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## **The traces of the cult of St. Raymond of Penyafort in the preaching of Fabian Birkowski. A contribution to studies on the Dominicans' hagiographic writings in Old Poland**

### 1. The image of St. Raymond of Penyafort in Old Poland — between Cracow Academy and the Order of Preachers

St. Raymond of Penyafort (c. 1175—1275) — Dominican, General of the Order of Preachers, an outstanding expert on the Canon Law, to whom we owe compilation of the *Decretals* of Pope Gregory IX, author of, among others, the famous *Summa de casibus poenitentiae*, remains far from being well known in Poland. Nowadays, on the territory of the country it would hardly be possible to find any special manifestations of his cult; no temple has been dedicated to him, either. It is a similar case when it comes to scientific or popular-scientific elaborations dealing with his person. If one does not count publications in the form of lexicons of saints, encyclopaedias or editorial series aspiring to cover the largest number of persons who were canonized or beatified by the Church,<sup>1</sup> the only extensive biographical note of St. Raymond in the Polish

1. See. H. Fros, F. Sowa, *Twoje imię. Przewodnik onomastyczno-hagiograficzny*, Kraków 1988, p. 463; W. Zaleski, *Święci na każdy dzień*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 30—31; M. Straszewicz, *Rajmund z Peñafort św. (Życie i kult)*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*,

literature, including information concerning raising him onto altars as well as on the cult not only in Spain, was presented by Grzegorz Maroń<sup>2</sup> in the original monograph devoted to patron saints of lawyers. On the other hand, in the foreign literature we can find a fairly large number of publications which bring closer the life and output of this saint.<sup>3</sup>

Looking for traces of the presence of the author of *Summa de casibus poenitentiae* in the intellectual and religious culture of Old Poland, it needs first of all taking into account the environment of Cracow Academy and that of the Order of Preachers. When it comes to the former, Raymond must have been known for his contribution to the preparation of the *Decretals*. Raymond, as the one who had elaborated on the *Decretals*, was mentioned by Gregory IX in the bull *Rex pacificus* dated 5 September 1234, which promulgated that collection of canonical laws.<sup>4</sup> The bull was inserted at the beginning of the

red. E. Gigilewicz, t.16, Lublin 2012, c. 1181–1182; T. Sinka, *Św. Rajmund z Peñafort*, Kraków 2005 (series: Twój Patron).

2. G. Maroń, *Święci patroni prawników*, Rzeszów 2011, pp. 169–197. Information on Raymond's biography is also included in: M. Bukała, *Sprzeczne z etyką używanie rzeczy a odpowiedzialność jej wytwórcy i sprzedawcy według Rajmunda z Peñafort*, "Studia Antyczne i Mediewistyczne" 8 (2011), pp. 141–143; *Legends dominikańskie*, przełożył i opracował J. Salij, przedmowa A. Kamińska, Poznań 2002, pp. 119–122.
3. Zob. m.in. T.M. Schwertner, *Saint Raymond of Pennafort of the Order of Friars Preachers*, Milwaukee 1935; J. Rius Serra, *Diplomatario de S. Raimundo de Penyafort*, Barcelona 1945; E. Brother, *When all ships failed. A story of St. Raymond of Pennafort*, Notre Dame 1956; M.T. Insenser i Arnet, *Ramón de Penyafort, sant de Catalunya*, Barcelona 1986; F. Valls i Taberner, *Diplomatari de Sant Ramon de Penyafort*, Saragossa 1991; V. Forcada Comins, *San Ramón de Peñafort. Biografía*, Valencia 1994; F. Valls i Taberner, *Sant Ramon de Penyafort*, Barcelona 1996; *Ramon de Penyafort i el dret català. Quatre-cents anys de la canonització del patró dels advocats de Catalunya (1601–2001)*, Barcelona 2000; J.M. Mas i Solench, *Ramón de Penyafort*, Barcelona 2000; F. Valls i Taberner, *San Raimondo di Penyafort. Padre del diritto canonico*, traduzione italiana di R. Sorgia Bologna 2001; *Magister Raimundus. Atti del convegno per il IV centenario della canonizzazione di san Raimondo De Penyafort (1601–2001)*, a cura di C. Longo, Roma 2002 (Dissertationes Historicae, 28); L. Galmés Más, *San Ramon de Penyafort y la inquisición en la Alta Catalunya*, in: *Prædicatores. Inquisitores*, vol. 1: *The Dominican and the Mediaeval Inquisition: Acts of the 1st International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition*, Roma 2004; M. Benach i Torrents, *La Devoció popular a Sant Ramon de Penyafort*, Vilafranca del Penedès 2005; J. Solé i Bordes, *Ramon de Penyafort, jurista internacional del Castell de Penyafort. Nobilíssima descendència de sant Ramon de Penyafort, III mestre general del sagrat Orde de Predicadors*, Vilafranca del Penedès 2005.
4. "Sane diversas constitutiones et decretales epistolas praedecessorum nostrorum, in diversa dispersas volumina, quarum aliquae propter nimiam similitudinem, et quaedam propter contrarietatem, nonnullae etiam propter sui prolixitatem,

individual manuscripts containing the text of the *Decretals* and later also in their printed editions. We can find it, for instance, in the thirteenth-century manuscripts stored in the Jagiellonian Library,<sup>5</sup> which most probably was used in the *Studium Generale* prepared in Cracow. It is also worth mentioning that the image of Raymond appeared in drawings attached to printed editions of the compilation. The drawings featured Gregory IX who was presented by Raymond with the results of his work<sup>6</sup> (this situation is now best-known from the fresco by Raphael, dated from 1511, which is found in the Apostolic Palace in *Stanza della Segnatura*).<sup>7</sup> The Chair of the *Decretals* was one of the three chairs of canonical law, whose establishment, beside five chairs of civil law, thus Roman law, was included in the foundation act of King Casimir the Great of 12 May 1364.<sup>8</sup> The structure formed in this way corresponded to the model accepted by the University of Bologna,<sup>9</sup> where, NB, Raymond was

confusionem inducere videbantur, aliquae vero vagabantur extra volumina supradicta, quae tanquam incertae frequenter in iudiciis vacillabant, ad communem, et maxime studentium, utilitatem per dilectum filium fratrem Raymundum, capellanum et poenitentiarum nostrum, illas in unum volumen resecatum superfluis providimus redigendas, adiciendo constitutiones nostras et decretales epistolas, per quas nonnulla, quae in prioribus erant dubia, declarantur" (*Decretales d[omi]ni pape Gregorii noni accurata dilige[n]tia tertio eme[n]date...*, Paris 1511, fo. I-II).

5. Biblioteka Jagiellońska [=BJ], Ms 360 III; BJ, Ms 361 IV.
6. See, e.g.: *Decretalium d[omi]ni pape Gregorij noni co[m]pilatio accurata dilige[n]tia eme[n]data su[m]moq[ue] studio elaborata et cu[m] scripturis sacris aptissime c[on]cordata*, Basel 1507; *Decretales d[omi]ni pape Gregorii noni accurata dilige[n]tia tertio eme[n]date...*, Paris 1511; *Gregor IX. Pont. Max. Decretales Gregorii IX. Pont. Max. sv[s] Commentariis Illustratae...*, Antwerpen 1573.
7. See: M. Girardi, *Rafael*, tłum. H. Borkowska, Warszawa 2006, pp. 54–55.
8. See: *Najstarsze przywileje Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego*. Do druku podała, na język polski przełożyła i wstępem opatrzyła B. Wyrozumska. Tłumaczenie na język angielski łacińskich dokumentów oraz *Wstępu* T. Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, Kraków 2000, pp. 21, 25.
9. W. Uruszczak, *Powstanie Uniwersytetu w Krakowie w 1364 roku*, "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne" 66 (2014) nr 1, p. 29. Regarding the structure of Cracow University at the beginning of its existence, including that of the Faculty of Law, as well as the organizational models of universities which were worked out in medieval Europe see: A. Vetulani, *Początki wszechnicy krakowskiej*, "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne" 16 (1964) nr 2, pp. 9–44; A. Vetulani, *Początki najstarszych wszechnic środkowoeuropejskich*, Wrocław 1970, pp. 33–67, 146–157; A. Vetulani, *U progu działalności krakowskiego Wydziału Prawa*, in: *Studia z dziejów Wydziału Prawa Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, red. M. Patkaniowski, Kraków 1964, pp. 9–34 (Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Prawnicze, 18); L. Ehrlich, *Z dziejów Wydziału Prawa UJ w wieku XV*, in: *Studia z dziejów Wydziału Prawa Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, p. 35–48; K. Ożóg, *Intelektualiści w służbie Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1306–1382*, Kraków 1995, pp. 11–27; K. Stopka, *Od założenia*

educated and lectured himself later on. The Chair of the *Decretals* found its place also in the Jagiellonian University modernized by Vladislav Jagiello (Jogaila) in 1400. It is vital to note that the first lecture which was delivered there concerned the *Decretals*. The lecture was given at *Collegium Maius* on 26 July 1400 by the Chancellor of the University, Bishop of Cracow, Piotr Wysz.<sup>10</sup> The Chair of Antique Law (*Iura Antiqua*), therefore, of the *Decretals*, was maintained after the adoption of the new structure of the Faculty in 1580, divided since then on into seven chairs and remained unchanged until the reform by Hugo Kołłątaj in the 1780s.<sup>11</sup> The data reported here clearly indicate that in the Medieval times and in the modern era, Raymond of Penyafort must have been known to professors and scholars of the Cracow Faculty of law as an outstanding canonist, owing to the efforts of whose we have had one of the most important official compilations of canon law edited. At the next stage, it was made part of *Corpus Iuris Canonici* and was binding till the year 1917. The Saint, on the other hand, was not venerated as the saint patron of lawyers in any particular way. It was St. Ivo of Kermartin (Yves Hélor) who was honoured in this role by this professional group. Celebrations dedicated to the latter were organized in Cracow annually on 19 May and the day itself was a feast day, being off at the Faculty of Law. As a matter of fact, the cult of this saint in Polish lands dated back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which is proved by bringing his relics to Wrocław as early as in 1372. It is also necessary to mention the fact that Ivo of Kermartin was declared saint in 1347, which obviously helped his cult develop earlier and stronger, whereas Raymond was not beatified until 1542 and canonized in 1601. Nowadays, it is also Ivo who is venerated as the

*do schyłku XVIII w.*, in: *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, red. K. Stopka, A.K. Banach, J. Dybiec, Kraków 2000, pp. 9–84; M. Markowski, *Pierwotory uniwersytetów*, Olecko 2003.

10. "Sub anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo collegium almae universitatis studii Cracoviensis est institutum per serenissimum invictissimumque principem Wladislaum Dei gratia regem Poloniae etc. ipso die Sanctae Mariae Magdalene et lectio prima lecta est feria secunda post festum sancti Jacobi Apostoli in decretalibus per Reverendum in Christo patrem ac dominum dominum Petrum diuina miseracionem episcopum cracoviensem Cancellarium eiusdem studii generalis" (The note on the inauguration of studies in 1400. BJ, Ms 258, p. 4. Quoted from: W. Uruszczak, *Powstanie Uniwersytetu*, p. 38).
11. W. Uruszczak, *Wydział Prawa Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego i jego profesorowie w latach 1363–1780*, in: *Profesorowie Wydziału Prawa Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, red. W. Uruszczak, t. 1: 1364–1780, Kraków 2015, p. XII.

saint patron by lawyers in Poland. His relics returned to Cracow in 2010 (the ones that used to be there before got lost).<sup>12</sup>

Thus, we are bound to look for traces of the cult of St. Raymond in Poland, primarily and exclusively in the environment of Dominicans. The most noticeable manifestation of it can be the painting hanging in the cloister of the Cracow monastery.<sup>13</sup> It features not the jurist presenting the Pope with the compilation of the *Decretals*, which was edited by him, but the Dominican cresting wave of a rough sea on his cloak which served him as both a boat and a sail.<sup>14</sup> Although the attributes of the Saint do include keys, a book, banners, a writing pen, two mitres at his feet,<sup>15</sup> St. Raymond is most often presented in art just while skimming across the sea with his monk's cape.<sup>16</sup> These images make reference to the miracle which the Saint was supposed to have performed, that is his covering the distance of about 200 km between Majorca and Barcelona on a sea voyage made on his *cappa* (the long black cloak worn by Dominicans), the exploit being the result of the events which had taken place prior to that on the island during the stay of King James I of Aragon, who was accompanied there by his confessor and advisor — Raymond of Penyafort. The conflict between the two arose on the ground of the King's romance, for which the monarch was reprimanded by the Dominican. Raymond was reported to have threatened the King to be leaving for the continent, too. In consequence of that, King James announced that everybody who should want to help Raymond to reach the Iberian Peninsula would be killed. The Dominican was forced to do that himself by relying solely on God's help. Upon reaching the land, he put on his cloak (which despite the fact that the friar

12. A. Karabowicz, K. Tatara, *Święty Iwo Hélory — patron prawników*, "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne" 57 (2005) nr 2, pp. 251–265.
13. Regarding the authorship of the paintings presenting scenes from the lives of Dominican saints, which are found in the cloisters of the Cracow's monastery see: W. Tomkiewicz, *Dolabella*, Warszawa 1959, pp. 30–31; J. Żmudziński, "Opus vitae" *Tomasza Dolabelli w krakowskim kościele i klasztorze Dominikanów*, in: *Sztuka w kręgu krakowskich Dominikanów*, red. A. Markiewicz, M. Szyma, M. Walczak, Kraków 2013, pp. 691–702.
14. In a similar manner, St. Raymond was depicted also in the 18th-century painting displayed in St. Nicholas parish church in Gierczyce near Opatów. See: M. Jacniacka, *Rajmund z Peñafort św. (Ikonografia)*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, t. 16, c. 1182.
15. J. Marecki, L. Rotter, *Jak czytać wizerunki świętych. Leksykon atrybutów i symboli hagiograficznych*, Kraków 2013, pp. 699–700.
16. Instances of paintings presenting the miracle of St. Raymond are given by G. Małoń, *Święci patroni*, p. 192.

had sailed on it, remained dry) and headed for the monastery. In awe of the obvious miracle, the King made penance and promised to rectify his life.<sup>17</sup>

The miracle attributed to Raymond found its reflection not only in art, but also in hagiographic writings, to mention but the lives of Dominican saints.<sup>18</sup> It was also referred to in two texts prepared for St. Raymond's feast day by Fabian Birkowski (c. 1566<sup>19</sup> – 1636), a Dominican, who was counted into the greatest orators of Cracow<sup>20</sup> and who himself died in the aura of sanctity.<sup>21</sup>

17. G. Maroń, *Święci patroni*, pp. 183–184.
18. See: *Żywoty Świętych Pańskich pierwotnie wydane przez O.N.N. Dominikanina w Krakowie w siedemnastym wieku wierszem, teraz zaś poprawione i pomnożone przez A. Ł. [Aleksandra Ładkowskiego]*, Bochnia 1864, p. VII ("W sześć godzin, sto sześćdziesiąt mil Rajmund przepłynął, / Nie lękał się, by w nurtach oceanu zgiął; / Nie zmaczał ręki, palca – noga była sucha, / Kij za maszt, płaszcz za żagiel, a za wiatr miał ducha" ["In six hours a hundred and sixty miles Raymond covered, / He did not fear to die in the depths of the Ocean. / He did not wet his hand or finger – his leg was dry, / He had his staff for the mast, his cloak for the sail, and the Spirit for the wind."]); *Żywoty SS., BB. i WW. Braci, i Siostr Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego na każdy dzień całego roku z domowych kronik, i różnych poważnych pisarzy zebrane, i na polski język przetłumaczone przez X. Zygmunta Hilaryona Piskowskiego, S. Teologii Doktora, tegoż Zakonu, Prowincji Litewskiej*, Wilno 1760, pp. 29–32.
19. The date of the preacher's death raises no doubts, whereas the results of the essays to establish the year of his birth differ. Cf. S. Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu kaznodziejskiego w Polsce*, t. 2, Lwów 1861, pp. 94–95; S. Barącz, *Catalogus Patrum et Fratrum sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum in Polonia, Russia et Magno, Lithuania. Mortuorum 1887* (Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów w Krakowie, manuscript, Pr 35); J. Krochmal, *Fabian Birkowski OP – Iwowanin na królewskim dworze (ok. 1569–1636)*, "Przemyskie Zapiski Historyczne" 8–9 (1991–1992), pp. 38–41; M. Rowińska-Szczepaniak, *Miejsce Fabiana Birkowskiego w dominikańskim „Iańcuchu pamięci”*, in: F. Birkowski, *Mowy akademickie i polemiczne. Orationes academicae et polemicae*, z języka łacińskiego przełożyła B. Gaj, opracowały i komentarzami opatrzyły B. Gaj, M. Rowińska-Szczepaniak, Warszawa 2016, pp. 177–178.
20. See: Z. Baran, *Kaznodzieje zakonni kościoła Mariackiego w Krakowie w latach 1594–1772*, "Analecta Cracoviensia" 21–22 (1989–1990), pp. 327–333; M. Hanczakowski, "Pustynie te nasze", *czyli o Krakowie i innych miejscach w kazaniach Fabiana Birkowskiego*, in: *Wielcy kaznodzieje Krakowa. Studia in honorem prof. Eduardi Staniek*, red. K. Panuś, Kraków 2006, pp. 83–96.
21. See: *Lista dominikanów i dominikanek, którzy w tradycji zakonnej umarli w opinii świętości do 1767 r.*, in: R.F. Madura, *Vademecum. Wstępne informacje dla studiów nad historią dominikanów w Polsce*, Warszawa 1979, p. 25. There are a lot of comments available which treat about Birkowski's teaching with not only words, but also with his own example, made by both his contemporaries and researchers living later: "Jego [Piotra Skargi] życie wspaniale opisał niedościgniony w pobożności o. Fabian Birkowski z Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego, wyśmienity mówca" ["His {Piotr Skarga's} life was described by the unsurpassed in his piety Father Fabian Birkowski of the Order of Preachers, an excellent orator"] (Latin Ms of the 17th c. – Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie, no. 1266, p. 47 – translated by S. Ziemiański, quoted from: *Krótkie wspomnienie pośmiertne o o. Piotrze Skardze*, in:

What is more, Father Birkowski was considered the second greatest Polish preacher of the post-Trident epoch, after Piotr Skarga.<sup>22</sup> It is most significant

- Ks. Piotr Skarga SJ (1536–1612). Życie i dziedzictwo*, red. R. Darowski, S. Ziemiański, Kraków 2012, p. 42); "Ten kapłan wstąpiwszy do zakonu, a jako nieba dopadłszy, widział się być jednym z gwiazd niebieskich i ordynku albo szeregu ludzi kaznodziejskich. Zaczynam starać się o światło świętobliwości, aby godnie i przykładowie urząd swój odprawował; tudzież i o naukę, aby się niwczym nie potknął!" ["This priest, having entered the Convent, like reaching the Heaven, seemed to become one of the celestial stars and the array or a row of preaching people. He then aspired for the light of holiness, so as to respectfully and most properly perform the duties of his office, also for science so as not to trip over anything"] (A. Makowski, *Obraz Wielebnego Ojca Fabiana Birkowskiego z zakonu Dominika świętego doktora, wystawiony na kazaniu pogrzebnym w Krakowie w kościele Trójce Świętej, dnia 10 grudnia 1636*, Kraków 1637, pp. 12–13); "Birkowski był mężem niepośredniego talentu, rozległej wiedzy, świętobliwego życia i ogromnego zapału" ["Birkowski was a man of uncommon talent, broad knowledge, holy life and tremendous zeal"] (J.S. Pelczar, *Zarys dziejów kaznodziejstwa w Polsce*, Kraków 1917, p. 170); "Jeżeli Birkowski zachęca do pełnienia przykazań Bożych, rozumiemy, że on pierwszy nie tylko stale i ściśle ich strzegł w życiu, w mowie i w uczuciu, ale dążył jeszcze ku doskonałości i rady ewangeliczne w zakonnych ślubach w czyn wprowadzał!" ["If Birkowski encourages to execute God's commandments, we understand that he was the first to not only constantly and carefully protect them in life, speech and in feelings, but also aspired for perfection and bringing the evangelical advice into life"] (A. Szlagowski, *Żywot, charakterystyka i dzieła ks. Fabiana Birkowskiego*, in: *Mowy pogrzebowe i przygodne ks. Fabiana Birkowskiego z portretem oraz z krytyczną oceną mówcy przez ks. Antoniego Szlagowskiego*, cz. 1, Warszawa 1901, p. 27).
22. F. Birkowski began his education in the hometown of Lvov and continued his studies (since 1585) in Cracow Academy at the Faculty of Arts (*atrium*) (he received his Bachelor's degree in 1587 and earned the Doctor's degree in 1593), where he lectured in ancient literature, rhetoric and philosophy. After entering the Dominican Convent — he took the vows on 14 October 1598 (*Catalogus fratrum profitentium in conventu SS. Trinitatis Ord. Praed.* 1509–1881, Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów w Krakowie, Ms K 9) — he pursued his theological studies in Bologna, which he completed in 1602. It was then that he began lecturing at the General College of Dominicans in Cracow (in 1611, he was promoted to the title of Bachelor of Theology; in 1618, the General Chapter granted him the degree of Master of Theology). Sent to Warsaw in 1614, he was given the post of a preacher at the court of Sigismund III (the chaplain to Prince Vladislav, with whom he took part in war expeditions to Moscow and Chocim). In 1634, two years before the death, he returned to Cracow, accepting the responsibilities of the Prior of the Holy Trinity Monastery. The rich output of Father Birkowski includes, among others: *Lacrimae in funere Annae Jagellonicae*, *Kazania na niedziele i święta doroczne*, *Orationes ecclesiasticae*, *Kazania obozowe o Bogarodzicy*, funeral speeches. Relevant information on the life and output of Fabian Birkowski can be found, among others, in: M. Dynowska, *Birkowski Fabian*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 2, Kraków 1936, pp. 104–105; M. Dynowska, *W trzechsetletnią rocznicę śmierci o. Fabiana Birkowskiego*, Lwów 1936; E. Ozorowski, *Birkowski Fabian Adam*, in: *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, red. H.E. Wyczawski, Warszawa 1981, pp. 163–165; W. Pazera, *Kaznodziejstwo w Polsce od początku do końca epoki baroku*, Częstochowa 1999,

to note that we will not find any texts devoted to Raymond in collections of the seventeenth-century sermons authored by clergymen not related to the Dominican circles, such as: Szymon Starowolski, Jacek Liberiusz, Franciszek Rychłowski, Szymon Stanisław Makowski or Tomasz Młodzianowski. This proves that the cult of St. Raymond did not basically reach beyond the environment of Dominicans.<sup>23</sup> The texts by Father Birkowski, which are dedicated to the person of St. Raymond and which have not been discussed so far in the literature on the subject, should thus be treated as a manifestation of his cult within the very Order of Preachers itself. The first of them was written in the Polish language under the title *Kazanie na dzień S. Raymunda, Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego* [A sermon for the Feast Day of St. Raymond of the Order of Preachers] and was included in the collection of *Kazania na święta doroczne* [Sermons for annual holidays] published in Cracow in 1620. The other one, on the other hand, is a Latin speech entitled *Sanctus Raymundus sive mare liberum Sanctis; in festo eiusdem Sancti*, from the collection under the title *Orationes ecclesiasticae* printed also in Cracow two years later. The latter one contains thirty-five speeches in Latin of different character, among them being texts referring to celebrations and funerals, or dealing with polemics and academic questions. Some of them were written by Father Birkowski still as a lecturer in Cracow Academy, the others – already

pp. 218–222; K. Panuś, *Zarys historii kaznodziejstwa w Kościele katolickim, cz. 1: Kaznodziejstwo w Polsce od średniowiecza do baroku*, Kraków 2001, pp. 430–438; I. Teresińska, *Birkowski Fabian*, in: *Dawni pisarze polscy od początków piśmiennictwa do Młodej Polski. Przewodnik biograficzny i bibliograficzny*, t. 1, Warszawa 2001, pp. 71–73; S. Wilk, *Kompozycja kazań Fabiana Birkowskiego wobec tradycji kaznodziejstwa średniowiecznego*, in: *Staropolskie teksty i konteksty*, red. J. Malicki, T. Banaś, Katowice 2004, pp. 68–78; D. Żrałko, *Biografia Fabiana Birkowskiego w świetle kazania pogrzebowego Adama Makowskiego i badań archiwalnych*, "Pamiętnik Literacki" 2 (2005), pp. 215–227; M. Rowińska-Szczepaniak, *Fabian Birkowski i jego misyjne przepowiadanie. W 370. rocznicę śmierci kapelana obozowego*, "Napis" Seria 12 (2006): *Krwawy świt, mroczny dzień... Tom poświęcony literaturze okolicznościowej i użytkowej*, p. 239–252; T. Martynelis, *Obraz duchowieństwa w kazaniach Fabiana Birkowskiego*, in: *Historicus Polonus-Hungarus. Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana Ojcu Józefowi Puciłowskiemu OP w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, red. T. Gałuszka, P.A. Illés, M. Miławicki, B. Zágohidi Czigány, Kraków 2010, pp. 411–413; C.J. Wichrowicz, *Słownik polskich pisarzy dominikańskich*, Kraków 2012, pp. 50–53.

23. St. Raymond is mentioned, for example, in the lives of Dominican saints (see footnote 18) or in the philosophical-theological works of C.J. Wichrowicz OP, *Samuel Szymon Wierchoński OP (ok. 1589–1642) jako teolog moralista*, Kraków 2008, pp. 47, 154.



as a friar. When it comes to the speech dedicated to St. Raymond, the preacher did not provide there information on when and by whom it was delivered (since at times texts could be read out by his disciple), as he habitually used to do. The very fact itself that the speech was given can be inferred from the words included in it, i.e. "Have you ever seen a sea, dear listeners? If you have, so you shall see it again today; if you have not, so you shall and this without a difficulty, from the edges (as I can put it) of your benches."<sup>24</sup> As regards the dating of the speech, it should be accepted that it could be written in 1609 at the earliest. In March of that year, in Leida, there came out the first edition of the famous work by Hugo Grotius entitled *Mare Liberum*.<sup>25</sup> The above-mentioned Birkowski's oration made reference to that work, which can be seen already in the very title itself (this will be discussed at greater length later in the study). Thus, it cannot be excluded that the speech was written after the treatise had been published, in this way making reference to the dispute on the freedom of sailing and maritime trade, which was going on in Europe at that time.

The aim of this study is to make an analysis of both texts by F. Birkowski, which are devoted to the person of St. Raymond of Penyafort. Following the above considerations concerning the presence of the Saint in the intellectual and spiritual culture of Old Poland, restricted basically to the two indicated environments as it was, the second section concentrates on the sermon included in the collection of 1620, while the third one will be devoted to the oration rendered in Latin. The final remarks will, in turn, attempt to compare both texts, proving the inhomogeneous character of the output of the Dominican preacher, and also giving an answer to the question that concerns the typicality of applied manners of narration, as well as the very writing style of Fabian Birkowski itself and the style of preaching typical of the epoch.

24. F. Bircovius, *Sanctus Raymundus sive mare liberum Sanctis; in festo eiusdem Sancti, Oratio*, in: F. Bircovius, *Orationes ecclesiasticae*, Cracoviae 1622, p. 248; hereinafter the wording: *Oratio* (O.) followed by the number of the page (p.).
25. H. Grotius, *Mare Liberum, sive de iure quod Batavis competit ad Indicana commercia dissertatio*, Lugduni Batavorum 1609. See: R. Bierzanek, *Wstęp*, in: H. Grotius, *Wolność mórz czyli Dysertacja o prawie jakie przysługuje Holendrom do handlu z Indiami z dodatkiem, który zawiera wyjątki z dzieła Grotiusa "O prawie wojny i pokoju" oraz z rozprawy Jana Seldena "O morzu zamkniętym"*, z języka łacińskiego przełożył, wstępem i przypisami opatrzył R. Bierzanek, Warszawa 1955, p. XXV.

## 2. "I can see such brightness in Raymond, the Saint," that is on religious virtues

In his texts dedicated to St. Raymond, Father Birkowski did not make reference to too many facts from the Saint's life. In the sermon prepared for St. Raymond's feast day, he mentioned the age of the Saint when the latter joined the Order and the age he lived to: "I am speaking about Saint Raymond to whom God gave young years at the age of forty for him to perform religious works and accomplish great missions in the world until the age of one hundred that he lived to see."<sup>26</sup> Commenting on this, the preacher recalled the words by Isaiah, stating that "This prophet's blessing got fulfilled in him: *Qui autem sperant in Domino, mutabunt fortitudinem, assument pennas sicut aquilae, current et non laborabunt, ambulabunt et non deficient*" (K., p. 133).<sup>27</sup> Further on, Birkowski reminded that Raymond of Penyafort did not accept the honour of Archbishop of Catalan Terragona, which he had been bestowed on by Gregory IX in recognition of his work on the *Decretals*, as well as that he had resigned from the office of the General of the Order of Preachers after two years of holding it.<sup>28</sup> These facts were meant to prove the Saint's narrow means and humility; therefore the preacher stressed that "With this humbleness he cleansed his soul, when he renounced not only secular, but also spiritual profits of the Archbishopric of Terragona, not wanting to be either the Master or the Minister between those who rarely ever have their hands and souls occupied, since there are so many of them. Of great humility was that man, which could not raise him too high only, because as in the world there is the soldier's rhetoric so in the Church of Christ humility makes it *Qui se humiliat, exaltabitur*."<sup>29</sup> He was hiding away from

26. F. Birkowski, *Kazanie na dzień S. Raymunda, Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego*, in: F. Birkowski, *Kazania na święta doroczne*, Kraków 1620, p. 133; hereinafter abbreviated to: *Kazanie* (K.) followed by the number of the page (p.).

27. Isa 40:31. In the translation of Jakub Wujek, the words of Isaiah that are quoted read: "A którzy mają nadzieję w Panu, odmienia się, wezmą pióra jako orłowie, pobieżą, a nie upracują się, chodźć będą, a nie ustana" ["But those who trust in the Lord for help will find their strength renewed. They will rise on wings like eagles; they will run and not get weary; they will walk and not grow weak."] (*Biblia łacińsko-polska, czyli Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu*. Podług tekstu łacińskiego Wulgaty i przekładu polskiego ks. Jakuba Wujka T.J., z komentarzem Menochiusza T.J. przełożonym na język polski, t. 3, Wilno 1896; hereinafter the abbreviated form will be used: *Biblia Wujka* = BW).

28. See: G. Maroń, *Święci patroni*, p. 175; *Legendy dominikańskie*, pp. 119–121.

29. Lk 14:11: "Those who humble themselves will be exalted" (BW, t. 4, Wilno 1898).

people, yet people knew about him. He resigned from the General's title after two years so that he could be humble not only in the world, but also in the Convent" (K., p. 133).<sup>30</sup> Moreover, Father Birkowski drew attention to the role of St. Raymond in the preparation of the *Decretals* and underlined that he was a well-known and appreciated confessor performing this function to, among others, the Holy Father.<sup>31</sup> At the same time, making reference to one of the Dominicans' legends, he mentioned also that the Saint was reputed to be woken up at nights by an angel to say prayers. In the sermon, we read: "Brightness illuminated his soul with great saintliness, which not only people, but also Angels could see, his Angel wishing to say his prayers with him, for which reason he was often woken up to perform holy prayers. This descended upon others, whom he illuminated with holy penance, having been made Poenitentiarius S.R.E. by Pope Gregory IX. This was a great accomplishment when he had gathered the *Decrees* of the holy Popes, which were dispersed in various encyclicals and letters, and put them together. Still, it was even more beautiful when he had led sinners out of the dark, while people's consciences torn underneath by those crimes had been rectified and put together" (K., p. 133).

Nevertheless, to Birkowski the most vital was the miracle of crossing the sea from Majorca to Barcelona on his Dominican cloak anyway. It made the starting point for his further considerations which – in the case of *The sermons for St. Raymond's Feast Day* – concentrated on the spiritual question of light, whereas – regarding the Latin oration – on the problem of missionary activity of the Church, especially the Dominicans' missions. Birkowski mentioned the miraculous voyage of the Saint already at the beginning of his sermon. Referring to the holiday of Epiphany, the preacher compared the Saint whom he called "a new star" to the Star of Bethlehem. He wrote: "Yester the kings were led to Christ the Lord, today a new star is leading not only kings, but subjects by thousands, to heaven; yester the star was hiding away when the kings came to Jerusalem, today the other star is leaving the court

30. Poverty and humbleness are the virtues that were accentuated by Birkowski in particular in his sermons on saint monks. There emerges from these sermons a peculiar personality model which can be described with the term *miles pauperculus*, realized in the fullest way just by saints who had chosen to live a monastic life. See: M. Rowińska-Szczepaniak, "*Miles pauperculus*" bohaterem zwierciadeł Fabiana Birkowskiego, in: *Wzorce osobowe w dawnej literaturze i kulturze polskiej*, red. B.M. Puchalska-Dąbrowska and E.A. Jurkowska, Białystok 2018, pp. 215–239.

31. See: G. Maroń, *Święci patroni*, pp. 173–175, 180; *Legends dominikańskie*, pp. 119–121.

as it has seen the King indulge in wanton debauchery of satanic Babylon. Yester we saw the star in the sky: today not in the sky *Videntes autem stellam gavisī sunt gaudio magno valde*,<sup>32</sup> but on the high seas do we see the star flying and we are watching in awe that he didn't drown – one who carried a heavy body as we do, as he made all the marine eyes look at him, one who wasn't greater than any of us. *Vos estis lux mundi*,<sup>33</sup> said Jesus Christ, and we can say this of his Saints. His, as sea stars, are not only those which light up the sea, but those which skip over the sea as ships or galleys" (K., pp. 126 – 127). Birkowski saw the reasons why Raymond did not get drowned during his voyage in that there was light present in him. Therefore, it was brightness – in a peculiar way penetrating consecrated persons – that he devoted his sermon to. He expressed this clearly in the following way: "It is not courtly, but truly that I can speak about St. Raymond that throughout his life he was fed with light and brightness cannot drown, it soars up, what a wonder that it glides so safely over the sea. What brightness a religious man holds in this world! This is what I wish to tell your majesties in this sermon in the name of our Lord" (K., p. 127).

Birkowski wrote that "The light is perfect religious people since they have taken this peculiar light from the true Sun, that is brightness from our Lord" (K., p. 129). In the preacher's opinion, friars are permeated with God's light, first of all owing to their living in poverty, obedience and purity. It was Raymond who made a paragon of these virtues to him. Hence, the Dominican emphasized it as follows: "I can see such brightness in Raymond, the Saint" (K., p. 132). Writing about purity (poverty was made reference to earlier), the preacher came back again to the miraculous voyage on the monk's cloak, stating that "The sin of the debauched King, whom St. Raymond was fleeing from, was more frightening than the mad sea with his whales, which he ventured onto; the virtuous priest feared for the King who was falling into the infernal abyss, having forgotten his condition and dignity, not to upset others or even himself by doing this" (K., p. 128). In a different place, the preacher underlined that in Raymond "there was brightness of purity, as he preserved this angel's and heaven's treasure to such an extent as to have the holiness take him along and raise to Heaven" (K., p. 132). When it comes

32. Mt 2:10: "When they saw the star, they were overjoyed" (the Polish version taken from: BW, t. 4).

33. Mt 5:14: "You are the light of the world" (the Polish version taken from: BW, t. 4).

to obedience, Birkowski drew the attention to the fact that Raymond cleansed his soul with it and in the same way as courtiers appeared before their king, clad in costly robes, so Raymond stood before God, clothed in this virtue. The sermon is rich in military rhetoric so willingly applied by the Dominican in his works in general, which is self-evident in view of the fact that the preacher took part in military campaigns as a chaplain.<sup>34</sup> We can read in it, among others, about God's camps of religious soldiers and splendid arms made of penance, constant prayer for "heavenly and spiritual goods" and leaving the world. "This is the valiant weapon," Birkowski wrote, "against enemies of brightness that gives birth to a pure heart" (K., p. 129). Moreover, he compared a good religious soul to a king's regiment in the following statement, "It is as if you were to be looking at a royal regiment when you are looking at a good religious soul, and you shall see in it valiant rows of various virtues, affectations not moving from their place until ordered to do so, in manners there is discipline, in prayers — solid armour, in good acts — a great heart, in God's zeal fear often gathers loot of the enemy, counts triumphs that are so dense" (K., p. 129).

### 3. "We are learning about the beginnings of sailing on the open sea in Raymond," that is on Dominicans' missions

In the Latin oration, the biographical elements were limited basically to a description of events that took place in Majorca and their consequence which resulted in Raymond's miraculous voyage. Instead, the description was far more extensive than it was in the rather laconic sermon. Nevertheless, like in the latter, Birkowski paid particular attention in his oration also to the sin of adultery, which the Aragon King, James I, committed. In this context, he quoted the words from *The Wisdom of Sirach*: "Non est caput nequius super caput colubri et non est ira super iram mulieris. Commorari leoni et draconi placebit quam habitare cum muliere nequam."<sup>35</sup> Commenting on them, the

34. The use of military metaphors in Birkowski's output is discussed, among others, in: M. Rowińska-Szczepaniak, "Boga potrzeba panowie, gdy się na wojnę wybieracie", czyli o sztuce dobrego bojowania w nauczaniu Fabiana Birkowskiego, in: *Literatury i kultury. Studia i szkice pracowników Instytutu Nauk o Literaturze Uniwersytetu Opolskiego*, red. M. Lenart, R.W. Wolny, Opole 2020, pp. 25–42.

35. Sir 25:22–23: "There is no head worse than the head of a serpent, and there is no anger above the anger of a wife. It would be more agreeable to abide with a lion or a dragon than to live with a wicked woman" (the Polish version taken from BW, t. 2, Wilno 1896).

preacher asked the rhetorical question: "What is strange, then, in that Raymond would rather be living with a fierce sea than stay in the same camps where this lioness lived [...]?" (O., p. 50). The author of the oration compared the Saint cresting the waves to biblical Jonah and half-mythical Arion. Like Jonah, who was sailing the sea for three days inside a whale, so Raymond made the crossing from Majorca to Barcelona in six hours, carried on his own monk's cloak. Inasmuch as the purpose of the voyage made by the prophet of the Old Testament, even though not intended by Jonah himself, was to make the Assyrian king put on a penitentiary sack,<sup>36</sup> Raymond's passage was the consequence of the King's rejection to dress in such a sack, thus – in fact – the King's ceasing to make penance – upon ending one romance, he started another relationship outside marriage. Also, Birkowski juxtaposed Raymond's crossing the sea on his monk's cloak against the passage made by Arion on the back of a dolphin, which was described by Herodotus in *The Histories*.<sup>37</sup> In the same way as Arion was supposed to scare off sea monsters with the sounds of his lyre, Raymond "shut those seething jaws with the highest faith, scared them with a burning torch, that is with the zeal of God's glory and majesty" (O., p. 252). In the case of Arion, the purpose of his crossing the sea on the dolphin's back was greediness of the sailors who took him on board their ship heading for Corinth (Arion was in that way saved from death which his companions who wanted to rob him would surely inflict on him during the voyage).<sup>38</sup> When it comes to Raymond, on the other hand, the reason why he fled Majorca was "the iron compulsion of desire" and "woman's raging anger" which led him to the state where "he would rather trust winds than the King broken by so many betrayals and effeminate because of lust" (O., p. 252). The comparisons with the two ancient heroes allowed Birkowski to state that in Raymond's case the Dominican cloak played the analogous function to that of the whale for Jonah and the dolphin for Arion. Like the robe of three young men, that is Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego who are known from *Book of Daniel* to be thrown into a fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar II, King of Babylon, amazed by remaining untouched by the fire,<sup>39</sup> so did Raymond's

36. See: Jon 1–3.

37. Herodot, *Dzieje* (I, 24), z języka greckiego przełożył i opracował S. Hammer, Warszawa 2020, p. 28.

38. About Arion see: P. Grimal, *Słownik mitologii greckiej i rzymskiej*, Wrocław 1990, pp. 41–42; W. Kopaliński, *Słownik mitów i kultury*, Warszawa 2006, p. 57.

39. See: Dan 3.

*cappe* as it did not get wet — "It gave off no smell of water" (O., p. 253). Therefore Birkowski included in his oration the apostrophe to the cloak, turning to it with Vergil's words from *The Aeneid*: "Oh, the happy robe, may I speak to you with the poet: Raymond's cloak was that robe which «over the sea skimmed hanging / on a swollen wave, not even making / the heel wet in the abyss of water. Everyone wants to see it. / Youth who have come here from their homes and fields, / And mothers are crowding, watching it / Moving. Oh, how they admire it, how / Their eyes feed on it!"<sup>40</sup> (O., p. 253). Studies on Birkowski's output prove that the motif of the monk's cloak, supposed to make a peculiar defence against enemies of both the soul and the body, was undoubtedly very meaningful to the preacher. We can come across it, for instance, in *The third speech in honour of St. Hyacinth*, also included in the collection *Orationes ecclesiasticae*. Birkowski wrote there that St. Hyacinth "although he was entitled to a Sarmatian robe, shining with purple, for the rest of his life exchanged it for a monk's cloak."<sup>41</sup> And even though — as he was arguing — the arrival of Hyacinth in Poland in a monk's cloak which he had accepted from St. Dominic, at first was to provoke surprise, "very soon St. Odrowąż excited noblemen when that cloak started glittering with miracles, when it overcame the strongest current of the Vistula like a light boat and carried friars lying in it, when it resurrected the dead, those who were brought close enough to be stroked with the tassels of St. Hyacinth's cloak."<sup>42</sup> Like in the oration on St. Raymond, also in the speech dedicated to St. Hyacinth we can find an apostrophe addressed to the cloak. In the speech, we can read the following: "Oh the happiest robe, whose type and shape have come from a soldier's coat, like Aaron's cloak in the holy tent, you are restricted by no limits, you are not owned by this or any another kingdom, but you permeate everything, you reach everywhere."<sup>43</sup>

As it has already been said, the miracle of crossing the sea from Majorca to Barcelona on his Dominican cloak, in the case of Latin oration offered for

40. Translation of the fragment of *The Aeneid* made on the basis of the Polish edition of the poem: Publiusz Wergiliusz Maro, *Eneida* (VII, 1160 [807]—1170 [814]), tłumaczenie i opracowanie Z. Kubiak, Warszawa 1998, pp. 277—278.
41. F. Birkowski, *Trzecia mowa ku czci św. Jacka, czyli o zbroi zakonnej*, in: F. Birkowski, *Mowy kościelne Fabiana Birkowskiego o świętym Jacku. Orationes ecclesiasticae Fabiani Bircovii Hyacinthinae*, przełożyła B. Gaj, opracowała M. Rowińska-Szczepaniak, Opole 2007, p. 35.
42. F. Birkowski, *Trzecia mowa ku czci św. Jacka*, p. 36.
43. F. Birkowski, *Trzecia mowa ku czci św. Jacka*, p. 36.

Birkowski the starting point for considerations on the question of missionaries' activity, in particular those who came from the Order of Preachers, making voyages over oceans to spread the gospel on other continents. It was Raymond – according to the preacher – who provided inspiration for friars to set out on the missionary's trail. Therefore, turning to the Saint, Birkowski wrote, "Saint Raymond, who with your feet were crossing the sea and in six hours covered a hundred and sixty miles against the efforts of speeding boats which at the King's order had been given sails and wished to get at you and capture you, don't get angry with your servant when he speaks to you. You threatened the king's adulteries with your bold and fruitful deed; you encouraged your Brethren to venture similar acts, not only on the Mediterranean, but on the very Ocean itself, deeds which the family of St. Dominic pride themselves on" (O., p. 255).

With the aim to illustrate the character and significance of Dominican missions, Birkowski again reached for the Bible and mythology, comparing missionaries to angels and the Argonauts. "Here they come, your Brethren, Raymond," he wrote, "angels – owing to innocence and purity of their lives, angels – owing to their service and mission of Christ among nations" (O., p. 255). Angels – heavenly spirits – were, according to the preacher – guides to worldly angels, therefore – Dominican missionaries. Thus, we read in the oration: "Go speedy Angels to angels, that is to my preachers" (O., pp. 258 – 259). Also, in this context, the Dominican pointed to the example of Raymond who was to be led by an angel both when he sailed the sea and when the latter woke the monk up at night to say prayers. Birkowski addressed thus the Saint with the following words: "Also your, Raymond, leader was an angel who tore you out of the deadly threat of triremes and to the eyes of the natives of Barcelona first showed the ship and then appeared on your true face," as well as "the angel was the leader to you when with the voice of your Guardian Angel, which oft showed before you in the human form, like with the sound of a trumpet woke you up to the canonical hours" (O., p. 255).

In turn, juxtaposing Dominican missionaries against the Argonauts,<sup>44</sup> Birkowski stated that like mythical heroes had to face many dangers during sea voyage, also numerous threats cropped up before missionaries crossing seas. Dangers lying in wait for ancient heroes were nothing, though,

44. On the Argonauts see: J. Parandowski, *Mitologia. Wierzenia i podania Greków i Rzymian*, London 1992, pp. 221–234; P. Grimal, *Słownik mitologii*, pp. 37–41.



in comparison with those that "our argonauts" had to face, that is the spiritual sons of St. Dominic, who many a time saw the blood of persecuted Christians.<sup>45</sup> Comparing the effects of mythical and "new" argonauts, the preacher came to the conclusion that inasmuch as the expedition of the former was fruitful in that Jason won the Golden Fleece,<sup>46</sup> the others reached for "golden souls" winning hosts of believers for Christ. Therefore, turning to missionaries with the words of Isaiah, Birkowski wrote that they brought not the golden fleece from Colchis, but gifts for the Lord of Hosts.<sup>47</sup>

In the oration devoted to St. Raymond, it is Isaiah, the prophet from the Old Testament, who seems to be a special guide. In his sermon, the Dominican made reference to the Holiday of Epiphany, celebrated the day before that dedicated to Raymond, recalling the history of the Wise Men, which was described in the pericope from St. Matthew's and which was designed for this day. In the Latin speech, on the other hand, he did it by beginning it with the quote read out on the Feast of the Three Kings – the fragment of the Book of Isaiah: "Arise, Jerusalem! Let your light shine for all to see. For the glory of the Lord rises to shine on you"<sup>48</sup> (O., p. 247). By making use of this fragment, Birkowski stated, at the same time, that thanks to Dominican missionaries the following words of the prophecy were coming true still during his own lifetime: "Nations will come to your light; kings will come to the brightness of your sunrise"<sup>49</sup> (O., p. 248). The preacher referred to Isaiah's words a few times more in his oration, seeing in them a presage of the future mission of the Church which – through his missionaries – carried Good Tidings up to the edge of the world. Birkowski used, among others, the following words of the prophet with reference to Raymond and clergymen – sons of St. Dominic – preaching the gospel in other continents: "When you pass through the waters, I *will be* with you; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow you. When you walk through the fire, you shall not be burned, Nor shall the flame scorch you. [...] I gave Egypt for your ransom, Ethiopia and Seba in your place. Since you were precious in my sight, you have been honoured, and I have loved you; therefore I will give men for you, and people for your life. Fear not, for I *am* with you; I will bring your descendants from

45. See: O., p. 257.

46. On Jason see: P. Grimal, *Słownik mitologii*, pp. 168–169.

47. See: Isa 18:7; O., p. 256.

48. Isa 60:1.

49. Isa 60:3.

the east, and gather you from the west; I will say to the north, 'Give them up!' and to the south, 'Do not keep them back!' Bring My sons from afar, and my daughters from the ends of the earth"<sup>50</sup> (O., p. 248).

In his oration, the Dominican preacher did not limit himself solely to using sophisticated similes which were meant to convince the listeners of the significance of Dominican missions, but he mentioned also a few historical facts in connection with them, like the establishment of the mission in Congo and in Indian Goa.<sup>51</sup> He could do it by availing himself of the historical literature of the day, in particular the work under the title *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI* by the Italian Jesuit Giovanni Pietro Maffei<sup>52</sup>. By calling for the testimony of the monk belonging to the Society of Jesus, he intended to prove that it was the Dominicans who were the first to evangelize the territories. He even wrote: "Abandon envy — the first were our Brethren, the dearest Listeners" (O., p. 255). It appears thus to be clear that Birkowski readily reached for the theme of missions in his speeches. This resulted directly from the very essence of what the Church is, that is after all having the missionary character and from St. Dominic's and his sons' wish to carry the gospel also to pagans.<sup>53</sup> As William Hinnebusch wrote: "Dominican missions grew in a natural way from the soil of the Order and drew on their food from its Founder's spirit."<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, it is surprising that Birkowski, while combining the

50. Isa 43:2–6.

51. The subject matter of Dominican missions at the turn of the medieval times and modern ones was discussed in: A. Walz, *Compendium Historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Romae 1949; W.A. Hinnebusch, *Dominikanie — krótki zarys dziejów*, in: *Dominikanie. Szkice z dziejów zakonu*, red. M.A. Babraj, Poznań 1986, pp. 202–203; W.A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, New York 1965; W.J. Loeding, *Die schwarz-weiße Legion. Missionsgeschichte des Dominikanerordens*, Köln 1974; *Tutto il Vangelo a tutti i popoli. Un ordine religioso riesamina un suo impegno. I Congresso dei Missionari Dominicani. Madrid, 10–16 settembre 1973*, Roma 1975; M. Miławicki, *Misyjne tradycje polskich dominikanów. Przyczynek do badań zaangażowania synów św. Jacka w dzieło misyjne Kościoła katolickiego i Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego (do XVIII wieku)*, in: *Święty Jacek i dziedzictwo dominikańskie*, red. E. Mateja, A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, M. Rowińska-Szczepaniak, Opole 2008, pp. 483–509.

52. *Io. Petri Maffei Bergomatis e Societate Iesu Historiarum indicarum libri XVI. Selectarum item ex India epistolarum eodem interprete libri IIII. Accessit Ignatii Loiolae vita postremo recognita...*, Venetiis 1589, fo. 6.

53. The question of the missionary dimension of Dominican spirituality is discussed, among others, in: M. Miławicki, *Polscy dominikanie na misjach w Chinach w latach 1937–1952*, Kraków 2007, pp. 8–13.

54. W.A. Hinnebusch, *Dominikanie — krótki zarys dziejów*, p. 132.

problem of missions with the person of Raymond, did not mention the Saint's personal engagement in issues connected with the missionary activity. Most probably he did not have detailed knowledge of Raymond's life as he made exclusively the need for making a sea voyage the linking element between the Saint and missionaries leaving for other continents, whereas it is Raymond who is acknowledged the main propagator of Dominican missions in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. His contributions in this area include, among others, the opening of the school in Tunis in 1250, in which the Arabic language was taught and students were prepared for missionary work in north Africa and Spain. Similar schools were established then in a few Spanish cities.<sup>55</sup>

It is also worth noting that Birkowski, while undertaking to talk about missions — as it was mentioned — made reference to the debate about freedom of seafaring, which was going on in his days. He indicated that not only in the title of his oration *Raymundus sive mare liberum Sanctis*, but also in its very text itself when he addressed missionaries with the following words: "It's to you, not to the Dutch that the sea is open, speedy angels" [*Vobis ergo et non Batavis, Mare Liberum, o velocissimi Angeli*] (O., p. 256). The preacher's distinction of the words *Mare Liberum* by the use of capital letters and spaced print must be noted. As regards the speech under analysis, Birkowski applied this procedure again only with reference to the name of Jesus, expressing in this way his respect for the God's son and also to the name of his own order (*Sanctissima Dominicana Familia*). In the other case he did it when he wrote about the sons of St. Dominic who got ahead of clergymen not belonging to the Order of Preachers on the missionary trail, wanting at the same time to underline the special import of the fact. The distinction of the words *Mare Liberum* must have resulted from the fact that it was the only direct reference by Birkowski throughout the text to both the title of his oration and Grotius' work, while the reference to the latter made for the Dominican a most significant issue. The preacher did not do that directly, though. In the whole text of the oration, the name of Grotius did not appear at all. That Birkowski did mean that author's work, beside the very reference itself to the title of the treatise, is clearly indicated by the words: "Vobis ergo et non Batavis." The aim of the lawyer from the Netherlands was to prove that the Dutch held the right to sail to India and trade with the inhabitants there, while the claims of the Portuguese to control the sea routes leading to India were groundless.

55. W.A. Hinnebusch, *Dominikanie – krótki zarys dziejów*, pp. 134–135.

In the opinion of Grotius, all the nations were entitled to the right of free seafaring.<sup>56</sup> Thus, it did not make any particular concession for the Netherlands, although – obviously – the theses put forward by Grotius were to serve defence of the country's interests. Birkowski, who was not a lawyer himself, did not intend to enter into legal disputes,<sup>57</sup> which in fact was not necessary in this place. Therefore, he must have meant that freedom of seas should serve – in the first place – not realizing interests of trading, but spreading the Word of God.

#### 4. Final remarks

The texts by Father Fabian Birkowski, which are analysed in this study, offer the evidence of St. Raymond's presence in the Dominican hagiographic writings of the Old Polish times.<sup>58</sup> They are also a manifestation of his cult that – as it was stated at the beginning – basically has not gone beyond the circles of the Order of Preachers. Hence it is in vain to look for sermons devoted to Raymond in the seventeenth-century collections written by clergymen not connected with the Dominican environments. Comparing both texts by Birkowski, we can conclude that they differ from each other as regards both their general expression and the manner of presenting the Saint. In the case of the sermon for St. Raymond's feast day, the main emphasis is laid on showing the hero as a paragon of religious virtues. This way of presenting

56. H. Grotius, *Wolność mórz*, pp. 12–16.

57. This does not mean, however, that in his output Birkowski did not undertake to deal with questions relating to law. Still, they were considerations of philosophical-legal nature, based on the views of St. Thomas Aquinas or – eventually – relating to the Polish system of justice. The Dominican was not interested in disputes concerning concrete legal solutions, though, since that was not his role as a preacher. On the law and justice system in Birkowski's teachings see: M. Petzówna, *Prawo i państwo w kazaniach x. Fabiana Birkowskiego*, Warszawa 1938, pp. 72–91.

58. Hagiographic sermons (including homilies) are acknowledged to be one of the forms of hagiographic writing. Fabian Birkowski's texts under analysis should be included in the group. According to Ignacy Kosmana's definition, "The name hagiographic homily is understood as saying kerygma on the day of the holiday or remembering of a saint. This is not, however, teaching about a saint, although in the content it can make reference to certain aspects of his life. In fact, this is speaking with saint's words and actions of the Good Word, emphasizing his experience and manner of feeling Paschal Mystery, loving Christ and the Church" (I. Kosmana, *Homilia hagiograficzna pół wieku po "Vaticanum II"*, "Studia Koszalińsko-Kołobrzeszkie" 20 (2013) nr 1–2, p. 77). On the subject of Dominican hagiography in Old Poland see: J. Nastalska, *Staropolska hagiografia dominikańska*, in: *Święty Jacek i dziedzictwo dominikańskie*, pp. 273–291.

the figures of Saints is quite typical of this preacher's output. For instance, in *Druga mowa ku czci św. Jacka* [The second speech in honour of St. Hyacinth] included in the collection entitled *Orationes ecclesiasticae* we read about religious persons as those who "have armed the head, the hand and the chest with a helmet of Poverty, a quiver of Obedience and armour of Purity."<sup>59</sup> It is monastic life that — in Birkowski's opinion — in the fullest way enables development of spiritual brightness in themselves. He perceived it in Raymond and devoted his sermon to it. In turn, in the Latin speech from the collection *Orationes ecclesiasticae*, the hero was shown as a model to follow by Dominican missionaries leaving for other continents to spread the Word of God. "We learn about the beginnings of seafaring on open seas," Birkowski wrote, "in Raymond [...] who committed not a fragile boat but a cloak to the sea" (O., p. 248). Hence, the author of the oration concentrated in particular on the Saint's miraculous crossing the sea from Majorca to Barcelona on his cloak. In contrast to his sermon, here this theme was substantially extended, with other biographical elements basically neglected. Raymond's passage gave the preacher the idea to undertake to consider the question of missionary role of the Church, especially the importance of Dominican missions. The Saint's miraculous deed was — after all — the event accentuated in both texts and references to it can be found also in prayers with which Birkowski ended both the sermon and the oration. In the case of the former it was the collection for the Church on St. Raymond's feast day,<sup>60</sup> whereas when it comes to the Latin speech — the prayer composed most probably by Birkowski himself.<sup>61</sup>

59. F. Birkowski, *Druga mowa ku czci św. Jacka, czyli o drogach do wieczności*, in: F. Birkowski, *Mowy kościelne*, p. 28.

60. "Boże, świętego Rajmundzie powołałeś na wielkiego szafarza sakramentu pokuty i cudownie przeprowadziłeś go po falach morskich: daj, abyśmy za jego wstawieniem czynili godne owoce pokuty i zdołali dojść do portu zbawienia wiecznego" ["Lord, you called St. Raymond to be a grand minister of the sacrament of penance and miraculously led him over the sea waves: let us by his mediation make respectful fruit of penance and manage to reach the harbour of eternal salvation"] (*Mszał Rzymski z dodatkiem nabożeństw nieszpornych*, przekład polski, opracowali mnisi opactwa w Tyńcu, Tyniec—Bruges 1956, p. 1087).

61. "Najświętszy Rajmundzie, spójrz na nas z nieba i swoimi modlitwami, które skutecznie wznosisz w raju, dusze nasze i moich słuchaczy, które unoszą się na oceanie tego świata, wspieraj. One bowiem osłabione tyłoma potężnymi burzami raz wznoszą się aż do wysokiego nieba, raz zstępują do otchłani, ty natomiast, św. Rajmundzie, odpoczywasz już w najszczęśliwszym miejscu, módl się za nami. Amen" ["The holiest Raymond, look at us from Heaven and with your prayers, which you successfully raise in Eden, support our souls and my listeners that soar up to the

Despite the indicated differences, it needs stating that both in the sermon and in the oration, Birkowski reached for facts from St. Raymond's life in a rather selective way, doing this to the extent it was necessary regarding the basic question which he concentrated on. He did not differ in this respect from other preachers of the day, who – as Zbigniew Hadrych wrote – from saints' biographies drew exclusively elements "which were most useful regarding realization of intended points in their sermons."<sup>62</sup> Birkowski treated biographical elements as a kind of inspiration to raise certain universal themes present on the constant basis in Catholic speeches.<sup>63</sup> A little different outline of the spiritual silhouette of the Saint, which we come across in the texts under analysis, resulted from the fact that the manner of presenting Raymond was subjected to specific didactic purposes that differed in their essence. The purposes were set by Birkowski himself, since individual sermons were to perform concrete educational roles, finally striving for realization of the general aim of each speech, which – in turn – "was to aid in reaching moral improvement and, in consequence, to contribute to attaining salvation."<sup>64</sup>

Moreover, there emerges from the analysed texts a slightly different image of their author, whom Szymon Starowolski wrote about in the following way: "He is known as a speaker owing to his printed speeches, both in Latin and in Polish, which he used to deliver publicly to a particular delight of the listeners."<sup>65</sup> Inasmuch as in the case of the sermon for St. Raymond's feast day we primarily get to know Birkowski as a theologian who effectively uses a variety of quotes from the Bible and theological literature, in the Latin oration he appears as an experienced erudite skilfully combining biblical themes with elements drawn from the ancient literature of Greece and

high skies, another time descend to the abyss, you, on the other hand, St. Raymond, are resting already in the happiest of places, pray for us. Amen"] (O., p. 260).

62. It was undoubtedly Szymon Starowolski who distinguished himself against this background, combining in his sermons "exhaustive biographic information with didactic content" (Z. Hadrych, *Kazania jako źródło informacji o świętych i epoche*, "Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne" 67 (1997), p. 411).
63. The instances of such themes dealt with in Birkowski's sermons are pointed to by Piotr Stolarski. See: P. Stolarski, *Friars on the Frontier. Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594–1648*, Surrey–Burlington 2010, pp. 111–112.
64. R. Kościelny, *Kazania barokowe jako źródło do badań nad mechanizmami kształtowania postaw mieszkańców Rzeczypospolitej*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 97 (2002), p. 99.
65. S. Starowolski, *De claris oratoribus Sarmatiae*, tłum. E.J. Głębińska, Warszawa 2002, p. 65.

Rome. It is on the two pillars that he basically founded his brilliant metaphors and similes by means of which he made the impact on his listeners, passing to them defined truths of faith and models of conduct. Birkowski, however, did possess a much broader knowledge. He was familiar with historical literature, including works by his contemporaries. The preacher's reaching for Giovanni Pietro Maffei's *Historiarum Indicarum* is a good proof of this. He was also well-acquainted with current political and social problems and here this does not mean internal affairs only, which he made references to in many of his sermons (which was fairly obvious anyway, taking into account the functions performed by him), yet also taking a wider look at European problems and knowledge of the western literature. He expressed that clearly through referring to *Mare liberum* by Grotius.

Returning to the ancient themes which are present in Birkowski's output, especially in speeches included in the collection *Orationes ecclesiasticae*, it should be stressed that the attempt at "Christianisation of motifs known from the ancient literature" was a fairly typical occurrence in the seventeenth-century writings. If Janusz Śniegocki, writing about the application of rather surprising parallels by baroque orators, provides the example of juxtaposing Christ against Heracles and God's Mother against Ariadne,<sup>66</sup> in the context of the oration under analysis it is worth recalling that Birkowski, in turn, saw in St. Raymond a new Arion or Jason and in Dominican missionaries – new Argonauts. The presence of mythological themes in baroque sermons was not approved by everybody, though. In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it was opposed by, for instance, Jesuit preacher Tomasz Młodzianowski who confirmed what the generals of his Order had been recommending since the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in this respect, anyway.<sup>67</sup>

Janusz Śniegocki emphasized that "In the Renaissance rhetoric tradition, homily sermons [...] evoked rational elements rather than emotional ones (*docere*), whereas in thematic-oriented ones (called then accidental) there dominated the function of *movere*".<sup>68</sup> Inasmuch as the above-given

66. J. Śniegocki, *Exempla i koncepty barokowe w kazaniach o świętych Fabiana Birkowskiego*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne" 27 (1979) nr 1, p. 125. Cf. T. Bieńkowski, *Antyk – Biblia – Literatura. Antyczne i biblijne inspiracje oraz symbole*, in: *Problemy literatury staropolskiej*, red. J. Pelc, seria 1, Wrocław 1972, pp. 341–343.
67. T. Bieńkowski, *Z badań nad recepcją antyku w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku*, "Pamiętnik Literacki" 3 (1968), pp. 35–36.
68. J. Śniegocki, *Z problemów kaznodziejstwa Fabiana Birkowskiego (1566–1636)*, "Studia Płockie" 5 (1977), p. 69.

observation was – in his opinion – still fully applicable to Skarga's output, in the case of Birkowski, independent of the form and character of delivering the speech, the service of the word was expected to cause the listener to be moved."<sup>69</sup> This view generally should be accepted to be true. In the "Foreword" to the collection under the title *Kazania na niedziele i święta doroczne* [Sermons for Sundays and annual holidays] the task which Birkowski set for himself to accomplish, was defined in the following words: "I should say: discern and do not forget."<sup>70</sup> The preacher meant, first of all, moving the receiver through referring to the "spiritual senses" in the latter,<sup>71</sup> which he achieved by making use of the pictorial style offering for him one of the main persuasive techniques. Inasmuch as Birkowski – which is confirmed by studies – did, without a doubt, apply the principle governing him in the sermons prepared for Sundays and feast days,<sup>72</sup> he used "pictorial thinking" which was supposed to move listeners' feelings to an even higher extent in the speeches contained in the collection *Orationes ecclesiasticae*. This is proved, if only, by juxtaposing the two texts under analysis, of which it is the Latin oration that is decisively to a larger degree filled with unusual artistic descriptions and similes. We perceive them, for example, already in the very characteristics of Raymond's sea passage which – as Birkowski wrote – "Shut the mouths of the horrible flatfish and sea dogs whose bellies that were ripped open revealed whole bodies and people clad in armour [...], he shut those fire-breathing mouths with the highest faith, frightened them with a burning torch, that is the zeal of God's glory and majesty" (O., p. 252). The Dominican thus wrote into the trends which were vitally present in baroque rhetoric "putting emphasis on elocution and the studies on the so-called affections, that is skilful making use of different rhetorical procedures with the aim to influence the receiver's psyche and emotions."<sup>73</sup> The pictorial

69. J. Śniegocki, *Z problemów kaznodziejstwa*, p. 69.

70. F. Birkowski, *Do łaskawego Czytelnika przemowa. O czytaniu Ksiąg nabożnych*, in: F. Birkowski, *Kazania na niedziele i święta doroczne*, Kraków 1628, p. 6.

71. The question of spiritual senses is discussed in: P.L. Gavrilyuk, S. Coakley, *Duchowe zmysły. Percepcja Boga w zachodnim chrześcijaństwie*, tłum. A. Gomola, Kraków 2014.

72. See: M. Rowińska-Szczepaniak, "Sensus disciplinae" według Fabiana Birkowskiego – konteksty filozoficzne, "Kwartalnik Opolski" 65 (2019) nr 1, pp. 3–22.

73. S. Dubisz, *Fabian Birkowski – kaznodzieja obozowy i barokowy konceptysta*, in: S. Dubisz, *Język i polityka. Szkice z historii stylu retorycznego*, Warszawa 1992, p. 63. Cf. E. Ulčínaitė, *Teoria retoryczna w Polsce i na Litwie w XVII wieku. Próba rekonstrukcji schematu retorycznego*, Wrocław 1984, p. 137.



style applied by the preacher doubtlessly realized the same assumptions which, in his work entitled *De eloquentia sacra et humana libri XVI*, French Jesuit Nicolas Caussin – a well-known speaker and confessor to Louis XIII – wrote about. He maintained that in order to move receivers one must present to them “living descriptions of things, which in a subtle manner touch intimate feelings; the speech should be pictorial, presenting things which one speaks about, to the eyes of listeners.”<sup>74</sup>

The conclusions resulting from the comparison of both analysed texts dealing with St. Raymond confirm – as underlined by the latest studies<sup>75</sup> – the special character of the collection *Orationes ecclesiasticae* in the output of Fabian Birkowski, encouraging to conduct further studies on the speeches included in it and their place in the Latin literature of Old Poland.<sup>76</sup> The establishments which were made seem, at the same time, to contradict – at least when looking from the perspective of a historian of literature – the thesis formulated by Antoni Szlagowski at the beginning of the previous century that “the Polish works of Father Birkowski are of greater significance than his Latin ones.”<sup>77</sup>

74. E. Ulčínaitė, *Teoria retoryczna*, p. 140. Cf. D. Platt, *Kazania pogrzebowe z przełomu XVI i XVII wieku. Z dziejów prozy staropolskiej*, Wrocław 1992, pp. 82–83.

75. See: B. Gaj, “Łaciński” święty Jacek Fabiana Birkowskiego, czyli kilka słów od tłumaczki, in: *Mowy kościelne*, pp. 43–52.

76. The state of the studies on the collection *Orationes ecclesiasticae* to date include, among others, the following publications: M. Rowińska-Szczepaniak, *Święty Jacek – Patron Królestwa Polskiego*, w: *Mowy kościelne*, pp. VII–XXX; M. Rowińska-Szczepaniak, “Regius Vates”. *Mowa rocznicowa Fabiana Birkowskiego wyrazem pamięci o Stanisławie Sokołowskim*, in: “Wszystko tu najdzie, co wy macie w głowie”. *Świat prozy staropolskiej*, red. E. Lasocińska, A. Czechowicz, Warszawa 2008, pp. 228–237; M. Rowińska-Szczepaniak, “Vocatus a Deo, electus a Fratribus”. *Ojciec Wojciech Sękowski jako rex-puer w mowie żałobnej Fabiana Birkowskiego*, in: *Filologiczny widnokrąg. Obrazy stare i nowe*, red. K. Kossakowska-Jarosz, J. Nocoń, Opole 2012, pp. 79–87; M. Rowińska-Szczepaniak, *Czy na pewno “UT SUPRA”? Sylwetka duchowa św. Jana z Kęt w parenetycznej narracji Fabiana Birkowskiego*, “Saeculum Christianum” 2 (2020), pp. 74–88.

77. A. Szlagowski, *Żywot*, p. 45.

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# Abstrakt

Maria Rowińska-Szczepaniak

*Ślady kultu św. Rajmunda z Penyafort w przepowiadaniu Fabiana Birkowskiego. Przyczynek do badań nad dominikańskim piśmiennictwem hagiograficznym w dawnej Polsce*

Święty Rajmund z Penyafort nie jest współcześnie w Polsce postacią powszechnie znaną. Podobnie było w okresie staropolskim, kiedy to popularnością cieszył się jedynie w dość wąskich kręgach. Niewątpliwie znany był on wówczas w środowisku Wydziału Prawa Akademii Krakowskiej, gdzie katedra opracowanych przez niego *Dekretów* Grzegorza IX, przewidziana w akcie fundacyjnym wydanym przez Kazimierza Wielkiego, przetrwała aż do reformy kołłątajowskiej. Jeśli w gronie prawników Rajmund ceniony był jako wybitny jurysta, to jako świętego czczono go przede wszystkim w Zakonie Kaznodziejskim, którego był trzecim w historii generałem. O obecności jego kultu wśród dominikanów świadczą m.in. omówione w artykule dwa teksty barokowego kaznodziei Fabiana Birkowskiego OP. Jest to *Kazanie na dzień S. Raymunda*, zamieszczone w zbiorze *Kazań na święta doroczne* (Kraków 1620) oraz łacińska mowa zatytułowana *S. Raymundus sive mare liberum Sanctis*, pochodząca ze zbioru *Orationes ecclesiasticae* (Kraków 1622). Prezentując sylwetkę Rajmunda, kaznodzieja w obu tekstach skoncentrował swoją uwagę na jego przepłynięciu na płaszczu dominikańskim z Majorki do Barcelony. Cud przypisywany świętemu stanowił dla Birkowskiego punkt wyjścia do dalszych rozważań, które w przypadku kazania dotyczyły duchowej światłości, w przypadku zaś łacińskiej oracji – misyjnej działalności Kościoła, a zwłaszcza misji dominikańskich. W kazaniu o św. Rajmundzie autor daje się poznać jako teolog sprawnie posługujący się różnorodnymi cytatami z Biblii i literatury teologicznej, z kolei w łacińskiej oracji jawi się on jako wytrawny erudyta, umiejętnie łączący wątki biblijne z elementami zaczerpniętymi z literatury grecko-rzymskiego antyku. Analiza porównawcza tekstów potwierdza szczególnie charakter zbioru *Orationes ecclesiasticae* w twórczości Birkowskiego, zachęcając do dalszych studiów nad zamieszczonymi w nim mowami oraz ich miejscem w literaturze łacińskiej dawnej Rzeczypospolitej.

**Słowa kluczowe:**  
hagiografia,  
kaznodziejstwo,  
dominikanie,  
Fabian Birkowski,  
św. Rajmund  
z Penyafort

# Abstract

Maria Rowińska-Szczepaniak

*The traces of the cult of St. Raymond of Penyafort in the preaching of Fabian Birkowski. A contribution to studies on the Dominicans' hagiographic writings in Old Poland*

**Keywords:**

hagiography,  
preaching,  
Dominicans,  
Fabian Birkowski,  
Saint Raymond  
of Penyafort

St. Raymond of Penyafort is not contemporarily a well-known figure in Poland. Neither was he in the days of Old Poland, when he enjoyed popularity only within rather narrow circles. Without a doubt, in that period he was known in the environment of scholars connected with the Faculty of Law of Cracow Academy, where the chair dealing with his compilation of *The Decretals of Gregory IX*, stipulated in the foundation act issued already by Casimir III the Great, survived until the reform introduced by Hugo Kołłątaj (the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century). If he was regarded as an outstanding legal theorist in the circle of lawyers, he was worshipped as a saint primarily in the Order of Preachers, the third General in the history of which he had been. The evidence of the presence of his cult among the Dominicans are, among others, the two texts of Fabian Birkowski, OP, a Baroque preacher, which are discussed in this article. They are *Kazanie na dzień S. Raymunda* [A sermon for the Feast Day of St. Raymond] included in the collection *Kazania na święta doroczne* [Sermons for Annual Holidays] (Cracow 1620) and the Latin speech under the title *S. Raymundus sive mare liberum Sanctis*, from the collection *Orationes ecclesiasticae* (Cracow 1622). In both texts, while making a presentation of the figure of St. Raymond, the preacher concentrated his attention on the Saint's crossing the sea between Majorca and Barcelona on his Dominican's cape. The miracle attributed to the Saint made for Birkowski the starting point for further considerations which – in the case of the sermon – concerned the spiritual light, whereas in that of the Latin oration – the missionary's activity of the Church and in particular – Dominicans' missions. In the sermon devoted to St. Raymond, the preacher appears as a theologian, skillfully making use of various quotations from the Bible and theological literature. In turn, the oration reveals his potential of an experienced erudite, skillfully combining biblical motifs with elements drawn from the literature of Greek-Roman antiquity. The comparative analysis of the texts confirms the

particular character of the collection *Orationes ecclesiasticae* in the output of Father Birkowski, encouraging scholars to conduct further studies on the speeches included in it, as well as on their place in the literature written in Latin in the days of Old Poland.