “Wymienione dzieło przeniknięte jest skrajnym patriotyzmem i głęboką nienawiścią do «Moskali – schizmatyków»”⁶⁶ [the mentioned work is permeated with extreme patriotism and deep hatred of the ‘Muscovites-schismatics’], cited as one of his arguments, the content contained therein on p. 217. It contained, among other things, a small text *St. Jacek*, whose author emphasized the vast area in which he worked at different times:

64 Jacek Odrowąż (1183–1257) – Dominican friar, missionary known as the Apostle of the Slavs. He was canonized in 1594 by Clement VIII, but had been an object of veneration since the 13th century, and was considered the cause of many miracles.

65 *Sto dwunastu chwalebnych męczenników zakonu św. Dominika policzonych w poczet świętych podczas uroczystego święta książąt apostołów Piotra i Pawła w Rzymie 1867 roku*, translated and published by K. Maniewski, Vienna 1869 (item 35), p. VI. The publication was allowed to circulate on the condition that two pages were removed. On the other hand, an unknown author, in the book *Ojców naszych wiara święta czyli prawdy i zasady świętej wiary i moralności katolickiej jasno wyłożone i przykładami objaśnione*, 2nd edition, Poznań 1892 (item 11119), p. 281, pondering „For What Do People Rise Against Priests?”, asserted that „złych księży bardzo jest niewiele; natomiast ilu to świętych, zacnych i gorliwych, z zaparciem siebie pracujących na chwałę Bożą nad zbawieniem dusz ludzkich. I Polska ojczyzna nasza wydała nieprzeliczony szereg świątobliwych i świętych kapłanów, zakonników i misjonarzy, jak na przykład: św. Stanisława biskupa, błogosławionego Czesława, Iwona Odrowąza, Wincentego Kadłubka, św. Jacka” [bad priests are very few; while how many are saints, noble and zealous, with self-denial working for the glory of God over the salvation of human souls. And our Polish homeland has produced an innumerable number of saintly and holy priests, monks and missionaries, such as St. Stanisław the Bishop, Blessed Czesław, Iwon Odrowąż, Wincenty Kadłubek, St. Jacek].

66 AGAD WKC, call no. 43: PP No. 36 of 15.09. 1899, k. 349–349v.

St. Jacek, also known as the Apostle of the North and a miracle-worker, is one of the noblest Polish patron saints, renowned for the fleeting miracles with which the Lord God has made his holiness famous. [...] Cracow was [...] too small for his zeal, so he began to make apostolic journeys. First of all, he traveled around his native land, including Sandomierz, Plock, and Chełmno, and reached as far as Pomerania on the Baltic Sea. He was also in Denmark, Sweden, and on the island of Rügen. Then in Russia, he converted schismatics, went as far as the country of Moscow, and as far as Tibet and China, where, after several centuries, traces of Christianity survived. He was not afraid in his travels of any annoyance, dangers, hunger, or cold. He endured everything patiently for the sake of multiplying God's glory and freeing human souls from the bonds of sin, so that all, drawing in the Holy Sacraments the water of God's graces, could achieve eternal salvation.

This theme also appeared in two editions of the study *Żywot św. Dominika i obraz historyczny braci kaznodziejów* [The Life of St. Dominic and the historical picture of the Friars Preachers]⁶⁷, which reads, among others:

Let's look at today's Tatarya, where Christian doctrine and Catholic rituals flourish; these are the fruits of the work of the Polish apostle St. Jacek. He preached the Gospel not only in Asia, as far as the ends of northern China, but also in all European courts through the embassies of Christian princes in the mid-13th century⁶⁸.

67 Both from English into French translated by A.H. Chirat, and later into Polish. W.M. Po-dlewski. Both were published in Kraków: the first (item 8127) in 1891, the second (item 10520) in 1898. The first was considered by Emmauski, who successfully petitioned that it not be allowed to circulate, arguing, "Oprócz zwykłej biografii św. Dominika dzieło to zawiera obszerny zarys historyczny działalności założonych przez niego trzech mniszych zakonów. Zakony te o głównie misjonarskim charakterze nie raz kierowały swą energiczną działalność przeciwko prawosławiu, jak widać to na str. 295, 296, 349 i 350, w czym oczywiście uczestniczyli głównie zakonnicy Polacy. W zakończeniu całości autor na str. 489 wyraża pragnienie, żeby i w obecnych czasach wyznawcy św. Dominika kontynuowali rozpoczęte przez niego dzieło" [In addition to the usual biography of St. Dominic, this work contains a comprehensive historical outline of the activities of the three monastic orders he founded. These orders, which were mainly missionary in character, more than once directed their vigorous activities against the Orthodox Church, as can be seen on pp. 295, 296, 349 and 350, in which, of course, the Polish monks mainly participated. In the conclusion of the whole, the author, on p. 489, expresses the desire that even in the present times the followers of St. Dominic should continue the work begun by him] (AGAD WKC, ref. 41: PP No. 49 of 16.12.1891, pp. 310–310v.); the other – Dragomirecky, who in general "zapropomował dzieło to dopuścić po usunięciu str. VIII, na której autor broni prawa Kościoła katolickiego do ingerowania w polityczne sprawy państwa, i str. 154, 295, 296, 318, 339, 349, 357, 359, 443 i 489, gdzie znajdują się bardzo nieprzyjemne wzmianki o Rosji i prawosławiu, które autor nazywa «schizmą»" [proposed to allow this work after removing p. VIII, where the author defends the right of the Catholic Church to interfere in the political affairs of the state, and pp. 154, 295, 296, 318, 339, 349, 357, 359, 443 and 489, where there are very unfriendly references to Russia and the Orthodox Church, which the author calls 'schism'.] (AGAD WKC, Ref. 42: PP No. 48, 16.12.1897, pp. 349v.–350).

68 In both editions p. 295.

An essential source of later mentions on the merits of St. Jacek was his life, as recorded in Peter Skarga's collection. However, while in 1887, the text *Żywot ś. Jacka Polaka, zakonu ś. Dominika, wzięty z klasztoru Krakowskiego, z starodawna pisany, od Leandra Alberta Bonończyka Włocha sumowany* [The life of St. Jacek the Pole, Order of St. Dominic, taken from the Cracow monastery, anciently written, from Leander Alberto Bonończyk Italian summed up], two pages concerning his expedition to the East were questioned, including descriptions: an extensive one of the miracle he caused along the way, and a short one of his missionary activity:

And St. Jacek himself planned to go at sunrise among the dissenters, and to Kyiv to preach his sermon and the sweet doctrine of Christ. On this road, when he was in Mazovia, in Wyszogród, the Wisła River, which was so overflowing that when he had nothing to carry him and his brothers [...] he dared, in the Name of Christ, to order the water to take him and his brothers to the other bank without loss: and he let himself go into the water, calling on his three brothers, Florian, Godyn, Benedykt, to follow him [...]. They, when they were reluctant, and did not dare to follow him, having taken off his chapel, Jacek the Saint spread it over the water, and said: Behold, this is the bridge Christ makes for you! Get on, and stand firm in faith on it: the brothers got on, and the chapel did not sink; but as in the safest boat to the other side the strange sailor carried them [...].

Having come to Kyiv, he won many pagans and dissenters to the unity of the Holy Church, and there for 4 years on holy work about the souls of men, and having founded a monastery, and in it Godyn left for an elder, he returned to Cracow through the Prussian land⁶⁹,

While in 1902, in another edition, in the exact text, only one line was ordered to be removed: "po- {gaństwa i odszczepieńców do jedności} Kościoła św."⁷⁰ [pa- {ganism and dissenters to the unity} of the Holy Church].

On the other hand, in a biography ("St. Jacek"), distinguished by its volume (26 pages), considered three years earlier, two pages were also questioned, with the author distributing the emphasis differently than in the texts cited earlier, for he began with the moment when the monk

went to Volhynia and Podolia. There, he worked more specifically to eradicate schism. Unfortunately, he failed either to convert Prince Vladimir or to eliminate the schism. The

69 P. Skarga, *Żywoty świętych Starego i Nowego Zakonu na każdy dzień przez cały rok*, ed. 24, vol. 8, Kraków 1882 (item 5851), pp. 209–210.

70 Idem, *Żywoty świętych Starego i Nowego Zakonu na każdy dzień przez cały rok, wybrane z poważnych pisarzy i doktorów kościelnych, do których przydane są niektóre duchowne obroki i nauki przeciwko kacerstwom, przytem kazania krótkie na te święta które pewny dzień w miesiącu mają....*, vol. 2, Chicago Ill. 1893 (item 12615), p. 173 in 2nd column v. 23 g. Both editions conditionally released for circulation.

unfortunate nation was so hardened in its errors that his work was of little use. Therefore, not staying there long, he went on to Russia [...].

Having returned from the Balkans, he again stood in Ruthenia and stayed longer in Kyiv [...].

He brought a multitude of pagans, hangovers, and schismatics into the bosom of the Catholic Church, and brought many sinners to penance and a virtuous life from unbridled lusts. [...]

After four years of diligent work in Kyiv, he was rewarded with an abundant harvest. Kyiv citizens, warmed by his word, built a church, and St. Jacek [...] established a monastery by his side, in which he was helped by the daughter of Vladimir III, grateful for the restoration of her sight. [...].

From Kyiv, he let himself go further afield and worked among the Ruthenian people. [...]

To monks preaching the word of God in Ruthenia, he gave the power to grant a forty-day indulgence to all who listened to his sermons.

Finally, he instructed them to be diligent in watching over Ruthenian monks arbitrarily leaving the monastery and wandering among the people⁷¹.

Yet another theme appeared in the already cited *Żywot św. Dominika* [Life of St. Dominic]. Both Emmaussky and Dragomirecky pointed to a passage mentioning St. Jacek's merits for Poland, namely the statement that one of the saint's greatest miracles is the

preservation of the faith in his poor homeland. Nowhere has the Catholic faith withstood such heavy shells and assaults as in Poland; heresy, schism, unbelief, the tyranny of a foreign yoke, in vain have they tried and are trying to exterminate it. Today it still does not cease to sacrifice to the swords and torments of its followers, and the Order of the Friars Preachers, to whom it owes its great apostle, always finds a pleasant refuge in its oppressed, torn bosom" (p. 295)⁷².

Already much earlier, the quoted above Rogalski, examining the already-cited publication *Krzyż czyli zbiór nabożeństw...* [The Cross or a collection of devotions...] (item 103, [in:] J. Kostecki, *Trudny proces...*, p. 322) is considered as one of the reasons for the inclusion in this collection on p. 598 of the "Pieśń o Jacku św. i in."⁷³ [Song of St. Jack and others]. The place included only the beginning of this text (two stanzas), titled *Pieśń* [Song], in which the first stanza mentions the close ties of the Polish nation with this saint:

71 B.G. Bayerle, *Obrazki święteczne Kościoła rzymsko-katolickiego. Dzieło naszego odkupienia przedstawione w uroczystościach roku kościelnego z dod. Obejmującym żywoty kilku wydatnych świętych*, translated from German, 1st ed., vol. 2, Cologne n/R. [1897] (item 10479), pp. 575–576.

72 As we recall, this motif was already present in the previously cited study *Stu dwunastu chwalebnych męczenników zakonu świętego Dominika...* (item 35), while there the merits of St. Jacek (as well as Blessed Czesław) for the Order of Preachers were emphasized.

73 AGAD WKC, ref. 33: PP No. 51 of 29.12.1867, k. 532–533v.

St. Jacek the holy, precious patron saint,
Give help to the Polish Crown,
Save the distressed one in a bad moment,
May your grace nourish her,
hear our prayer.

However, it is difficult to understand why, in the *Litania o ś. Jacku, Patronie Krakowa i Polski* [Litany of St. Jacek, Patron Saint of Cracow and Poland], which precedes the *Pieśń* (pp. 596–598), the censor did not pay attention to the following phrases: on p. 596: “S. Jacku, z imienia i cnót w Królestwie polskiem nieoszaczowany kamieniu” [St. Jacek, of name and virtues in the Kingdom of Poland an unappreciated stone], “S. Jacku, północnych i wschodnich narodów gorliwy Apostole” [St. Jacek, of northern and eastern nations a zealous Apostle], “S. Jacku, waleczny Jozue upał słońca sprawiedliwości nad ojczyzną naszą tamu-jący” [St. Jacek, brave Joshua the heat of the sun of righteousness taming over our homeland], “S. Jacku, nauką twoją opowiadaniem słowa Bożego herezye wszelkie i odszczepieństwa wykorzeniający” [St. Jacek, by your teachings with the narration of the word of God eradicating all heresies and deviations]; while on p. 597 – “S. Jacku, pryncypalny Królestwa Polskiego patronie” [St. Jacek, principled patron of the Polish Kingdom]?⁷⁴.

Another Polish saint of particular interest to the censors was Stanisław of Szczepanów⁷⁵. Already mentioned Rogalski, proposing that his life⁷⁶ not be allowed to circulate, argued: “Książka ta zawiera nie tylko żywot Św. Stanisława lecz i zarys położenia Polski w jego czasach. Głosi się w tym dziele płomienną wierność wierze rzymsko-katolickiej i miłość do ojczyzny, dlatego znajduje się w niej mnóstwo patriotycznych okrzyków” [This book contains not only the life of St. Stanisław but also an outline of Poland’s position in his time. It proclaims fervent fidelity to the Roman Catholic faith and love of the homeland, which is why there are plenty of patriotic outcries in this work]. Agreeing with his opinion, “Komitet postanowił dzieło to zakazać dla publiczności, ponieważ jest ono w oczywisty sposób obliczone na podtrzymanie polskiego

74 It is likely that Rogalski simply missed these fragments, as did one of the prayers mentioned earlier by Stanisławski. It did not matter, however, since the book was banned in its entirety anyway. Moreover, he was probably not a valued employee, since he had already finished his work at the WKC in 1870.

75 St. Stanisław of Szczepanów (c.a. 1035/1040–1079) – from 1072, ordinary of the Diocese of Kraków, martyr, performer of many miracles, canonized in 1253 by Innocent IV, but an object of worship since the end of the 12th century. In 1963, he was established by John XXIII (together with St. Wojciech and the Blessed Virgin Mary) as the primary patron saint of Poland.

76 H. Koszutski, *Żywot świętego Stanisława biskupa krakowskiego i męczennika, patrona Królestwa Polskiego*, part 1–2, Poznań 1867 (item 447).

patriotyzmu”⁷⁷ [the Committee decided to ban the work for the public, since it is clearly calculated to uphold Polish patriotism].

An analysis of the content of the pages that the censor identified as those containing “bardzo ostre miejsca” [very harsh places] (in part 1 pp. 1, 116, 120, 152, 153, 154; in part 2 pp. 24, 25, 74, 104, 118 and 126), however, shows that they mainly refer not so much directly to Poland as to the fate of St. Stanisław, and mainly to his relationship with King Bolesław Szczodry [Bolesław II the Bold], i.e., his attempts to make the Catholic Church dependent on secular power. Presumably, the official feared that viewers would see in these endeavors an analogy to the situation in Russia, where the Tsar completely subjugated the Orthodox Church. Probably not coincidentally, Hilary Koszutski, recalling the king’s unsuccessful attempt to convict the bishop, who first unfoundedly accused him of fraudulently purchasing the village of Piotrowina for the Church, instructed: “Ktokolwiek jesteś, co własność ołtarzy świętokradzko porywasz, zatrzymujesz i sobie przywłaszczasz, przypatrz się, oddaj, a strzeż się”⁷⁸ [Whoever you are, who steals the property of the altars you hijack sacrilegiously, keep and appropriate for yourself, look to yourself, give it back, and beware]. Similar intentions probably also guided him when, mentioning the painting depicting the martyrdom of St. Stanisław, located in the Church of St. Francis Seraphim in Assisi, “gdzie się odbyła kanonizacja naszego patrona” [where the canonization of our patron saint took place], he did not fail to recall several drastic examples of violence by rulers against representatives of the Church⁷⁹.

77 AGAD WKC, sign. 33: PP No. 39 of 28.09.1867, k. 419–419v.

78 H. Koszutski, op. cit., part 1 (item 447), p. 116. As a reminder, the royal intrigue failed, as Stanisław revived the already decomposing body of the previous owner of the village three years after his death, and the latter testified before the court that the sale transaction took place completely legally.

79 He began with the conflict between the German King Henry IV of Salic and Pope Gregory VII over investiture, then mentioned the murder at the foot of the altar at the inspiration of the English King Henry II Plantagenet - the Archbishop of Canterbury St. Thomas Becket. He then mentioned the murder of St. Thomas Becket at the foot of the altar at the instigation of King Henry VI Hohenstauf of Germany, and finally wrote about King Henry VI Hohenstauf of Germany that “kazał oślepić Arcybiskupa salernińskiego, wielu kapłanów kazał zwolna piec przy ogniu, topić w morzu, ostreimi kółkami drewnianymi przesywać i pod pas w ziemię zakopywać, by tak wolną śmiercią wśród najokropniejszych męk życia dokonywali” [he had the Archbishop of Salerno blinded, ordered many priests to be slowly baked by fire, drowned in the sea, pierced with sharp wooden stakes and buried under the girdle in the ground, so that they died a slow death in the midst of the most horrible torments of life] (ibid., part 2, p. 24; see also p. 25). The role of St. Stanisław was perceived differently by Daniel Olszewski (*Polska kultura religijna na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Warszawa 1996, p. 201), writing that “Konflikt biskupa z władcą zyskał w latach niewoli narodowej odniesienie do konfliktu Polski katolickiej z obcym, narzuconym monarchą, ciemiężącym naród i Kościół” [The bishop’s conflict with the ruler gained in the years of national captivity a reference to the conflict of Catholic Poland with a foreign, imposed monarch, oppressing the nation and the Church].

Characteristically, among the mentioned “very harsh places”, the censor did not include the description of the bishop’s martyrdom, but the description of what happened to his body after his death,⁸⁰ since these incidents contained great symbolic potential. The point is that when the canons of the Cracow Cathedral and some laymen decided to bury Stanisław properly,

they carried away the scattered particles of the saint’s body, put them side by side, one part to another, so that one particle to another matched. Here, the finger of God showed a new miracle of its power, because all the members and particles of the small pieces of chopped body came together in an instant. Tears of joy and thanksgiving welled up in everyone’s eyes. Then they placed the miraculously knit body of the holy martyr in a prepared coffin and buried it at the door leading to the church of St. Michael. It was believed that out of all the pieces of the blessed’s body, one part was missing from the right hand: a piece of the index finger, which had been thrown into a nearby pond. However, the Lord God allowed this piece of the finger to be found as well. For there was a light hovering over the fish that had swallowed that piece of the finger, wherever the fish turned in the water. The fisherman easily seized this fish, and the member extracted from its guts applied to the finger immediately adhered to the hand⁸¹.

Koszutski did not fail to remind in this connection that already

Our pious historian Długosz, both in the life of St. Stanisław and in his history of the Polish nation, mentions in several places the quartering of the body of the holy bishop. With a prophetic spirit, he predicts that just as the body of the holy martyr was torn apart, so too the body of the Polish kingdom will disintegrate, or rather be torn apart into so many petite principalities, but that in its time it will be reunited by God’s help. The most famous Polish preachers of various centuries referred to their fervent exhortations to the nation for this great miracle and encouraged Poles to strive for concord and unity. Without quoting the words of our Skarga here, I will only mention Rev. Tomasz Młodzianowski, who prayed from the pulpit to our great Patron: “St. Stanisław the Bishop, the first Szczepan, because the first Martyr, remember this, as your body was scattered, and before your enterprise was united, make your cause serious, so that the split hearts, the scattered members (of the body of this crown), come to agreement”⁸².

80 As we remember, in the case of other martyrs (Andrzej Bobola and Jozafat Kuncewicz) such descriptions were scrupulously removed, but in those cases the perpetrators were the Orthodox, not the Catholic king of Poland.

81 H. Koszutski, op. cit., part 2 (item 447), p. 152.

82 Ibid, pp. 152–153.

His relics played a massive role in spreading the cult of St. Stanisław⁸³. No wonder, then, that the censor paid special attention to the ceremony of “podniesienie świętych jego zwłok z grobu” [raising the sacred remains of him from the tomb], which took place in Cracow a year after his canonization. For it was then that

there was a fraternal endowment of Poland’s most distinguished cathedral churches with the relics of the body of the patron saint of Poland, Blessed [Bishop Jan] Prandota, in his speech to the people, did not forget to mention among the heroic virtues of Saint Stanisław also his fervent love for his earthly homeland for the Polish people: therefore the archbishops, bishops, abbots and parish priests present there from various parts and environs of Poland wished to take with them to their churches a particle from that body of the saint who, out of love for the country and its prosperity, allowed himself to be chopped into tiny pieces. [...] Only the head with arms and the already ashen particles of the body remained in the Cracow cathedral⁸⁴.

Because the saint’s skull later finally got an unusually rich and symbolically opulent reliquary, for as Koszutski wrote:

Four angels of pure gold support the lid of this vessel, each holding a shield: on one of these is the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Poland, on the second of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, on the third of Elżbieta Queen of Poland and Archduchess of Austria, and on the fourth of her son Fryderyk Cardinal and Bishop of Cracow⁸⁵,

it was also to this passage that Rogalski drew the Committee’s special attention.

Censors also, of course, banned at least some songs dedicated to St. Stanisław and already known Ivanovsky, justifying his decision not to allow the publication of *Boże bądź miłościw. Zbiór modlitw i pieśni służących dla dusz pobożnych* [God have mercy. A collection of prayers and songs serving the pious souls] (Toruń 1888, item 6621) pointed out, among other things, that on p. 541, there is *Pieśń o św. Stanisławie* [Song about St. Stanisław], “of revolutionary content”⁸⁶. What it contained, I can’t say, as I have not been able to find this prayer book. Perhaps it was contested in two other collections, the song with incipit “Stanisławie, Polski nasz Patronie” [Stanisław, our Polish patron saint]

83 Koszutski (ibid., p. 156) describes, for example, that a little boy who had lost his ability to move, see, and speak, regained his sight after offering him to the saint’s care, and after putting his relics to his lips at the Church on Skalka, he began to speak.

84 Ibid, p. 104.

85 Ibid, p. 118. Between these shields are bas-reliefs depicting “ośm zdarzeń z życia Patrona naszego” [eight events from the life of our Patron Saint]. The reliquary was founded in 1504 by Queen Elżbieta Rakusanka, widow of Kazimierz Jagiellonian.

86 AGAD WKC, sign. 39: PP No. 30 of 7.08.1889, k. 156–156v.

(in a slightly different version: “Stanisławie sławny nasz Patronie” [Stanisław, our famous patron saint]):

Stanisław, our Polish Patron Saint,
Keep your compatriots in urgent defense
For this we all implore,
Through you we beg God,
Be on our side.
Stanisław, Bishop of Cracow,
Look down from heaven on Your people of Poland,
See its affliction,
See the churches' destruction,
God's honor is extinguished.
Stanisław, a famous martyr,
Toward the homeland, renew the old affections:
All is almost desolate,
The glory of the Lord in it has ceased,
The crown will be lost.
Stanisław, sentient shepherd,
The roaring lion tugs your sheepfold,
Despisers and pagans,
Have sworn almost upon it,
Sat down the eagle flying.
Stanisław, savior of your people,
Hold the heart of a brave king,
Rule the senate and the armies,
Candle of God's church,
Fire of zeal.
Stanisław, grant us virtues,
By your examples, guide us,
That we may be adorned with them,
Sit in heaven adored,
Among the angels. Amen⁸⁷.

87 H. Koszutski, op. cit., vol. 2 (item 447), pp. 153–154. In the aforementioned, another version of this song, published in the conditionally authorized *Kancyonal i książka modlitewna na cały rok. Do nabożeństwa kościelnego i domowego* (Cieszyn 1865, item 298, pp. 360–361), the third stanza was not included; the fifth (here the fourth) read: „Stanisławie zbawco ludu Twego, / pobłogosław rząd kraju naszego, / rządz zwierzchnością i wojskami, / niechaj zawsze doznawamy, / łaski wszechmocnego”; natomiast trzy ostatnie (pieśń liczyła bowiem nie sześć a siedem zwrotek, w tym ostatnia była nowa) przybrały formę: 5. Stanisławie zwierciadło czystości, / dyamencie mężnej stateczności, / różo wstydu panieńskiego, / świeco kochania Boskiego, / ogniu zarliwości. 6. Stanisławie

That the figure of St. Stanisław and his martyrdom, however, were seen as less of a threat than the figures of such martyrs as St. Jozafat and St. Andrzej is evidenced, among other things, by the fact that, although the *Kancjonal* above (item 298) also printed the beginning of another song dedicated to St. Stanisław on the contested p. 361 (incipit “Wielki przed Bogiem klejnocie...” [Great before God the Jewel...]), it must have failed to arouse the censor’s objections, since he did not question the next page, which included its completion, containing the story of his persecution by the king and a request for protection. Also, Rogalski, who was mentioned many times in the *Nabożeństwie o ś. Stanisławie biskupie krakowskim i męczenniku Chrystusowym. Patronie Polskim*⁸⁸ [Service to St. Stanisław the Bishop of Cracow and Martyr of Christ, Patron of Poland] questioned only in this collection the appeal: “Chciej chronić Polskę” [Want to protect Poland], directed, moreover, not to the saint, but to God⁸⁹. Censorship also did not ban the four-line poem *Przeniesienie zwłok św. Stanisława Biskupa Krakowskiego* [The transfer of the corpse of St. Stanisław, Bishop of Cracow]:

With great triumph, Cracow to Wawel High
 With the king at the head, they carry the martyr’s corpse;
 Priests, the retinue of the army, the people from far away,
 They carry the treasure of a nation dearer than millions⁹⁰.

It is also difficult to say whether, and if so to what extent, precisely this passage of Paweł Smoleński’s previously discussed objections, in which St. Stanisław appeared only as an example („Zapewne, Kościół odprawia ich [świętych] officia, zakony modlą się do swoich świętych, którzy z grona ich

opatrz nas cnotami, / godowemi które są szatami, / byśmy niemi ozdobieni, / siedli w niebie uwielbieni, / między aniołami. 7. Święty Stanisławie / Tyś u Boga w sławie, / biskupie krakowski, / módl się za lud polski. / Alleluja.” [Stanisław savior of your people, / bless the government of our country, / rule with sovereignty and armies, / may we always experience, / the grace of the almighty]; while the last three (for the song numbered not six but seven stanzas, the last of which was new) took the form: 5. Stanisław mirror of purity, / diamond of valiant steadiness, / rose of maidenly shame, / candle of divine love, / fire of fervor. 6 St. Stanisław grant us virtues, / worthy which are garments, / that adorned with them, / we may sit in heaven glorified, / among the angels. 7 Saint Stanisław / you are with God in fame, / bishop of Kraków, / pray for the Polish people. / Alleluia]. In addition, in the fourth verse of the second stanza, the word “Obacz” [look] is replaced by “ludu” [of the people].

88 *Krzyż czyli zbiór nabożeństw...* (item 103, [in:] J. Kostecki, *Trudny proces...*, p. 322), pp. 562–566.

89 The censor also failed to notice that the same phrase was used not only on p. 566, but also on p. 562 in the Hours (*Na jutrznię*). Nor did he react to the fact that the following three lines were included on the same page in the *Hymn*: “Patrony nasze chętnie wysławiajmy: / Gdzie święty Stanisław jest Biskup Krakowski / obrońca Polski” [Let us gladly glorify our patrons: / Where is Saint Stanisław, Bishop of Kraków / Defender of Poland].

90 *Żywoty świętych pańskich...* (item 607), p. LXXV.

wyszli, chłop polski czci Świętego Stanisława na Skałce i swoich bliższych patronów, ale reszta narodu czy dba o Świętych polskich?”⁹¹ [Surely, the Church celebrates their [the saints’] breviaries, the orders pray to their saints who came out of their cluster, the Polish peasant venerates St. Stanisław at Skałka Church and his closer patrons, but the rest of the nation does it care about the Polish Saints?]) contributed to the inadmissibility of his entire book.

It also seems unlikely that the questioning of the more than 70-page-long excerpt from Innocentia Schuler’s book was in any way influenced by the following excerpt from Jadwiga Łuszczewska’s (alias Deotyma) affectionate greetings on the occasion of the first name day of the superior of the “Ursulines of Poznań-Cracow”, after the change of the order’s headquarters:

Polish Patrons took care of us [the Ursulines].
 Saint Wojciech, like the sun, rose from Lechowa Mountain,
 He turned to Wawel and called on St.
 Stanisław: “Receive, brother, my exiled daughters!”
 And we went with courage, when the Saints of the roads guard⁹².

As for the Saint Wojciech mentioned in this poem⁹³, in one of the prayer books, the censors also ordered the removal of the beginning of the *Pieśń o świętym Wojciechu* [Song of Saint Wojciech], with the following passages probably in question:

Oh Saint Wojciech! Our great Patron | deign to come to the aid of the unfortunate crown | that hopes and trusts in you | help not to perish in the present day. [...]
 At that time [!] the Polish king was Bolesław the Brave | thoughtful of his compatriots, in all sacrifices generous | when he learned of the death of the saint | he immediately sent envoys so that his body.
 He was brought as a severe monument | so that the Poles would escape the wrath of fear | having him as a Patron not only in the crown | but also in almost every side of the world. [...]
 This is how the Lord God miraculously glorified his holy body and left us a memorial for future times, so that we would be steadfast in our faith and never be afraid of idolatrous threats⁹⁴.

91 P. Smolikowski, op. cit., (item 10107), p. 421.

92 I. Schuler, *Życie świętej Anieli Merici i dzieje przez nią założonego zakonu urszulanek*, transl. from German. J. Górka, Kraków 1901 (item 12614), p. 532. The entire excerpt was titled *Wielkopolańska*. This book, in 1902, was conditionally allowed to circulate, but when it was reconsidered in 1906, already in full.

93 Saint Wojciech (monastic name Adalbert, c. 956–997) – Bohemian prince of the Slavnik family and bishop of Prague, missionary in Prussia, martyr, canonized in 999 by Sylvester II, in 1963 established by John XXIII as one of the three main patron saints of Poland.

94 *Wybór czyli książka modlitewna i kancyonał katolicki na cały rok*, Mikołów 1870 (item 40), p. 80.

Anna Březina devoted one of her biographies in the popular study of the history of the Catholic Church⁹⁵ to St. Wojciech as the “Great Patron Saint of our nation” and the events described in the quoted song.

The figure of the saint was also mentioned, as we remember, in the disputed passages by Józef Leciński (item 4674), Boguchwała (item 5458), and Adam Rapala (item 6273), it was also found, among others, on the disputed pages in the already-cited publication *Lekcye i ewangelie na wszystkie niedziele i święta...* (item 8351, p. VII, 313⁹⁶), as well as in the *Litania do Wszystkich Świętych*, included in the unpermitted *Wyborek pieśni kościelnych...* (item 11153, p. 91).

Undoubtedly, in none of these cases – unlike in those analyzed earlier – was the interference subjective. In the last one, too, the censor’s doubts were raised not so much by the figure of St. Wojciech, but by the following fragment of the request to God:

That Thou mayest govern and preserve Thy Holy Church,
That Thou wouldst preserve Thy Apostolic Governor and all the clergy in holy piety,
That Thou wouldst humble the enemies of the Holy Church,
That Thou deign to grant peace and true concord to Christian kings and lords,
That Thou deign to give peace and unity to all Christian people,
[...] Hear us, O Lord (p. 93).

Also, in the above-mentioned, unaccepted collection *Krzyż czyli zbiór nabożeństw...* (item 103, [in:] J. Kostecki, *Trudny proces...*, p. 322), Rogalski, questioning⁹⁷ such a passage from *Modlitwa do ś. Wojciecha, Arcybiskupa, męczennika, patrona polskiego* [the Prayer to St. Wojciech, Archbishop, Martyr, Patron Saint of Poland]:

I beseech thee also, peculiar patron of the Polish crown, that thou wilt remove from it by thy cause wars, famine, and divine wrath, and procure unanimity to the discordant Poles. Ornament of the infula of Gniezno! Do not let Poles go into contempt with other nations⁹⁸,

certainly had the content of the request in mind first and foremost, rather than the Saint himself.

There is also no doubt that Dragomirecky⁹⁹, who questioned an extensive passage in the *Kazanie noworoczne. O losach łodzi Piotrowej* [New Year’s

95 A. Březina, *Historia Kościoła świętego rzymsko-katolickiego dla ludu polskiego i młodzieży opowieiana w 65ciu życiorysach*, vol. 2, Poznań 1889 (item 7079), pp. 47–53.

96 The lesson was a passage from *the Epistle to the Hebrews* (5:1–6), while the gospel was “the same as for the Second Sunday after Easter”.

97 AGAD WKC, Ref. 33: PP No. 51 of 29.12.1867, k. 532v.–533v.

98 *Krzyż czyli zbiór nabożeństw...* (item 103, [in:] J. Kostecki, *Trudny proces...*, p. 322), p. 561.

99 AGAD WKC, sign. 43: PP No. 22 of 8.06.1899, k. 198.

Sermon. On the fate of Peter's boat], by Kajetan Szymkiewicz,¹⁰⁰ where the following passages were included

And our nation, dear brothers, from whom, if not from the Roman Popes, did it receive the treasure of faith? Who gave us St. Wojciech, who enlightened and strengthened us, who loved us so much that, although he did not come from our nation and did not live among us, he remained among us after his glorious death?

was not so much about St. Wojciech as about the role of the papal office, which the Orthodox Church did not recognize.

Similar reactions of the censors were aroused by St. Stanisław Kostka¹⁰¹, about whom Klonowski wrote on one of the disputed pages - quoting Paweł Rzewuski:

[...] what the sun is among the stars, gold and diamond among the ores, this Stanisław Kostka among the Polish Saints. He is the most beautiful flower among all that the Polish land has produced; he is the kind of saint that is the envy of other Christian nations; he is the saint who filled the whole world with the fragrance of his virtues and the sound of his name; he is, finally, the saint whose virtues were described by the first clerical writers: Italian, French, German, and Polish¹⁰².

This was because the latter saint died while still a teenager, with the last five years of his life spent abroad (first in Vienna and then in Rome). Sickly, he had no activities outside the monastic community, but was distinguished instead by his reverence for the Blessed Mother, piety, and ascetic practices.

He appeared, of course, in banned calendars or on disputed pages in the calendar sections of other publications, but that was because his name day fell on November 16, the same month as St. Jozafat and Blessed Andrzej. In a similar function to St. Wojciech, he was included in the *Litania do Wszystkich Świętych*, cited earlier (*Wyborek pieśni kościelnych...*, item 11153, p. 91), as well as in the publication *Lekcye i ewangelie na wszystkie niedziele i święta...* (item 8351, p. VIII, 324–326)¹⁰³.

Descriptions of the life of St. Stanisław Kostka did not arouse the censors' reservations. For example, although the previously cited publication by P. di

100 K. Szymkiewicz, *Kazania adwentowe, wielkopostne i nauki majowe*, Warszawa – Kraków [1893] (item 11017), pp. 100–101.

101 Stanisław Kostka (1550–1568) — Jesuit, beatified in 1606 by Paul V and canonized by Benedict XIII in 1726. In 1674, Clement X proclaimed him the special patron saint of Poland and Lithuania, and in 1962 John XXIII declared him the special patron saint of Polish youth.

102 T.T. Klonowski, op. cit., (item 522), vol. 2, p. 1563.

103 A passage from the Book of Wisdom (4:7–16) was used as a lesson, and a passage from the Gospel of St. Matthew (19:13–21) as a gospel.

Mattei, *Wzór świętobliwości. Święty Stanisław Kostka* [Model of Holiness. St. Stanisław Kostka...] (item 24) was allowed to circulate only conditionally, ordering, as we remember, the removal of six pages, none of which even mentioned the main character. Also, in the already cited *Kazanie II na uroczystość św. Stanisława Kostki* (T. Dąbrowski, *Kazania świątadne i przygodne...*), the consideration of his virtues was not interfered with in the slightest. It was ordered to remove only the end of the text, in which the author mentioned that he was a Jesuit, emphasized the importance of the saint for building the opinion of the country, and spoke of him as a model for young people:

Here you have the main, though faint, features of this saint, who, as a Pole by family, is the patron saint of Poland; as a youth, he is the patron saint of youth; and as a member of the Society of Jesus, he is the patron saint of all Jesuit houses in Poland.

He is blood of our blood and bone of our bone; honor him, call upon him, gaze upon him, imitate him. [...]

Oh, St. Stanisław! Glorious compatriot of ours, adornment of the crown of Poland, pearl of youth, star of the Society of Jesus, remember the land that gave you birth, protect and shield it from all calamities. Remember your nation, which you have glorified throughout the world with your saintly life, and grant it the grace from God to be an example and model for all countries. Remember the youth, the foundation and hope of the future, and grant them the grace that, hiding in innocence, they may be prepared to work for the good of the country¹⁰⁴.

Also in the prayers and songs, the censors questioned only those passages that contained requests from the faithful relating to the saint's vigilance over the fate of the homeland. Considering the well-known and, as a result, inadmissible publication *Krzyż czyli zbiór nabożeństw...* [The Cross or a collection of services...] (item 103 [in:] J. Kostecki, *Trudny proces...*, p. 322), Rogalski, already known to us, drew attention to the following appeal in the *Modlitwa do St. Stanisława Kostki pols.:*” [Prayer to St. Stanisław Kostka] „[...] bądź najłaskawszym, prosimy Cię, Patronem Polski; broniąc ją od wszelkiego złego, od nieprzyjaciół, i od niezgód własnych, a w starodawnej żarliwości wiary św. ją zachowując [...]” [be most gracious, we beseech you, Patron of Poland; defending it from all evil, from its enemies, and from its misdeeds, and in the ancient fervor of the Holy Faith preserving] (p. 606), while he did not respond to the *Hymn ku czci ś. Stanisława Kostki* [Hymn in Honor of St. Stanisław Kostka] (pp. 606–607).

Equally selective was the treatment of the *Pieśń do św. Stanisława Kostki* included in the already cited *Kancyonał i książka modlitewna...* (item 298), which questioned only its ending, which is similar in tone to the appeal cited earlier:

104 T. Dąbrowski, op. cit., (item 8335), pp. 313–314; see also p. 308.

7 Kostka, costly pearl of Jesus, / on the heights of heaven new star, / give me Jesus, your sweet darling, / dull the tearful cry, comfort the sigh.

8 Save us, Kostka Stanisław, / and dismiss from us all lawlessness, / with the most important requests from God, / deign to contribute, Kostka, for us.

9. After all, you are a father to your homeland, not a stepfather, / deign to show that you are its noble son, / in a time of war sorely lamented, / become the protector long desired.

10. Most beloved Christ's hubby, / our homeland's strange protector, / avert from us God's punishment and wrath, / turn frowns and worries into consolations (p. 366).

Saint Kazimierz¹⁰⁵ also died young, at the age of 26. He was, of course, mentioned in the same publications as the saints discussed earlier, but since, as a prince (heir to the throne), he was a public figure embroiled in various conflicts with Russia, the censors were vigilant to ensure that such content did not appear in descriptions of his life and subsequent influence. Thus, it questioned the following three passages in the *Żywot ś. Kazimierza królewicza polskiego, wyjęty z Kronik Polskich* [Life of St. Kazimierz the Prince of Poland, extracted from the Polish Chronicles]¹⁰⁶:

Church unity and the salvation of human souls as he loved, by this it was known that he made such a law on the Schismatic churches with his father: That no new churches should be built and no old churches should be improved, so that they would cease to exist, and so that Russian schism would cease to exist, and that people would go to the unity of the Catholic Church and obtain their salvation, knowing that no one can obtain salvation except through ecclesiastical unity. They hide this privilege in the Vilnius chapter house. How its execution was hindered by hangovers is in our memory. It is easy to guess what this young man and his royal Catholic heart did with heretics.

Also, {in 1518, for his Poles and Lithuanians, in a small number of troops, he won a famous victory over Moscow near Polotsk, where St. Kazimierz was seen in white clothes, crossing the Dźwina River and fording to the army, with these words: Follow me this way. He did the same also in the second year, summoned to the military, when he also put the great Moscow swells into the hands of the small Lithuanian army with his earnest prayer, and made such a heart to them that in 2,000 out of 60,000 Muscovites they dared to let go and with God's help won. Many other miraculous benefits came from the cause of the Saint, which the King's father and his brothers, who succeeded to the kingdom, considering and thanking the Lord

105 Properly Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (1458–1484) – canonized in 1602 by Clement VIII, one of the historical patron saints of Poland and from 1636 the main patron saint of Lithuania.

106 P. Skarga, *Żywoty świętych Starego i Nowego Zakonu na każdy dzień przez cały rok, wybrane z poważnych pisarzy i doktorów kościelnych...* (item 12615), vol. 1, respectively: p. 214 sp. 1 v. 15–32 g., p. 214 sp. 2 v. 14–28 d., p. 215 sp. 2 v. 16–24 g. As before, in longer quotations the disputed passages are enclosed in brackets.

God for such a helper of their home and kingdom, sent their envoys to the Pope announcing these miracles and asking for canonization, so that he would be considered among the saints. Let us trust all the more in his prayer for us, that he is our blood, our householder, the son of this kingdom, and the lover of his people, to our kings and lords, through whom the Lord God rules us, he should be in our blood. He will be of specific help, as he did before, so that the Catholic kingdom, without spoiling it, will themselves be converted to the unity of the faith, and together with us, with one heart, praise God in the Trinity, whose reign and kingdom lasts for ever and ever Amen}.

As in the case of St. Stanisław Kostka, in the prayers to St. Kazimierz, the censors reacted selectively. In the already cited publication by Bernhard Gustav Bayerle (*Obrazki święteczne Kościoła rzymsko-katolickiego...* [Festive pictures of the Roman Catholic Church], item 10479), an official challenged, among other things, p. 555, which, between excerpts from two different texts related to the saint, included *Modlitwa. Dnia 4 marca* [the Prayer. On March 4]:

Saint Kazimierz, who, born in the high state of a Polish king, renounced the splendor and pleasures of this world, and, living a life of strange innocence and peculiar penitence, merited the wreath of the Saint: We beseech you, as your compatriots and subjects, deign to obtain from God that, following your example, we may keep our souls and bodies pure, beware of all sin, and merit to share your glory in Christ; deign to gladden and save our homeland in all its needs, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

On the other hand, he did not respond to the completion or description of the profile of St. Kazimierz (concerning the miracle of the healing of Fr. Zygmunt Mieczkowski, later provincial of Lesser Poland), nor to the beginning of the *Pieśń o Najśw. Maryi Pannie* [Song of the Blessed Virgin Mary], composed by the saint (nor did he interfere with the other parts of both texts, located on adjacent pages). Surprisingly, at the beginning of the period under study, in the oft-cited publication *Krzyż czyli zbiór nabożeństw...* (item 103 in J. Kostecki, *Trudny proces...*, p. 322), which was not allowed into circulation as a result. Rogalski also overlooked *Modlitwa do ś. Kazimirza królewicza, patrona pols.* [the Prayer to St. Kazimierz the King, patron saint of Poland], which included the following appeal:

[...] we beseech you, as your compatriots and subjects, deign to win from God that, following Thy example, we may know how to preserve purity of soul and body, beware of all sin, and merit the participation of your glory in Christ; deign also to rejoice and save our homeland in all its needs (p. 605).

As in the biography of St. Stanisław Kostka, so in the life of St. Jan Kanty¹⁰⁷ it was difficult for the censors to see anything from their point of view undesirable¹⁰⁸. This can be evidenced by the fact that when the senior censor Paweł (Pavel Iosifovich) Lachmanovich, presenting his opinion on the study by Domicjan Mieczkowski *Opis życia i cudów świętego Jana Kantego nauczyciela Akademii Krakowskiej patrona polskiego, podany rodakom w stuletnią rocznicę kanonizacyjną z przydaniem szczegółów dotyczących się przewodu tej kanonizacji oraz pierwszego jej obchodu w Rzymie i Krakowie* [Description of life and miracles of St. Jan Kanty, teacher of Cracow Academy, Polish patron saint, given to his compatriots on the centenary anniversary of the canonization with the addition of details about the conduit of this canonization and the first celebration of it in Rome and Cracow]¹⁰⁹ admittedly pointed out that “W dziele tym opisuje się życie i działalność rzymsko-katolickiego świętego Jana Kantego; informuje się też o szczegółach ceremonii przyjęcia go w poczet świętych i uroczystości związanych z tym wydarzeniem” [In this work, the life and activities of the Roman Catholic Saint Jan Kanty are described; It also informs about the details of the ceremony of his adoption into the ranks of the saints and the festivities associated with this event], but “przedstawił do wykluczenia” [presented for exclusion] only “na końcu dodane [...] dwie pieśni przetłumaczone z łaciny z polsko patriotycznym nastawieniem” [at the end added [...] two songs translated from Latin with a Polish-patriotic attitude], i.e. pp. 208 [italics 207]–214. The Committee accepted this proposal and “postanowił dzieło to dopuścić do obiegu wśród publiczności po wykluczeniu wyżej wskazanych stron”¹¹⁰ [decided to allow the work to circulate among the public after excluding the aforementioned pages]. In *I. Hymn na cześć świętego Jana Kantego* [1st Hymn in Honor of Saint Jan Kanty] (in the original Latin *Gentis Polonae gloria!*) the following passages probably caught the official’s attention:

Glory of the Polish Nation!
Jan Kanty, our Patron!
Your famous name shone
Among priests and sages. [...]

107 Saint Jan Kanty (1390–1473) – professor at the Academy of Kraków, doctor of theology. Beatified in 1680 by Innocent XI, canonized in 1767 by Clement XIII, patron saint of Poland and Lithuania.

108 He was mentioned only in publications cited earlier when discussing other saints, e.g. in *Lekcye i ewangelie...* (item 8351) on pp. VII and 322.

109 Kraków 1867 (item 417).

110 AGAD WKC, ref. 33: PP No. 45 of 9.11.1867, k. 482v.

So, how did the poor, the afflicted,
They called for your defense,
So pleaded with the downtrodden,
Defend Lithuania and the Crown today.

God for the faithful tribe,
Will lend His graces abundantly
And as a result of your intercession
Reverses the cup of bitterness.

O Kanty! Polish Patron!
Star in the native sky!
Embrace of us in your bosom,
And save us in every need!

God in the Triune,
Let us praise with a cursory tribute,
For such, our countryman,
In his kingdom exaltation (pp. 207–209)

In turn, in *II. Hymn na cześć świętego Jana Kantego* [2nd Hymn in Honor of Saint John Cantius] (in the original Latin *Inclitum regni columen Poloni!*), he considered such nine stanzas to be iniquitous

Oh Kanty! Polish support of the Crown
Master, from the compatriots, steadily worshipped,
Father! More accurate among Patrons,
Pray for us!

As the sun's light of day flares up,
So your virtue shines on Poland
Splendor as the stars and the moon in the sky,
Exalts you. [...]

In Bethlehem, the sun shone brilliantly,
When the Savior announced to the world:
The star pointed to the Polish people,
Jan Kanty! [...]

Oh Kanty! From heaven a well of grace flows,
When the faithful nation calls for your help.
Who will count the multitude of votive offerings at your tomb
Of silver and gold?

Be the armor of our kingdom,
Give defense from the Divine arm!
Let Cracow have where your corpse is laid,
Of you a veil!

May they find a settlement in you
All compatriots on the foulest day!
Reverse the severe blows, Divine threats
Through your petitions.

Win us the blissful benefits of peace,
Guard and multiply fair acquisitions!
Pour into your brethren and brotherly nations
The spirit of freedom!

Jagiello's school is famous by the name,
Lift heavenly wisdom with inspiration,
So that it would be enough for the homeland of noble men,
And great it was.

Make all your compatriots,
Righteous and pious Poles,
To happiness and glory that shall last forever.
They arrived safely (pp. 210–213).

Also printed on the indicated pages was “krótki wiersz w dniu zakończenia obchodu [...] kanonizacyi przez Ignacego Wilczka, kapłana świeckiego napisany, w którym myśl mocno-religijnym natchniona duchem, jest z poruszającymi szlachetno-narodowego charakteru pobudkami, dobitnie wyrażoną” [a short poem on the day of the conclusion of the celebration [...] of the canonization by Ignacy Wilczek, a lay priest, in which a written thought strongly inspired by a religious spirit, is with moving noble-national motives, emphatically expressed].

Oh Kanty! our pride, a new star in Poland,
Master of a School, in which there is faith, wisdom, and virtues,
Nest! You did shine before in the native sky;
Today, both countrymen and the whole world worship you. [...]

May you have in you care the whole Polish nation,
Lead your compatriots to happiness, to true glory,
Preserve their dearest legacy after their ancestors,
Celebrated for faith, virtue, freedom, and homeland!!! (s. 213–214)

And such a final reflection by the author of the collection:

It is to be wished, therefore, that the present celebration of the centennial anniversary of the canonization of Jan Kanty finds more than at that time [a hundred years ago] to convince of this truth – that the basis of national happiness is education based on religion and morality – disposed minds, more than long ago hearts filled with love for God and fellow men [...]; these realized good thoughts, this intensified in the very action of more noble diligence, will be most pleasing to God in honor of His holy servants, and will become the surest guarantee of blessing and glory for our Fatherland” (p. 214).

A fragment [II] of the *Hymn o ś. Janie Kantym* (but in a version significantly different from the one cited earlier) was also pointed out by Rogalski, who has been mentioned many times before, presenting his objections to the, as we remember, eventually retained in its entirety, publication *Krzyż czyli zbiór nabożeństw...* (item 103 [in:] J. Kostecki, *Trudny proces...*, p. 322):

Receive, therefore, already the Polish Crown,
Blessed Kanty, under your defense
For by the Crown you are laid
For her defense (p. 104)¹¹¹.

111 The censor, however, did not react to the following beginning of this *Hymn* on p.103: “Przecież w Polskiej Ozdobo Koronie, / Błogosławiony nasz Kanty Patronie, / Między drugimi sławny Patronami, / Módl się za nami” [Precious in the Polish Ornament of the Crown, / Blessed Kanty our Patron, / Among other famous Patrons, / Pray for us] (AGAD WKC, ref. 33: PP No. 51 of 29.12.1867, pp. 532–533v.) Nor does it appear that the Shriejer we already know, in successfully requesting that volume 4 of *Kantyczki* (item 443) not be allowed to circulate, considered as one of the reasons that the *Pieśń o Błogosławionym Janie Kantym* was printed there on pp. 64–65. This is because it only emphasized such virtues of the saint as piety, modesty and charity, so it can hardly be considered to be characterized by a “Polish patriotic attitude” (AGAD WKC, ref. 33: PP No. 28 of 15.07.1867, k. 301). In view of this censor’s use of such a vague justification for his request to ban all five volumes of the collection, without indicating any locations of objectionable texts (or fragments thereof), we also do not know whether he paid attention to, for example, the beginning of *Pieśń o Ś. Janie Nepomucenie*: “Ciebie chwalemy, wiekuisty Panie, / Który nam cuda czynisz w świętym Janie. / Ztąd go uznawa, jak Czeska Korona, / Tak też i Polska nasza, za Patrona” [Thee we praise, eternal Lord, / Who does wonders for us in Saint Jan. / Hence he recognizes him, as the Bohemian Crown, / So also our Poland, as our Patron] (p. 72) or to the fragments of the *Pieśń o Św. Rozalji patronce od morowego powietrza* [Song about St. Rozalia, patroness against pestilence]: “Jest w Krakowie cząstka znaczna, / kości tej świętej przezacna. / W kościele świętej Barbary, / O! jak to są wielkie dary [...] / Ratowałaś Sycylję, ratuj także Polonję” [There is a considerable particle in Cracow, / Of the bone of this saint of the most magnificent. / In the church of St. Barbara, / Oh! How these are great gifts [...] / You saved Sicily, save also Polonia] (p. 74), after all, the “ties” of both characters to Poland were minor.

The same censor also questioned part of the sentence from the prayer *Do ś. Kunegundy*¹¹² *królowy, patr. polskiej* [To St. Kunegunda, queen, Polish patron]:

Saint Kunegunda! Who, for the love of God and neighbor, and to give the world an edifying example of humility and devotion, became willingly of the mighty Queen of Poland a poor nun who undertook the meanest work; deign to be to us our Queen and Lady, {and against all enemies and adversaries that threaten us, deign to graciously defend and protect us with your prayers}, as your subjects and servants [...] (p. 628)¹¹³.

On the other hand, an unknown official ordered the removal of a passage from the already-cited volume 2 of Leciński's *Nauki religijne* (item 4674), where Blessed Bronisława is mentioned¹¹⁴:

[God] crowns bishops and apostolic priests with a martyr's crown, and next to tears and renunciations, with consolation, {he indulges. Oh! Land of Poland, rightly from Gregory, the present pope, the name of the mother of many saints approved; but perhaps I am not allowed to say this also? Oh, Bronisława, do you recognize your nation, your cradle? Alas! Oh, Bronisława! If at least one hundred years sooner, the noble city of Cracow had erected an altar of precious mementos to your honor. If by one backward hundred years the triumph so desired from us had been made, you would have seen the crowned head, the states of the state, the honored capital, crowds of joyful citizens. Today, My God! Will follow your expression of a people jaded, today your ascent to the altar is harnessed by poverty, groans, and cries. A city once for} mighty, today poor, oppressed¹¹⁵ (p. 329 v. 9–20).

Only in a fragment of the *Kazanie na uroczystość św. Michała [Archaniola]*, *Patrona Galicji* [Sermon for the Feast of St. Michael [the Archangel], Patron

112 Kunegunda (a.k.a. Kinga) (1234–1292) – came from Hungary, from 1239 in Poland, a Poor Clare in Nowy Sącz. Beatified in 1690 by Alexander VIII, canonized in 1999 by Pope John Paul II. Patroness of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania.

113 However, he did not refer in his justification to a passage from the *Modlitwa do ś. Jędrzeja Żurawka, patrona polskiego*: “Rodaku nasz, łaską niezmiennie nad nas wywyższony, Jędrzeju święty [...] nad Ojczyzną naszą, której Patronem jesteś, racz być miłościw przez Jezusa Chrystusa, Pana naszego” [Our Compatriot, by grace invariably exalted above us, Saint Jędrzej [...], who is a Patron over our Homeland, deign to be merciful through Jesus Christ our Lord” (p. 607). St. Jędrzej Żurawek (a.k.a. Andrzej Świerad) late 10th c.– 1030/1034, monk and hermit. Canonized in 1083 by Gregory VII.

114 Blessed Bronisława (1200/1203–1259) – Norbertine nun of Cracow, mystic. Beatified in 1839 by Gregory XVI. Patroness of the Kingdom of Poland.

115 The publisher preceded the quoted text with the information: „Na żądanie bardzo wielu godnych osób przytaczam z Gazety poznańskiej mowę mianą dnia 2 września 1840 r. w Krakowie w kościele OO. Dominikanów podczas wyprowadzenia czci błog. Bronisławy która na ś. p. O. Wincentego Plebankiewicza prześladowanie wywołała” [At the request of very many noble persons, I cite from the Gazeta Poznańska a speech appointed on September 2, 1840 in Cracow in the Dominican Fathers' church during the leading out of the honor of Blessed Bronisława who on the late Father Wincenty Plebankiewicz caused persecution”.

Saint of Galicia], probably questioned by another of the censors, is St. Jan of Dukla mentioned¹¹⁶:

When, in 1648, Khmelnytskyi, the Hetman of the Cossacks, and Tohaybej, the Khan of the Tatars, laid siege to Lviv and, with their joint forces, began to storm the monastery of the Bednarnine Fathers, the figure of St. Jan of Dukla appeared above the church. Seeing this, the Tatar Khan, with Khmelnytsky, and recognizing that help was coming to the city from heaven, they were relieved, and on St. Michael's Eve, they abandoned the siege¹¹⁷.

4.

Insofar as they were in some way concerned with Polish affairs, texts dedicated to foreign saints also fell victim to censors. For example, in the already cited *Żywoty świętych Starego i Nowego Zakonu...* by Skarga (item 5851), one of them ordered the removal of one page from *Żywot Błogosławionego Jan Kapistrana, zakonu św. Franciszka* [...] ¹¹⁸ [the Life of Blessed John Capistrano, Order of St. Francis], which describes his nine-month stay (1453–1454) in Cracow (where, among other things, “do zakonu swego oblókł” [to his order he clothed] 130 candidates and “z nich Krakowski klasztor, i kościół św. Bernarda założył” [from them the Cracow monastery, and the church of St. Bernard founded]). Then, in turn, “puścił się do Węgier przez Wołochy i Słowaki, między którymi dziesięć tysięcy od odszczepieństwa greckiego wyrwał, i do Kościoła świętego przyłączył” [he let himself go to Hungary by way of Wallachia and Slovaks, among whom ten thousand broke away from the Greek schism, and joined the Holy Church] (vol. 10, p. 315)¹¹⁹.

On the other hand, Dragomirecky¹²⁰ in his study of St. Vincent à Paulo questioned, among other things, the pages stating how, at the request of Maria Ludwika Gonzaga in 1651, “przysłał on [do Polski] księży Missyonarzy” [he sent [to Poland] Missionary priests] who, under the leadership of Rev. Lambert

116 Saint Jan of Dukla (1414–1484) – Franciscan friar, hermit. Object of veneration since the 16th century. Beatified in 1733 by Clement XII, canonized in 1997 by Pope John Paul II. Patron of the Crown and Lithuania.

117 T. Dąbrowski, op. cit., (item 8335), p. 219.

118 Blessed John Capistrano (1386–1456) – Italian preacher and inquisitor, known as “the scourge of the Hebrews”. He was canonized in 1724 by Benedict XIII.

119 In this publication, he also questioned (vol. 12, pp. 143–149) the passages of the “Żywot św. Mikołaja Mireńskiego Biskupa [...]” [Life of St. Nicholas of Miron, Bishop] and the “Żywot św. Ambrożego, biskupa Mediolańskiego, doktora kościelnego” [Life of St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, Doctor of the Church] concerning divisions in the Christian churches.

120 AGAD WKC ref. 40: PP No. 17 of 7.05.1890, k. 98v.

They developed a truly heroic zeal. They found the country exposed to all calamities at once: war, air, and famine. They dispersed regardless of the dangers and hardships; almost all of them paid for their self-sacrifice with their lives.

Soon, the Daughters of Charity also came after them to nurse the infected.

The censor's attention also did not escape the extensive passage stating that

Saint Vincent, like any good Frenchman, loved Poland, and like any good Catholic, was troubled by this thought that this beautiful kingdom, too, like so many others, could be lost to the true Church of Christ. When the rumor spread through Paris of the great battle lost by Jan Kazimierz in the war against the Swedes, the Saint exclaimed: "It was our sins that brought this defeat! Let us wail for the sake of the Holy Church, which will perish in this country if the king yields; for he will fall into the hands of his enemies. The Muscovite has already occupied more than a hundred miles of the country, and here is the rest in danger of being flooded by the Swedes".

To obtain from the Lord God what he wanted so much, that is, the preservation of the Catholic faith in Poland, St. Vincent did not stop recommending fasts and prayers to his congregation. Almost every time, whenever his priests gathered, after prayers, after conferences, at every opportunity, he also recalled this command of his with sighs and tears. And he also inflicted the most severe mortifications on himself for the same intention¹²¹.

The same Dragomirecky banned, this time in its entirety¹²², a publication by Jan Amborski on the life of the German Benedictine monk Bruno of Querfurt (a friend of St. Wojciech, a guest of Bolesław the Brave), who conducted missionary activity in Hungary, and subsequently "wyjednał od pogan [Pieczyngów] pokój z chrześcijańskim księciem Włodzimierzem"¹²³ [won peace from the pagans [the Pechenegs] with the Christian prince Vladimir], the Great, ruler of Kyiv Rus.

In contrast, another official in one of the prayer books¹²⁴ questioned, among other things, the following passage from the *Litany of St. Anthony*¹²⁵:

121 P.A. Berbiguiet, *Żywot popularny świętego Wincentego à Paulo*, translated from French by W. Maryański, Poznań 1890 (item 7072), p. 133. St. Vincent à Paulo (1580/1581–1660) – Frenchman, founder of the Charity Sisters (Congregation of the Sisters of Charity) and the Lazarists (Congregation of Missionary Fathers), beatified in 1729 by Benedict XII, canonized in 1737 by Clement XII.

122 AGAD WKC, ref. 43: PP No. 22 of 8.06.1889, k. 197v.

123 J. Amborski (D. Janowski), *Życie św. Brunona*. 2nd ed., Lwów – Kraków 1896 (item 11027), p. 24.

124 M. Dunin-Sulgustowski (Dunin), *Książka do nabożeństwa dla wszystkich katolików, szczególnie zaś dla wygody katolików archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej i poznańskiej z polecenia najprzewielebniejszego arcybiskupa [...] ułożona. Na nowo z rozkazu najprzewielebniejszego arcybiskupa Leona Przyłuskiego po raz drugi przejr.*, 4th ed. (for men), Gniezno 1864 (item 1506).

125 Saint Anthony of Padua (1191–1231) – Portuguese theologian and preacher, Franciscan friar. Canonized in 1232 by Gregory IX.

We sinners beseech Thee, hear us, O Lord!
That Thou wouldst light a fire of love in our hearts,
{That this poor homeland of ours through St. Anthony's
Prayers in their entirety deigned to preserve,} (p. 219)

The same two verses (printed on p. 289)¹²⁶ were also pointed out in his opinion by the oft-cited Rogalski in the *Litanija o św. Antonim Padewskim, wyznawcy* [Litany on St. Anthony of Padua, the Confessor], included in the well-known collection *Krzyż czyli zbiór nabożeństw...* (item 103, [in:] J. Koscecki, *Trudny proces...*, p. 322).

On the other hand, a junior censor with a higher collection, Nikolai Pavlovich Kuznetsov, in requesting a total ban on the publication of Norbert Golichowski's *Żywot, cuda i nabożeństwo do św. Antoniego Padewskiego* [Life, miracles, and service to St. Anthony of Padua] (Kraków 1903, item 13161)¹²⁷, cited the phrase as one of the reasons: "I spraw o Święty! By w cnotach wytrwali [...] Na chwałę Stwórcy, Ojczyzny i Twoją" [And cause, Oh, Holy One! That they may persevere in virtue [...] For the glory of the Creator, the Homeland and Yours] (p. 206), from one of Ignacy Nowicki's poems¹²⁸.

The committee also questioned the following invocation to St. Florian in *Droga krzyżowa kościoła św. katolickiego w pierwszych trzech wiekach* [the Way of the Cross of the Catholic Church in the first three centuries] by Władysław Woliński (2nd ed. red., Poznań 1881, item 3609)¹²⁹:

St. Florian, soldier of Christ, Patron of the Kingdom and the Polish nation! Look down from heaven upon this nation of Poland committed to your care, and grant it a better destiny. Use your intercession before the Throne of the Lord God, so that this nation of Poland remains faithful to the Holy Church and the See of Peter to the end. May you be moved by the tribulations, groans, tears, and sacrifices of the Polish nation to intercede strenuously on its behalf, so that it may again fight as it once did in defense of the Cross, so that it may use its spiritual and temporal goods freely! (p. 183 v. 3–11 g.)¹³⁰.

126 The word "naszej" [our] was missing from verse 2 of this version.

127 AGAD WKC, ref. 44: PP No. 31 of 12.08.1903, k. 348–348v. In doing so, the censor referred, as did Trofimovich, already quoted four years earlier, to an old ZGdSD instruction from 1869 and 1872, No. 1630.

128 The author was a senior teacher at the St. Anthony men's folk school in Lviv. The music for this poem was arranged by Franciszek Barański.

129 Saint Florian (c.a. 250–304) – born in Ceti (now Zeiselmauer in Austria), a martyr, in 1436 established by Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki as one of the four main patron saints of the Polish Kingdom.

130 It appeared at the mention of how, in 1183, Kazimierz Sprawiedliwy [the Just] sent an envoy to Rome for Pope Lucius III to give Poland the relics of some martyr to help against enemy invasions. The choice fell on St. Florian.

It can also be assumed that the Shriejer mentioned above, in proposing to disallow the repeatedly cited *Kantyczki* (item 443), had in mind, among other things, the following passage from *Pieśń wtóra do Ś. Bazylego* [Second Song to St. Basil]¹³¹:

Great Basil, come to the defense of
All those sincerely crying out to you,
Support and save with your heart those who sigh.
Let the enemy not take in his power
Catholic souls remaining in faith (p. 80).

The publication, which was questioned because, according to Emmausky, it was characterized by an “skrajnie impertynencka tendencja w stosunku do Rosji i prawosławia”¹³² [extremely impertinent tendency towards Russia and Orthodoxy], also included a passage describing the sources of the cult of St. Methodius¹³³ in Poland as follows: “Zaczem też my Polacy czcimy św. Metodego jako swego Apostoła razem z innemi słowiańskimi ludami, bośmy też Słowianie, a nasi praojcowie za jego sprawą chrztu św. godni się stali”¹³⁴ [Then, too, we Poles venerate St. Methodius as our Apostle together with other Slavic peoples, for we, too, are Slavs, and our forefathers, through him, became worthy of Holy Baptism].

5.

The analyses presented here show explicitly that, somewhat different from the censorship of publications dedicated to the primary mediator between the faithful and God, i.e. the Blessed Virgin Mary¹³⁵, texts (and their fragments) concerning Polish saints were questioned not only because of their “Polish-patriotic tendency”, but just as often because they referred with esteem to Catholic missionary actions among the followers of the Orthodox Church (as well as to support the Uniates) and popularized the figures of martyrs who suffered death at the hands of “schismatics” for preaching the one, true faith. Given the treatment of the figures of Jozafat Kuncewicz and Andrzej Bobola in particular,

131 Basil the Great (329/330–379) – born in Caesarea Cappadocia (now Turkey), bishop, early Christian writer, father of the Church, Orthodox and Catholic saint.

132 AGAD WKC, ref. 36: PP No. 35 of 22.08.1885, k. 35.

133 Saint Methodius (c. 815–885) – Byzantine missionary; he and his younger brother Cyril, known as the apostles of the Slavs.

134 W. Chotkowski, *Żywot św. Cyryla i Metodego apostołów słowiańskich* [...], Kraków 1885 (item 5093), p. 53.

135 J. Kostecki, „Polskiej” *Matki Boskiej*...

which consisted of ruthlessly removing any mention of them to erase both from public memory completely, this second motive seems even more critical. This strategy proved successful. Daniel Olszewski, reconstructing a collection of Polish saints who enjoyed a particularly lively cult in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, placed St. Stanisław of Szczepanów and St. Wojciech at the top, and somewhat lower: St. Jacek Odrowąż, St. Jan Kanty, Blessed Kinga, Blessed Wincenty Kadłubek, and St. Stanisław Kostka¹³⁶, but he did not even mention the main heroes of this text.

The tsarist control system was not airtight and consistent, and I am not just referring to the change in censorship policy towards religious publications after 1905¹³⁷. The nonchalance of the older censors, the inexperience of the younger ones, the constant modification of the regulations, the flurry of duties falling on officials (resulting from the growth of local publishing production and the increase in imported publications), made some decisions seem incomprehensible, deviating from the standard, either decidedly harsher or unexpectedly tolerant. The increase among books imported from other Polish lands and abroad of prints banned in their entirety, and among those conditionally allowed to circulate, those from which it was recommended to remove not the indicated lines, but whole pages or even blocks of them¹³⁸, causes (combined with the generality of censor opinions) that often the researcher, guided by previous experience, is condemned to conjecture about the exact motives of the decisions issued, which is what I tried to signal.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that due to the current restrictions on the volume of published articles, the text presented here describes only a small, but easily separable, part of the problem of the attitude of the tsarist authorities to the religious literature of the time.

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