

Knygotyra
2026, vol. 86, pp. 16–36

ISSN 0204–2061 eISSN 2345–0053
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15388/Knygotyra.2026.86.2>

THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE POLISH– LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH IN MARIAN SANCTUARIES IN ITALY AND SPAIN IN LIGHT OF 18TH-CENTURY TRAVEL ACCOUNTS

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Summary. *Travel accounts are an important type of egodocument. Their writing convention allows for insight into the reflections of the traveler regarding their individual religious experiences, which are often deeply personal and sometimes even intimate. Analyzing the accounts of residents of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth provides significant information about their religious mentality. Through the lens of descriptions of religious experiences, one can analyze perceptions of the otherness of Romance countries with their strong cultures and compare the understanding of religious cults, particularly Marian devotion, which is highly important for Catholic religiosity. The aim of the article is to highlight these phenomena and issues in light of the accounts of 18th-century residents of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, including those from sanctuaries in Loreto,*

Received: 2025 12 01. Accepted: 2026 05 23

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Montserrat, and Rome, as well as lesser-known places of the Marian cult in Romance countries. Accounts from clergy and laypeople (including women) of various ages and social standings will be utilized. An attempt will be made to answer the question of how much the travel accounts of residents of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth can be considered as egodocuments.

Keywords: *travel accounts, religious mentality, social communication, Romance countries, sanctuaries, Marian devotion.*

Abiejų Tautų Respublikos gyventojų religinės patirties Marijos šventovėse Italijoje ir Ispanijoje atspindys XVIII a. kelionių aprašymuose

Santrauka. *Kelionių aprašymai yra svarbi asmeninių dokumentų rūšis. Jų rašymo tradicija leidžia pažvelgti į keliautojo apmąstymus apie asmenines religines patirtis, kurios dažnai yra labai asmeniškos, o kartais net intymios. Analizuojant Abiejų Tautų Respublikos gyventojų aprašymus, gaunama svarbios informacijos apie jų religinį mentalitetą. Per religinių patirčių aprašymų prizmę galima analizuoti romaniškų šalių, pasižyminčių stipria kultūra, kitoniškumo suvokimą ir palyginti religinių kultūrų, ypač Marijos garbinimo, kuris yra labai svarbus katalikų religingumui, supratimą.*

Šio straipsnio tikslas – išryškinti šiuos reiškinius ir problemas, remiantis XVIII a. Abiejų Tautų Respublikos gyventojų pasakojimais, įskaitant pasakojimus iš Loreto, Montserato ir Romos šventovių, taip pat iš mažiau žinomų Marijos kulto vietų romanų tautų šalyse. Bus remiamasi įvairaus amžiaus ir socialinės padėties dvasininkų bei pasauliečių (įskaitant moteris) pasakojimais. Bus bandoma atsakyti į klausimą, kiek Abiejų Tautų Respublikos gyventojų kelionių pasakojimus galima laikyti egodokumentais.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: *kelionių aprašymai, religinis mentalitetas, socialinė komunikacija, romanų tautų šalys, šventovės, Marijos garbinimas.*

INTRODUCTION

In the cultural realities of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, travel accounts must be viewed as an essential type of egodocument¹. Although

1 See: ROSZAK, Stanisław. Ego-documents – some remarks about Polish and European historiographical and methodological experience. *Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej*,

formulaic by design², their writing convention allows us to learn about the peregrinators' opinions and reflections on their individual religious experiences, often highly personal, and sometimes even intimate. It is worth pointing out fascinating accounts of peregrinations to Romance countries that are religiously close to the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth's inhabitants, although culturally distant in many other respects. Undertaking this type of analysis creates the opportunity to compare experiences of a related nature and identify their similarities and differences.

The travels to the Italian states and Spain in the 18th century were selected for the purposes of this research. Contacts between the inhabitants of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and these countries have received considerable attention in historiography, although interesting areas of research related to this subject still remain. Italy was most often treated as a single area encompassing all the states of the Apennine Peninsula. The classic work on the travels of the Commonwealth's inhabitants to Rome and their stay on the banks of the Tiber was published as early as 1930 by Maciej Loret, a specialist in Italian archival sources³. Also of significance were the subsequent studies of Henryk Barycz⁴,

2013, no. 8, p. 27–42; SZULAKIEWICZ, Władysław. Ego-dokumenty i ich znaczenie w badaniach naukowych. *Przegląd Badań Edukacyjnych*, 2013, no. 16, p. 65–84; CHORAŻY-CZEWSKI, Waldemar; PACEVIČIUS, Arvydas; and ROSZAK, Stanisław, eds. *Egodokumenty: tradycje historiograficzne i perspektywy badawcze*. Toruń, 2015. 199, [1] p.; SCHULZE, Winfried, ed. *Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte*. Berlin, 1996. 348 p.

- 2 DZIECHCIŃSKA, Hanna. *O staropolskich dziennikach podróży*. Warszawa, 1991. 121, [2] p.; DZIECHCIŃSKA, Hanna. Podróż i jej miejsce w świadomości społecznej. *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 1988, vol. 33, p. 27–52; ABRAMOWSKA, Janina. Peregrynacja. In: *Przestrzeń i literatura*. Eds. Michał Głowiński, Aleksandra Okopień-Sławińskiej. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk, 1978, p. 125–158; MĄCZAK, Antoni. Quanta patimur. Z badań nad turystyką czasów renesansu i baroku. *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 1977, vol. 22, p. 93–122; KACZMAREK, Marian. Specyfikacja peregrynacji wśród staropolskich form pamiętnikarskich. In: *Munera litteraria: księga ku czci Prof. Romana Pollaka*. Ed. Włodzimierz Dworzaczek. Poznań, 1964, p. 95–105; KACZMAREK, Marian. Staropolskie relacje peregrynackie – między piśmiennictwem a literaturą. In: *Podróż w literaturze rosyjskiej i w innych literaturach słowiańskich*. Eds. Tomasz Poźniaka, Aleksandra Wieczorek. Opole, 1993, p. 15–18; ROK, Bogdan. Staropolskie opisy podróży jako źródła historyczne. *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Historia*, 2005, no. 2783 (CLXXI), p. 519–524.
- 3 LORET, Maciej. *Życie Polskie w Rzymie w XVIII w.* Roma, 1930. IV, [2], 384 p., [1] ill.
- 4 BARYCZ, Henryk. *Spojrzenia w przeszłość polsko-włoską*. Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków, 1965. 446, [1] p., [26] p. faks.; BARYCZ, Henryk. *Podróże polskie do Neapolu w wiekach XV–XVIII*. Warszawa, 1939. 54 p.

Antoni Mączak⁵, Marian Chachaj⁶, Arvydas Pacevičius⁷, and, among younger scholars, Małgorzata E. Kowalczyk⁸ and Małgorzata Wrześniak⁹. Among the popularizers of this subject, Alojzy Sajkowski¹⁰ deserves special mention. Questions related to travels from the Commonwealth to Spain in the context of social history were addressed by Janusz Tazbir¹¹ and Bogdan Rok¹², while diplomatic contacts were examined by Ryszard Skowron¹³. From the younger generation, Adam Kucharski¹⁴ analyzed them comprehensively. Only some of the researchers mentioned above addressed issues related to religious experience in travel. Particularly noteworthy are the studies of Małgorzata E. Kowalczyk on pilgrimages to Rome and Loreto, and Adam Kucharski's reflections on the encounter of peregrinator from the Commonwealth with Spanish religiosity¹⁵.

- 5 MĄCZAK, Antonii. *Życie codzienne w podróżach po Europie w XVI i XVII w.* Warszawa, 1978. 386, [2] p., [112] p. of plates, [2] folded leaves of plates
- 6 CHACHAJ, Marian. *Związki kulturalne Sieny i Polski do końca XVIII w.: staropolscy studenci i podróżnicy w Sienie: Sienieńczycy i ich dzieła w Polsce.* Lublin, 1998. 264 p.
- 7 PACEVIČIUS, Arvydas. Lietuva svetimšalių keliautojų akimis: intymus pasakojimas ar propaganda? In: *Kelionių aprašymai kaip egodokumentinis paveldas*. Eds. Genovaitė Astrauskienė, Arvydas Pacevičius, Tomas Petreikis. Panevėžys, 2015, p. 8–21; PACEVIČIUS, Arvydas. Kelionių į Lietuvą XV–XIX a. pradžioje aprašymai: ego-dokumentalumo ir tipologijos problema. *Knygotyra*, 2023, vol. 81, p. 7–37.
- 8 KOWALCZK, Małgorzata Ewa. *Obraz Włoch w polskim piśmiennictwie geograficznym i podróżniczym osiemnastego wieku.* Toruń, 2003. 347 p., [5] maps.
- 9 WRZEŚNIAK, Małgorzata. *Roma Sancta, Fiorenza Bella: dzieła sztuki w dziurach polskich podróżników do Włoch w XVI i XVII wieku.* Warszawa, 2010. 280 p.
- 10 SAJKOWSKI, Alojzy. *Włoskie przygody Polaków: wiek XVI–XVIII.* Warszawa, 1973. 256, [4] p., [40] p. of plates, [1] map.
- 11 TAZBIR, Janusz. Staropolskie opinie o Hiszpanach. *Przegląd Historyczny*, 1967, vol. 54, no. 4, p. 605–620.
- 12 ROK, Bogdan. Hiszpania w opinii społeczeństwa Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w XVIII w. *Studia Historyczne*, 1995, vol. 38, no. 3, p. 335–351.
- 13 SKOWRON, Ryszard. *Dyplomaci polscy w Hiszpanii w XVI i XVIII w.* Kraków, 1997. 311, [1] p., [4] p. of plates.
- 14 KUCHARSKI, Adam. *Hiszpania i Hiszpanie w relacjach Polaków: wrażenia z podróży i pobytu od XVI do początków XIX w.* Warszawa, 2007. 544 p.
- 15 KOWALCZYK, Małgorzata Ewa. Loreto w polskiej religijności XVIII w. In: *Czasy nowożytne: studia poświęcone pamięci prof. Władysława Eugeniusza Czaplińskiego w 100 rocznicę urodzin*. Ed. Krystyn Matwijowski. Wrocław, 2005, p. 155–162; KUCHARSKI, Adam. Compostela – Rzym – Loreto: podróż edukacyjna jako nieustająca pielgrzymka. Przykład Jakuba Sobieskiego (1607–1613). In: *Camino Polaco: teologia, sztuka, historia, teraźniejszość*. Eds. Piotr Roszak, Franciszek Mroza, Waldemar Rozykowski. Toruń, 2019, p. 47–62.

A number of individual articles on this subject have also appeared, written, among others, by Jakub Basista¹⁶ and Małgorzata Wilska¹⁷. Noteworthy are the works of the Lithuanian researcher Vika Veličkaitė concerning the place of religiosity in travel. Her studies also highlight the interaction between elites and urban societies, demonstrating how travel functioned as a medium through which religious and social identities were negotiated¹⁸. It is worth signaling the existence of a highly diverse and long-established tradition of broadly conceived humanistic scholarly reflection on religious experience. Research on religious experience is very diverse and has a long tradition. Numerous phenomenologists, often representing different philosophical approaches and perspectives, have referred to this concept. In Europe, this type of research is primarily associated with Edmund Husserl (1850–1938)¹⁹ and his successors, headed by Max Scheler (1874–1928)²⁰ and Rudolf Otto (1869–1937)²¹; later, no less important were the reflections of Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–

16 BASISTA, Jakub. O nawiedzeniu miejsc świętych przez sarmackich podróżników. In: *Rzeczpospolita wielu wyznań: materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji Kraków 18–20 listopad 2002*. Eds. Adam Kaźmierczyk [et. al.]. Kraków, 2004, p. 281–291.

17 WILSKA, Małgorzata. Pielgrzymim szlakiem z Mazowsza do Composteli. In: *Peregrinationes: pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy*. Eds. Halina, Manikowska, Hanna Zaremska. Warszawa, 1995, p. 165–169.

18 VELIČKAITĖ, Vika. *Maldingumo raiška Mykolo Kazimiero Radvilos Žuvelės (1702–1862) dienaštyje*. Daktaro disertacija. Kaunas, 2024. 192, [1] p.; VELIČKAITĖ, Vika. Mykolo Kazimiero Radvilos Žuvelės piligrimystė. *Liaudies kultūra*, 2017, no. 5, p. 18–31; VELIČKAITĖ, Vika. Mykolo Kazimiero Radvilos, vadinamo Žuvele (1702–1762) dienaštis: tarp itinerarijų ir egodokumento. *Bibliotheca Litwana*. Vol: IV, *Privačioji raštija ir egodokumentinis paveldas*. Ed. Arvydas Pacevičius. Vilnius, 2017, p. 105–121; VELIČKAITĖ, Vika. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės didiko Mykolo Kazimiero Radvilos Žuvelės kelionės pagal jo dienaštij. *Darbai ir dienos*, 2015, vol. 64, p. 29–47.

19 Edmund Husserl (1850–1938), a German mathematician and philosopher, was one of the most important founders of phenomenology. He redefined phenomenology as a transcendental-idealist philosophy. His concepts continue to be the subject of scholarly reflection to this day.

20 Max Scheler (1874–1928), a German philosopher, was the founder of modern philosophical anthropology. He was influenced by Husserl, but his works focus on practical philosophy, especially ethics. Among the subjects of his reflection was, in particular, *homo religiosus*.

21 Rudolf Otto (1869–1937), a German philosopher, phenomenologist, Protestant theologian, and scholar of religion. In his philosophy, the most important feature of religion is its irrationality and emotionality, while the central concept is the *numinous* – from Latin *numen*, meaning ‘deity’. Hence, the numinous experience is seen as a phenomenon present in every religion.

1950)²², Mircea Eliade (1907–1986)²³, and, finally, Paul Ricoeur (1913–2005)²⁴ and Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002)²⁵. The works of the scholars mentioned above seem particularly important for European philosophical and social reflection on the phenomenon of religious experience²⁶. On the other hand, in the United States, the greatest influence on this kind of research came in the first half of the 20th century from the thought of William James (1842–1910) and the typology of religious experience he proposed²⁷. Later, they were also inspired by the ideas of anthropologists, especially Clifford Geertz (1926–2006)²⁸. No less

- 22 Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950), a Dutch theologian, scholar of religion, and Egyptologist. He became known for his book *The Phenomenology of Religion*, in which he categorized both ancient and contemporary forms of religious experience. In his view, 'God' was another term for a manic power, which could even lead to identifying religion with magic.
- 23 Mircea Eliade (1907–1986), a Romanian historian of religion, scholar of religion, Indologist, and philosopher of culture. He was a representative of the school of the morphology of the sacred in the study of religion and an initiator of comparative research on fundamental religious structures and archetypes, which manifested themselves through symbols, myths, hierophanies, and rituals.
- 24 Paul Ricoeur (1913–2005), a French philosopher. In his reflection, the central function of hermeneutics is the recovery and restoration of meaning. For his analyses he adopted the model of the phenomenology of religion, and hermeneutics develops, among other things, through the analysis of the symbol, which leads to a dialogue with psychoanalysis.
- 25 Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002), a French sociologist, anthropologist, and philosopher. His work focused primarily on issues in sociological theory, the sociology of culture, and education. He developed a methodological perspective often described as the 'sociology of symbolic forms', reflective sociology, or reflective anthropology.
- 26 See more: SCHELER, Max. *Zur Phänomenologie und Theorie der Sympathiegefühle und von Liebe und Hass*; Mit einem Anhang über den Grund zur Annahme der Existenz des fremden Ich. Halle, 1913. V, 154 p.; OTTO, Rudolf. *The idea of the holy*: an inquiry into the non-rational factor in the idea of the divine and its relation to the rational. London, 1924. 254 p.; WAARDENBURG, Jacque. *Reflections on the study of religion*: Including an essay on the work of Gerardus van der Leeuw. The Hague; Paris; New York, 1978. [10], 284 p.; ELIADE, Mircea. *Traité d'histoire des religions*. Paris, 1949. 405 p.; ELIADE, Mircea. *Histoire des croyances et des idées religieuses*. Paris, 1976–1983. 3 vols.; ELIADE, Mircea. *Le Sacré et le Profane*. Paris, 1967. 186 p.; RICOEUR, Paul. *Husserl: An Analysis of His Phenomenology*. Evanston, 1967. xxii, 238 p.
- 27 William James (1842–1910), an American scholar: philosopher, psychologist, psychophysicist, psychologist of religion, and a precursor of humanistic psychology and phenomenology. See: W. James, *The varieties of religious experience*. New York 2004; idem, *The varieties of religious experience*, Harvard University Press. 1985.
- 28 Clifford Geertz (1926–2006) was an American cultural anthropologist. He developed his concepts on the basis of hermeneutic philosophy, phenomenology, and semiotics. His thought was influenced, among others, by Paul Ricoeur. He was the foremost representative of inter-

critical were psychologists as precursors of such research, among whom Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961) should be mentioned in addition to Sigmund Freud (1856–1939)²⁹.

1. THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF PEREGRINATORS

The records of religious experience analyzed in the travel accounts should be understood as traces of contact with the sacred and the associated personal experience. It was treated as spiritual, determined by one's own culture, defining the perspective of the peregrinator. This kind of experience was subjective, and it took place under most extraordinary circumstances. It occurred while traveling, and therefore in a culturally foreign reality, despite the religious community within the Roman Catholic Church.

Drawing from the descriptions of religious experience contained in the travel accounts of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth's inhabitants, it is possible to analyze their perception of the otherness of the Romance countries' cultures. It is also viable to compare the perception and experience of religious devotions, especially the one to Virgin Mary, which is highly important for Catholic religiosity. The community of faith brought together followers of different denominations of Christianity throughout Europe and played an essential role in forming their identity. It allowed them to identify with the realities of other countries, above the differences resulting from cultural distance or language barriers. Religious practices made it possible to tame the reality they discovered in their travels. By finding parallels to their own realities, they created a sense of connection with foreign society. Not infrequently, they were a form of a bridge for explaining otherness and building a sense of community with a seemingly very different world.

The encounter with the sacred resulted in experiences that can be analyzed from various perspectives, one of them being the peregrinator peregrinators' emotions. They were recorded intentionally, while using multiple rhetorical de-

pretive anthropology. He advocated conducting analysis focused on details and fragments. See: GEERTZ, Clifford. *The interpretation of cultures: selected essays*. New York, 1973, p. 284; GEERTZ, Clifford. *Historia i antropologia. Polska sztuka ludowa*, 1997, vol. 51. p. 6–12.

29 Both psychologists were interested in religious experience, and their reflections became an important inspiration not only for medical research but, perhaps even more importantly, for social and humanistic studies.

vices, or unconsciously. The latter could be analyzed with regard to the amount of provided information and its proportion to other themes appearing in the account. No less important was the confrontation of one's knowledge and related perceptions with live observation and the desire to point out the differences between the two, or simply striving to describe one's own observations accurately. The mentions of sensory experiences are related primarily to eyesight, hearing, and smell. These three senses appear to be crucial in understanding sacred spaces.

2. MARIAN DEVOTION AND THE INDIVIDUAL RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF TRAVELERS

To study the traces of individual experience preserved in travel accounts, it is vital to choose a devotion that could strongly affect the sensitivity of a peregrinator from the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Marian devotion, which enjoyed great popularity throughout Catholic Europe of the early modern era, meets such conditions. It acquired a special character in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth due to the osmosis of the Latin tradition represented by the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek tradition functioning through the Orthodox and Greek Catholic Church³⁰. As a result, Marian devotion became the crucial non-Christological Christian devotion in the non-Protestant churches, which was much more popular than devotion to saints. Promoted in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth by churches, monarchs and social elites, it gained the position of a state-level devotion. It was being affirmed and reinforced by kings, such as John Casimir Vasa (1609–1672) during his Lviv vows in 1656³¹, as well as his successors during numerous Marian coronations in the 18th century, beginning from the one in Częstochowa in 1717³².

30 ISAJEWICZ, Jarosław. Cywilizacje postbizantyjska i łacińska w Europie Środkowo-wschodniej. Strefy współlistnienia i wzajemnych wpływów. In: *Europa Środkowowschodnia od X do XVIII w. – jedność czy różnorodność?*. Eds. Krzysztof Baczkowski, Janusz Smółucha. Kraków, 2005, p. 95–118.

31 The Lviv Oath was an oath made on April 1, 1656 by King John II Casimir. During the ceremony in Lviv Cathedral, the king entrusted the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth to Mary, the Mother of God. He proclaimed her the Queen of the Polish Crown and placed under her protection the inhabitants of all the lands he ruled.

32 WITKOWSKA, Aleksandra. Uroczyste koronacje wizerunków maryjnych na ziemiach polskich w latach 1717–1992. In: *Przestrzeń i sacrum: geografia kultury religijnej w Polsce i jej przemiany w okresie od XVII do XX wieku na przykładzie ośrodków kultu i migracji*

In the early modern era, there were many places of Marian devotion in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, with the most important shrines at Jasna Góra in Częstochowa, Vilnius, Trakai, Berdyczów, Poczajów and Sokal. Most of them still had a medieval provenance, but, in the 17th and 18th centuries, more began to be dynamically established throughout the country. Often these were local centers of worship, frequently shared by devotees of the Western and Eastern rites³³.

One of the essential elements of the cultural landscape in the visited Romance countries described in the travel accounts was places of worship dedicated to Virgin Mary³⁴. This presents the popularity of the Marian devotion and the mentality of Catholic travelers from the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Such locations were considered particularly significant and worth recounting according to the rules dictated by the *ars apodemica* of the time mandating the display of this type of information.³⁵ They were frequently described in the accounts of Sarmatian peregrinators on their travels to Italy. Often, their itineraries were adjusted to include such places.

Loreto may serve as the best example. The fame of ‘Santa Casa’ was widespread in post-Tridentine Catholic Europe, and places of worship modeled on the Loretto shrine were established in, among others, the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth³⁶. They were also featured in reports of travels throughout

pielgrzymkowych. Eds. Antoni Jackowski [et al.]. Kraków, 1996, p. 33–41; CIESIELSKI, Tomasz. Koronacje cudownych obrazów w osiemnastowiecznej Rzeczypospolitej. In: *Cywilizacja prowincji Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*. Eds. Aleksander Jankowski, Andrzej Klonder. Bydgoszcz, 2004, p. 195–204; BARANOWSKI, Andrzej Józef. The Coronation of Miraculous Images of the Holy Madonna in Poland, Bohemia and Moravia: a cultural and artistic phenomenon. *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 2002, no. 1–4, p. 172–225.

33 CHOMIK, Piotr. Miejsca objawień cudownych ikon Matki Bożej z obszaru Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. *Barok*, 2004, vol. 11, p. 145–162; KRACIK, Jan. Święte obrazy wśród grzesznych Sarmatów: ze studiów nad recepcją kulturowego dziedzictwa. *Nasza Przyszłość*, 1991, vol. 76, p. 141–192; ROK, Bogdan. Życie religijne w sanktuariach maryjnych na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej w czasach saskich. In: *Między barokiem a oświeceniem: obyczaje czasów saskich*: praca zbiorowa. Eds. Krystyna Stasiewicz, Stanisław Achremczyk. Olsztyn, 2000, p. 155–165.

34 ROK, Bogdan. Hiszpania w opinii społeczeństwa Rzeczypospolitej Obojga narodów w XVIII wieku, p. 335–352.

35 BRATUŃ, Marek. Ars Apodemica. Narodziny-rozwoj-zmierzch. In: *Wędrować, pielgrzymować, być turystą: podróż w dyskursach kultury: studia*. Ed. Piotr Kowalski. Opole, 2003, p. 67–76.

36 KOWALCZYK, Małgorzata. Ewa. *Obraz Włoch w polskim piśmiennictwie geograficznym i podróżniczym*, p. 223–225.

Czechia and Austria. The Catalan sanctuary of Montserrat was less commonly known in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, but, because of its peculiarity and spectacular location, it was eagerly visited and described as well. A different status was enjoyed by Roman basilicas, treated as part of the hallowed space of the Eternal City, viewed as holy places in their entirety³⁷. The Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore played a key part in this context. It is also worth noting the discovery of lesser-known places of Marian devotion during this trip, mostly of local or regional significance, whose importance was appreciated by the peregrinators.

3. CONTACT WITH THE SACRED IN MARIAN SANCTUARIES IN ITALY AND SPAIN

The emotions associated with experiencing the sacred were expressed with the convention adopted by the authors. This meant emphasizing the role and rank of the shrine visited. Most peregrinators felt obliged to convey the reasons for their emotional experiences. In this case, the belief in an authentic experience with the sacrum, defined by the peregrinator's faith and religiosity, cannot be underestimated.

Contact with the relics commonly sparked excitement, which was expressed in their descriptions. An example is Michał Witosławski (1702–1769)³⁸, who visited Loreto in 1739 during a trip to Rome, as a guardian to young brothers, Gabriel Podoski (1719–1777)³⁹ and Franciszek Podoski (1720–1792)⁴⁰. The clergyman readily described visiting holy places and viewing relics throughout the trip, but emphasized the uniqueness of Loreto⁴¹. The emotional experience

37 Ibid., p. 185, 200–201, 211–212; See: WRZEŚNIAK, Małgorzata. *Roma Sancta, Fiorenza Bella*.

38 Michał de Sielec Witosławski of the Nieczuja coat of arms (1702–1769). He was a Roman Catholic bishop, auxiliary bishop of the Diocese of Przemyśl in 1768–1769. He was ordained a priest in 1726. He was buried in the crypt of Przemyśl Cathedral.

39 Gabriel Jan Podoski of the Junosza coat of arms (1719–1777) was the Archbishop of Gniezno and the Primate of Poland. He was the son of Mikołaj Podoski and Marianna née Rokitnicka.

40 Franciszek Aleksander Podoski of the Junosza coat of arms (1720–1792) was a clergyman, politician, Starost of Rypin, Castellan of Ciechanów, and Castellan of Mazovia; a political writer and translator.

41 CHACHAJ, Marian; and ROK, Bogdan. *Wstęp*. In: WITOSŁAWSKI, Michał. *Peregrynacja podróży rzymskiej (1738–1739)*. In: *Staropolskie podróżowanie*. Eds. Bogdan Roka, Filip Wolański. Kraków, 2016, p. 44–45.

of the visit to the shrine is evidenced by the terms he used and the practices and behavior he referred to. Witosławski stressed that the relics gathered in Loreto “could not have been overexposed to our eyes during our sojourn”. He was convinced that the sanctuary contained “[...] a real house of the Blessed Virgin and a statue of the Blessed Virgin made by the hand of St. Luke, a bowl of clay from which the Lord Jesus ate, the dress of the Blessed Virgin of camellia, red, two small bells that hang over the altar. All this is carried by angelic hands together with the house to Loreto.” He took the opportunity to celebrate a Mass in the Loreto cottage and rubbed the relics with “beads, shrines and croziers”, which he took on his way⁴². The latter mentioned practice testifies to a strong belief in the power of relics and their authenticity. It is worth adding that these practices were common in light of travel accounts. For example, they were cultivated in Loreto by Teofila Konstancja of Radziwiłł Morawska (1738–1807)⁴³, who visited the place in 1774. In her account, she recalled: “We tried to rub all the lace and devotional metals carried from Rome here as well”⁴⁴. Reformer Stefan Staniewski (d. 1768)⁴⁵ did the same during his visit to the Spanish shrine of Montserrat⁴⁶ in 1756 while traveling to the general chapter of his congregation held in Murcia. As he was led to the statue of the Virgin and Child which was venerated there, after kissing it, he rubbed his rosary against it⁴⁷.

42 WITOSŁAWSKI, Michał. Peregrynacja podróży rzymskiej, która się zaczęła z Warszawy, a d[ie] 21 Octobris in anno 1738 z jw. wjmc. księżą Podoskiemi, wojewodzicami płockie-mi, sub tempus Comitioru[m] Generalium za panowania Najjaśniejszego króla Augusta Trzeciego. Ibid, p. 77.

43 Teofila Konstancja Morawska, of Radziwiłł (1738–1807) was an Enlightenment-era aristocrat, traveler, writer, and collector. She came from one of the most important magnate families in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. She was the daughter of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł ‘Rybeńko’ (1702–1762), the Grand Hetman of Lithuania and Voivode of Vilnius, and the younger sister of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł ‘Panie Kochanku’ (1734–1790). See: ROK, Bogdan. *Obraz Europy Zachodniej w świetle relacji podróżniczej Teofili z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej z lat 1773–1774*. In: *Między Zachodem a Wschodem: studia z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej w epoce nowożytnej*. Eds. Jacek Staszewski, Krzysztof Mikulski, Jarosław Dumanowski. Toruń, 2002, p. 221–232.

44 MORAWSKA Z RADZIWIŁŁÓW Teofila Konstancja. *Diariusz podróży europejskiej w latach 1773–1774*. Ed. Bogdan Rok. Wrocław, 2002, p. 200.

45 Stefan Staniewski (d. 1768), a Reformed Franciscan, held numerous offices within the Order; he first served as deputy provincial, and later as Provincial of Lesser Poland.

46 Montserrat – a male Benedictine monastery located in the Montserrat mountain massif in Catalonia, known for the veneration of the statue of the Virgin Mary.

47 STANIEWSKI, Stefan. *Itinerarium Hispanicum*. Archiwum Prowincji Franciszkanów-Reformatów w Krakowie [hereinafter: APFR] Dział Rękopisów, file no. 250, fol. 74v.

Visits to the shrine prompted expressions of not only excitement but also admiration. An example is the writings of the Reformed monk Remigiusz Zawadzki (1703–1775)⁴⁸, who was in Loreto in 1750. The friar made no secret of his admiration for Loreto Basilica and the relics kept there. Superlative names recur in his account when describing the significance of the relics, the sacred architecture, and the religious practices associated with the place⁴⁹. A similar method of expressing admiration can be found in Staniewski's account. For example, when describing the items collected in the treasury of Montserrat Monastery, he recalled "a monstrance of the purest gold with diamonds and very precious stones", "very precious rosaries of the Blessed Virgin Mary", and "a multitude of extremely valuable jewels"⁵⁰.

However, at times, even such spectacular shrines as Montserrat in Spain were described in a prominently abbreviated manner. No information about the peregrinator's personal experiences can be found, which was primarily dictated by the convention of the account and writing competence. An example can be found in the writings of the reformist Protasius Neverani (1702–1743)⁵¹ on his journey through Spain in 1740. Despite visiting the shrine, he limited himself to including only general information about the very famous statue of "the Blessed One", "very miraculous", in front of which, St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556)⁵² hung his arms⁵³.

48 Remigiusz Zawadzki (1703–1775), a Reformed Franciscan, held various offices within the Order, serving as the provincial, definitor, and custos. In 1750, he travelled through Silesia, Moravia, Austria, and Italy to Rome for the General Chapter of his Order.

49 ZAWADZKI, Remigiusz. *Diarium itineris Remigii Zawadzki Romam pro capitulo generali peregrinantis (1750)*. Ed. Marian Chachaj. Kraków, 2014, p. 114–115.

50 STANIEWSKI, *Itinerarium Hispanicum*. APFR Dział Rękopisów, file no. 250, fol. 74r.

51 Protazy Marcin Neverani (1702–1743), a Reformed Franciscan, was known in his time as a translator and liturgist. He came from Lower Silesia but joined the order in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1720. He served as guardian in Lviv and later became definitor of the entire province. In 1740, he led the delegation to the General Chapter in Valladolid.

52 Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), a prominent figure of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, was a clergyman, theologian, and the founder of the Jesuit Order. In 1522, after his conversion, Ignatius of Loyola made a pilgrimage to the monastery.

53 NEVERANI, Protazy. *Diariusz drogi Hiszpańskiej (1740)*. In: *Europejskie drogi staropolskich peregrynantów: relacje Teofila Szemberga, Protazego Neveraniego i Franciszka Bielińskiego*. Eds. Bogdan Rok, Filip Wolański. Kraków, 2018, p. 232.

4. PILGRIMAGE TO A SANCTUARY AS AN OBLIGATION

It is worth noting that a visit to the shrines was also treated as a spiritual duty, which should not have been hindered even by physical weakness. This attitude was represented by the Franciscan Observant friar Juwenalis Charkiewicz (c. 1720–1788)⁵⁴ who visited Rome in 1768. Despite ill health and travel fatigue, he decided to visit seven basilicas. The custom of such devotional practice was started in the 16th century by the well-known Counter-Reformation activist Philip Neri, founder of the Oratory. To fulfill such a commitment, it was necessary to travel more than 20 kilometers across the city. Charkiewicz explained: “Stations here in Rome of seven churches for the weakness of my health, I took a carriage to check in [...]”. He visited “the Basilica of St. Mary Major” as the seventh church. As he summed up his pilgrimage, “While visiting these churches, I left the convent in the morning at our hour of 5:00, and returned after 12:00”⁵⁵.

The same pilgrimage practice was cited by the Reformed Franciscan Remigiusz Zawadzki in the account of his stay in Rome, but limited only to the larger basilicas. He even listed these basilicas by referencing the distances he said existed between them, which were “13 and 1/3 Italian miles”. He added that, while celebrating the Jubilee year, the people of Rome, “to hold the Jubilee, they were to go around or visit four churches thirty times, namely St. Peter’s at Vatican, then St. John’s at Lateran and Our Lady Major and St. Paul’s in Ostiense Street”⁵⁶. On the other hand, following the Pope’s instructions, the friar was only required to visit the three basilicas of St. Peter’s, St. John’s and the Basilica of Our Lady Major three times.

In the 1781-dated account of the ex-Jesuit and scientist Francis Xavier Bohusz (1746–1820)⁵⁷, we find the approach of another kind of peregrinator.

54 Juwenalis Charkiewicz (c. 1720–1788), a Franciscan Observant friar, was a professor in the convents of Nyasvizh and Vilnius. From 1766 to 1769, he served as Provincial of Lithuania. Later, he also held the offices of provincial, custodian, and vicar of the province. He was the author of a handbook for Franciscan tertiaries, sermons, and travel accounts from his journey to the general chapter of the order in Valencia, Spain, in 1768.

55 CHARKIEWICZ, Juwenalis. *Dyjariusz podróży hiszpańskiej z Wilna do miasta Walencji na kapitułę generalną zakonu mniejszych braci św. Franciszka, to jest Bernardynów odprawionej roku 1768*. Ed. Bogdan Rok. Wrocław, 1998, p. 175–176.

56 ZAWADZKI, Remigiusz. *Diarium itineris Remigii Zawadzki Romam pro capitulo generali peregrinatis (1750)*, p. 153.

57 Francis Xavier Bohusz of the Odyniec coat of arms (1746–1820), a former Jesuit, was

In describing Rome's four major basilicas, he focused primarily on his observations related to architecture and art. He tried to confront observations with his knowledge. He made no direct reference to his personal religious experiences. However, he did not deny faith-related accounts. He mentioned the "well-known miracle" that led to the icon venerated in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore being referred to as *Our Lady of the Snows*. He also recalled, without any reservation or commentary, that he had witnessed a procession at Christmas which carried a "crib that Christ the Lord was put in after his birth". What distinguishes his approach is that, after reporting that this is the largest and most important Marian Basilica in Rome, he sends those curious about its appearance to "a book in folio with envelopes published by Paul de Angelis in 1621"⁵⁸. His rationalized attitude toward the shrines he visited is well illustrated by a later note, in which he mentioned that the Eternal City had 55 "churches dedicated to the Mother of God"⁵⁹.

5. SENSORY EXPERIENCES OF THE PEREGRINATOR IN A PLACE OF WORSHIP

The travel accounts recount stories of individual sensory experience, often related to the peregrinator's health. As an example, Morawska gave a testimony of her healing in Loreto. It proves that she believed in the miraculous power of the relics and sought to benefit from their proximity. She complained of pain in her hand, which could not be cured with the medicine of the time, for example, warm compresses. After arriving in Loreto, she applied an image of the local Marian statue to the painful area, which, as she claimed, relieved her. However, it was only after three days that she was able to function normally, which she considered the effect of being near the holy place⁶⁰. The belief in the possibility of receiving healing at this shrine was also pointed out by

a priest, Doctor of Philosophy, writer, memoirist, historian, and socio-political activist. In 1777–1778, he traveled across Europe together with Antoni Tyzenhauz. Later, in 1781–1782, he undertook a solo journey to Italy.

58 BOHUSZ, Franciszek Ksawery. *Dziennik podróży*. Ed. Filip Wolański. Kraków; Wrocław, 2014, p. 227. See: ANGELIS, Paolo de. *Basilicae S. Mariae Maioris de urbe a libero Papa I usque ad Paulum V Pont. Max. descriptio et delineatio auctore abbate Paolo De Angelis*. Romae, 1621. [24], 252 p., [39] ill.

59 Ibid., p. 238.

60 Ibid., p. 199. Morawska wrote: "The next day I lay down the whole day. Only on the 3rd day, when I was given over completely to the care of the place, I was able to get up, confess and receive the Blessed Sacrament."

the Reformed Franciscan Symforian Arakiełowicz (1678–1742)⁶¹, who passed through Loreto on his way to Rome in 1723. In his account, he mentioned the sick and elderly of Loreto’s hospitals who listened to services held at the “Santa Casa” and the basilica surrounding it⁶².

Sometimes, the sensory experience of visiting Marian shrines had nothing to do with understanding the sacred, but rather concerned the profane. Jacob Lanhaus (dates unknown)⁶³, a member of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulcher, spent some time in Rome in 1768. When celebrating the feast of Our Lady of the Snows at the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore on August 5, the knight, together with another Polish clergyman, participated in a service attended by Pope Clement XIII (1693–1769)⁶⁴ and Cardinal Marcantonio Colonna (1724–1793)⁶⁵, Archpriest of the Basilica. He carefully described the preparations for the ceremony, the pope blessing the faithful as they entered the church, and the course of the service. Lanhaus made no secret that he did not make it to the end. He explained his attitude: “The Holy Father prayed for a long time, and we left because I was heartily thirsty for food and drink.” He satisfied the needs mentioned above after a short walk. He and his companion went to dinner, which he recounted by writing, “Afterwards, we stopped for a fountie⁶⁶ of wine and ended up drinking two. We each ate a roll of bread (sic!) and half a pound of Parmesan cheese. For myself, I paid one paul [...].” The monk must have had a big appetite that day because after returning to the convent where he was staying, he still went to dinner, about which he wrote, “They

61 Symforian Arakiełowicz (1678–1742), a Reformed Franciscan of Armenian origin, joined the order in 1697. He served as guardian in the convents of Lviv, Lublin, Przemyśl, Rzeszów, and Zamość. He was the author of a work on asceticism and a funeral sermon. As custos of the province, he traveled to Rome for the general chapter of his order in 1723.

62 ARAKIEŁOWICZ, Symforian. *Podróż Rzymska (1723)*. Ed. Bogdan Rok. Kraków, 2016, p. 89.

63 Jacob Lanhaus (dates unknown), a member of the Order of the Holy Sepulcher, was, most likely, born in Kutná Hora in the Czech lands and was in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, in Gniezno, certainly from 1762. He wrote well in Polish. His journey to Rome in 1768 was prompted by a legal dispute between his Order and the Gniezno Chapter.

64 Clement XIII, born Carlo della Torre Rezzonico (1693–1769), was an Italian from a wealthy Roman merchant family. He served as the 248th pope from 6 July 1758 to 2 February 1769.

65 Marcantonio Colonna (1724–1793), an Italian cardinal, came from the prominent Colonna family. He held various important offices in the Roman Curia. During the time when Lanhaus was in Rome, the cardinal served as Vicar General of Rome from 1762.

66 Wine measurement of 0.456 l.

gave me [...] 2 hard-boiled eggs, lettuce, 1 Persian peach and a piece of cheese.” The wine he had consumed earlier gave a hint of itself, for he complained that he had to be in bed quickly, writing “[...] I lay down in bed because my head was murmuring a little”⁶⁷.

6. IMAGES AND EXPERIENCE

When visiting shrines, people also compared their knowledge and experiences. One example is the perception of others resulting from personal experience. Remigiusz Zawadzki verified popular opinions about Italians by comparing their behavior in Loreto with the Poles he observed at the most important Virgin Mary shrine in Częstochowa. The friar wrote, “People here are good, helpful, much better and kinder than in Częstochowa in our Poland. Strangers say of Italians here: they do not eat, but devour (because they are fast), they do not walk, but fly (because they are fast), they do not talk, but shout (because they speak in a raised voice). Apart from that, however, they are big-hearted, compassionate and merciful”⁶⁸.

The cited examples indicate a diverse spectrum of experiences dealing with the sacred in travel. Religious experience was personal, allowing us to learn much about the authors, their personality and needs. Such texts also carry traces of the peculiar socialization of their authors. Due to the writing convention and the expected reactions of potential readers, respect for the sacred was strongly emphasized. No attempt was made to undermine reports of miracles and manifestations. One was eager to expose one’s admiration, less often personal emotions, which typically could not yet be conveyed. Sentiments and stories heard at places of worship were uncritically repeated, treating local authorities as best informed and thoroughly reliable. It was considered one’s duty to note the knowledge thus gained, so that it could be used by compatriots reading the account. To some extent, one’s own experiences were made credible through this. With so many aspects of personal experience portrayed in travel descriptions, one can undoubtedly conclude that they are an exceptionally valuable type of egodocument.

67 LANHAUS, Jacobi. *Opis podróży: itinerarium* (1768–1769). Eds. Bogdan Rok, Marian Chachaj. Krakow, 2014, p. 117.

68 ZAWADZKI, Remigiusz. *Diarium itineris Remigii Zawadzki Romam pro capitulo generali peregrinatis* (1750), p. 127.

CONCLUSIONS

The religious practices described in the travel accounts also allowed for the manifestation of various aspects of mentality. Though they bear witness to individual experiences, they also provide information about not only the society that the peregrinator came from but also the one he encountered in a foreign country. In the case of accounts written down in the 18th century by residents of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, it is easy to see the persistence of the Sarmatian mentality. Despite some influence of Enlightenment rationalism, it is closer to the traditional attitudes of the 16th and 17th centuries than the 19th century. Religiosity and the sensitivity to the sacred associated with it, as well as the manner of its reception, form part of this mentality. Marian devotion served as a unifying factor among Catholics from the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as the inhabitants of the Italian states and Spain. The experience associated with it created an important element of religiosity shared by these societies. It became a common language intelligible to every Catholic. Travel to famous Marian sanctuaries constituted a powerful individual religious experience. Belief in the authenticity of the relics viewed was widespread, which made it necessary to apply the assumptions of the phenomenology of religion in the analysis presented here. This meant analyzing personal religious experiences in such a way as to reveal how they appeared to the faithful. It was necessary to capture accounts of often intimate emotions and of personal religious and social practices undertaken. Such experiences include the anticipation of healing, the relationship to sacred space and the liturgy celebrated within it, and its sensory perception through smell or sound. It is worth emphasizing once more that the study of such experience of contact with the sacred is possible primarily through the lens of preserved ego-documentary sources.

Capturing both the individual dimension of the message on religious experience in travel and its social dimension allows for a comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon in the culture of the 18th-century inhabitants of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. It provides a valuable opportunity to explore attitudes toward social practices, as well as individual personal experiences. Undoubtedly, treating travel accounts as an egodocument allows for deepening this approach.

Acknowledgements. The research was conducted with funding from the Initiative of Excellence – Research University (Polish acronym *IDUB*) program implemented at the University of Wrocław.

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