

Description of the Journey to Vilnius of Sister  
Mary Magdalene of the Saviour, Anna Żaboklicka,  
a Discalced Carmelite Nun from Lublin. The First  
Polish Woman's Travel Journal from 1638\*

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Opis drogi do Wilna Marii Magdaleny od Zbawiciela, Anny Żaboklickiej, lubelskiej  
karmelitanki bosej. Pierwszy polski kobiecy dziariusz podróżny z 1638 roku

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**Abstract.** The aim of the article is to present the first Polish travel journal written by a woman, a Discalced Carmelite nun based in Lublin, Sister Mary Magdalene of the Saviour [Maria Magdalena od Zbawiciela] (Anna Żaboklicka), who in 1638, set out from Lublin to Lithuania in order to establish a new convent of Discalced Carmelite nuns. It is a unique text in the history of female memoirs and literary output, as it represents a genre of applied literature. Its recognition in the context of diaristic writings fills a lacuna in the research of Old Polish literature. The manuscript is a record of the trip to Vilnius. It combines elements of female private experience with a description of the world steeped in the conviction as to the importance of the mission of expanding the Carmelite Order and bolstering its

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status through historiographic writing. The Carmelite's journal served as the origin for the chronicle of the Vilnius convent. The manuscript has been presented in the context of Old Polish memoirist literature with a particular emphasis on the features of travel journals. The text was addressed to the monastic community. It was analysed in terms of its structure, the elements of the setting, and cultural references interesting to the author (especially the cuisine of Lithuania and Podlachia).

**Keywords:** Sister Mary Magdalene of the Saviour, Old Polish literature, journal writing, Discalced Carmelite nuns, convent, woman, Lublin, Lithuania, applied literature, cuisine, travel, historiography

**Abstrakt.** Przedmiotem artykułu jest przedstawienie pierwszego polskiego dziurysza podróznego kobiety, lubelskiej karmelitanki bozej – Marii Magdaleny od Zbawiciela (Anny Żaboklickiej), która wyruszyła z Lublina w podróż na Litwę w 1638 w celu założenia nowego klasztoru karmelitanek bosych. Jest to wyjątkowy w historii memuarystyki i piśmiennictwa kobiecego tekst, należący do pisarstwa użytkowego. Jego przedstawienie w kontekście diarystyki uzupełnia lukę w badaniach nad literaturą staropolską. Rękopis zawiera zapis podróży do Wilna. Manuskrypt łączy elementy kobiecego, prywatnego doznawania i opisu świata z głębokim przeświadczeniem o istotności misji rozszerzania zakonu karmelitańskiego i budowania jego statusu przez piśmiennictwo historiograficzne. Dziennik karmelitanki stał się początkiem kroniki klasztoru wileńskiego. Manuskrypt ukazany został w kontekście pamiętnikarstwa staropolskiego ze szczególnym wskazaniem cech dziuryszy podróznycy. Tekst adresowany był do zbiorowości zakonnej. Materiał przeanalizowano pod kątem struktury, elementów świata przedstawionego, informacji kulturowycy interesujących dla autorki (zwłaszcza kulinariów litewskiczy i podlaskiczy).

**Słowa kluczowe:** Maria Magdalena od Zbawiciela, literatura staropolska, diarystyka, karmelitanki bose, zakon, kobieta, Lublin, Litwa, pisarstwo użytkowe, kulinaria, podróż, historiografia

During the Old Polish period, there were not many women creating works within the broad field of memoirist literature, particularly those developing travel journal literature. In the Baroque era, only minor and laconic family chronicles or enigmatic memoir records were penned by a rather limited number of noblewomen – Elżbieta Orzelska, her daughters and granddaughters, as well as the magnate Konstancja Sanguszką, *née* Sapieha (Partyka, 2004, p. 153). The writings by the latter, dating back to the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, at times do resemble a travel journal. The legacy of female autobiographical writing, on the other hand, includes such exhaustively researched works as the mystical writings by Teresa of Jesus, Marianna Marchocka (Teresa od Jezusa, 2010; Grupiński, 2005). Among lay female authors, it is the 1685 work by Anna Zbąska, *née* Stanisławska that is considered to have been the literary “origin of memoiristic literature” (Stanisławska-Zbąska, 1935; Partyka, 2004; Targosz, 1998, p. 27). However, it is Regina Salomea Pilsztynowa, *née* Rusiecka, the author of *Proceder podróży i życia mego awantur* [*The Procedure of Travel and My Life of Troubles*] from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Pilsztynowa, 1957) that is regarded as the author of the first works of the travel journal genre in the historical and literary research to date. Now, while

monastic chronicles – clearly akin to family diaries – have already been covered by the research of memoirist literature (Targosz, 2002; Partyka, 2004; Nowicka-Struska, 2019), travel journals by nuns are yet to be acknowledged. Meanwhile, the recognition of the utilitarian, applied character of works by the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Polish nuns allows us to shift the initial stage of this type of female writing to much earlier than the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as indicated by other researchers.

### DIARISTIC, JOURNALISTIC AND MEMOIRISTIC LITERATURE IN RESEARCH – KEY FEATURES

Diaries, journals, travel reports, itineraries, autobiographical writings and all forms of the ego-documents have been researched extensively, and the source literature of memoiristic writings are among the culturally invaluable, extensive areas of old literature (Borek, 2012, Dziechcińska, 2003; Sajkowski, 1964; Krzywy, 2001; Trzynadlowski, 1961, Rytel, 1962). Fully acknowledging both the sophistication of the research and its validity, one has to identify the most important features of this kind of literature for the purposes of the article, which does not make any pretences to introduce new genre-specific findings.

During the Old Polish period, journals were an example of applied literature (Borek, 2012, p. 31), or of personal and applied literature. Concurrently, these constituted the most basic forms of historical records. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the custom or precept obliging travellers to document their journeys had already been well-established (Dziechcińska, 1990, p. 116). Such records were intended as a means to attest to and describe the events experienced by the writer, to provide an account of a public or private undertaking, and to gather materials that could later be processed for further memoiristic output (Krzywy, 2012, p. 132). It was not uncommon that the daily notes of the author who had participated in the event were reworked and amended to meet the requirements of a memoiristic form, an activity attributed by Dziechcińska to the “need to remember” (Dziechcińska, 1990, p. 118).

Journals could also be written on commission by persons not participating in the events; their function then being primarily informative (Krzywy, 2001, p. 127). According to their character and purpose, travels during the Old Polish literature can be classified as educational journeys, business trips, and pilgrimages. Journals constituted the basic form of consolidating the experience of such undertakings (Dziechcińska, 1991, p. 89; Krzywy, 2001, p. 131). As a characteristic feature of the daily memoiristic records, researchers saw their fragmentary and occasionally non-narrative nature (Krzywy, 2001 p. 128; Dziechcińska, 1998). In a similar vein, the authors presented the described reality of the journey, with pervasive short

chronological daily notes (Sajkowski, 1964), often corresponding to the division of the route into sections. It was common practice to provide information on the distance travelled. Memoirists would include climatic observations, as well as remarks concerning the landscape, population, customs, manners, religious practices, the wealth of the visited places, their crops, peculiarities of nature, notable features, cities, edifices, and works of art. Usually, these notes – “working materials” of sorts – were not furnished with a clearly defined ending.

As attested to in the research, travel writing exhibited a constant influence of classical literary *topoi* in formulating accounts of travel (Krzywy, 2001, p. 134), which, however, did not rule out the travellers’ natural curiosity about the world. The structure of any travel description consisted of three layers: the diaristic, the descriptive, and the event-related; the latter being of the most individual character, with the said literary motifs used in descriptions, while the diary aspect of the travel report – carried out using recurrent informative sections (Krzywy, 2001, p. 134).

Classic studies by Sajkowski, Trzynadłowski, Dziechcińska, as well as more recent ones by Borek and Krzywy attempted to determine the features of the genre in order to identify the basic functions of Old Polish memoiristic literature, including diaristic writing. The great number of attempts at specifying the normative qualities of these genre forms with the concurrent polymorphism of the literature is a testament to the fact that they do not yield themselves to unequivocal descriptions (Borek, 2012, p. 32). One should acknowledge the crucial importance of the view of diaristic literature expressed by Regina Lubas-Bartoszyńska, who saw this type of writing as “fuzzy sets” [“zbiory rozmyte”] (Lubas-Bartoszyńska, 1983, p. 6), bringing together various micro-genres. The common denominator for the various genres of memoiristic writing was primarily the personal experience of the author, their subjective attitude and interpretation of events and the surrounding reality.

In a very specific manner, the diary was at the same time oriented towards the past, the present, and the future. Declaring its attachment to the tradition, memoiristic literature evoked didactic solutions addressed to future generations. The writer’s present was to lay the foundation for the future of these generations and their awareness of their origin. The diary usually included a particular, “programmatically envisaged” circle of recipients, comprising the author’s descendants and successors. Regarding reception, an important role of memoiristic literature constituted the preservation of the memory of the family conceived of in terms of the community of blood, religion, legal status, estate, wealth (Borek, 2012). The key category in establishing such unity was memory. The writer’s remarks were addressed to their successors – though not always directly – always revealed a profoundly parenetic sense (Rytel, 1962, p. 51; Sajkowski, 1965, p. 23; Krzywy, 2012, p. 139).

The broadest understanding of the memoiristic literature is that of ego-documents. The scope of the term covers all records possessing intimate and personalised facets; this type of writing reveals the self-awareness of the individual, both in the describing and the described subject. A characteristic feature of understanding these ego-documents is their micro-scale, typical for anthropological research (Roszak, 2012, pp. 15–29).

A brief review of the features of memoiristic literature should be concluded with the observation that all research on Old Polish diaristic and memoiristic literature has been formulated solely on the basis of male memoirs, and a similar dominance can also be recognised in European works (Cebrian, 2016, p. 54).

#### HISTORICAL TEXT AND THE STATE OF RESEARCH – DESCRIPTION

The subject of my study is the extant manuscript by a Discalced Carmelite nun, Sister Mary Magdalene of the Saviour (birth name: Anna Żaboklicka). This manuscript, dating back to 1638, should be regarded as the first female travel journal within Polish culture. It contains the journal of a trip to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, written between 14 November and 21 December 1638. The manuscript, measuring 19.5 × 15 cm, currently stored in the Archives of the Discalced Carmelites Province in Krakow (fond: Archive of the Discalced Carmelites of Vilnius 22; henceforth cited as AKBW). According to the contents and the provenance of the document, the manuscript is likely to have been the property of the Carmelite nuns of Vilnius until the convent was dissolved in 1876. The journal is an autograph manuscript, as can be inferred from the identity of the writing hand with other texts copied by Sister Mary (Library of the Discalced Carmelites in Krakow, henceforth cited as BKB, 219). The extensive manuscript also contains a chronicle of the Vilnius convent of the Discalced Carmelite nuns, covering the period from 1644 to 1659, financial records of the convent – the debt register, the estate of the convent, the list of dowry sums, the register of Vilnius sisters, and biographical records of the Vilnius nun – Constance Beata of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary [Konstancja Beata od Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny], the long-time Prioress of the Lithuanian convent (Vanatas, 1999, p. 465). The first, most extensive part of the manuscript – the convent’s chronicle – was documented from 1644 by Catherine of Christ [Katarzyna od Chrystusa], Tyszkiewicz (Gil, 1999, p. 85). The codex displays records made by several authors. The journal of the Vilnius trip by Mary Magdalene of the Saviour is featured on pages 442–462. Besides the autograph, we are also aware of two copies from the period. The first of these, incomplete, constituting a preliminary version of the original, was either

copied or later bound with Żaboklicka's notebook in the same manuscript as her autograph. It was furnished with a distinct title page: *Historyja fundacyjej klasztoru naszego wileńskiego świętego Józefa przez jaśnie wielmożnego jegomości Pana Stefana Paca podklanclerzego W[ielkiego] Ks[ięstwa] L[itewskiego] i małżonkę jego Mariancyllę Rudominównę Dusiacką Pacową fundowanego Roku Pańskiego 1638* [*The History of the Foundation of Our St Joseph's Convent in Vilnius by the Right Honourable Stefan Pac, the Vice-Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and His Wife Mariancylla Rudominówna Dusiacka Pacowa, Established in 1638*]. This version continues until 19 November, when the copyist – for reasons unknown – stopped her work halfway through a page (AKBW 22, p. 439). The other copy, also subject to editorial procedures, is included in the manuscript collection from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century: *Księga fundacyj klasztorów karmelitanek bosych Prowincyjej Polskiej Ducha Świętego* [*Book of Foundations of the Monasteries of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns of the Polish Province of the Holy Spirit*] (BKB 255, pp. 46–89). This codex was drawn up by the many-times Prioress of the Krakow convent, Cecilia Theresa of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary [Cecylia Teresa od Ofiarowania Najświętszej Marii Panny] (Anna Zacherlanka); that, however, does not mean that she was the one to have written it down, but rather that she initiated the compilation work on the texts from various conventions and created by various copyists. It contains descriptions of the foundations of convents in the order of their establishment: Krakow (1612), St Joseph's in Lublin (1624), Vilnius (1638), Lviv (1642), the Convent of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Lublin (1646), Warsaw (1649), and Poznań (Nowicka-Struska, 2016; 2019).<sup>1</sup> This manuscript features the text of the journal of Mary Magdalene Żaboklicka, referred to as: *Opisanie początków 3. fundacyjej wilińskiej karmelitanek bosych pod tytułem ś[więtego] o[jca] n[aszego] Józefa Roku Pańskiego 1638, dnia 18 grudnia* [*Description of the Beginnings of the Third Foundation of the Vilnius Discalced Carmelite Nuns Under the Name of our Father Saint Joseph in the Year of our Lord 1638, on 18 December*].

The journal of Mary Magdalene of the Saviour has not been researched to date, and thus it does not yet have a place in the history of Polish literature. The autograph manuscript was certainly familiar to St Rafał Kalinowski – the first to recognise the cultural and literary value of the Chronicle of the Discalced Carmelites (*Klasztory karmelitanek bosych*, 1900). The editor was not in the habit of indicating the sources of his editions, incidentally, described by him merely as a text “loosely

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<sup>1</sup> The fact that the story of the last convent established during Old Polish period, on Wesola Street in Krakow, means that the manuscript must have been created by 1725 (Nowicka-Struska, 2019; 2016; 2015).

based” on the Carmelite nun’s chronicles. The fact that he must have been familiar with Żaboklicka’s manuscript is attested to in his description of the manuscript (*Klasztory karmelitanek bosych*, 1900, p. 7). An 18<sup>th</sup>-century copy of the text of *Opisanie początków 3. fundacyjnej wilińskiej karmelitanek bosych...* from the manuscript of the Library of the Discalced Carmelites in Krakow (BKB 255) was used by Karolina Targosz (2002) in her valuable work. However, the researcher did not come in contact with the original of the journal, perhaps because she was primarily exploring the resources of the Library of the Discalced Carmelites on Wesola Street in Krakow, while Żaboklicka’s manuscript was kept in the Provincial Archive in Czerna (now transferred to Krakow). The text was used by an art history scholar Anna Sylwia Czyż (2017). She performed an interesting analysis of the description of the monuments of the Vilnius religious art, based on the 18<sup>th</sup>-century copy of the journal as there are no such descriptions in the original notes by Żaboklicka, as this part of the autograph manuscript was destroyed (more on this later).

## RESEARCH CONTEXTS

Although it does not reflect the then fashionable *grand tour*, nor does it provide detailed descriptions of the great European works of art or illustrate the splendour of the cities, the wealth of the burghers, and the ingenuity of their inventions, as prescribed by the documentation practice for great magnate journeys, this 21-page manuscript documenting the journey through the villages of Podlachia and the estates of the order’s benefactors in Lithuania deserves attention for several reasons. First, everything seems to point to the fact that it is the first known Polish travel journal of an identified female of the modern era, and thus in the whole of Polish literature. In this context, this journal should be classed within female literature of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Antoni Mączak, opening his study on travelling in the early modern period, claimed that “tourism did not constitute the domain of women” [“turystyka nie była domeną niewiast”] (Mączak, 1998, p. 33). As mentioned above, the first female diarist in Polish literature, documenting her own life, is usually considered to have been the poetess Anna Zbąska, *née* Stanisławska (Dziechcińska, 1998; Partyka, 2004), while the acme of female diaristic and travel literature, as well as ego-documents, was to occur as late as the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> and in the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Secondly, an interesting context for the creation of this journal is provided by the strategy adopted by Mary Magdalene of the Saviour and the Polish Discalced Carmelite nuns of bolstering their Order’s authority through the use of historical writing. Mary Magdalene of the Saviour, Żaboklicka, was a representative of the first generation of the Discalced Carmelites in Poland, who was profoundly persuaded

that, by erecting monastic structures, they were establishing a perennial legacy among the constituents of the Order's long-lasting status in the Commonwealth, they saw to the preservation of memory through the use of broadly understood historiographic literature and domestic diaries, as well as hagiography-driven monastic biographies. In this way, historical and memoiristic monastic writings were to influence the future generations of the Discalced Carmelite nuns, just as it was to be the case with the milieu of secular diarists of the era.

### THE AUTHOR

Mary Magdalene of the Saviour, *née* Anna Żaboklicka, was the sixth professed sister at the Saint Joseph's Discalced Carmelite nuns convent in Lublin. The daughter of Andrzej Żaboklicki, the Judge of Sochaczew<sup>2</sup> and Barbara Radomiecka, she entered St Joseph's convention, Lublin, as a maiden of twenty-five years of age. We know that she was ordained on 11 April 1633. Both St Joseph's convent and the female Carmelite convent that had operated in Poland since 1612 were still in its initial phase at the time. The six sisters from St Joseph's convent and St Martin's convent in Krakow (never accommodating more than twenty-one Discalced Carmelite nuns) were still establishing the order in Poland. Being a member of a spiritual avant-garde of sorts would prove to be important for Żaboklicka's activities. Shortly after her introduction, another sister arrived at the convent who would become the closest sister of Mary Magdalene, being almost her age, spiritual mistress, a teacher, a friend, charismatic and zestful, also famous for her mystical "ecstasies" – Theresa Barbara of the Blessed Sacrament [Teresa Barbara od Najświętszego Sakramentu], Zadzikowa. Thus, at the beginning of the 1730s, in the Carmelite nuns' house in Lublin, fate brought together two women whose skills, personalities and charisma were to become milestones for the Polish Carmelite Order. In addition to the said pair of sisters, the convent was home to the famous mystic Anna of Jesus [Anna od Jezusa], Stobieńska, as well as Theresa of Jesus and Mary [Teresa od Jezusa i Maryi], Ligęzina, the founder of the Lublin convent, a role model for the other nuns. Both the known biographies of these nuns as well as the hagiographical images of several other Lublin Carmelite nuns who died young around that time reveal the fervour of the first generation of the Discalced

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<sup>2</sup> The Żaboklicki family originated in Mazovia, Szymon Żaboklicki is known to have been the elector of Władysław IV from among the representatives of the Land of Sochaczew (Kaczorowski and Dydyński, 2006, pp. 273–303).



Carmelites and their great determination to build the ministry of the Saint of Ávila in Poland (Nowicka-Struska, 2015).

In November 1638, just five years after entering religious life, Mary Magdalene was selected as one of four Carmelite nuns who were to go to Vilnius to found a new convent. Since 1635, the Voivode of Trakai and Vice-Chancellor of Lithuania, Stefan Pac (1587–1640) and his wife Anna Marcybella, *née* Rudomina-Dusiatska had made efforts to bring the Discalced Carmelites to the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It was to be only the third Carmelite foundation in the Commonwealth. The discussed journal of the travel to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is a remnant of Żaboklicka's journey.

### ŻABOKLICKA – WOMAN WRITING WITHIN THE STRUCTURE OF THE ORDER

It was the custom of the Carmelite Order that four experienced nuns were sent to found new convents. In her journey, Mary Magdalene of the Saviour was accompanied by sisters associated with the Lublin convent. These were Euphrasya of St Hiacynthus [Eufrazja od św. Jacka], Piaseczyńska, brought up in the Lublin Bridgettine convent, initially a Carmelite of Krakow, then of Lublin; Angelica of the Blessed Sacrament [Angelika od Najświętszego Sakramentu], Filipowiczówna, daughter of Lublin burghers, a Carmelite of Krakow; and Anna of St Bartholomew [Anna od św. Bartłomieja], Łęcka, a Carmelite of Lublin. The maidens left Lublin on 16 November 1638, while the introduction of the Carmelite nuns to the new convent in Vilnius took place on 18 December of that year. The Vilnius convent was the third home of the Discalced Carmelites in the Commonwealth, following Krakow and Lublin. It can be assumed that its location in the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania may have been a strategic move aimed at the development of the Order, and that the mission of the four sisters under the patronage of Pac must have been important for the Order.

Undoubtedly, the most important figure of the expedition was Sr Euphrasya of St Hiacynthus, experienced in foundation work – the oldest of the group, and the founder of the Lublin convent and its Prioress. She went to Vilnius to become the head of the convent, an office Piaseczyńska held until her death in 1648 almost without interruption (Gil, 1999, pp. 23–24). Angelica of the Blessed Sacrament was sent to Vilnius somewhat as a “punishment.” For unexplained reasons, she attempted to join the convent twice and was finally accepted on the condition that she would leave it for the first available foundation (Gil, 1999, p. 25). Anna of St Bartholomew was a young seventeen-year-old Discalced Carmelite who took her

religious vows only half a year before her departure for Lithuania (Gil, 1999, p. 25). She found herself among the founders as a replacement for Anna of St Bartholomew, Włodarzówna, a Krakow Carmelite, who fell ill on her way to Vilnius in Lublin, where she died shortly afterwards (Jaroszewicz, 1767, p. 564). Mary Magdalene of the Saviour played the role of a “professional,” writer, and secretary in the shadow of the Prioress, an attitude very characteristic of her later monastic life. Żaboklicka was to remain in Vilnius until 1645; during this time, she served as Subprioress of the new convent and then, rather briefly, as its Prioress. She returned to Lublin in 1645, and soon after her arrival, in 1646, she was appointed to establish a new convent in Lublin – it was the only city in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Poland to have two Discalced Carmelite monasteries. In 1665, when the foundation had already taken shape, she was among the four sisters from the convent of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, who left for Poznań to establish a new convent in Greater Poland. Her life’s peregrinations prove that she must have been considered a good organiser, a woman efficient in her actions and intelligent. It is possible that the 1638 trip to Vilnius constituted a sort of test of strength and a trial of Mary Magdalene’s abilities. She died in Poznań on 23 May 1677, famous for being an “old founding mother,” as the Carmelite nuns would write about their pioneers. During most of her life, she was overshadowed by the famous mystic nun Theresa Barbara of the Blessed Sacrament. Żaboklicka served her as secretary, she was her right hand and a friend. In her “supporting role,” she would write about the life of Theresa Barbara of the Blessed Sacrament many years later – the most extensive hagiographic text that came from a woman’s pen in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, displaying some distinct diarist qualities. She also authored a short description of the Convent of Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, established in Lublin (Nowicka-Struska, 2019). Moreover, she left personal prayer book manuscripts (BKB 219). All these texts show that she was an accomplished writer, a woman of common sense and a perceptive observer of reality.

#### VILNIUS TRAVEL JOURNAL – STRUCTURE AND PURPOSE OF THE RECORDS

The journal by Mary Magdalene of the Saviour is of an obviously practical character. She took her notes rather casually with numerous corrections, crossings-out, and marginal inscriptions. The notes are devoid of any headline markings, the only distinguishing feature of this part of the manuscript being its boldly handwritten first words. The text begins with the indication of the year, 1638, and the day “14 November, on Sunday” [“14 Nowembra, w niedzielę”], and the calendar

chronology introduced here reoccurs throughout the text. Where the author forgot to include the day of the week, she added it in superscript in the line below, thus displaying her diligence regarding the details of her account and the arrangement of her notes. Daily entries were made regularly until 29 November. The manuscript is defective on the page with the entry related to that day, with the pages pertaining to 29–30 November missing. The next gap falls between 2 and 6 December, a day that a fragment of the text dates to, and another, quite large gap lies between 6 and 21 December. The last entry in the manuscript of Mary Magdalene of the Saviour is that of 21 December.

It is difficult to say whether we are dealing with a complete record as the text ends halfway through a page. The author would usually use a large period to finish a phrase, while larger pieces of reflection she additionally marked with a horizontal ornament. Here, the graphic structure is unclear. Under the last line, a period was placed as the only sign in the verse, but the characteristic wave ornament is missing. The last entry of 21 December can be considered as a closing of the tale of the initiation of the new convent. Żaboklicka reports the visit of members of the Pac family at the convent gate, during which the founders of the convent, expressing their gratitude to the Carmelites already settled therein, requested to be remembered in their prayers. Bearing in mind that the journal opens with the arrival of members of the Pac family in the Carmelites in Lublin and the encounter at the cloister gate, a farewell to the founders in an equivalent place in Vilnius would constitute the frame of the journal. That sentiment is corroborated by the fact that the final sentence conveys a blessing of sorts addressed to Marcybella Pac: “May the Lord God take care of her soul as she does for us, continually imploring” [“Niechaj Pan Bóg ma staranie o jej duszy, jako ona o nas ustawicznie się pytając”] (ABKW 22, p. 462). On the other hand, however, it is not a blessing distinct enough to be able to conclude the entire story of the expedition, as it merely refers to Lady Pac’s concern for securing the everyday needs of the Carmelite nuns, and the whole phrase might just as well be read as a customary expression of thanks.

An 18<sup>th</sup>-century copy of the manuscript of *Księga fundacyj klasztorów karmelitanek bosych Prowincyjey Polskiej Ducha Świętego* [*Book of Foundations of the Monasteries of the Discalced Carmelites of the Polish Province of the Holy Spirit*] (BKB 255) can serve as a supplement to Żaboklicka’s defective manuscript. This copy has not been included in this description, as it only refers to the 1638 original manuscript.<sup>3</sup> However, the extent of editorial corrections introduced by the subsequent Vilnius administrators of Mary Magdalene’s text is not known. Nevertheless,

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<sup>3</sup> An edition of this text is currently being prepared, which will include a more detailed discussion of the copy BKB 255.

there can be no doubt that the original was in fact altered. The differences between these texts need to be discussed in more detail; below, the beginning of the text will be used as an example of the two editions. In Żaboklicka's manuscript, it reads as follows:

AD 1638, on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of November, the Right Honourable Vice-Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania arrived in Lublin. Having arrived in Lublin, he came to us at the gate, with the Reverend Father Michael of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Reverend Father Elijah of the Blessed Sacrament, our Prior in Lublin. We were all at the gate with our veils uncovered, as our reverend fathers ordered us to do so. (ABKW 22, p. 442)<sup>4</sup>

In the manuscript containing a copy of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century description of the foundation's beginnings, the fragment has gained a somewhat polished form:

Having tended to all the things that pertained to the foundation of the convent of the Discalced Carmelite nuns in Vilnius, the right honourable founder, Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, accompanied by his honourable wife, came to Lublin to retrieve the nuns, in the Year of the Lord 1638, on 14 November. Soon after his arrival, he came to us at the gate with his honourable wife and with Reverend Father Michael of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Reverend Father Elijah of the Blessed Sacrament, the Prior in Lublin. We were all at the gate with our faces unveiled (for our reverend fathers ordered us to do so). (BKB 255)<sup>5</sup>

The writings of the Carmelite indisputably situate the text within applied literature, and her manner of reporting combines diaristic, descriptive and event-oriented layers (Krzywy, 2001, p. 126, 134). The author devoted much attention to the logistics and the organisation of their route. Mary Magdalene indicated more than merely the calendar days and weekdays of the journey. She also noted the number of miles travelled, in line with the journaling and peregrination practices of the period (Krzywy, 2001) – the Carmelite nuns were generally able to cover a distance of three to five miles a day. The author's consistency in recording this information does somehow point to her inquisitiveness and mental precision. The

<sup>4</sup> "R.P. 1638 dnia 14 nowembra przyjechał do Lublina jegomość pan podkanclerzy W[ielkiego] K[sięstwa] Litewskiego. Przyjechawszy do Lublina przyszedł do nas do kraty i z wielebnem ojcem Michałem od Zwiastowania Panny Naświętszej i z wielebnym ojcem Elijaszem od Naświętszego Sakramentu, naszym przeorem lubelskim. Byłyśmy wszystkie u kraty z odkrytymi welami, gdyż tak wielební ojcowie nasi nam kazali."

<sup>5</sup> "Po sporządzeniu wszystkich rzeczy należących do fundowania klasztoru karmelitanek bosych w Wilnie, przyjechał do Lublina j[asnie] w[ielmożny] fundator z jejmością, j[ego]m[ości] p[an] kanclerz wielki litewski po zakonnicę, Roku Pańskiego 1638, dnia 14 listopada. Prędko po przyjeździe przyszedł do nas do kraty z j[ej]mością i z wielebnym ojcem Michałem od Zwiastowania Panny Naświętszej i z wielebnym ojcem Elijaszem od Naświętszego Sakramentu, przeorem lubelskim. Byłyśmy wszystkie u kraty z odkrytymi twarzami (bo tak wielební ojcowie nasi kazali)."

Carmelite nun also frequently provides the time of arrival and departure from the place of “assembly,” which may indicate that the sisters travelling in 1638 had had such a valuable item as a folding clock (Kluczewajd, 2000).

On 21 November, Sunday, the day of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, we rose before the dawn after two on the half-clock. In the early smoke, we set off on our journey, we left before four o'clock, and rode three miles to Milejczyce. This estate belongs to the [honourable Pac family], but it is in a lease. We found everything ready, a room large, distinct, and freshly cleaned. The tenant's wife was the one who took us in, she cooked for us with great pleasure. (ABKW 22, p. 444)<sup>6</sup>

The Carmelite nuns were accompanied on their travels by two monks: Michael of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Archangel of St Michael, while for some periods they were in the company of the wife of Vice-Chancellor of Lithuania, Anna Marcybella Pac and her trusted servant. On their way, the sisters were provided for in the estates belonging to the Pac family, Lithuanian magnates, and nobility. They were hosted, among others, by the wife of the Grand Marshal of Lithuania, Aleksandra Wiesiołowska and the daughter of the Pac spouses, Zofia Chodkiewiczowa. Moreover, the veiled Carmelite nuns, who aroused much curiosity, were visited by nobles' wives with their daughters, a fact diligently noted by the diarist.

Although the journal begins on 14 November 1638, it was not until 16 November when the sisters from St Joseph's convent left Lublin for good, heading for what was then the town of Lewartów. This preliminary stage of the journey, preceding the actual departure from the city, requires a more extensive commentary. In terms of their genre, journals were closely related to autobiographical, historiographical, and diaristic writing, constituting the most basic historical and personal records (Krzywy, 2001, p. 126). Undoubtedly, Mary Magdalene of the Saviour was aware from the outset of her journal that it would serve as the basis for the so-called short description of the Vilnius Foundation, a text that we find in the collection *Księga fundacyj klasztorów karmelitanek bosych Prowincyjej Polskiej Ducha Świętego* on Wesola Street in Krakow as *Opisanie początków 3. fundacyj wilińskiej...*, i.e. a chronicle addressed to the future generations of nuns.

The fact that the text was intended for the Carmelites as a community is evidenced by the subtle concealment or even removal of the narrator's “I” and the consistent use of the plural form – “we.” The Order of the Discalced Carmelites,

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<sup>6</sup> “Dnia 21 nowembra w niedzielę, w dzień urodzin Panny Naświętszej Ofiarowania wstałyśmy przede dniem po wtóry na półzegarzu. W onym dymie wybierałyśmy się w drogę, przed czwartą wyjechaliśmy, trzy mile ujechawszy do Milejczyc. Ta majątność jest ichmości, ale w arendzie. Zastaliśmy wszystko gotowe, izbę osobną wielką i ochędożną. Ta pani arendarka nas przyjmowała, sama jeść dla nas gotowała z wielką chęcią.”

through their rule and customs, eliminated all tokens of individualisation. The shift from the first-person narrator to the plural form indicates a strong, overarching, and dominant community bond. This manner of referring the subject was also typical for convent chronicles, in which the narrators, even when writing about events that affected them directly, would seldom resort to the use of the “I” form (Nowicka-Struska, 2019).

As an important part of their legacy, the Discalced Carmelites of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries left behind their convent chronicles – passionately written in a dynamic, natural, and extremely interesting style. Each convent of the Order kept historical records, although not all their chronicles are extant (Targosz, 2002, pp. 7–14; Nowicka-Struska, 2019). The chronicles opened with a section describing the circumstances of the foundation and the course of the founders’ journey to the new seat. What recurs in “short descriptions” are elements such as 1. The exchange of letters or decisions between the founding patrons and church authorities; 2. A sudden and unexpected selection of sisters who are to perform to the founders; 3. The activity of the devil striving to thwart the plans of the Carmelite nuns and their donors; 4. The extremely solemn procession of the nuns from the convent and their farewell; 5. The suffering and lamentation of the departing nuns, both when leaving the convent and during the journey, and the cult of suffering as a sacrifice; 6. The accounts of the journey, together with a description of where, by whom and with how great honours they were received, as well as remarks as to the amount of effort made by the hosts into meeting the specific needs of the Carmelite nuns. These structural details are found in all “short descriptions,” although for various reasons they are not always in a complete form. However, all are present in the journal of Mary Magdalene of the Saviour.

There are also details in the manuscript that set a certain rhythm of the travel narrative. This includes the information about the celebrated masses, the sacraments received, and regular giving of thanks to the Providence for a happy journey. It is typical of Carmelitan spirituality to value fear positively as the suffering is offered as a holy sacrifice. Following this convention, Żaboklicka repeatedly signals their expectations of suffering or expresses her regret that “we have not experienced any fear” [“nie użyłyśmy nic bojaźni”].

In the historiography of the Carmelite nuns, a very important role was played by the descriptions of a certain “departure ritual.” It was for that reason that Mary Magdalene Żaboklicka began her journal with an earnest narrative of a two-day long departure from her home convent and town, including the mention of the exchange of courtesy speeches by Stefan Pac and the Discalced Carmelite monks. Thus, she wrote about this etiquette-dictated exchange of speeches and responses:

The reverend father Prior said a few words to us, among which he named the gentleman as the founder, to which the latter replied that "I am not a founder, but a great sinner," and other humble words he spoke to our great embarrassment and edification. When the gentleman left, his honourable wife remained alone at the gate. (ABKW 22, p. 442)<sup>7</sup>

The rite also involved a description of a processional stepping out of the gate, a ceremonious escort to the carriages and carts with spectators and onlookers present.

The honourable wife of the Vice-Chancellor was there waiting for us, along with many other people. From the gate, they led us to our church of St Joseph. The reverend Prior of Lublin said the litany to the Blessed Virgin with us, and after we received a blessing from him, we were led to the carriage. The lady herself and the others, with great humility and honesty, that we had to see with fear, walked through mud, escorting us to and from the church without any difficulty on their part, but with great willingness. We did not walk through the mud but over planks of wood. As they led us to the carriage, the lady fell to her knees in front of us with great humility, almost crying, served us, shielded us and did everything she could and more. (ABKW 22, p. 443)<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> "Wielebny Ociec przeor kilka słów do nas mówił, między którymi słowy mianował fondatorem jegomości, na które słowa on odpowiedział, że nie jest fondatorem ale wielkim grzesznikiem i insze barzo pełne pokory słowa mówił z wielkim zawstyżeniem naszym i zbudowaniem. Kiedy jegomość odszedł sama jejmość została u kraty."

<sup>8</sup> "Jejmość Pani podkanclerzyna tamże był nas czekając i inszych wiele ludzi. Od porty prowadzili nas do kościoła naszego S. Józefa. Wielebny przeor lubelski letaniją z nami mówił Panny Najświętszej i błogosławieństwo od niego wzięwszy na drogę prowadzili nas do karyty. Jejmość sama i insi z wilką pokorą i uściwością niemają, na którą było z strachem patrzyć, przez niemale błoto Jejmość i insi śli prowadząc nas do kościoła i z kościoła bez żadnej ich trudności ale z wielką ochotą. My nie po błocie ale po deszczkach śli. Jako nas zaprowadzili do karyty, tam Jejmość do każdej nóg upadając a wielką pokorą swą, a prawie upłakiwając się nam służyła, osłaniała, czyniła i więcej nad potrzebę." An analogous fragment of the entrance to the new foundation from the convent of St Joseph to the convent of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Lublin reads: "The founder herself took the Reverend Mother Barbara by the arm, and the other two mothers were led by two Senators' wives. The music was set throughout the place, gracefully and triumphantly playing, and singing. And from St Joseph's convent to the new foundation, the ground was covered in cloth, and sometimes with different upholstery and tapestries on the sides. Our Lord, God also delivered out of his goodness that the day was very beautiful, and the sun shone brightly. In a word, the procession was triumphant, with a great multitude of people" ["Prowadziła W[ielebną] M[atkę] Barbarę sama fundatorka pod rękę, a drugie dwie matki nasze insze panie senatorki. Muzyka rozliczna na wszystkich miejscach była porozsadzana, wdzięcznie i tryumfalnie grając i śpiewając. A począwszy od klasztoru św. Józefa aż do nowej fundacji wszystka ziemia była sukmem obita, a miejscami po bokach różne obicia i szpalery. Pan Bóg też był dał z dobroci swojej, że dzień był bardzo piękny i jasno słońce świeciło. Jednym słowem mówiąc, wielce tryumfalna była procesja, z niemalą ludzi gromadą"] in "Krótkie opisanie fundacji klasztoru karmelitanek bosych w Lublinie, pod tytułem Najśw[iętszej] P[anny] Maryjej Niepokalanego Poczęcia R[oku] P[olskiego] 1649. Dnia 11 kwietnia" (BKB 255, p. 118).

The closing of the framework of the solemn exit in the “short descriptions” was the solemn entry of the Carmelites into the new premises. In Mary Magdalene’s journals, this fragment was destroyed, but the description of this moment can be found in the aforementioned copy from BKB 255 (pp. 83–84).<sup>9</sup>

The fact that the journal was written down as the source material for a future chronicle is evidenced by the emerging therein of the opposition between the sanctity of the foundation and the devil’s powers that hamper its establishment. In the Lublin Chronicle of the convent of St Joseph, we can read:

The foundations of our Order are generally far from easy to celebrate, and, as we are taught by our Holy Mother Teresa, it is indeed the best indication that such a foundation will be glorious, when the cursed devil, fearing it, resists it with all his power and puts various obstacles and difficulties in the way. This occurred in relation to this foundation in Lublin. (*Kronika klasztoru*, 2012, p. 24)<sup>10</sup>

In her journal, Żaboklicka did mention at the beginning of the text that:

Her Ladyship [...] with great regret told us that it could not be due to some of her Ladyship’s difficulties, that we could not set out for the road at once [...], it is said that Satan wanted to hinder and impede us, so that it would be protracted even more, but the Lord of Majesty, whose hand holds everything, turned things around at once. (ABKW 22, p. 442)<sup>11</sup>

While collecting her travel material for the future Vilnius Chronicle, Mary Magdalene of the Saviour was most likely familiar with the Lublin chronicle, which

<sup>9</sup> A great later example of this type of construction is *Opisanie początków fundacyjnej poznańskiej Najświętszego Imienia Maryjnej* [*The Description of the Beginnings of the Foundation of the Most Holy Name of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Poznań*] (BKB 255, pp. 150–173). In this story, the striking element is the description of the departure from Lublin, impressive, serious and prolonged, as – before leaving the city – the sisters visited every possible Carmelite convent and monastery, being received in the city for dinners and overnight stays *de facto* no more than 300 meters out of the convent gate. The description of the entrance ceremony at the new seat is even more extensive here, not only filled with details of customs and descriptions of rituals, but also furnished with a record of songs composed for and performed during the celebration. *Sposób intodukcyi, który się odprawiał 9 octobra R.P. 1678* [*A Method of Introduction That Took Place on 8 October AD 1678*] is what concludes *Opisanie początków Fundacyi Poznańskiej Karmelitanek Bosych* (BKB 255, pp. 169–172).

<sup>10</sup> “Pospolicie fundacje Zakonu naszego bez trudności nie bywają odprawowane i owszem, jako nas uczy ś. Matka nasza Teresyja, najlepszy ten znak, że z takiej fundacyjnej nawiększa ma być chwała, kiedy czart przeklęty, obawiając się tego, że wszystką mocą swoją sprzeciwia się i różne przeszkody i trudności zadaje. Toż trafiło się około tej fundacyjnej lubelskiej.”

<sup>11</sup> “Jejmość [...] z wielkim żalem nam powiedając, że to być nie mogło dla niektórych trudności Jejmości, że nie mogliśmy zaraz jechać w drogę [...] tak podobno szatan chciał przeszkodzić i zatrudnić, aby się to było jeszcze przewlokło, ale Pan Majestatu, u którego w rękę wszystko jest prędko to odmienił.”



had been kept since around 1625, on which she clearly modelled her “short description.” The second text important for a proper understanding of the form of Żaboklicka’s journal was the book *O fundacyjach zakonu i klasztorów karmelitów i karmelitanek bosych świętej Teresy obojga fundatorki [...] przełożone Przez W. ks. Sebastiana Nucerin* [*On the Foundations of the Discalced Carmelite Order; the Monasteries and Convents of the Friars and Nuns of St Theresa, the Founder of Both [...] Translated by Rev. Sebastian Nucerin*] (Krakow 1623). The text, which had been available to readers from 1623, contained not only *The Book of the Foundations* by the Saint of Ávila, but also the account written down by a friend of the famous mystic, Anna of Jesus for Jerónimo Gracián, entitled *The Foundation of the Convent of Saint Joseph in Granata* (*O fundacyjach zakonu...*, pp. 310–333). Mary Magdalene of the Saviour attempted to imitate both texts in her description of the journey to the new seat, including both the universal technique of reporting the journey (the hours of arrivals, departures, stops, masses, communions, the guardians) and the cult of suffering, as well as Satan’s designs against the holy deed (*O fundacyjach zakonu...*, p. 2, 22, 277, 310–333). At the same time, one should bear in mind that the author, a representative of the first generation of Discalced Carmelite nuns, when travelling to the third foundation of a convent, imitated the holy founder and her fellow sister, reproducing the existing model of the Lublin chronicle, but was concurrently developing a certain historiographic model for the future Polish Carmelite historians, as is observable in the subsequent Carmelite chronicles, for example, the Poznań one, featured in the *Księga fundacyj klasztorów karmelitanek bosych Prowincyjey Polskiej Ducha Świętego* [*Book of Foundations of the Monasteries of the Discalced Carmelites of the Polish Province of the Holy Spirit*] (BKB 255).

## ROAD TO LITHUANIA AND THE CARMELITAN OUTLOOK

Having finally left the town, Żaboklicka kept regular daily notes. The route of the journey undertaken by the Carmelites saw them pass through Podlachia, crossing from the Crown to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The route of the Carmelites included Lubartów, Czemierniki, Wołyń, Łomazy, Puszczyce, Milejczyce, Bielsk, Choroszcz, Białystok, Sokółka, Seraje and Subacze. A route through Grodno had been intended, but never realised. Not once did the thorough nun forget to comment on the quality of the accommodation and the meals served to the travellers, either at a manor house or in a squalid village inn. The description of the logistics of the travel and stops made were, on the one hand, accompanied by the author’s individual insight, while on the other it was to illustrate the hardships of the journey, the dedication of the founders and to serve as an instruction for future readers:

They lit the fireplace, from which there was quite a lot of smoke that our eyes hurt a bit, because they watered and could not stay open. When we were saying our prayers, the mothers were very pleased that the Lord had sent us something that they could offer Him. (ABKW 22, p. 448)<sup>12</sup>

The way the Carmelite sister described the world of Podlachia evolved during the journey. The route, initially described rather precisely, over time became less important for the writer, with its final stages – not as clearly indicated as the opening ones – breaking out of the style assumed by the writer. The element of etiquette and manners, the measured tasting of celebrations, of the processions with the sisters, of their being served at the table, cared for, helped out into and from the carriage, much of the details of the route, gradually lose their significance, although it should be mentioned that the descriptions of such situations are a permanent *topos* of the Carmelite chronicles (Nowicka-Struska, 2014, p. 195).

Mary Magdalene of the Saviour, narrating her tale story of the journey to Vilnius in a way that is natural, for it is “unlearned,” gradually departed from the factual reporting of who? where? when? revealing in her journal typical features of travel literature. According to Dziechcińska, in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century travel journals, these included an interest in otherness, with the space, the people, nature, the attitude to danger reflecting the acquisition of experience and curiosity as the essence of the traveller’s mind (Dziechcińska, 2003).

In the journal, the attitude of the cloistered nun to the salvific value of suffering and fear of the world, already signalled here, soon turned into the adventures of the nuns *in via*. Żaboklicka tells stories about the dangers of the road, describes wide, narrow, rickety bridges, a ferry crossing over the Bug River, overloaded boats, water flooding the carriages, lost roads, snapping ropes, broken drawbars, gales, frost, the silent footsteps of a thief under a window and the loud screams of a bruised man, an uninvited visitor – the dangers with the nuns’ whispered *sub tuum praesidium* floating in silence above it.

On 26 November, on Friday morning, we rose before dawn to set out on the road. The wind was harsh and frosty, and the frost was good. This wind blew snow over the road, and hence we lost our way. The cold was good, and we feared for those with us lest they should catch a cold. Especially our reverend fathers, who wore the least garments of us all and sandals, according to custom, that give no warmth whatsoever. We said a litany and some prayers for them. And those women who were with us and got very cold, and so did we, but not as cold, because they were by the windows, so they felt it more. (ABKW 22, p. 453)<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> “Zapalili w piecu, z którego zapalenia było dosyć dymu, co oczy nasze trochę czuły, bo płakały i patrzeć nie mogły. Kiedyśmy odprawowały pacierze, miały matki wielką pociechę, że nam cokolwiek posłał Pan, co by mu miały ofiarować.”

<sup>13</sup> “Dnia 26 nowembra w piątek rano przede dniem wstałychmy w droge się wybierać. Wiatr był przykry i mroźny i mróz dobry. Ten wiatr zawiął drogę śniegiem dlategośmy tyż bładzili. Zimno

The farther the sisters progressed towards the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the more cultural insights found their way into Sister Mary Magdalene's journal, and the journey also took on the character of a sensory exploration of space (Rybicka, 2014, p. 248).

It is significant that there are many more comments to be found about the quarters, manors, chambers, and inns than descriptions of the outside world. This was probably due to the fact that the Carmelites travelled in rather tightly sealed carriages and wore veils, which they could only raise during stopovers and indoors. The places of rest and recreation also received multi-sensory descriptions as part of the travellers' adventures – using auditory, olfactory, and tactile terms – in one inn, the group was unable to fall asleep because of bark beetles' noises in the walls, in another, the sisters almost suffocated from the smoke, in another still they almost boiled from the heat, some were cramped, others had a foul smell. Staying overnight in a Jewish inn on 20 November, Żaboklicka noted:

It was different there, like with Jews, not very tidy [...] they gave up their small room and the chamber, in which there was quite a foul smell, rather unpleasant, as it is customary with them, and although the people who were with us burned incense that had a good and beautiful smell, it was of not much use, as there was the old smell pervading everything. We also sprinkled everything with holy water [...] our fathers had a resting place in the bakery [...] two of us had a proper place to rest, there were many worms in the walls that did not give us peace, and most of them in the oven, because the reverend Mother had barely laid down and there were many of them right away, on the things on which she rested. (ABKW 22, p. 448)<sup>14</sup>

The geographical and cultural identity and the otherness of the new place revealed themselves to Sr Żaboklicka by the sound of an incomprehensible language, but mainly because of the culinary delights – cakes, dumplings, kvass, dishes that are unidentified today, e.g. *apostles* vel *kurpie*, *podplomyk* bread, a Lithuanian bread called “Borys,” so hard that it could only be swallowed when washed down

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było dobre a żeśmy się bały o tych co przy nas byli, żeby nie przeziębili. Osobliwie wm. Ojcowie nasi, którzy namniej odzienia na sobie mając, sandały według zwyczaju ciepła nie niedające. Mówiliśmy za nich letanią i niektóre modlitewki. I te białegłowy, co z nami były bardzo poziębły i my też, ale nie tak bardzo, bo ony w oknach jechały, dlatego więcej czuły.”

<sup>14</sup> “Tam było rozmaicie, jako u Żyda, nie bardzo ochędoźnie [...] ustąpili nam swojej izby niewielkiej i komory, w których było dosyć zapachu nie bardzo pięknego, jako u nich w zwyczaju jest, acz ci ludzie, co z nami byli, kadzili rozmaitemi rzeczami, które miały dobry i piękny zapach, mało tego było znać, przecie było dawny czuć, który wszystko przebijał. Myśmy też kropili wszystko święconą wodą [...] nasi ojcowie w piekarni mieli złożenie [...] dwie z nas miałyśmy słuszne miejsce od odpoczynku, robaczków też było dosyć w ścianach, które nie dały pokoju, a najwięcej u pieca, bo jeno się trochę tam położyła w[ielebna] m[atka], było ich zaraz dosyć, na tych rzeczach, na których się była wsparła.”

with kvass. In fact, the topic of the “Borys” bread recurs on several occasions, each time with a remark that at that stage of the journey it was still not the “genuine Borys,” because the genuine one is even blacker. She was very impressed by the beets, which “were served to us every day, cooked in various ways, and every day cooked more because at the beginning they did not cook that much of it” [“na każdy dzień nam dawano, rozmaicie je gotując, a co dzień znaczniejsze, bo z początku nie tak znacznie ją gotowali”].

We had a bit of an amusement watching the hostess kneading bread. The reverend fathers told us to watch it. When we raised our veils a bit, they also showed us a great bread – “Borys” which they had told us about, but they said that it was still not a genuine “Borys”, for it was not as black as it can often get. (ABKW 22, p. 454)<sup>15</sup>

The foundation journey imperceptibly became a cognitive journey and due to the curiosity of the writer and, to a certain extent, the command of the Carmelites. Żaboklicka noted that during the stopover, the locals practically forced the sisters to learn to prepare local specialities so that they could send them to Lublin, and the accompanying fathers drew the nuns’ attention to the cultural differences of the country they were going to, encouraged them to observe the way bread was made in Podlachia, or the items used by the natives: “there was also a towel, rather funny in its sparseness, which we all used. The rev. fathers told each of us to look at it individually” [“był tam także ręczniczek według ubóstwa uciezny, cośmy się niem ucierali. Kazali nam wm. ojcowie, każdej z osobna nań patrzeć”] (ABKW 22, p. 454). The journal, however, is a clear testament to the fact that it was the sphere of tastes and culinary delights which dominated the Lublin Carmelite nun’s perception of the region of Podlachia.

There was a baker there, too, who baked cakes and dumplings, neatly and quite quickly. They also sent us some *podpłomyki*, and they also sent us some kvass to taste, which they drink when eating the “Borys” bread, the one they cannot swallow until they wash it down with the kvass, that is what told us; they sent the apostles or kurpie so that we could have a look, they called them in different ways there, and they told us to learn how to make them and send them to our mothers in Lublin so that they could have a look, too. (ABKW 22, p. 455)<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> “Miałyśmy nieco rekreacji widząc jako chlib miesiła gospodyni. Kazali nam patrzeć wm. Ojcowie na to. Podniosłszy trochę welów ukazywali nam też chleb wielki – »Borys«, o którym nam przedtym powiedali, acz powiedali, że jeszcze nieprawdziwy »Borys«, bo jeszcze nie tak czarny, jako on bywa.”

<sup>16</sup> “I piekarka tam była, co piekła placki i pierogi, ochędoźnie i dość prędko. Przysłali nam też sami podpłomyków, kwasu też także przysłali kosztować, który po tym chlebie »Borysie« popijają, co go nie mogą połknąć, aż popijając tym kwasem, tak nam powiedali, przysłali apostoły abo kurpie

Mary Magdalene of the Saviour also with curiosity described the people whom she had encountered along the way. Particularly noteworthy is a kindly phrased fragment about the Jewish inn, which the travellers reached on 20 November 1638. Old literature quite often displayed anti-Semitic attitudes. It is all the more surprising that the Carmelite sister, in the above-mentioned paragraph, without signalling any reluctance ponders the cultural dilemma resulting from the fact that the Vilnius founding sisters arrived in the Jew's home on a Saturday (it is rather difficult to regard as cultural reluctance the fragment which mentions the smell in a Jewish inn because, in various roadside lodgings, they came across other inconveniences causing sensory disturbances, which she described). The Carmelite nun writes here that an unexpected arrival at a stopover was a problem for the Jews, and the host "supposedly had quite a concern about it, because it was Saturday, when they have their Sabbath" ["podobno miał z tego zmartwienia cokolwiek, żeśmy tak stali, bo była sobota, kiedy u nich szabat"].

Over time and miles, the ability to tell stories about the journey and the experiences was also developing, and Żaboklicka turned from a reporter into a storyteller. The pathos of the scene of escorting the Carmelite nuns to the carriages featured at the beginning of the journal, or the uplifting descriptions of the magnates who served the sisters somewhere in the wild countryside of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, momentarily gave way to amusing stories of how a suspicious tenant suspected the Carmelite women of having overnight poured out the contents of barrels guarded in a barn, or of the wife of Vice-Chancellor Pac suffering from a hysterical fear of cats.

In the final fragments of the manuscript, the author turned again to the solemn tone appropriate for the concluding description of the final closure of the Vilnius cloister gate. By 21 December, Żaboklicka had described the ceremony of the sisters' entrance to the convent (fragmentary and damaged in the manuscript); thus, framing the entire story between the ceremony of stepping "out of the gate" and being locked "behind the bars," as it has already been mentioned. It does not alter the fact that the farther the journey progressed into the countryside of Podlachia and Lithuania, the more eagerly the author moved away from the ossified convention of describing the sacred mission of the founders in favour of particular observations or impressions of a travelling woman. Her notes thus evolved discreetly from a journal in the service of the order to much more personal notes, only to finally return to the initially designated tracks. In the fragment of *Historyja fundacyjej klasztoru naszego* [*The History of the Foundation of Our Convent*], constituting part

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na oglądanie, rozmaicie je tam zowią i kazali nam się uczyć je robić, i posłać na oglądanie matkom naszym do Lublina."

of the same codex, the order and the basic outline of the description made by the Carmelite nun have been retained, but her individual insights into the surrounding reality have been reworked, much like in the 18<sup>th</sup>-century version, written in the BKB 255 manuscript.

The journal of Mary Magdalene of the Saviour, Anna Żaboklicka, is an exceptional phenomenon not only in Polish culture. As far as journalistic writing is concerned, it precedes the journal by the first Polish female traveller, Regina Salomea Pilsztynowa, by almost a century and a half. There were also not many female authors describing the otherness of the world experienced on the road in European travel journals in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. A mention is due here to Lady Anna Harrison Fanshawe (1625–1680) and Celia Fiennes (1662–1741); other diaries written by women in the 17<sup>th</sup> century from the milieu of English, Spanish, and French culture that did not display an expressive nature of travel journals (Partyka, 2004, pp. 161–19; MacCarthy, 1994, pp. 89–102). A look at the applied literature created in religious circles from the point of view of diaristic travel works is also not widely used in European research, although, as I mentioned, among the sources quoted by the author were the writings of St Theresa of Ávila and Anna of Jesus. In view of such an absence of women writers, Żaboklicka's manuscript should be regarded as a truly intriguing journal.

Finally, one more aspect of the uniqueness of the journal of Mary Magdalene of the Saviour should be emphasised. Unlike analogical texts by men, women's memoir writing of the Baroque era is characterised by the conviction that female writing that focused on the home, the homestead, children, and finances was irrelevant (Partyka, 2004, p. 160). Meanwhile, the travelling Carmelite nun was aware from the very outset that her journal would serve a great deed, and thus keeping her journal from the journey to Vilnius constituted a momentous mission also from the perspective of the Order. In this manner, two aspects pervade the notes of the Carmelite sister – her own private space, resulting from a curiosity of the world, its perception and knowledge about it, and, in a way, an institutional space, resulting from the task she was entrusted with. In Old Polish memoiristic literature, this space was most definitely reserved for the writing of men.

The authors of *Słownik pisarek polskich od średniowiecza do współczesności* [Dictionary of Polish Female Writers from the Middle Ages to the Present Day], only recognised six women who wielded the quill within the realm of Old Polish culture, these were: Gertruda Mniszkówna, Anna Memorata, Anna Stanisławska, Salomea Pilsztynowa, Marianna Marchocka, and Magdalena Mortęska (Borkowska, Czermińska, and Phillips, 2000). And even though Joanna Partyka in her work “*Żona wyćwiczona*”: *kobieta pisząca w XVI i XVII wieku* [“The Trained Wife”: *The Writing Woman in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century*], quoted here on

numerous occasions, claimed that “a writing woman does not mean a woman writer, yet” [“kobieta pisząca to jeszcze nie pisarka”] (Partyka, 2004, p. 5), it is not an easy task to define the subtle boundaries between being a writer and writing, art and application, within the domain of Old Polish culture and writing. There are too many indirect phenomena, instances of chiaroscuro, and literary ambiguities during the period. It should be added, following the research of Old Polish travel accounts, that the very attitude assumed by a travel diarist already constitutes a writer’s creation, for all authors of travel journals:

not only do they make a selection and choose things worth seeing – and recording – out of the whole diverse set of phenomena seen on a journey [...], not only do they reveal their preferences, but, at the same time, they interpret the reality in a way characteristic to themselves, providing information about it, and this is due to certain factors inherent in the phenomenon of travelling. (Dziechcińska, 2003, p. 25)<sup>17</sup>

Regardless of the evaluation of the literary quality of Żaboklicka’s journal, it is her notes from the “great journey” to Lithuania that should open women’s diaristic writing in Polish literature, and Mary Magdalene of the Saviour should be granted the place of the first Polish journal writer in the modest group of Polish female authors of the 17<sup>th</sup> century; moreover, one transcending the boundaries of male versus female writing.

*Translated into English: Lingua Lab*

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<sup>17</sup> “W całym różnorodnym zespole zjawisk ujranych w podróży [...] nie tylko dokonuje selekcji i wyboru rzeczy godnych widzenia, a więc i zapisania, nie tylko ujawnia swe upodobania, lecz jednocześnie owa rzeczywistość w sposób sobie właściwy interpretuje przedstawia, informując o niej zaś dzieje się to za sprawą pewnych czynników nieodłącznie związanych z fenomenem podróży.”

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