

Pictorial compilations in the early modern period. A case study on Jan Sarkander's veneration in Hungary

Tímea N. Kis* 

University of Tokaj, Sárospatak, Hungary

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Received: January 19, 2026 • Accepted: February 12, 2026

Published online: March 10, 2026

© 2026 The Author(s)



ABSTRACT

This study examines the interplay between the biographies and iconographies of Jan Sarkander and St. John of Nepomuk in the early modern period, highlighting how they influence each other's appearance and veneration. The analysis reveals that a depiction in an altarpiece in Bratislava originally representing Sarkander was misidentified as St. John of Nepomuk due to contextual elements rather than explicit inscriptions. Furthermore, the study discusses how the pictorial compilations were shaped by the donators' or publishers' needs or the practicality.

KEYWORDS

Jan Sarkander, St. John of Nepomuk, pictorial compilation, cult of saints, Bohemia, Bratislava, Clarisses, sisters of saint Elisabeth

For several years now, a notable and widely accepted practice has come to the fore: the reuse of portraits in the early modern period to represent different individuals. This was primarily achieved by altering the accompanying captions or inscriptions that accurately identified the person. This phenomenon could be predominantly observed in engravings, and less so in paintings (N. Kis, 2024).

* Corresponding author. E-mail: kis.timea@unithe.hu

A relevant Hungarian example of such pictorial compilation can be found in the genealogy of the Hungarian nobleman Pál Esterházy, titled *Trophaeum Nobilissimae ac Antiquissimae Domus Estorasionae*, published in Vienna in 1700 (Esterházy, 1700). This volume contains numerous fictive biographies that are complemented by reused engravings, which visually represent fictional ancestors described in the text and originally depicted other, primarily Italian noblewomen and noblemen unrelated to the Esterházy family (Buzási, 2000). In these instances, the primary criterion for identification relied less on the concept of *vera effigies* (i.e., the accurate depiction of the Esterházy ancestors' true likeness) and more on the inscriptions themselves. In the early modern period and even before, the authenticity of a painting was not assessed using the same methods as today; identification by genuine effigies was not always a primary concern for artists and patrons. These images were primarily regarded as a kind of documentary artifact that represented reality through both text and imagery.

In the case of historical portraits, this phenomenon may have been caused not only by the need for representation in a broader context but also by the cost-effectiveness of the planning and execution processes. This is how King Matthias II Holy Roman Emperor and Hungarian King transformed into the appearance of Ferdinand II, when an engraving, which had been created about the coronation of King Matthias II of Hungary in Bratislava in 1608, identifying him on it with the inscription of his half-length portrait,¹ was republished by Caspar Ens in 1627 in his book titled *Fama Austriaca*. In this volume the mentioned engraving was re-edited and identified as the coronation of Ferdinand II in Bratislava in 1618 in such a way that the inscription around the portrait was changed (Ens, 1627, 78–79). The reason may be similar to those cases when the nobleman and Palatinal Governor Baron Imre Czobor (Widemann, 1652), with his distinctive face, later became the Polish military commander Stefan Czarniecki (*Türkische...*, 1663), and even Johann Andreas Giovanelli von Gerstburg, who served as *Oberkammergraf* in Kremnica (Oertel, 1665).

In this essay, I examine a special case of these pictorial compilations, when the biography and, therefore, the iconography of two saints, namely Jan Sarkander and St. John of Nepomuk, influenced each other to such an extent that, thanks to the pictorial compilation, they eventually swapped places in an altarpiece.

The veneration of St. John of Nepomuk spread rapidly and achieved widespread significance throughout Europe, including Hungary, from at least the 17th century. The cult of this martyr intensified following the Battle of Bílá Hora in 1620. After it, the destroyed tomb of the martyr in the St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague was soon rebuilt; it was accompanied by the incorporation of new narratives, such as punitive miracles, into his veneration, as detailed in his contemporary and later biographies. However, St. John remained largely unknown in Hungary until the late 17th century, necessitating the establishment of his iconography and significance across various societal strata. This process enabled the integration of newly introduced cult elements into the daily lives of believers. In addition to biographies, visual representations, including engravings, along with an increasing number of altarpieces and sculptures, served as effective media for promoting the necessity of the saint's veneration within local communities and contributed to the standardization of his cult beyond the context of his canonization (N. Kis, 2023a). However,

¹National Széchényi Library App. M. 50.

since the cult of the martyr suddenly arrived in Hungary, his early depictions typically followed familiar prefigurations from abroad and were less the result of local artistic invention.

Bratislava emerged as one of the cities in Hungary where the earliest veneration of St. John of Nepomuk can be distinctly identified. The local presence and importance of St. John's early veneration is well illustrated by the fact that in 1726, Imre Esterházy, Archbishop of Esztergom, entrusted Joseph Kurtz, a Tirolean artist residing in the city, to create a painting entitled *The Apotheosis of St. John of Nepomuk*. In this artwork, which is kept in the Mirbach Palace in Bratislava, the martyr is depicted with outstretched arms, bestowing blessings upon angels who carry the coat of arms of Bratislava and Hungary. From our perspective, it is more important that the local Clarisses have been honoring the martyr since the late 17th century, serving as one of the earliest local proponents of this cult. The Abbess Éva Franciska Csáky wrote the first Hungarian biography of St. John of Nepomuk; this manuscript was completed in 1701, translated from the biography of Johann Christoph Bacšina while the initial three printed Hungarian prayers to the martyr were edited in 1713 in their volume titled *Jó illatu Rósás Kert* (Sigray, 1713). Another pictorial representation associated with the cult of St. John, connected to the Clarisses in Bratislava, can be found nowadays in the local cloister of the Sisters of Saint Elisabeth (N. Kis, 2023b)² (Fig. 1). This was formerly owned by a member of the Clarisses in Bratislava, which can also be linked to the early Hungarian veneration of St. John of Nepomuk. This altarpiece, created circa the mid-18th century, was intended for private devotion, primarily to support its owner in contemplating the sufferings of the martyr. The artwork features five small panels surrounding a larger central panel, which has been modified over time to depict the Holy Family. It is plausible that the original central image portrayed the martyrdom of St. John of Nepomuk, as three of the five smaller panels illustrate various scenes from the martyr's life, rather than his martyrdom. The fourth panel depicts the *Three Magi*, possibly referencing the date of the owner's perpetual vow. The fifth depicted figure in the bottom right small panel is Elżbieta Piast or Łokietkówna (ca. 1305–1380), the wife of Charles I of Hungary, who was venerated as a saint by the Clarisses; however, she was never beatified or canonized.

The upper three paintings appear to illustrate the life and martyrdom of St. John of Nepomuk. The first depicts the Queen's confession, a common and well-known scene; a similar depiction can be found, for example, in the book *Hymnorum sanctorum* by the Czech historian Johann Pontanus, published in 1602 (Pontanus, 1602, 203). The second painting depicts the dead body of the martyr crowned by angels in the feretory, which is also a conventional representation, similar to the usual funeral pictures of the age (Szilárdfy, 2003, 216). The third painting, which outwardly depicts the saint's torture, is particularly significant from our perspective (Fig. 2). This scene is also well known, with several analogous paintings and engravings existing within this iconographic tradition. However, this small painting is much more exciting

²A significant challenge in identifying the material heritage of the Order of Saint Clare in Hungary is the *abolitio* ordered by the Holy Roman Emperor and Hungarian King Joseph II. Among the dissolution of contemplative religious orders, the closure of the Clarissen convents happened in 1782. Many pieces of art were lost during the evacuation of the monasteries, but assets used for personal purposes, such as paintings, books, and furniture, remained the property of the nuns, who were permitted to take these items with them upon leaving the monastery to join other orders deemed useful, such as nursing or teaching orders, or to relocate to relatives or other Clarissen cloisters abroad. It was stipulated that nuns who chose to live in the nursing Order of the Sisters of Saint Elisabeth would receive higher annual salaries (K. Kis, 2023b). As a result, many of the artworks originally owned by the Clarisses of Bratislava have been preserved to the present day by the Elisabethinae (K. Kis, 2023b).



Fig. 1. Altarpiece with the scene of St. John of Nepomuk, mid-18th century, Bratislava, Sisters of Saint Elisabeth

than it seems at first glance: it depicts a man whose hands are not bound, despite the apparent torture inflicted upon him by a soldier wielding a torch on the left side of the composition. The figure bears large wounds on both sides of his body, at the ribs, and another on his throat. Notably, the man's expression remains peaceful, with the names Jesus, Mary, and Anne inscribed near his mouth, suggesting that the martyr was praying to them. It should be emphasized that biographers of St. John of Nepomuk pointed out that the martyr prayed solely to Jesus and Mary during his tortures, and there are no references in 17th- and 18th-century biographies indicating that he prayed to St. Anne as well. This depiction was not a resolution of artistic invention, the iconographic elements were deliberate: the representation of the martyr's wounds and the inclusion of St. Anne serve to clarify the identity of the figure portrayed in the painting.

The person who actually appears in this painting is Jan Sarkander (1576–1620), a Polish-Czech-Moravian Roman Catholic priest, who was tortured and killed in Olomouc in 1620 during the Thirty Years' War, and not St John of Nepomuk. As Elżbieta Adamiak notes, Sarkander is referred to as a "conflict saint" (*Konfliktheiliger*), whose canonization has not been



Fig. 2. The upper right bottom panel of the altarpiece about the saint's torture, mid-18th century, Bratislava, Sisters of Saint Elisabeth

met with unanimous approval since his death (Adamiak, 2013, 116). He is recognized as a martyr of the era of conflicts, specifically during the Thirty Years' War, and is now remembered less for his defense of the seal of confession or his inexorable opposition to Protestantism, but rather for his unwavering commitment to his faith.

Sarkander, who came from a family of Polish gentry, studied at the Jesuit colleges in Olomouc, Prague, and Graz, then became a parish priest in Holeszów, a small town with a predominantly Protestant population, where he worked with the support of the Catholic Captain Władysław Popiel Łobkowicz. His attempts at local conversion led to several conflicts, which intensified after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. In 1618, Łobkowicz was also arrested, after which Sarkander made a pilgrimage to Czestochowa.³ This gave rise to rumors that the real purpose of the trip was not pilgrimage, but an attempt to exert military influence, in that he would have called on the troops of the commander of Lisów for help as the emperor's envoy. The priest's former enemy, Judge Václav Bítovský, finally arrested him and subjected him to torture, demanding that he reveal the contents of Łobkowicz's confessions. When he had refused it, he died shortly afterwards as a result of the torture he had suffered in February 1620.

³This place of pilgrimage also played an important role in the legend of St. John of Nepomuk.

After the Battle of Bílá Horá, his case was also investigated, and his story served to justify Protestant excesses and unwavering faith (Hošková, 1995, 6–7).

The torture was indeed very cruel. Directly after Sarkander's death, Cardinal Franz Seraph von Dietrichstein (František Serafín z Ditrichštejna, 1570–1636), Archbishop of Olomouc, reported to Pavlo Michn, imperial secretary of Vácínov, on 8 April 1620, based on eyewitness accounts that the priest was tortured, among others, with torches and a sulphur-containing mixture so severely that his internal organs were visible and his ribs burnt (Zlámál, 1990, 56; Fiala, 2001, 574). The same month, he had a *Flugblatt* printed in German and Latin in Vienna, in which Sarkander's life and martyrdom could be read. It became accompanied by a copper-plate engraving by Tobiáš Biden depicting the scene of the torture, which he distributed throughout Europe. This pamphlet is the earliest direct evidence of the spread of the cult of Sarkander (Fiala, 2001, 574). Since the testimonies of those who participated in the torture were also available, the details of the torture soon became known, including the fact that even in the midst of the most painful torments, Sarkander said nothing, except the names of Jesus, Mary, and St. Anne. The archbishop appointed an eyewitness, Judge Jan Scintilla of Olomouc, to document his recollections of the torture. Scintilla compiled these accounts and submitted a detailed report to Dietrichstein in 1621, noting that the martyr had prayed to Jesus, Mary, and Anne – this moment has already appeared in Dietrichstein's *Flugblatt* (Fiala, 2001, 574). This text played a significant role in promoting the veneration of Sarkander.

Cardinal Dietrichstein collected the bloody clothes of Sarkander and presented them to the treasury of the local cathedral, indicating that he consciously fostered the cult of the martyr (Zlámál, 1990, 55–56). Moreover, Jan Sarkander's brothers, Mikuláš and Pavel, had a memorial plaque erected on the wall next to the martyr's grave, which also depicted the scene of his torture (Zlámál, 1990, 56; Fiala, 2001, 577). His grave quickly became a site of pilgrimage, and details of his life and suffering were disseminated through various publications. These texts and images are significant because the earliest narratives were written shortly after his death, allowing the details of his suffering to be accurately recorded alongside his martyrdom. Many aspects of Sarkander's life and martyrdom, as well as his iconography, show similarities to those of St. John of Nepomuk. Furthermore, Sarkander's association with the martyrdom of confession emerged well before the beatification of St. John of Nepomuk. Numerous depictions show the two saints together, and several sermons and written sources can be identified, highlighting the similarities between their lives and sufferings (Zlámál 1990, 60–61).

A notable aspect in comparing the two martyrs is their behavior during torture. Interestingly, Jan Ignác Dlouhowský, a priest at the Týn Church in Prague, was the first to mention in his 1668 manuscript, titled *Proto-Historicus vitae S. Joannis Nepomuceni* (Dlouhowský ed. Berghauer, 1761, 45) that St. John of Nepomuk invoked the names of Jesus and Mary during his suffering. Earlier hagiographers, such as Jan Dubravius in his *Historia Regni Bohemiae* (Dubravius, 1552) and Georgius Plachý in his *Fama Posthuma* (Plachý, 1641), did not include this detail. It is possible that this detail was influenced by the accounts of Dietrichstein and Scintilla regarding Sarkander's martyrdom. The omission of St. Anne's name in this context may have been intended to create a clearer distinction. Thus, this detail can be viewed as a topos, prevalent in the biographies of both Sarkander and St. John of Nepomuk.

Even parallels have been identified between the iconographies and patron functions of these two martyrs during the early modern period. This phenomenon is not unique; for instance, in her doctoral dissertation, Kata Ágnes Szűcs convincingly demonstrated how significant elements

of the legend of Elisabeth of Hungary, such as the so-called „miracle of the roses,” were integrated into the biographies and iconography of her niece, Elisabeth of Portugal (Szűcs, 2019). A similar occurrence can be observed in the veneration of St. John of Nepomuk and Jan Sarkander. As noted by Bohumil Zlámál, early depictions of Jan Sarkander are significant because they were created shortly after his death, coinciding with the dissemination of his story of suffering (Zlámál, 1990, 59). The comparison between St. John of Nepomuk and Sarkander, considering similarities in their life stories, such as their tortures, the fragrance of their deceased bodies, their commitment to the secrecy of confession, and their iconography, occurred well before the beatification of St. John of Nepomuk. Zlámál provided several written and visual examples in his study (Zlámál, 1990). I would like to highlight another one, helping to understand this phenomenon.

The biography of St. John of Nepomuk, edited in the *Acta Sanctorum*, written by Bohuslav Balbín, one of the most important hagiographers of the early modern period, was republished in Augsburg in 1725, supplemented with several engravings (Vita..., 1725). The publication was donated by Frantisek Julián von Braida (1654–1727), auxiliary bishop of Olomouc. The Latin volume was illustrated by Johann Andreas Pfeffel; it was one of the first and best-known series of engravings depicting the martyr's life and veneration. Among these, the picture after the title page shows the Apotheosis of St. John of Nepomuk surrounded by several saints named John, and below him, in a stressed position, Sarkander, described as *Venerabilis* (venerable),⁴ with a face quite similar to that in the Bratislava painting; he is the only one who looks at the viewer of the engraving. It is less well known that Pfeffel also made a series of German-language engravings of the Prague martyr, which follow the Latin compositions, but in a simpler style; it was edited just in 1730 (*Das Leben...*, 1730). The first engraving of this series also shows the Apotheosis of St. John of Nepomuk, with Sarkander depicted in half profile below, whose face, however, has not yet been individualized, because the engraver presumably did not yet have access to an authentic portrait of Sarkander. The two series of engravings also suggest that, on the one hand, attempts were made to interpret the two martyrs together at that time, while on the other hand, the rapidly spreading veneration of St. John of Nepomuk was considered suitable for strengthening efforts to obtain the Holy See's approval of the veneration of Sarkander, who enjoyed more local veneration. However, it is important to note that the transmission of the cult elements in this case was not one-sided. It was not solely the widely recognized legends and iconography of St. John of Nepomuk that influenced the locally revered Sarkander. As the previous example illustrates, the authentic contemporaneous reports of the torture of the priest in Olomouc, documented in writing, also played a significant role in shaping both the content and imagery related to the suffering of the priest in Prague.

The final question is: who was originally the martyr depicted on the mentioned altarpiece in Bratislava? Fortunately, we do not need to speculate when identifying the direct antecedent of this small painting. It originates from an engraving by Anton Birckhardt, one of the most significant Czech etchers of the early modern period. This collection, depicting Sarkander's life and suffering, comprises eleven pieces and was published in the *Oslava Marchionatus Moraviae Flumen* in 1728 (*Oslava...*, 1728). This volume contains a total of five engravings depicting the life, martyrdom, and veneration of Sarkander, the third of which, called *vera effigies*, was the

⁴This refers to the ongoing beatification process.

prototype for the small painting on the mentioned altarpiece in Bratislava (Fig. 3). An examination of the engravings in this volume also reveals that the original painted version of this depiction of Jan Sarkander's suffering was located in the cathedral in Olomouc (Fig. 4). This version was initially part of an altarpiece, which was placed in the chapel that was converted into the town's torture chamber in 1704 to honor all saints (*Oslava...*, 1728, 46).⁵ The message conveyed by this altarpiece was clear to the believers: through this



Fig. 3. Sarkander's torture from the *Oslava Marchionatus Moraviae Flumen*, 1728

⁵Instead, nowadays there is a chapel built between 1808 and 1912 by Franziskus von Sales Bauer, Archbishop of Olomouc, in which part of the torture chamber has been preserved (Hošková, 1995, 7). The engraving presented in the volume shows the original formation of the chapel, with the torture device called equus in the background and the mentioned altarpiece in the foreground on the right, a detail of which can be clearly seen in the painting with Sarkander's characteristic hand gesture.



Fig. 4. Sarkander's modified torture chamber from the *Oslava Marchionatus Moraviae Flumen*, 1728

representation, Sarkander emerged as a true symbol of faith, in effect a *sigillum fidei*, signifying that despite his death, he continues to live, as the Catholic Church after the battle of Bílá Horá in Bohemia.

The question arises whether it was a deliberate artistic choice to include a painting of Jan Sarkander's torture in the series depicting the life and martyrdom of St. John of Nepomuk? In my view, this was merely a coincidence. At that time, Jan Sarkander's veneration and iconography were not well known in Hungary, and there is no evidence that he was venerated by the Clarisses in Bratislava. The owner of the altarpiece likely did not realize that one of the small paintings depicted a figure different from St. John of Nepomuk. Therefore, I believe this instance can also be regarded as a pictorial compilation: the figure depicted is indeed St. John of Nepomuk, but he is recognized not through an inscription of his name, but by the overall context, as the other painting also represents him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adamiak, E. (2013). Gemeinschaft der Heiligen als Versöhnungssymbol? Jan Sarkanders Leben gedeutet im Horizont der Ökumene. *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte*, 26: 116–126.
- Buzási, E. (2000). Fikció és történetiség az Esterházy család ősgalériájában és a Trophaeum metszeteiben. In: Mikó Á., Sinkó K. (Eds.), *Történelem-kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatáról Magyarországon. Vezető a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállításához*, MNG, Budapest, pp. 411–424.
- Csáky, É. F. (1701). *Nepomucenus szent János, Prága várossának fővebbik Templomában szent Vidnél lévő canonok Pap Úrnak Szentséges élete és Martiromsága, mely sok féle bizonyos írásokból egyben szedettvén elsőbben Deák nyelven, az Egyházi Fejedelmek engedelméből, azután Német Nyelvre bocsátattott és Németből Magyarra fordítatot ezen Szent tiszteletinek előrehitására*. In: [Szentek élete], s.l., pp. 1–46. ELTE University Library and Archives, reference number: A14.
- Das Leben... (1730). *Das Leben des Heiligen Johannis von Nepomuck, Als eines Ertz-Martyrers über das Beicht-Sigill*. Johann Andreas Pfeffel, Augspurg.
- Dlouhoweský, J.I. ed. Berghauer, J.T.V. (1761). *Protomartyr poenitentiae ejusque sigilli custos semper fidelis Divus Joannes Nepomucenus, Tomo Secundo*. Veith, Augustae Vindelicorum.
- Dubravius, J. (1552). *Historiae Regni Boiemiae: De Rebus Memoria Dignis, in illa Gestis, ab Initio Boiomerum, qui ex Illyria venientes, eandem Boiemiam, in medio propemodum superioris Germaniae sitam, occupauerunt*. [Johann Günther], Prostantiae.
- Ens, C. (1627). *Fama Austriaca: das ist Eigentliche Verzeichnuß denkwürdiger Geschichten... von 16. Jahren hero biß auff und in das Jahr 1627 begeben haben*. Peter von Brachel, Abraham Hohenberg, Köln.
- Eszterházy, P. (1700). *Trophaeum nobilissimae ac antiquissimae Domus estorasiae*, Viennae.
- Fiala, J. (2001). Starší literární ztvárnění martyria sv. Jana Sarkandra. *Česká literatura*, 49: 572–593.
- Hošková, M. (1995). *Jan Sarkander a jeho doba. Katalog k výstavě porádené při příležitosti svatořečení sv. Jana Sarkandra vydalo Vlastivědné muzeum v Olomouci*. Vlastivědné muzeum v Olomouci, Olomouc.
- N. Kis, T. (2023a). Egy szenttisztelet evolúciója, Nepomuki Szent János kultuszának kora újkori változásai és magyarországi sajátosságai. L'Harmattan-Tokaj-Hegyalja Egyetem, Budapest-Sárospatak.
- N. Kis, T. (2023b). Clarisses and the reformation of their Regula. History of an accidentally found painting in Bratislava. *Acta Historiae Artium*, 64: 151–161.
- N. Kis, T. (2024). Báthory Zsigmond XVIII. századi festett portréinak kontextusa és rendhagyó történeti hűsége. In: Monok I., Tamás E. (Eds.), *A Báthoryak kora*. L'Harmattan, Tokaj-Hegyalja Egyetem, Budapest, Sárospatak, pp. 209–237.
- Oertel, H. (1665). *Ortelius Redivivus et Continuatus, Oder Der Ungarischen Kriegs-Empörungen Historische Beschreibung*. Daniel Fievet, Franckfurt am Mayn.
- Oslava... (1728). *Oslava Marchionatus Moraviae Flumen*. Jacob Maximilian Svoboda, Brunae.
- Plachý, G. (1641). *Fama Posthuma Ioannis Nepomuceni*. Typis Academicis, Pragae.
- Pontanus z Braitenberka, J.B. (1602). *Hymnorum sacrorum, de beatissima virgine Maria et s. patronis S.R. Bohoemia. Libri tres*. Nicolaus Straus, Pragae.
- Sigray, E.R. (1713). *Jo illatu Rósás Kert[...] Imádságok, Mellyek Mindenestül Németből fordítottak magyar nyelvre Szent Klára Szerzetében lévő, egy Szerzetes Szüz által [...] Most pedig: Ujjobban Istennek nagyobb dicséretére, és lelkeknek üdvösségére [...] Lacza János Urnak Monostori Sz Lélek páturának, a' Tiszt. Györi Káptalan Custosa, és Kánonoka etc. Istenes költségével ki-nyomtatattanak*. Róden György, Nagyszombat.

- Szilárdfy, Z. (2003). Magyar vonatkozások Nepomuki Szent János kultuszában és ikonográfiájában. In: *Ikonográfia – Kultusztörténet*. Balassi, Budapest, pp. 213–220.
- Szücs, K.Á. (2019). *Árpád-házi Szent Erzsébet és Portugáliai Szent Erzsébet hagiográfiája. A kora újkori szentkultusz kutatásához*. Doktori disszertáció, Szeged, SZTE Irodalomtudományi Doktori Iskola, 2019.
- Türkische und Ungarische Chronica, oder kurtze Historische Beschreibung aller deren, zwischen dem Hochlöblichsten Ertz-Hauß Oesterreich ... und ... dem Türcken ... geführter Kriege*. Gerhard, Christoph, Nürnberg.
- Vita... (1725). *Vita B. Joannis Nepomuceni martyris, authore p. Bohuslao Balbino, Soc. Jesu conscripta, nunc denuo edita, et iconismis præcipua beati acta exhibentis illustrata. Scalpro & sumptibus Joannis Andreæ Pfeffel, Cæsarei chalcographi*. Johann Jacob Lotter, Augustae Vindelicorum.
- Widemann, E. (1652). *Icones illustrium heroum Hungariae*, Viennae.
- Zlámál, B. (1990). *Blahoslavený Jan Sarkander*. České Katolické Nakladatelství, Praha.