### BIULETYN POLSKIEJ MISJI HISTORYCZNEJ BULLETIN DER POLNISCHEN HISTORISCHEN MISSION ISSN 2083-7755 (print)/ISSN 2391-792X (online)

NR 10/2015: 181–196
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.12775/BPMH.2015.006

### TOMASZ CIESIELSKI, MARIUSZ SAWICKI

Uniwersytet Opolski e-mail: tciesielski@uni.opole.pl, msawicki@uni.opole.pl

# PILGRIMAGES OF THE POLISH GENTRY TO HOLY PLACES IN THE 17<sup>TH</sup> AND THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

As long as they could afford it, the Polish and Lithuanian gentry in the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries liked to travel abroad for educational, scientific and devotional purposes. As regards the latter, expeditions to the Holy Land – Jerusalem in particular – enjoyed the highest prestige but, as such journeys were rather expensive, arduous and long, very few inhabitants of the Commonwealth decided to undertake them. Another primary pilgrimage destination was the burial-place of St James the Greater in Santiago de Compostela; however, this journey was not very popular with the Polish and Lithuanian gentry, either. Their favorite destination, in fact, was Rome, which boasted the tombs of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. Clergymen visited the papal capital very often for offices and benefices. There were also many lay pilgrims, attracted by the great jubilees celebrated every 25 years<sup>1</sup>. Beginning around the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A. Jackowski, Pielgrzymowanie, (1998), pp. 15 and next; F. Wolański, Europa jako punkt odniesienia dla postrzegania przestrzeni geograficznej przez szlachtę polską

late 1600s, the number of purely religious journeys to Rome decreased, although the odd pilgrimage was still undertaken by noblemen such as Krzysztof Zawisza in 1700², Junosza Piaskowski in 1717³, or Tomasz Stanisław Wolski in 1725⁴. The nobility mostly travelled to Western or Southern Europe for educational and scientific purposes and, from the late 18th century onwards, their journeys became strictly tourism-based. On these journeys, Poles did not give up on visiting sanctuaries containing venerable relics of saints, or sacred places famous for miracles performed through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary or the prophets. Furthermore, their interest in religious centers in the present Czech Republic, Austria, Bavaria, and Northern Italy – located along the routes to Rome or France – was now increasing. In Polish correspondence and memoirs from the 1600s and 1700s, one often comes across information concerning visits to sacred sites⁵. This usually

osiemnastego wieku w świetle relacji podróżniczych i geograficznych, (2002), pp. 72–74; F. Wolański, Stosunek społeczeństwa staropolskiego do miejsc świętych w świetle relacji podróżniczych i kompendiach geograficznych w XVIII w., in: Czasy nowożytne. Studia poświęcone pamięci prof. Władysława Eugeniusza Czaplińskiego w 100 rocznicę urodzin, ed. by K. Matwijowski, (2005), pp. 149–153; A. Kucharski, Staropolskie pielgrzymki do zagranicznych sanktuariów, available on the Internet: http://mobile.wilanow-palac.pl/article/staropolskie\_pielgrzymki\_do\_zagranicznych\_sanktuariow.html, (visited on 1.9.2014).

- <sup>2</sup> Pamiętniki Krzysztofa Zawiszy, wojewody mińskiego (1666–1721), ed. by J. Bartoszewicz, (1862), pp. 76–100.
- <sup>3</sup> Pamiętnik Felicyana Junoszy Piaskowskiego, podstolego podlaskiego, majora J.K. Mości, począwszy od roku 1690, (1865), pp. 24–42, 50–51.
- <sup>4</sup> *Pielgrzymki Polaków do ziemi świętej i sąsiednich krain*, ed. by W. Chomętowski, (1874), pp. 96–98.
- <sup>5</sup> For example: Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł during a journey throughout South and West Europe visited in 1684 and from 1686 till 1687 sacred sites in Prague, Viterbo, Assisi, Loreto, Genoa, Pisa, Siena, Padoa, Venice, Passau and Abbey of Monte Cassino, *Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł, Diariusz peregrynacji europejskiej (1684–1687)*, ed. by A. Kucharski, (2011), pp. 95–99, 136–138, 166–167, 172–173, 178–179 Krzysztof Zawisza, who visited in 1700 not only Rome, but also sacred sites in Venice, Padua, Bologna, Loreto and Assisi, *Pamiętniki Krzysztofa Zawiszy*, pp. 80–87; Felicjan Junosza Piaskowski was in 1717 and 1718 in Trento, Padoa, Venice, Loreto, Tolentino, Assisi, Vit-

resulted in descriptions of these places, which constitute an important aspect of the chronicler's and the memoirist's narrative. A noteworthy example here can be the Lithuanian nobleman Józef Jerzy Hylzen's diary, in which a description of the Bavarian spiritual center Altötting is the most detailed one among all the locations he visited during his travels through Germany, France (including a long stay in Paris), and the Netherlands. Hylzen not only recounted the structures which constituted the shrine, but also detailed the votive offerings and other precious objects kept in the treasury<sup>6</sup>.

The clergy and noblemen took home 'holy' souvenirs from foreign travels, pilgrimages in particular. Speaking in terms of the development of sacred places and, consequently, pilgrimage centers in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, among the most valuable mementos were the relics of saints. Sometimes the cult of a saint was even imported to the Commonwealth. During his stay in Rome, Krzysztof Zawisza received a relic of Saint Felician of Foligno from the Pope. Having brought it to Lithuania, he donated it to the Jesuit Church of Jesus, Mary and St. Barbara in Minsk (Mińsk), whose /which start of construction began in 1700. The remains of the saint were buried in the church thirteen years later, when the construction was completed and, most importantly, when the wars devastating the Commonwealth had ended. The ritual entombment of the reliquary casket containing the remains of the saint was an opulent ceremony, in which thousands of people participated, including the Bishop of Vilnius Konstanty Kazimierz Brzostowski himself, who played the first fiddle<sup>7</sup>. It was the first such grand-scale religious ceremony in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

erbo, Siena, Reggio Emilia, Milan, Genoa, *Pamiętnik Felicyana Junoszy Piaskowskiego*, pp. 27–33, 52, 57, 59–61, 64–65; Jan Ursyn Niemcewicz stayed two days in Loreto in the winter of 1785, J.U. Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, vol. 1, (2000), pp. 91–92.

 $<sup>^6</sup>$  Juozapo Jurgio Hilzeno 175201754 metų kelionės Dienoraštis = Dziennik podróży Józefa Jerzego Hylzena z lat 1752–1754, ed. by A. Pacevičius, J. Orzeł, S. Roszak, (2013), pp. 140–143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Pamiętniki Krzysztofa Zawiszy, pp. 158, 170, 302–303.

to date, thereby preceding the coronation of a Marian image at Trakai (Troki)<sup>8</sup> by five years. The burial of the remains of Saint Felician significantly promoted the Jesuit Church, which became the most important Catholic sanctuary in Minsk.

Polish pilgrims and travellers usually brought home copies of famously miraculous images (paintings) of the Virgin Mary, or Christian saints. Some of them possessed a greater value for their 'antiqueness' or artistic quality. Their proud owners spared no effort in displaying them properly, by placing them in churches connected with their families or estates. Thus, they contributed to the development of new religious centers, some of which – whose paintings gained fame through miracles and acts of grace - became pilgrimage destinations. One such painting was scandalously brought home from a pilgrimage to Italy by the Castellan of Vilnius Mikołaj Sapieha in the mid-1620s. His pilgrimage was inspired by the fact that he suffered from severe joint pains in his arms and legs that often rendered him bedridden. As domestic medics had turned out hopeless, Sapieha assumed that what lay behind his ailment was witchcraft and only the intercession of saints could heal him, so he decided to go to Rome - and to consult doctors in Padua on the way, to be on the safe side. This is what one source claims, while according to another he went on a pilgrimage to express his thankfulness for being cured of a serious condition. In Rome, at an audience with Pope Urban VIII, Sapieha became enraptured with a painting of the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe attributed to Augustine of Canterbury. Art historians, however, have claimed that it was painted only in the early 17th century - that is, shortly before it was stolen, along with holy relics, from the papal apartments, by a sexton, at Sapieha's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The Marian image at Trakai was coronation in 1718: A. Fridrich, *Historye cudownych obrazów Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Polsce*, 4 (1908), pp. 130–138; T. Ciesielski, *Koronacje cudownych obrazów w osiemnastowiecznej Rzeczypospolitej*, in: *Cywilizacja prowincji Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, ed. by A. Jankowski, A. Klonder, (2004), p. 199.

request<sup>9</sup>. Sapieha brought the sacred objects to Podlachia, appeasing the Pope's anger through the intercession of an Apostolic Nuncio - and his own vigorous efforts to thwart the Polish King Władysław IV Vasa's plan to marry a Protestant princess. Having accepted Sapieha's apology, the pope allowed him to keep the relics and the painting, which soon became famous for miracles. The first miracle allegedly occurred on Sapieha's trip back from Rome when, during a stop at Bracciano, the painting cured a man possessed by a demon. In the years that followed, the Sapiehas endeavored to promote the famously miraculous and beneficent painting, which they mounted in a purpose-built church built in their family headquarters at Kodeń, in Podlachia<sup>10</sup>. The painting was soon ascribed miraculous healing powers and, as a result, it became a pilgrimage destination for the gentry, as well as townsmen and peasants. Among the healed was another member of the Sapieha family, Jan Fryderyk Sapieha (b. 1680), a future castellan of Trakai and the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania. As a young boy, while playing, he accidentally swallowed a needle, which got stuck in his throat. When all the efforts of his parents to remove it failed, they took him to Kodeń to save his life. While they were praying before the miraculous painting, Jan Fryderyk spat out the needle completely uninjured<sup>11</sup>. This is one of many stories connected with pilgrimages to Kodeń, which ultimately led the Church to recognize the Marian image as miraculous and award it papal crowns in 1723. The person behind all of this was Jan Fryderyk Sapieha, as he not only obtained the papal seal of approval and subsidized the act of the coronation itself – but he also wrote two histories

 $<sup>^9\,</sup>$  M. Okoń, M. Wrzesz,  $Kode\acute{n},$ in: Encyklopedia~katolicka,9 (2002), pp. 283–284.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> A. Sajkowski, Włoskie przygody Polaków. Wiek XVI-XVIII, (1973), pp. 96–97; M. Nagielski, Sapieha Mikołaj, in: Polski Słownik Biograficzny, XXXV, 144 (1994), p. 127; F. B. Kowalski, Kodeń Marii. Cudowny obraz Matki Boskiej Kodeńskiej, (1927), pp. 23–24; P. J. K. Podlasiak, Kodeń Sapiehów. Jego kościoły i cudowny obraz Matki Boskiej Gwadalupeńskiej, (1898), p. 57; Okoń, Wrzesz, Kodeń, pp. 283–284; Ciesielski, Koronacje, p. 197.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Podlasiak, Kodeń Sapiehów, p. 60.

of the painting, published in 1720 and 1721, respectively, thereby providing salient sources of evidence. In addition, Jan Fryderyk Sapieha contributed to the coronation of two other Marian images – in Trakai (Troki), in 1718, and in the Church of Saint Michael in Vilnius (Wilno), in 1750<sup>12</sup>. Sapieha's endeavors leading to the coronation of the paintings were undoubtedly driven by his deep piety, and also by a desire to restore his family's prestige and to promote Kodeń, an administrative center of the Sapieha lands in Podlachia.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, 28 (29) Marian images were crowned in the Commonwealth, namely, far more than in neighboring countries, where just a few coronations were carried out: one in Bohemia, and two in Moravia, Austria in Bavaria, respectively<sup>13</sup>. In the Polish lands, the first Marian image to have been crowned and honored with papal crowns was the icon of the Virgin Mary at the Jasna Góra Monastery – in 1717. It was the 159<sup>th</sup> coronation of the icon, but the first carried out outside the boundaries of the Apennine Peninsula<sup>14</sup>. The ceremony

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ciesielski, *Koronacje*, pp. 198, 210–211.

<sup>13</sup> M. Janocha, O koronacjach obrazów Matki Boskiej, in: J. S. Pasierb, M. Janocha, Polonica artystyczne w zbiorach watykańskich, (2000), pp. 187–188, 190; A. Witkowska, Uroczyste koronacje wizerunków maryjnych, in: Przestrzeń i sacrum. Geografia kultury religijnej w Polsce i jej przemiany w okresie od XVII do XX w. na przykładzie ośrodków kultu i migracji pielgrzymkowych, ed. by A. Jackowski [et al.], (1996), pp. 89, 224; J. Bartoszewicz, Koronacje obrazów świętych, in: Dzieła Juljana Bartoszewicza, VII: Szkice z czasów saskich, p. 208; S. Barącz, Cudowne obrazy Matki Najświętszej w Polsce, (1891), p. 283; X. Wacław [Nowakowski], O cudownych obrazach w Polsce Przenajświętszej Matki Bożej, (1902), p. 297; A. J. Baranowski, Oprawy uroczystości koronacyjnych wizerunków Marii na Rusi Koronnej w XVIII w., "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki", LVII, 3–4 (1995), pp. 299–300; A. Fridrich, Historye cudownych obrazów, 1–3 (1904–1908); Miejsca święte Rzeczypospolitej, ed. by A. Jackowski, (1998), p. 343–346; Z dawna Polski Tyś Królową. Koronowane wizerunki Matki Bożej 1717–1990, ed. by P. Azulewicz [et al.], (1990); Ciesielski, Koronacje, pp. 195–196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Janocha, O koronacjach, pp. 187–188; Ciesielski, Koronacje, p. 195. See also: Nowa Korona Chwały Naywyższej Monarchini Nieba y Ziemie Naiasnieyszey Krolowey Polskiey Maryi Pannie [...] w Przecudowny Rytrakcie Na Jasney Gorze Częstochowskieu z Woli [...] Klemensa XI [...] Roku Pańskiego 1717, Dnia 7 Septembra [...] ukoronowana..., (1717); J. Rafałowiczówna, A z Warszawy nowiny te... Listy do Elżbiety Sieniaw-

became established and spread around the Commonwealth very soon, an outcome of the powerful Marian cult in Central Europe, which dates back to the 11th century. In the Commonwealth, the cult intensified in the 17the century, especially after 1 April 1656, when King Jan II Casimir Vasa made the Lwów Oath, thereby announcing the Blessed Virgin Mary the Queen of the Polish Crown<sup>15</sup>. There were already many Marian sanctuaries in the Commonwealth then, which attracted numerous pilgrims. The most important was the Jasna Góra with its Black Madonna that drew the interest and admiration of pilgrims from approximately 300 places in Southern Poland and approximately 50 foreign localities, chiefly Silesia and Hungary<sup>16</sup>. In an early 1630s work Polska albo opisanie położenia Królestwa Polskiego [Poland, or a description of the situation of the Kingdom of Poland], Szymon Starowolski mentioned other famous Marian cult centers, namely, Borek Stary, Gidle, Leżajsk, Sierpc, Skępe, Sokal, Troki and Żyrowice - alongside Jasna Góra<sup>17</sup>. Nearly half a century later, Wespazjan Kochowski listed, in a poem, no fewer than 18 Marian shrines, including Chełm, Gidle, Jarosław, Klewań, Leżajsk, Myślenice, Pajęczne, Piotrkowice, Podkamień, Skępe, Sokal, Studziannę, Troki, Tuchów, Zdziesz and Żyrowice. In the 18th century, they constituted the largest group among more than 150 pilgrimage destinations with at least a regional impact, and the importance of some of these increased due to coronations of Marian images<sup>18</sup>. This produced a unique type of devotion in the Polish lands and helped to intensify the pilgrim movement throughout the Commonwealth, as famously miraculous crowned images were to be

skiej z lat 1710–1720, ed. by B. Popiołek, (2000), pp. 143, 151, 160, 161, 165; Dzieje Polski pod panowaniem Augusta II od roku 1696–1728 opisał współczesny Erazm Otwinowski, (1849), p. 320.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Jackowski, *Pielgrzymowanie*, p. 67.

 $<sup>^{16}\;</sup>$  A. Jackowski, Rozwój pielgrzymek w Polsce, in: Przestrzeń i sacrum, pp. 16–18.

 $<sup>^{17}</sup>$ S. Starowolski, *Polska albo opisanie położenia Królestwa Polskiego*, ed. by A. Piskadło, (1976), pp. 65, 75, 83–84, 87–88, 98, 102, 112–113.

 $<sup>^{18}\,</sup>$  Jackowski, Pielgrzymowanie,p. 78.

found both in the western voivodeships of Poland and in Podolia, Volhynia, Belarus, and Lithuania. They attracted people of all social strata and some of them gained fame as royal (for example, Częstochowa, Sokal, Piekary Śląskie were visited by kings) and ancestral/noble (the Radziwiłł family saw the image in Żyrowice as their own; the same applied to the Sapiehas and the image in Kodeń, and the Potockis and the images in Łuck and Leżajsk)<sup>19</sup>. Furthermore, although the pilgrimage movement was connected with cult centers of the Roman Catholic and Uniate Church - among its participants were also the Orthodox believers, who considered some Marian images as part of their religious vocabulary. Even though it is difficult to estimate the proportions of the pilgrim movement in the Commonwealth, it cannot be questioned that cult centers were annually visited by thousands of noblemen, townspeople and peasants. Pilgrimages to coronations of Marian images were the most popular. The largest such event, at Częstochowa, was participated by an archbishop, three bishops, hundreds of priests and secular clerics, and an alleged 200,000 believers<sup>20</sup>. Other coronations were witnessed by between a dozen or so and more than one hundred believers. Except Kodeń, where the act of coronation supposedly attracted only about a thousand, other celebrations were attended by an alleged tens of thousands of people, for example, 16,000 at Miedniewice; 50,000 at Berdyczów, and during the coronations at Podkamień and Żyrowice, Holy Communion was given to 108,000 and 140,000, respectively. The crowd in Leżajsk was so dense that 'an apple rolling over people's heads could hardly reach the ground. The exception was the coronation at Kodeń, attended by a mere thousand, that is to say, less than the annual number of pilgrims visiting the sanctuary<sup>21</sup>.

Coronations increased the prominence of sanctuaries in that they confirmed the antiquity and the miraculous nature of the images kept

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ciesielski, *Koronacje*, pp. 210–211.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ibidem, p. 204.

therein. The former was proved by attributing the image to a saint or angels, and paintings allegedly created by angels materialized in a miraculous manner. The marvellous nature of an image had to be acknowledged by a special diocesan committee and the miracles performed by images seemed to be similar throughout the Polish lands: support during the Tatar raids and wars in the 17<sup>th</sup> and the early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, reviving the Catholic spirit during the struggle with the Protestants and, most significantly, divine revelations, the resurrection of the dead, healing of paralytics and the terminally ill, restoration of sight and speech, rescue of the drowning<sup>22</sup>. A list drawn up for the Berdyczów image, for example, comprised 253 revelations, 14 resurrections of the dead and 14 healings of the dying, 19 restorations of sight, and 112 healings<sup>23</sup>.

The number of miraculous healings influenced the popularity of sanctuaries to a considerable extent. This stemmed from inadequate medical care and poor hygiene in the Polish lands during this period. Consequently, even a wound or a virus that would be harmless today could cause a chronic, difficult-to-treat disease, or even death. People sought help from miraculous images and saw a pilgrimage as a form of preventive medicine. Most Polish and Lithuanian gentry believed that through visiting domestic and foreign sacred sites one could free oneself from what were otherwise untreatable diseases. Such diseases were often ascribed to magic or even the Devil himself. When every known remedy had failed, people assumed they should go to a sacred place at home or abroad in order to be cured. Furthermore, the gentry of the Commonwealth were afraid of and believed in all sorts of socalled possessions. Usually, the 'possessed' were not blamed for making a deal with the Devil or practicing witchcraft; in fact most were sympathized with and offered help. To draw the demon out, people undertook exorcisms as a rule and when these proved fruitless, they

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ibidem, pp. 197–198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Wacław [Nowakowski], O cudownym obrazie, pp. 9–22.

turned to God in search of other solutions. A practical countermeasure would then be a pilgrimage to a sanctuary renowned for miraculous healings and the ability to drive out evil spirits. One such place was the monastery in Łagiewniki, whose annals are full of descriptions of people who were freed from their demons as a result of visiting it. In 1691, the noblewoman Elżbieta Biegańska undertook a pilgrimage to the monastery, assuming it was only there that she could be delivered from demon possession. According to the annals of Łagiewniki her efforts proved successful and she was absolved of the demon<sup>24</sup>. In 1715, Łagiewniki was visited by Joanna Mokronowska, who also thought she had been possessed. It soon turned out that five thousand demons had been driven into her by her guardian, who was a witch. When initial measures proved ineffective, it was decided that she should undertake a pilgrimage. In Łagiewniki, in front of the image of St Anthony exorcisms were performed which freed her from the demons<sup>25</sup>. Sometimes even approaching the Łagiewniki monastery was said to bring about a miraculous healing and to release evil spirits from the allegedly possessed person. One such case occurred in 1719, when a Mrs Tryniszewska (whose given name was never mentioned), the wife of Piotr Tryniszewski, went to Łagiewniki to get the demons driven out of her. Reportedly, the moment Tryniszewska and those attending to her drove onto the fields surrounding the monastery and saw the church, the demons began to torture her so savagely that the travellers had to stop. An account has it that the demons shouted they would leave her body on the spot to avoid going to the monastery. Then they skinned Tryniszewska's tongue and filled her mouth with blood, following which most of them withdrew. The rest were driven out in the monastery or in the church via specialist exorcisms<sup>26</sup>. On 13 October

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> *Nietolerancja i zabobon w Polsce w XVII i XVIII w.*, ed. by B. Baranowski, W. Lewandowski, (1987), p. 103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ibidem, pp. 103–104.

1720, Łagiewniki was visited by Józef Chodyński from Skierniewice, who thought that he was possessed by ten demons. Allegedly, as soon as he approached Łagiewniki, the demons inside him began to shout they would not go to the monastery and withdraw voluntarily, as indeed happened. Chodyński finally reached Łagiewniki, where he shared his story, swearing what had just happened was real<sup>27</sup>. In the same year, a pilgrimage to the monastery was undertaken by Jedrzej Piwo, who not only saw himself as possessed by the Devil, but also claimed he was in pain due to witchcraft. Upon arrival he subjected himself to specialist exorcisms and was administered various unmentioned medicines, which drew the demon out of him. A healed Piwo went back home and. reportedly, never again suffered from demon possession<sup>28</sup>. Another intriguing instance with regard to the expulsion of evil spirits at the monastery in Łagiewniki occurred in late April 1721. A pilgrimage was undertaken by an unidentified 16-year-old noblewoman as her guardian apparently wanted to turn her into a witch. According to her account, the guardian had already taken her to a sabbath at Bald Mountain, a witches' gathering place. The young girl, however, wore objects of piety, keeping the demons at bay. She had a feeling they only rode around her in carriages - which could have been a daydream or a hallucination. Next her guardian, the witch, began persuading her to marry one of the cavaliers who also assembled at Bald Mountain. All she had to do was to take off her medals, but she did not. Apparently, when she refused, everything vanished leaving them both lying in the mud. Following these events, the girl decided to go on a pilgrimage to Łagiewniki and confess everything only that on her way to the monastery, on the second Thursday after the unfortunate occurrences, demons appeared before her in the form of terrible beasts. There were many and they were about to rip her to shreds, but when she called out: 'Holy Mother, Saint Anthony, please save me!', they reportedly disap-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ibidem, p. 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ibidem, p. 104.

peared. She safely reached Łagiewniki, where she told her story and asked that the miracle be noted in the annals<sup>29</sup>.

There are many more similar accounts about Polish and Lithuanian gentry who sought help and were miraculously healed when they went on a pilgrimage to and stayed at places renowned for performing wonders – and in fact there were many more such places. People in Poland as well as in the Europe of yesteryear believed in the extraordinary power of such localities and sanctuaries, and travelled there to be healed, or even have their demons driven out. Most pilgrimages of this kind proved successful, resulting in a healing and sometimes an expulsion of the Devil. Such stories consolidated people's trust in the power of pilgrimages to holy sites, a last resort when all other methods known to man had failed.

Translated by Paweł Łopatka

### PIELGRZYMKI SZLACHTY POLSKIEJ DO MIEJSC ŚWIĘTYCH W XVII I XVIII WIEKU

(STRESZCZENIE)

W wiekach XVII i XVIII szlachta polska i litewska chętnie wyruszała w podróże. W przypadku podróży zagranicznych o charakterze religijnym największym zainteresowaniem cieszyły się wyprawy do Ziemi Świętej, grobu św. Jakuba Starszego w Santiago de Compostela i do Rzymu. W ich trakcie odwiedzano sanktuaria przechowujące relikwie świętych oraz sławne z cudów za sprawą Matki Boskiej lub świętych na terenie dzisiejszych Czech, Austrii, Bawarii czy północnych Włoch. Popularnymi celami pielgrzymek były też ośrodki pątnicze na terenie Rzeczypospolitej, których liczba wzrosła w XVIII wieku do około 150. Znaczenie miały zwłaszcza sanktuaria maryjne, w szczególności te posiadające ukoronowane w latach 1717–1792 wizerunki Najświętszej Marii Panny.

Częstym powodem podjęcia pielgrzymki była przewlekła choroby. Powszechnie wierzono w lecznicze oddziaływanie miejsc świętych. Zwłaszcza, gdy za przyczynę

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ibidem, pp. 105–106.

choroby uznawano czary lub opętanie przez diabła. Jednym z takich miejsc był klasztor w Łagiewnikach (Sanktuarium Bożego Miłosierdzia w Krakowie-Łagiewnikach), którego kroniki pełne są świadectw uwolnienia z opętania.

## DIE WALLFAHRTEN DES POLNISCHEN ADELS ZU HEILIGEN ORTEN IM 17. UND 18. JAHRHUNDERT

#### (ZUSAMMENFASSUNG)

Im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert trat der polnische und litauische Adel gerne Reisen an. Im Fall von Auslandsreisen religiöser Natur genossen die Wallfahrten ins Heilige Land, an das Grab des Hl. Jakobus des Älteren in Santiago de Compostela und nach Rom besonders großes Interesse. Während dieser hat man Heiligtümer besichtigt, in denen die Reliquien von Heiligen aufbewahrt wurden. Dank der Wunder der Jungfrau Maria oder anderer Heiligen waren Kultstätten in dem heutigen Tschechien, in Österreich, Bayern und Norditalien entstanden. Beliebte Pilgerziele waren auch Wallfahrtsorte in Rzeczpospolita, im 18. Jahrhundert etwa insgesamt 150 Stätten. Besondere Bedeutung besaßen vor allem die Marien-Heiligtümer, insbesondere die gekrönten Bilder der Jungfrau Maria aus den Jahren 1717–1792.

Ein häufiger Grund für die Aufnahme der Wallfahrt waren chronische Erkrankungen der einzelnen Pilger. Landläufig glaubte man die heilsame Wirkung der heiligen Stätten. Vor allem, wenn man die Ursachen der Erkrankung für Hexerei oder Besessenheit vom Teufel hielt. Ein solcher Ort war das Kloster in Łagiewniki (Heiligtum der Göttlichen Barmherzigkeit in Krakau-Łagiewniki), dessen Chroniken voll von Zeugnissen der Befreiung von der Teufelsbesessenheit sind.

Ubersetzt von Renata Skowrońska

# PILGRIMAGES OF THE POLISH GENTRY TO HOLY PLACES IN THE $17^{\text{TH}}$ AND THE $18^{\text{TH}}$ CENTURIES

(SUMMARY)

The Polish and Lithuanian gentry in the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries liked to travel. As regards travel abroad, expeditions to the Holy Land enjoyed the highest prestige – Jerusalem, to the burial-place of St James the Greater in Santiago de Compostela and to Rome. On these journeys, Poles would visit sanctuaries containing venerable relics

of saints, or sacred places famous for miracles performed through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary or the prophets in the present Czech Republic, Austria, Bavaria, and Northern Italy. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century there were more than 150 cult centers in Poland which were also popular destinations for pilgrims from other countries. Shrines to the Virgin Mary were most important, especially these with crowned paintings of the Virgin Mary.

A common reason for joining the pilgrimage was chronic disease, which was believed to have possibly been caused by witchcraft or possession by evil spirits. One of the places famous for its healing was the monastery in Łagiewniki (Divine Mercy Sanctuary, Kraków-Łagiewniki) where you can find many testimonies of deliverance from demonic possession.

Translated by Paweł Łopatka

### Słowa kluczowe / Schlagworte / Keywords

- Polska i litewska szlachta w XVII i XVIII w.; pielgrzymki; sanktuaria katolickie; kult maryjny; cudowne wizerunki maryjne i świętych
- Polnischer und litauischer Adel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert; Wallfahrten; katholische Heiligtümer; Kult der Jungfrau Maria; wunderbare Bilder von der Jungfrau Maria und der Heiligen
- Polish and Lithuanian gentry in the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries; pilgrimages; Catholic sanctuary; Marian cult; miraculous images of the Virgin Mary and Christian saints

### BIBLIOGRAFIA / BIBLIOGRAFIE / BIBLIOGRAPHY

## ŹRÓDŁA DRUKOWANE / GEDRUCKTE QUELLEN / PRINTED SOURCES

Dzieje Polski pod panowaniem Augusta II od roku 1696–1728 opisał współczesny Erazm Otwinowski, (1849).

Juozapo Jurgio Hilzeno 1752–1754 metų kelionės Dienoraštis = Dziennik podróży

- *Józefa Jerzego Hylzena z lat 1752–1754*, ed. by A. Pacevičius, J. Orzeł, S. Roszak, (2013).
- Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł, Diariusz peregrynacji europejskiej (1684–1687), ed. by A. Kucharski, (2011).
- Niemcewicz J. U., Pamiętniki czasów moich, 1 (2000).
- Nowa Korona Chwały Naywyższej Monarchini Nieba y Ziemie Naiasnieyszey Krolowey Polskiey Maryi Pannie [...] w Przecudowny Rytrakcie Na Jasney Gorze Częstochowskieu z Woli [...] Klemensa XI [...] Roku Pańskiego 1717, Dnia 7 Septembra [...] ukoronowana..., (1717).
- Pamiętnik Felicyana Junoszy Piaskowskiego, podstolego podlaskiego, majora J.K. Mości, począwszy od roku 1690, (1865).
- Pamiętniki Krzysztofa Zawiszy, wojewody mińskiego (1666–1721), ed. by J. Bartoszewicz, (1862).
- Pielgrzymki Polaków do ziemi świętej i sąsiednich krain, ed. by W. Chomętowski, (1874).
- Rafałowiczówna J., *A z Warszawy nowiny te... Listy do Elżbiety Sieniawskiej z lat* 1710–1720, ed. by B. Popiołek, (2000).
- Starowolski S., *Polska albo opisanie położenia Królestwa Polskiego*, ed. by A. Piskadło, (1976).

### LITERATURA / LITERATUR / LITERATURE

- Baranowski A. J., *Oprawy uroczystości koronacyjnych wizerunków Marii na Rusi Koronnej w XVIII w.*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki", LVII, 3–4 (1995).
- Barącz S., Cudowne obrazy Matki Najświętszej w Polsce, (1891).
- Bartoszewicz J., Koronacje obrazów świętych, in: Dzieła Juljana Bartoszewicza, 7: Szkice z czasów saskich, (1880).
- Ciesielski T., Koronacje cudownych obrazów w osiemnastowiecznej Rzeczypospolitej, in: Cywilizacja prowincji Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej, ed. by A. Jankowski, A. Klonder, (2004).
- Fridrich A., *Historye cudownych obrazów Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Polsce*, 1–4 (1904–1908).
- Jackowski A., Pielgrzymowanie, (1998).
- Jackowski A., Rozwój pielgrzymek w Polsce, in: Przestrzeń i sacrum. Geografia kultury religijnej w Polsce i jej przemiany w okresie od XVII do XX w. na przykładzie ośrodków kultu i migracji pielgrzymkowych, ed. by A. Jackowski [et al.], (21996).
- Janocha M., O koronacjach obrazów Matki Boskiej, in: J. S. Pasierb, M. Janocha, Polonica artystyczne w zbiorach watykańskich, (2000).

- Kowalski F. B., Kodeń Marii. Cudowny obraz Matki Boskiej Kodeńskiej, (1927).
- Kucharski A., *Staropolskie pielgrzymki do zagranicznych sanktuariów*, available on the Internet: http://mobile.wilanowpalac.pl/article/staropolskie\_pielgrzymki\_do\_zagranicznych\_sanktuariow.html (visited on 01.09.2014).
- Miejsca święte Rzeczypospolitej, ed. by A. Jackowski, (1998).
- Nagielski M., Sapieha Mikołaj, in: Polski Słownik Biograficzny, XXXV, 144 (1994).
- *Nietolerancja i zabobon w Polsce w XVII i XVIII w.*, ed. by B. Baranowski, W. Lewandowski, (1987).
- [Nowakowski] X. Wacław, O cudownych obrazach w Polsce Przenajświętszej Matki Bożej, (1902).
- Okoń M., Wrzesz M., Kodeń, in: Encyklopedia katolicka, 9 (2002).
- Podlasiak P. J. K., Kodeń Sapiehów. Jego kościoły i cudowny obraz Matki Boskiej Gwadalupeńskiej, (1898).
- Sajkowski A., Włoskie przygody Polaków. Wiek XVI-XVIII, (1973).
- Witkowska A., Uroczyste koronacje wizerunków maryjnych, in: Przestrzeń i sacrum. Geografia kultury religijnej w Polsce i jej przemiany w okresie od XVII do XX w. na przykładzie ośrodków kultu i migracji pielgrzymkowych, ed. by A. Jackowski [et al.], (1996).
- Wolański F., Europa jako punkt odniesienia dla postrzegania przestrzeni geograficznej przez szlachtę polską osiemnastego wieku w świetle relacji podróżniczych i geograficznych, (2002).
- Wolański F., Stosunek społeczeństwa staropolskiego do miejsc świętych w świetle relacji podróżniczych i kompendiach geograficznych w XVIII w., in: Czasy nowożytne. Studia poświęcone pamięci prof. Władysława Eugeniusza Czaplińskiego w 100 rocznicę urodzin, ed. by K. Matwijowski, (2005).
- *Z dawna Polski Tyś Królową. Koronowane wizerunki Matki Bożej 1717–1990*, ed. by P. Azulewicz [et al.], (1990).