

The *Eastern European History Review* is an international and interdisciplinary annually online and open access peer-reviewed journal about studies on Central and Eastern Europe in the Modern Age (XV–XIX). The Journal is also the expression of the Study Center CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna – Center Study on the Age of Sobieski and Modern Poland) of the University of Tuscia, born in 1997.

It publishes articles with significant approaches and original interpretations in all research fields concerning Central and Eastern Europe, with specific attention to the History Sciences.

The special issue of the *Eastern European History Review* focuses on the fascinating theme of travel in the early modern age (XVI–XVIII centuries), investing it from women's unique and particular point of view. United by their destination – Italy –, their journeys, although driven by different motives and reasons, show women perfectly at ease in travelling, but above all, eager to understand and appropriate the otherness experienced.

From East to West. Women Journeys in Early Modern Period to Italy (XVII–XXVIII centuries), edited by the Polish historian Jarosław Pietrzak, is the result of interdisciplinary historical research interests of CESPoM Study Center.

Alessandro Boccolini
Director of EEHR

In copertina: Young woman interested in geography. Round miniature on ivory.
(Collection of Léon Creissels 1864-1939)

euro 19,00

ISBN 979-12-5524-088-4



9 791255 240884 >

ISSN 2612-0402



9 772612 040002



FROM EAST TO WEST. WOMEN JOURNEYS

Edited by Jarosław Pietrzak



EEHR
EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW
Annually Historical Journal

n. 6/2023
Special issue

FROM EAST TO WEST.
WOMEN JOURNEYS IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD TO
ITALY
(XVII–XVIII CENTURIES)

Edited by
Jarosław Pietrzak



Director Emeritus

Gaetano Platania (Università degli Studi della Tuscia)

Director

Alessandro Boccolini (Università degli Studi della Tuscia)

Scientific Board

Irena Vaišvilaitė (Ambassador of the Republic of Lithuania to UNESCO)

Matteo Sanfilippo (Università degli Studi della Tuscia)

Massimo Carlo Giannini (Università degli Studi di Teramo)

Rimvydas Petrauskas (Vilnius University)

Giordano Altarozzi (Petru Maior University of Târgu Mures)

Giovanni Pizzorusso (Università degli Studi Gabriele d'Annunzio, Chieti-Pescara)

Michaela Valente (Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza")

Cesare La Mantia (Università di Trieste)

Prokhorov Andrei (Belarusian State University of Minsk)

Olexiy Sokyrko (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv)

Rafał Quirini-Popławski (Jagiellonian University of Kraków)

Jarosław Pietrzak (Pedagogical University of Kraków)

Marta Gołębek (Museum of King John III's Palace at Wilanów – Warsaw)

Dorota Gregorowicz (University of Silesia in Katowice)

Michał Salamonik (Södertörn University)

Language Expert

Sonia Maria Melchiorre (Università degli Studi della Tuscia)

Editorial Board

Bogdana Nosova (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv)

Francesco Vitali (Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza")

Małgorzata Trzeciak Cygan (University of Warsaw)

Giulio Merlani (University of Caen Normandy)



Centro Studi sull'Età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna
(Study Center on the Sobieski Age and of Modern Poland)
www.cespom.eu

Proprietà letteraria riservata. La riproduzione in qualsiasi forma, memorizzazione o trascrizione con qualunque mezzo (elettronico, meccanico, in fotocopia, in disco o in altro modo, compresi cinema, radio, televisione, internet) sono vietate senza l'autorizzazione scritta dell'Editore.

Eastern European History Review è una rivista on-line peer-reviewed con lettori anonimi

Chiuso il 31-12-2023

Impaginazione a cura di: *Emanuele Paris*

ISBN: 979-12-5524-088-4
ISBN ebook: 979-12-5524-089-1
ISSN: 2612-0402 007

Permalink: <http://hdl.handle.net/2067/50460>

EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW
Via Santa Maria in Gradi 4 – 01100 Viterbo
www.easterneuropeanhistory.eu
eehr@unitus.it

Edizioni **SETTE CITTÀ**
Via Mazzini 87 – 01100 Viterbo
t. +39 0761 303020 – info@settecitta.eu

EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW

Annually Historical Journal

n. 6/2023
Special Issue

FROM EAST TO WEST
WOMEN JOURNEYS IN EARLY MODERN PERIOD
TO ITALY
(XVII-XVIII CENTURIES)

Edited by
Jarosław Pietrzak



EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW: LA RIVISTA

Il Comitato redazionale e scientifico è lieto di presentare al pubblico la rivista scientifica *Eastern European History Review*.

Con un carattere internazionale e interdisciplinare, una cadenza annuale e una fruibilità *open access* la rivista focalizza i propri interessi sulle dinamiche occorse nell'Europa Orientale durante tutta l'età moderna (XIV-XIX). *Eastern European History Review* è espressione del Centro Studi dell'Università della Tuscia CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna) nato nel 1997 per intuizione del Prof. Gaetano Platania, Direttore Emerito della Rivista.

L'iniziativa editoriale che presentiamo nasce dall'evidente mancanza in Italia di una rivista scientifica relativa alla storia dell'Europa centro-orientale in Età Moderna, nonostante la penisola abbia giocato un ruolo fondamentale per la Storia e la Cultura di una parte integrante del continente, a torto considerata come lontana e periferica.

Consapevoli di questo, il Comitato ha posto quale obiettivo primario della *Eastern European History Review* quello di offrire uno spazio di riflessione e di discussione su temi che appartengono alla storia dell'Europa centro-orientale, e insieme alle relazioni - politiche e culturali - che questa vasta area del Vecchio Continente ha avuto con l'occidente d'Europa, e l'Italia in particolare, incoraggiando il dialogo tra studiosi e esperti di settore, e tra differenti approcci della ricerca scientifica.

Il Comitato Redazionale e Scientifico

EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW: THE JOURNAL

The Editorial and Scientific Board are proud delighted to present the *Eastern European History Review* under the aegis of Sette Città Editore.

The *Eastern European History Review* is an international and interdisciplinary annually online and open access peer-reviewed journal about studies on Central and Eastern Europe in the Modern Age (XIV-XIX). The Journal is also the expression of the Study Center CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna – Center Study on the Age of Sobieski and Modern Poland) of the University of Tuscia, born in 1997, from an idea of Prof. Gaetano Platania, today Director Emeritus of this journal.

It publishes articles with significant approaches and original interpretations in all research fields concerning Central and Eastern Europe, with specific attention to the History sciences.

The editorial initiative we present comes from the obvious lack of a journal, in Italy, concerning the history of Central and Eastern Europe during the Modern Age, this despite its fundamental role in the history and culture of that part of the continent, wrongly considered distant and peripheral.

Quite the contrary is true, in fact. Main objective of the journal is to create a space for reflection and discussion on topics pertaining to Central and Eastern Europe, but also relations with Continental Europe, encouraging dialogue between scholars and experts in the field, and between different approaches of scientific research.

The Editorial and Scientific Board

SUMMARY

Jarosław Pietrzak <i>Introduction</i>	9
Patrik Pastrnak <i>The return journeys of the queen-widows: an upside-down ritual or irrelevant pageantry?</i>	13
Alina Kaltachenka <i>Differences between women's and men's travels from the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Early Modern Period to Italy</i>	33
Jarosław Pietrzak <i>Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska and her Italian travels from 1699 to 1714</i>	47
Gaetano Platania <i>La Fuga da Innsbruck a Roma di Maria Klementyna Sobieska Stuart</i>	75
Francesca Ceci <i>Memorie dei viaggi di Maria Klementyna Sobieska Stuart da Innsbruck al Lazio settentrionale</i>	103
Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, Dorota Żołądź-Strzelczyk <i>Travels of Polish Aristocratic Women in the Veneto Region in the Age of Enlightenment</i>	123
Katarzyna Jagiełło-Jakubaszek <i>Teofila Morawska and Katarzyna Plater: cultural and social landscape of Italy in the second half of the Eighteenth Century</i>	141
Agata Piotrowska <i>Searching for Home Away from Home: Italy and the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Travel Writing of Waleria Countess Tarnowska and Anna Countess Potocka, 1800s–1820s</i>	153

VARIA SECTION

Matteo Sanfilippo

Ukrainians in Canada: migration and history

177

Bibliocard

Susanna Piselli

I collegi per stranieri a/e Roma nell'età moderna, vol. I: *Cinque-Settecento*,
Series: *Studi di Storia delle Istituzioni Ecclesiastiche* 10. Edited by Alessandro
Boccolini, Matteo Sanfilippo, Tusor Péter. Viterbo: Sette Città, 2023.

197



**DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WOMEN'S AND MEN'S TRAVELS
FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA
IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD TO ITALY**

ABSTRACT

The early modern period was a time when women's travels began to develop in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a process that became particularly evident in the 18th century. Unlike men's, women's travels were almost always family-related. Women travelled extensively within the state for personal and domestic purposes, visiting the court and important state events. And they began to travel abroad more and more actively. Among European countries, Italy and France were of particular interest, some ladies went as far as England and Spain, the German lands were visited because of their interest and geographical location. Women travelled to Europe for medical treatment and took their children there (Anna née Kettler Radziwiłł, Lukrecja Maria née de Strozzi Radziwiłł), travelled abroad to meet their close relatives (Teofila Konstancja née Radziwiłł Morawska), went on Grand Tour with their husbands and adult children (Katarzyna née Sosnowska Plater), went on the wedding journey (Anna Paulina née Sapieha Jabłonowska, Izabela née Flemming Czartoryska) or went on diplomatic trips with their husbands (Katarzyna née Sobieska Radziwiłł), made pilgrimages (Konstancja Kolumba née Denhoff Sangushko).

KEYWORDS: Women's travels, Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Travel destinations, Pilgrimages, Grand Tour.

Early modern times were a time of global changes in Europe that affected all areas of human life. It is also important to note that this period left a huge paper trail. This draws the attention of researchers to the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. One of the issue that came to the attention of some 50-60 years ago was the place of women in history. All the more so, it was in the early modern period that her role began to change. Until the mid-twentieth century, the topic of women's studies rarely came up. Since the 1970s, research on women's history has grown very rapidly. More and more studies have been published on women's place in human history¹, their legal status², economic activities³, women's history in the early Modern

1 Natalie Zemon Davis, "Gesellschaft und Geschlechter. Vorschläge für eine neue Frauengeschichte", in *Frauen und Gesellschaft am Beginn der Neuzeit [...]*, ed. Ead. (Berlin: Wagenbach Klaus, 1986), 117-32.

2 Elisabeth Koch, *Maior dignitas est in sexu virili: Das weibliche Geschlecht im Normensystem des 16. Jahrh* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1991), 278.

3 Mary Prior, "Women and the Urban Economy: Oxford 1500-1800", in *Woman in English Society 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London: Routledge, 1985), 92-117.

periods⁴. Studies of women's contribution to the arts⁵, or their scarcity due to lack of access to education⁶, the fate of female artists, writers and scientists, etc., are being undertaken.

One theme that requires research is that of women's travel. In contrast to the rich tradition of studying men's travels, this theme has only recently begun to be actively pursued. For the time being, there are works on specific journeys: Izabela née Flemming Czartoryska⁷, Teofila Konstancja née Radziwiłł Morawska⁸, Anna née Rzewuska Plater⁹, Tekla Róża née Radziwiłł Flemming¹⁰, Regina Salomea née Rusiecka Halpir¹¹. The theme of women's travels is also taken up in connection with the history of private collections of works of art, representations of women's travels in art¹², etc. An important study that summarises the material on women's travels

- 4 Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 352.
- 5 Mary D. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 640.
- 6 Rosemary O'Day, *Education and Society 1500–1800. The Social Foundation of Education in Early Modern Britain* (London: Longman, 1982), 324.
- 7 Alina Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska: polskość i europejskość* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1998), 364.
- 8 Bogdan Rok, "Europa drugiej połowy XVIII wieku w oczach polskiej podróżniczki Teofili z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej", in *Europejski wiek osiemnasty – uniwersalizm myśli, różnorodność dróg: studia i materiały*, eds. Mark Dębowski, Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz and Michał Zwierzykowski (Kraków: Societas Vistulan, 2013), 221–34.
- 9 Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, "Путешествие Анны Плятер в Москву на коронацию Павла I", in *Российско-польский исторический альманах*, 8 (2016): 124–33.
- 10 Agnieszka Słaby, "Tekla Róża z Radziwiłłów Flemmingowa – między Dreznem a Warszawą", in *Słynne kobiety w Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku*, eds. Agata Roćko and Magdalena Górka (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2017), 41–58.
- 11 Arkadź Smolik, "Саламея Русецкая: лекарка, вандроўніца, феміністка", in *Народная асвета*, 2 (2014): 78–83. Roman Krzywy, "Cztery portrety Salomei z Rusieckich Pilsztynowej, czyli o rozmaitych lekturach jednej autobiografii z feminizmem w tle", in *Słynne kobiety w Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku*, eds. Agata Roćko and Magdalena Górka (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2017), 337–54; Stanisław Roszak, "Echo procederu podróży Reginy Salomei Pilsztynowej: jeden pamiętnik w wielu odsłonach", in *Scientia magnam laetitiam parat: studia z historii kultury, społeczeństwa i polityki ofiarowane profesorowi Kazimierzowi Maliszewskiemu*, eds. Adam Kucharski, Agnieszka Laddach and Wojciech Piasek (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2020), 375–92.
- 12 Katarzyna Jagiełło-Jakubaszek, "Portrety polskich dam jako pamiątka ich wielkiej podróży", in *Polski Grand Tour w XVIII i początkach XIX wieku*, ed. Agata Roćko (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2014), 187–98.

is the work of M. E. Kowalczyk¹³. An extremely important for the study of women's travels is publication of diaries, letters and different notes, which were written during travelling. Their publication began in the nineteenth century and continues to the present day.

Interest in travel in the early modern period began to revive along with educational reforms and the emergence of interest in universities among the aristocracy, a revival of interest in antiquity, and the course of the Great Geographical Discoveries. The most active travellers were aristocrats, their goals were different: educational, scientific, religious, therapeutic, diplomatic, «tourist», etc. Here are some features of men's travels in the 16th and 18th centuries for later comparison.

An important part of early modern European culture was educational travel, especially among the wealthiest and most influential segments of the population. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the idea of educational travel was also popular. Men's education consisted of several stages. The first was education at home or school, the second was educational travel in Europe. Young aristocrats travelled abroad with a large retinue which included not only servants and tutors, but also poor noblemen, clients of the family who played a role during the travels and thus had an opportunity to receive a European education¹⁴.

The geography of educational travel was extensive, and depended on the political and religious position of the family. For example, Catholics visited Italy and Protestants Holland. The Orthodox, if they went on an educational travel to Europe, often chose Protestant educational institutions. In general, however, magnates travelled to the Holy Roman lands, Holland and the Spanish Netherlands, France, Italy, some chose Switzerland. England and Spain were of interest for cognitive rather than educational purposes. They paid particular attention to languages, learning Latin, German, French, Italian etc., history, ethics, politics, rhetoric, theology and law. There was always time for physical exercise: fencing and horse riding, visits to military camps and battlefields, etc¹⁵.

There was a gradual transformation of educational travel. In the seventeenth century, the medieval tradition of *peregrinatio academica* began to change to the Grand Tour, which added the touristic aspect to the educational aspect of travel. Travel under the new concept was necessary not only to study certain disciplines in universities, but also to improve a young person's taste and his life skills¹⁶. Therefore,

13 Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek w epoce oświecenia* (Łomianki: Wydawnictwo LTW, 2019), 495.

14 Anastasia Skep'ian, "Придворные последних князей Слуцких", in *Miestas, dvaras, kaimas Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje ir Lenkijos Karalystėje XVI–XVIII a. Lokalinės istorijos problemos*, ed. Ramunė Šmigelskienė-Stukienė (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2018), 217–56.

15 Marian Chachaj, *Zagraniczna edukacja Radziwiłłów od początku XVI do połowy XVII wieku* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1995), 171.

16 Anna Markiewicz, *Podróże edukacyjne w czasach Jana III Sobieskiego: Peregrinationes Jablonovianae* (Warszawa: DiG, 2011), 370.

an increasingly large part of the travel began to be spent in elitist surroundings and sightseeing, rather than attending university lectures.

The Grand Tour tradition gradually evolved into a separate field, the notional scientific voyage, during which travelers collected exhibits for future curiosity cabinets and different collections (minerals, fossils, animal skeletons, archaeological finds). Interest in antiquities was strongly influenced by the archaeological excavations at Pompeii (begun in 1738) and Herculaneum (begun in 1748)¹⁷. As a result, the collection of rarities and antiquities became part of the Grand Tour during the 18th century.

Another purpose of travel was to go to the healing waters, which began to develop during the Renaissance. Residents of the Polish-Lithuanian state travelled as far as Cieplice and Shklo (near Lvov), as well as to the Czech Karlovy Vary, Austrian Baden, French Vichy, sometimes even to English Bath. Italian resorts, on the other hand, were not particularly popular. Although Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł “the Orphan” spent some time in 1580 in the mineral resorts around Venice, Padua and Lucca¹⁸.

Religion was also an important part of the travels. The most popular destinations for religious travel were the Holy Land, Santiago de Compostella, Rome and many Italian cities such as Loreto. Those who could not travel far away chose local shrines for pilgrimage. For example, Sanctuary of Our Lady of Czestochowa at Jasna Góra, to which pilgrims began going en masse in 1611¹⁹.

This is by no means a complete list of the purposes for which men travelled around Europe in early modern times. However, active male travel began as early as the sixteenth century, primarily to Italy. Diplomatic missions, visit religious shrines and seek an audience with the Pope, studying [Mikołaj Radziwiłł (1515), Jan Kiszka (1564), Albrycht and Jerzy Radziwiłłs (1575–1576), Łukasz Felician and Aleksander Massalscy (1592), Mikołaj Hlebovich (1593)]. Women’s activity in travelling, on the other hand, increased later. Women started travelling quite actively during the Enlightenment. There were different reasons for this, and one important one was to improve women’s education, which broadened their intellectual horizons and allowed them to play new roles in society. Gradually, women began to manage estates, engage in politics, build palaces and churches, collect rarities, write, patronize scientists and artists, and travel²⁰.

The main purposes of women’s travels were: interest in the light, health issues, religious travel, family interests, etc. Quantitatively, there were considerably fewer travels than men’s, they could not be spontaneous, it took a long time to prepare

17 Marek Bratuń, “Grand Tour: narodziny-rozwoj-zmierzch”, in *Polski Grand Tour w XVIII i początkach XIX wieku*, ed. Agaty Roćko (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2014), 28.

18 Tomasz Kempa, *Мікалай Крыштаф Радзівіл Сіротка (1549–1616). Віленскі ваявада*, trans. Siarhiej Pietrykievič (Mіp: Музей “Замкавы комплекс “Міp”, 2016), 140.

19 Jan Głapiak, *Górka Duchowna – Sanktuarium Maryjne Wielkopolski* (Poznań: Księgarnia Św. Wojciecha, 2001), 140.

20 Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek*, 10.

for them and to find a chaperone. In addition, in the early Modern period, public opinion was more likely to criticize women's travel than to support it. A large number of publicists, politicians and religious figures believed that a woman's role was to run the household, be a good mother and wife, and that travel was of no use. Even more criticised were the motives of women's travel, the waste of time on balls, meetings with friends, concerts and theatrical performances, rather than interest in science, literature, art and history. However, it should be noted that there were many such travelers among men as well, which was also mentioned in different letters and essays that began to appear actively in the eighteenth century²¹.

However, despite the difficulties in organization and lack of support in society, women's travels gradually developed during the early modern period, especially in the eighteenth century. It should be noted that, even without travelling outside their state, aristocratic women traveled quite extensively within the country, especially if the family owned large tracts of land. Women often accompanied their husbands, travelling with them to the capital, or spending different seasons at different residences, and afterwards helping to manage their many possessions. A good example of a woman of the magnate family of the GDL who did not travel abroad, but actively moved within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was Anna Katarzyna née Sangushko Radziwiłł, wife of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł. She was born in the town of Rakaŭ (not far from Minsk) and educated in Warsaw in the monasteries. After marriage and before the wedding the future spouses travelled to Polotsk, Minsk, Mir, Slonim and Biała (now Biała Podlaska). Soon after the wedding the couple travelled to Volyn, then to Nyasvizh, where they stayed for a month, and a sejm to Grodna, then to Warsaw and a month later to Biała. And so, throughout her life, Anna Katarzyna travelled between her residences, visiting her relatives and friends, going to Warsaw and Grodna, making several pilgrimages to Jasna Góra, etc²².

The life of Regina Salomea née Rusiecka, by her husbands Halpir and Pilshtyn, however, was the exception rather than the rule. She was born in Novogrodek. Her first husband was a German oculist, Jakub Halpir, who worked in Turkey, where he took his young wife. This determined the rest of her life, as she took over her husband's knowledge, learned from other physicians and spent her whole life travelling between the Ottoman Empire, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Austria and the Russian Empire. Everywhere she made a living from her knowledge of medicine, got involved in different adventures, and left behind interesting memoirs²³.

21 Hugo Kołłątaj, *Stan oświecenia w Polsce w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III (1750–1764)* (Warszawa: De Agostini Polska, 2003), 137–9.

22 Vitalij Halubovič, Siarhiej Rybčonak and Aliaksiej Šalanda, *Чорная дама з Мірскага замка. Княгіня Ганна Кацярына з Сангушкаў Радзівіл (1676–1746)* (Mіp: Музей “Замкавы комплекс “Міp”, 2020), 452.

23 Smolik, “Саламея Русецкая”, 78–83. Monika Szamik, “Europejskie wojaże XVIII–wiecznej polskiej «doktorki medycyny i okulistyki», czyli Regina Salomea Pilsztynowa w podróży”, in *Podróże w świecie nowożytnym (XVI–XVIII w.)*, eds. Patryk Kuc and Weronika Kruszyna (Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze “Historia Iagellonica”, 2021), 129–44.

Many aristocratic women did not want to limit themselves to travelling within their own country, but they did not want to be adventurous, they just wanted to be in Europe. So, let's take a closer look at women's foreign travel.

Following the example of men's travel, let us begin with education, and the place of travel in it. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even in the first half of the eighteenth century, women's education was fairly incidental rather than commonplace. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that progress in women's education shifted the focus from the need for education to the issue of its content and quality. Girls were educated traditionally, following the example of their mothers, aunts and grandmothers. Education included religious and moral education, the study of good manners, foreign languages, music, dance, drawing, embroidery, in some cases history, geography and mathematics²⁴. And the main emphasis in education, by which it was judged, was on knowledge of foreign languages. It went so far that girls knew German, French or any other foreign language better than their mother tongue. Often girls were chosen to be teachers of foreign origin, and it happened that the mere fact of foreign origin was enough of a recommendation for the teacher²⁵.

Another option was the convent schools, where girls were sent for a few years and married at 15–16²⁶. It was precisely the girls' trip to such a boarding school that was an alternative to the men's educational travels. Apolonia Helena Massalska, studied at the Abbaye-aux-Bois convent in Paris in 1771–1779. After her parents' death her guardian was her uncle Ignacy Massalski, bishop of Vilna, who brought her to Paris in 1771, where he was travelling on political business, and admitted her to a boarding school at the age of eight. There she studied for eight years, finishing her education in 1779 and marrying Karol Jozef Antoni Emanuel de Ligne. Apolonia Helena Massalska left a diary of her time spent at Abbaye-aux-Bois. It contains information on how education took place at the convent, how the pupils lived and spent their leisure time. The diary shows that the girls were not able to go out of the convent, so there were no excursions, visits to the court or public lectures, as in the case of male education²⁷.

In the 18th century, however, the women's Grand Tour was actively developing. The main features of the women's Grand Tour were their organisation. For example, the ability to travel depended heavily on a woman's marital status. Widows were the most free in their movements, and the least free were unmarried young girls who depended

24 Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek*, 29.

25 Henrieta z Działyńskich Błędowska, *Pamiętka przeszłości: wspomnienia z lat 1794–1832*, eds. Ksenia Kostenicz and Zofia Makowiecka (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1960), 35.

26 Anna Szylar, "Źródła archiwalne dotyczące wyjazdów edukacyjnych dziewcząt do szkół klasztornych w XVII i XVIII wieku", in *Źródła do dziejów staropolskich podróży edukacyjnych*, eds. Dorota Żołądź-Strzelczyk and Małgorzata E. Kowalczyk (Wrocław: Chronicon, 2017), 379–400.

27 Apolonia Helena Massalska, *Pamiętniki pensjonarki: zapiski z czasów edukacji w Paryżu (1771–1779)*, trans. Anna Pikor-Półtorak, ed. Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2012), 12.

entirely on their parents, relatives or guardians, and travelled only accompanied by them. Married ladies had to get their husbands' permission to travel, and sometimes even their parents' permission. Rozalia née Chodkiewicz Lubomirska, for instance, persuaded her husband, a Kyiv castellan Aleksander Lubomirski, to take her to Paris with her. They could only leave, however, after obtaining permission from Rosalia's mother, Maria Ludwika née Rzewuska Chodkiewicz²⁸. The woman also had to be concerned about financial support for the trip.

And if it happened that the husband did not accompany his wife on the journey, the woman had to obtain official permission to leave in order to cross the border and find company for the travels. Thus, when Teofila Konstancja née Radziwiłł Morawska traveled between 1773 and 1774, she was accompanied by various people. She travelled most of the way with her husband's sister, Marianna Morawska; from Gdańsk she was accompanied throughout the travel by Kazimierz Kaszyc, a member of the Radziwiłłs' client family; part of the way she traveled with her brother Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł. She travelled to Italy with a large group of six carriages and forty horses, including Albrycht Radziwiłł²⁹.

To prove the extent of a woman's dependence on her husband's decision, here are the words of Ludwika née Sosnowska Lubomirska, wife of Józef Lubomirski: «In the middle of June from Horynka I am to leave for Spa to see my son Henrik and the Princess, wife the Grand Marshal of the Crown, if my lord - that is the man we call husband - sends me his permission and money. I desire this very much, but I do not yet know how it will happen»³⁰. However, despite all the difficulties, to which should be added obtaining a passport and letters of recommendation for different influential people, finding company, etc. the thirst for travel and curiosity made it possible to overcome all difficulties and embark on a travel.

A good example of a woman's Grand Tour is the voyage of Teofila Konstancja née Radziwiłł Morawska through Europe between 1773 and 1774. The motive for her journey, in her own words, was «the desire to get to know foreign countries and people»³¹. According to the diary that Teofila Konstancja kept during the travel, the travel began in mid-May 1773 in Vilna. Through Königsberg she reached Gdańsk, then through German Berlin, Potsdam, Wetenberg, Frankfurt am Main she reached Strasbourg, where she met her brother, Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł and continued the travel with him. Karol Stanisław went to Switzerland, where he did not only travel

28 ANK, AMChodk., n. 464. 187.

29 Bogdan Rok, «Życie towarzyskie Teofili z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej w europejskiej podróży latach 1773–1774», in *Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. Jerzy Urwanowicz (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu, 2003), 639–49.

30 «W połowie czerwca z Horynki wyjechać mam do Spa, aby zobaczyć się z synem moim Henrykiem i kseżną marszałkową, jeżeli pan mój i władca – to jest ta istota, którą mężem nazywamy – przyśle mi swoje zezwolenie i pieniądze. Pragnę tego bardzo, ale nie wiem jeszcze, jak się stanie», Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek*, 154.

31 «chęć poznania i krajów, i ludzi obcych», Teofila Konstancja z Radziwiłłów Morawska, *Diariusz podróży europejskiej w latach 1773–1774*, ed. Bogdan Rok (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002), 42.

around the country, but also met some political figures of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. After Switzerland they spent two months in Paris. In Paris Teofila Konstancja learned French, studied the city and its surroundings, attended balls and did other things. Somewhere at the turn of 1773 and 1774 Teofila left for Paris. She headed for Italy, also with her brother. It was in Italy that Teofila Konstancja and Karol Stanisław's itinerary diverged. She visited Turin, Bologna, Venice, Rome, Naples and other cities³².

The content of the diary shows that she paid particular attention to Venice, where she spent a long time. She described Venice's political system, different festivals and events, and many of its attractions. In Rome she had an audience with Pope Clement XIV, visited many basilicas and excavation sites. She also climbed Vesuvius and gave an extremely interesting description of the cities of northern Italy during the Carnival of 1774, etc³³. Such a trip certainly broadened a woman's aesthetic and philosophical outlook and satisfied her spiritual and intellectual needs. After all, Italy was the centre of art, culture and science all over the world, so everyone who wanted to experience European civilisation went there.

For example, Katarzyna née Sosnowska Plater traveled to Italy in 1785–1786. She went on the travel with her husband, Józef Wincenty Plater and her daughter Cecilia. The travel was a classic Grand Tour based on fashion and an interest in European culture. They planned the trip for two years, including Italy, France and probably England, a trip which was considered a good style at that time. The couple left Warsaw in July 1785, probably by the most popular and shortest route: via Kraków, Cieszyn, Olomouc and Brno to Vienna. And from the capital of the Habsburg empire via Styria and Carinthia towards the Republic of Venice³⁴.

During the travel, Katarzyna Plater kept a diary in which she described the Italian part of the travel. The diary begins on 9 September with a description of the road from Pontebba to Venice, where they spent ten days. Then via Padua, Vicenza, Verona and Modena they reached Bologna by 5 October. And through Loreto they reached Rome by October 19 where they stayed until January 10, 1786, after which they left for Naples. Unfortunately, this is where the diary entries end, but the correspondence shows that the Platers spent a few weeks in Naples before returning to Rome and heading towards the Alps in France via Florence³⁵.

In Italy, the Platers met many of their compatriots and relatives, as Katarzyna wrote about in her diary, and which attests to the popularity of this destination for travel and sometimes emigration. In Venice, for example, they spent time with Izabela née Czartoryska Lubomirska, widow of Stanisław Lubomirski. With her, Katarzyna Plater crossed paths at theatrical performances, together the women explored the

32 Rok, "Europa drugiej połowy XVIII wieku w oczach", 221–34.

33 Morawska, *Diariusz podróży*, 259.

34 Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk, *Obraz Włoch w polskim piśmiennictwie geograficznym i podróżniczym osiemnastego wieku* (Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 2003), 107.

35 Katarzyna z Sosnowskich Platerowa, *Moja podróż do Włoch : dziennik z lat 1785–1786*, trans. Anna Pikor-Półtorak, ed. Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk (Łomianki: Wydawnictwo LTW, 2013), 32.

city and its surroundings, and paid visits to each other³⁶.

In addition to sightseeing and meeting acquaintances, there was also room for study on the trip. For example, Katarzyna Plater studied drawing and embroidery, while Cecilia Plater took lessons in singing, drawing, harpsichord playing and Italian. Katarzyna, on the other hand, was learning the language on her own, even before the travel, and was pleased to note that «thanks to what I learnt from my grammar book and dictionary during the travel, I managed to sustain conversations better than I could have expected»³⁷.

A special kind of journey, which was partly the first and sometimes the only one, was the wedding travel. The wedding travel of Anna Paulina née Sapieha Jabłonowska, who married Jan Kajetan Jabłonowski in 1750, was a magnificent affair. Soon the couple set off on a long trip to Europe, from which they did not return until 1755. It should be noted separately that Anna Paulina spent her time during the travel not only on sightseeing and various meetings, but also on the sciences. She improved her knowledge in economical areas, which resulted in her future successful economic activities³⁸. For Anna Paulina, the wedding travel was not the only one. In 1769 she left for Europe again and in two years visited Hungary, Austria, Italy, France, England, the Netherlands and Prussia.

A few months after their wedding, Izabela Flemming and Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski set off on their journey. At the very beginning of 1763, the couple set off on a travel through Germany, France and England. Isabella would later describe the journey in her diary³⁹. The wedding travel of Anna Sangushko and Antoni Barnaba Jabłonowski was more modest. The wedding took place on 28 September 1755 and seven months later the newlyweds traveled to Frankfurt am Main and Berlin⁴⁰.

Ladies also traveled to improve their health. Maintaining good health in those days was no easy task, there was little medicine could do, and access to good doctors was difficult, especially outside the big cities. Travelling for medical treatment was therefore common amongst the wealthy. Thus around 1601, Ganna née Kettler Radziwiłł travelled to the German Carlsbad and in 1608 to Italian spas, bringing her sickly daughter Barbara Radziwiłł, the future wife of Mikołaj Kishka for treatment⁴¹. In December 1652, Lukrecja Maria née de Strozzi Radziwiłł and her husband Aleksander Ludwik Radziwiłł also went to Italy for treatment. Unfortunately,

36 Platerowa, *Moja podróż do Włoch*, 38.

37 «dzięki temu, czego nauczyłam się w czasie podróży z mojego podręcznika do gramatyki i słownika, zdołałam podtrzymywać konwersacje lepiej, niżbym się tego mogła była spodziewać», Platerowa, *Moja podróż do Włoch*, 45.

38 Karolina Targosz, «Kolekcjonerki XVIII wieku – Anna Jabłonowska i Teofila Konstancja Morawska i ich zbiory przyrodnicze», in *Kobieta epok dawnych w literaturze, kulturze i społeczeństwie*, eds. Iwona Maciejewska and Krystyna Stasiewicz (Olsztyn: Littera, 2008), 313–37.

39 BCzart, n. 6067, IV. 47–8.

40 Helena Wereszycka, «Jabłonowski Antoni Barnaba», in PSB, vol. 10 (1962–1964), 216–18.

41 Henryk Lulewicz, «Anna Radziwiłłowa (z domu Kettler)», in PSB, vol. 30 (1987), 383.

Aleksander Ludwik was not cured and in March 1654 in Bologna he died. But Lukrecja Maria doctors helped him through a difficult pregnancy and gave birth to a son Dominik Mikołaj Radziwiłł in September 1653⁴². An example of travelling for medical treatment was Rozalia née Chodkiewicz Lubomirska, who in 1788 travelled to France with her husband⁴³. In general, the geography of treatment travels was the same as that of the men.

Religion was the next purpose of travel. The main destinations for this purpose were Italy, the Holy Land and Santiago de Compostela. The latter two were long and difficult to travel to, so women rarely travelled there. For example, Konstancja Kolumba née Denhoff Sangushko, wife of Janusz Aleksander Sangushko, once went to Santiago de Compostela⁴⁴. And the shrines of Italy were visited quite often, all the more so because there were frequent trips to Italy for other purposes. The same Anna née Kettler Radziwiłł on her trip to Italy in 1608–1609 paid attention to the treatment of her sick daughter, and spent some time with her son Jan Albrycht Radziwiłł in Bologna, where he studied. However, the religious component also found its place. Thus she travelled with her son to Rome at the end of 1608, and in the spring of 1609 to Padua to visit important Catholic shrines. She also found time to visit Loreto⁴⁵.

Another interesting travel to Italy, closely connected with visits to holy places, was that of Katarzyna née Sobieska Radziwiłł and Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł in 1677–1678. Michał Kazimierz was travelling to Vienna and Rome on an unofficial diplomatic mission, and Katarzyna chose to accompany her husband on this journey. The couple visited Vienna, Venice, Rome, Loreto, Florence and, apart from different meetings and audiences, the journey was full of attendance at services and various religious practices, visits to monasteries, worship of shrines, etc. Thus, the couple began their journey with a visit to Jasna Góra and continued along the way to visit famous public as well as small and even private chapels and churches⁴⁶.

Much attention was also paid to religion by Teofila Konstancja née Radziwiłł Morawska on her travel through Italy. For instance, she left all the retinue with which she had arrived in Venice and went to Rome with the aim of double benefit for both services and curiosity. In Rome, she visited seven basilicas and watched the Pope's solemn exit. And so throughout the travel, she combined touristic curiosity with piety⁴⁷.

42 Tadeusz Wasilewski, "Kopciowa Lukrecja Maria Radziwiłłowa ze Strozich", in PSB, vol. 13 (1967–1968), 616–17.

43 Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek*, 108.

44 Kowalczyk, *Zagraniczne podróże Polek*, 123.

45 Lulewicz, "Anna Radziwiłłowa", 383.

46 Jarosław Pietrzak, "Siedemnastowieczna podróżniczka – wrażenia Katarzyny z Sobieskich Radziwiłłowej z podróży po Europie Zachodniej w latach 1677–1678", in *Kulturowe wzorce a społeczna praktyka. Studia z dziejów kobiet*, eds. Agnieszka Jakuboszczak and Przemysław Matusik (Poznań: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2012), 103–26.

47 Morawska, *Diariusz podróży*, 21.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the early modern period, travel gradually gained more and more prominence in a woman's life. Especially in the life of an aristocratic woman. Unfortunately, not many sources have been found before the eighteenth century to help assess the place of travel in a woman's life. Since the eighteenth century, however, a fair number of letters, diaries and different other accounts of women's travels have come down to us. One way or another, virtually every noblewoman and magnate spent a lot of time travelling within the GDL or the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. She moved to her husband's house after marriage, moved between different residences, illness and pregnancy could also necessitate a move. Not to forget visiting relatives and attending different festive events, travelling to the court, accompanying her husband to the sejms and tribunals, accompanying her husband on a military march, etc. However, in addition to such travels, women also undertook more distant journeys to Western Europe.

43

When comparing women's travels with men's, it is evident that it was much more difficult for women to organise, due to women's lack of autonomy, primarily financially, and their dependence on the decision of their father, guardian, husband or brother. More often than not, ladies' travels were in one way or another connected with family affairs, which put a strain on their goals and itineraries.

Thus, educational travel by women was practically non-existent. Therefore, women visited university towns only as escorts, as Anna née Kettler Radziwiłł did when she visited her son in Bologna. Lukrecja Maria née de Strozzi Radziwiłł was in Bologna for medical treatment along with her husband, who was not only being treated, but also attending lectures at the University of Bologna. The women's Grand Tour often took place in a family way, as was the case with Teofila Konstancja née Radziwiłł Morawska, who travelled most of the way with her brother, or Katarzyna née Sosnowska Plater, who travelled with her husband and daughter. Often only widows were independent in their travels.

Healing and religion had an important place in travel. Health was, in principle, one of the main aims of women's travel. Maintaining good health was not an easy task, so travelling to famous spas or to famous doctors was common. It was not only ladies and their husbands who travelled for treatment, but their children were also actively taken for treatment. Religion, however, was often not the main purpose of travel, but found a place in almost every travels. Piety was considered an important positive trait for women in early modern times, so it is not surprising that many took the opportunity to visit famous pilgrimage centers and went on pilgrimages and gave much attention to this part of the journey in their diaries and notes.

Thus, the main purposes of women's travel were health, religion, curiosity about the world and the desire to travel, and different family affairs and traditions.

ABBREVIATIONS

GDL: Grand Duchy of Lithuania

ANK: Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie.

AMChodk: Archiwum Młynowskie Chodkiewiczów.

BCzart: Biblioteka Chartoryskich w Krakowie.

PSB: Polski Słownik Biograficzny, vol. I-LIV (Kraków: PAN 1935-2023)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Artner Edgár. *Magyarország mint a nyugati keresztény művelődés védőbástyája* [Hungary as the bulwark of the Western Christian culture], eds. Szovák Kornél, Török József and Tusor Péter. Budapest-Rome: Gondolat, 2004.

Aleksandrowicz, Alina. *Izabela Czartoryska: polskość i europejskość*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1998.

Błędowska, Henrieta z Działyńskich. *Pamiętka przeszłości: wspomnienia z lat 1794–1832*, edited by Ksenia Kostenicz and Zofia Makowiecka. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1960.

Bratuń, Marek. "Grand Tour: narodziny–rozwój–zierzch". In *Polski Grand Tour w XVIII i początkach XIX wieku*, edited by Agata Roćko, 19-30. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2014.

Chachaj, Marian. *Zagraniczna edukacja Radziwiłłów od początku XVI do połowy XVII wieku*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1995.

Davis, Natalie Zemon "Gesellschaft und Geschlechter. Vorschläge für eine neue Frauengeschichte". In *Frauen und Gesellschaft am Beginn der Neuzeit. Studien über Familie, Religion und die Wandlungsfähigkeit des sozialen Körpers*, edited by Natalie Zemon Davis, 117-32. Berlin: Wagenbach Klaus 1986.

Glapiak, Jan. *Górka Duchowna – Sanktuarium Maryjne Wielkopolski*. Poznań: Księgarnia Św. Wojciecha, 2001.

Garrard, Mary D. *Artemisia Gentilleschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Halubovič, Vitalij, Siarhiej Rybčonak, and Aliaksiej Šalanda, eds. *Chornaja dama z Mirskaga zamka. Knjaginja Ganna Kacjaryna z Sangushkaw Radzivil*. Mir: Muzej "Zamkavy kompleks "Mir", 2016. [Галубовіч, Віталь, Сяргей Рыбчонак, and Аляксей Шаланда, eds. *Чорная дама з Мірскага замка. Княгіня Ганна Кацяррына з Сангушкаў Радзівіл (1676–1746)*. Мiр: Музей "Замкавы комплекс "Мiр", 2020].

Jagiello-Jakubaszek, Katarzyna. "Portrety polskich dam jako pamiętka ich wielkiej podróży". In *Polski Grand Tour w XVIII i początkach XIX wieku*, edited by Agata Roćko, 187-98. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2014.

Kempa, Tomasz. *Mikolaj Krysztaf Radzivil Sirotka (1549–1616). Vilenski vajavoda*. Translated by Siarhiej Pietrykievič. Mir: Muzej "Zamkavy kompleks "Mir", 2016. [Кемпа, Томаш. *Мікалай Крыштаф Радзівіл Сіротка (1549–1616). Віленскі ваявода*. Translated by Сяргей Петрыкевіч. Мiр: Музей "Замкавы комплекс "Мiр", 2016].

Koch, Elisabeth. *Maior dignitas est in sexu virili: Das weibliche Geschlecht*

- im Normensystem des 16. Jahrhunderts (Studien zur Europäischen Rechtsgeschichte)*. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1991.
- Kołątaj, Hugo. *Stan oświecenia w Polsce w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III (1750–1764)*. Warszawa: De Agostini Polska, 2003.
- Kowalczyk, Małgorzata Ewa. *Obraz Włoch w polskim piśmiennictwie geograficznym i podróżniczym osiemnastego wieku*. Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 2003.
- Kowalczyk, Małgorzata Ewa. "Puteshestvie Anny Pljater v Moskvu na koronaciju Pavla I." *Rossijsko-pol'skij istoricheskij al'manah*, 8 (2016): 124–33. [Ковальчик, Малгожата Ева. "Путешествие Анны Плятер в Москву на коронацию Павла I". *Российско-польский исторический альманах*, 8 (2016): 124–33].
- Kowalczyk, Małgorzata Ewa. *Zagraniczne podróże Polek w epoce oświecenia*. Łomianki: Wydawnictwo LTW, 2019.
- Krzywy, Roman. "Cztery portrety Salomei z Rusieckich Pilsztynowej, czyli o rozmaitych lekturach jednej autobiografii z feminizmem w tle". In *Słynne kobiety w Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku*, edited by Agata Roćko and Magdalena Górka, 337–54. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2017.
- Lulewicz, Henryk. "Anna Radziwiłłowa (z domu Kettler)". In *PSB*, vol. 30 (1987), 383.
- Markiewicz, Anna. *Podróże edukacyjne w czasach Jana III Sobieskiego: Peregrinationes Jablonovianae*. Warszawa: DiG, 2011).
- Massalska, Apolonia Helena. *Pamiętniki pensjonarki: zapiski z czasów edukacji w Paryżu (1771–1779)*. Translated by Anna Pikor-Póltorak, edited by Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2012.
- Morawska, Teofila Konstancja z Radziwiłłów. *Diariusz podróży europejskiej w latach 1773–1774*, edited by Bogdan Rok. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002.
- O'Day, Rosemary. *Education and Society 1500–1800. The Social Foundation of Education in Early Modern Britain*. London: Longman, 1982.
- Pietrzak, Jarosław. "Siedemnastowieczna podróżniczka – wrażenia Katarzyny z Sobieskich Radziwiłłowej z podróży po Europie Zachodniej w latach 1677–1678". In *Kulturowe wzorce a społeczna praktyka. Studia z dziejów kobiet*, edited by Agnieszka Jakuboszczak and Przemysław Matusik, 103–26. Poznań: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2012.
- Platerowa, Katarzyna z Sosnowskich. *Moja podróż do Włoch: dziennik z lat 1785–1786*. Translated by Anna Pikor-Póltorak, edited by Małgorzata Ewa Kowalczyk. Łomianki: Wydawnictwo LTW, 2013.
- Prior, Mary. "Women and the Urban Economy: Oxford 1500–1800". In *Woman in English Society 1500–1800*, edited by Mary Prior, 92–117. London: Routledge, 1985.
- Rok, Bogdan. "Europa drugiej połowy XVIII wieku w oczach polskiej podróżniczki Teofili z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej". In *Europejski wiek osiemnasty – uniwersalizm myśli, różnorodność dróg: studia i materiały*, edited by Mark Dębowski, Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, and Michał Zwierzykowski, 221–34. Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2013.
- Rok, Bogdan. "Życie towarzyskie Teofili z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej w europejskiej podróży latach 1773–1774". In *Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej*

- w XVI–XVIII wieku, edited by Jerzy Urwanowicz, 639-49. Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu, 2003.
- Roszak, Stanisław. "Echo procederu podróży Reginy Salomei Pilsztynowej: jeden pamiętnik w wielu odsłonach". In *Scientia magnam laetitiam parat : studia z historii kultury, społeczeństwa i polityki ofiarowane profesorowi Kazimierzowi Maliszewskiemu*, edited by Adam Kucharski, Agnieszka Laddach, and Wojciech Piasek, 375-92. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2020.
- Skep'ian, Anastasia. "Pridvornnye poslednih knjazej Sluckih". In *Miestas, dvaras, kaimas Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje ir Lenkijos Karalystėje XVI–XVIII a. Lokalinės istorijos problemos*, edited by Ramunė Šmigelskienė-Stukienė, 217-56. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2018. [Скеп'ян, Анастасия. "Придворные последних князей Слуцких". In *Miestas, dvaras, kaimas Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje ir Lenkijos Karalystėje XVI–XVIII a. Lokalinės istorijos problemos*, edited by Ramunė Šmigelskienė-Stukienė, 217-56. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2018].
- Słaby, Agnieszka. "Tekla Róża z Radziwiłłów Flemmingowa – między Dreznem a Warszawą". In *Słynne kobiety w Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku*, edited by Agata Ročko and Magdalena Górka, 41-58. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2017.
- Smolik, Arkadź. "Salameja Ruseckaja: lekarka, vandrownica, feministka". *Narodnaja asveta*, 2 (2014): 78-83. [Смолик, Аркадзь. "Саламея Русецкая: лекарка, вандроўніца, феміністка". *Народная асвета*, 2 (2014): 78-83].
- Szamik, Monika. "Europejskie wojaże XVIII-wiecznej polskiej «doktorki medycyny i okulistyki», czyli Regina Salomea Pilsztynowa w podróży". In *Podróże w świecie nowożytnym (XVI–XVIII w.)*, 129-44. Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze "Historia Iagellonica", 2021).
- Szylar, Anna. "Źródła archiwalne dotyczące wyjazdów edukacyjnych dziewcząt do szkół klasztornych w XVII i XVIII wieku". In *Źródła do dziejów staropolskich podróży edukacyjnych*, edited by Dorota Żołędź-Strzelczyk and Małgorzata E. Kowalczyk, 379-400. Wrocław: Chronicon, 2017.
- Targosz, Karolina. "Kolekcjonerki XVIII wieku – Anna Jabłonowska i Teofila Konstancja Morawska i ich zbiory przyrodnicze". In *Kobieta epok dawnych w literaturze, kulturze i społeczeństwie*, edited by Iwona Maciejewska and Krystyna Stasiewicz, 313-37. Olsztyn: Littera, 2008.
- Wasilewski, Tadeusz. "Kopciowa Lukrecja Maria Radziwiłłowa ze Strozzich". In PSB, vol. 13 (1967–1968), 616-17.
- Wereszycka, Helena. "Jabłonowski Antoni Barnaba". In PSB, vol. 10 (1962–1964), 216-18.
- Wiesner-Hanks, Merry E. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

PRIMARY SOURCES

- BCzart, n. 6067, IV, *Memoires et ecrits divers*. Izabela Czartoryska
 ANK, AMChodk., n. 464, *Korespondencja. Listy do Ludwiki Chodkewiczowej*.