

Between Autohagiography and Confession: Generic Concerns and the Question of Female Self-Representation in Anna Maria Marchocka's *Mystical Autobiography*

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In the past twenty years, late medieval female piety has attracted considerable interest as scholars have come to recognize the practices of late medieval worship as testifying to the cultural and historical aspects of religious life in medieval Europe. Mystics and visionaries wrote, dictated, or confessed their lives' stories, creating hagio/auto/biographic discourse and fashioning themselves as public figures on the basis of essentially private religious experiences. In her *Mystical Autobiography*, which, like Augustine's *Confessions*, is her own full confession narrating the doubts and transgressions of an ordinary person chosen by God, the early seventeenth-century Polish nun Anna Maria Marchocka, Sister Theresa of Jesus, did not aspire to portray herself as a saint; nonetheless, by emulating models of hagiography and auto/biography, the work achieved broader significance.¹ Her *Mystical Autobiography* was very early recognized as an important example of Counter-Reformation Polish piety and was used by Marchocka's followers to revitalize religious ardour. The very title of her work and the similarity of Marchocka's writing to that of other late medieval mystical writers make her an epigone of the mystical tradition.

At a time of deepening antipathy towards German Protestantism and growing fear of the imminent danger of a Cossack attack, the prioress Anna Maria Marchocka (1603-1652) was seen as a protective spirit whose prayers procured safe passage for the Carmelite Sisters as they fled from Lvov (now Lviv, in Ukraine) on 16 April 1649 and moved into the Warsaw cloister, thus escaping the Cossack invasion. Her life must be read in the

¹ The present paper is based on Górski's edition of Marchocka's *Autobiografia mistyczna* [Mystical Autobiography].

context of the political situation of early seventeenth-century Poland. The present paper deals with the issues of autohagiography² and confession, focusing on the life story which Marchocka constructed through the opposition between the discourse of the body (life in the world) and the discourse of the mind (one's inner life).³ More broadly, the paper considers some of the ways in which generic conventions shape the relationship between mysticism and history and between seemingly subjective and objective discourses.

Marchocka's complete writings were first published by Karol Górski in Poznań in 1939; Górski is also responsible for giving Marchocka's *Life* its present title of *Mystical Autobiography*.⁴ In 1654, two years after her death, Marchocka's confessor, Father Ignatius, made the first manuscript copy of what was then known as *The Life of Sister Theresa of Jesus*.⁵ This copy, along with Marchocka's original manuscript, perished during World War II, as did two other handwritten copies of the *Life*, namely, the Warsaw copy, written in the mid-seventeenth century, most probably by a Brother Sebastian, and the slightly later Lublin copy, originally produced for the benefit of the Lublin Carmelite Convent. According to Górski, who used the Warsaw manuscript as the basis for his critical edition, the Warsaw and Lublin copies differed only in small details, which suggests that the scribes tried to correct Marchocka's spelling but retained the stylistic features of the text. The work was first printed in 1752 as a devotional text.⁶

The driving force of the narrative is the oscillation between private and public history, a feature which is to some extent visible in the early parts of Marchocka's text, while the description of mystical states and visionary, aural, and olfactory sensations concurs with the representation of an intense spiritual life. Having outlined her life within her family in the context of the turbulent history of Poland, Marchocka concentrates on her spiritual life, which is always connected with people whom she knew in her youth. She often knows their various transgressions and prays ardently to God to allow them to recognize and atone for their sins.⁷ Having seen her father on his visit to Cracow, she

2 I draw here on Kate Greenspan's use of the term in "Autohagiography."

3 Marchocka's autobiography, letters, notes, and prayers have never been published in English.

4 *The Book of Margery Kempe* (c.1420) is frequently designated as the first English autobiography, being an account of Margery's life (almost) by herself. The heyday of autobiographical writing falls in the seventeenth century, when the Puritan doctrine of introspection re-evaluates the confessional mode of writing and projects selves onto texts in factual and fictional discourse.

5 See Górski's Introduction to Marchocka's *Autobiografia*, 18.

6 For more on the history of the manuscripts, see Gogola, *Życie mistyczne Teresy od Jezusa* [The Mystical Life of Theresa of Jesus], 59-63. For the publishing history, see Górski, ed., *Autobiografia*, Introduction, 17-26.

7 *Autobiografia*, 117-20.

has a premonition of his death and subsequently prays to God while also urging her father to prepare for a “good death.”⁸ Marchocka feels that she has been given the gift of clairvoyance, but she is also taught directly by God to pray in such a way as to completely lose herself in prayer.⁹ Such descriptions of her intense spiritual life, which occur throughout the text, add another layer to the distinction between public and private.

Mystical treatises have always stood in marked opposition to the discourse of history by virtue of concentrating on unverifiable spiritual states rather than factual events; what is more, the events described in such texts pertain solely to an individual life. Having no scientific authority, mystical treatises were long appreciated exclusively as documents of late medieval piety, testifying to the medieval love of the unexplainable. In contrast, Michel de Certeau positions hagiography as a specific discourse of history, and the *vita* of a saint as a sociological document.¹⁰ Kate Greenspan raises another major issue when she notes that “Women’s autohagiography shares with other forms of medieval religious literature a concern for spiritual truth, for orthodoxy and for authority.”¹¹ The author-narrator frequently claims to tell the truth about him- or herself or about the subject described. Both auto/hagiography and confession are founded on the Judaeo-Christian conception of the Word. Since the Word became God, God *is* the Word and can be perceived through written discourse, thus providing the motivation for the words of the mystic. Holy women write to spread God’s word. They become channels for the divine message, thus contradicting the prohibitions against women’s public speaking and teaching as well as the misogynist claims in the tradition of Tertullian that women are the devil’s gateway, tainted by their inheritance from Eve, and responsible for the death of Christ.¹²

The humility topos of medieval Christian *auctores* establishes the crucial relationship between history and discourse. Private history becomes a public one, as Marchocka is clearly, though unassumingly, aware. Her family’s life becomes the subject matter of her discussions with her confessor, while her spiritual doubts and struggles are framed within the discourse of self-edification and later used for the edification of others — hence her frequent references to spiritual exercises and to the various forms and the merit of prayer.¹³ Marchocka sees herself as a humble sinner, but at the time of writing her

8 *Autobiografia*, 121-22.

9 *Autobiografia*, 125.

10 De Certeau, *The Writing of History*, 272-73.

11 Greenspan, “Autohagiography,” 219.

12 Tertullian, *De cultu feminarum*, I.1.

13 In chapter 35, for example, Marchocka discusses in detail the four ways in which God has guided her soul through prayer; *Autobiografia*, 142-51.

autohagiography she is already a prioress, chosen to set an example for her nuns and perhaps also for the lay community living in the vicinity of the convent.

The blurring of the distinction between public and private is also seen in the way in which conventions of classical rhetoric are transformed when adapted to autohagiography. While the Middle Ages had inherited the rhetorical tripartite division of styles (*humilis*, *mediocris*, and *grandiloquis*),¹⁴ the demands of the Christian faith and the vigorous development of the genres revolutionized the classical concepts of genre and style: in the Christian context, humble things were elevated to the level of grand ones. Late medieval authors of autohagiographies and confessions use early Christian saints' lives as well as more contemporary but already famous mystical treatises to buttress the significance of their own narratives, which were to be recognized as *verba sacra* rather than *verba vulgata*.

Biographies, autobiographies, confessions, and hagiographies have one thing in common, namely, that they celebrate an individual through the elevation of a personal history to that of an exemplary one.¹⁵ Marchocka's autobiography, written as her full confession, had been used as a didactic tool by her fellow nuns in other Polish Carmelite houses. Conversely, hagiographic entries were often written as biographies, as in classical times biography and history were synonymous. Plutarch's *Lives*, for instance, became a model of historical enquiry into the life of a person, which in turn became a model for Bede.¹⁶ Heffernan claims that the Western tradition of sacred biography inherited the form of classical biography: *praxeis*, in which the life is summed up in a chronological manner, followed by *ethos*, in which a systematic interpretative discussion of character takes place.¹⁷

Unlike the subjects of such biographies and saints' *vitae*, Marchocka speaks in her own voice and is not the object of scribal (that is, clerical) discourse. Blending authority with

14 Jauss, "Theory of Genres," 96. The three styles roughly correspond to the styles of Virgil's *Bucolica*, *Georgica*, and *Aeneid*, and are likewise reflected in the three estates of human society: shepherd, farmer, and warrior. Jauss also quotes the three forms of delivery according to the system of the grammarian Diomedes. Providing an extended discussion as to the generic distinctions in medieval literature, Jauss is primarily interested in what he calls "the reality of literary genres"; Jauss, "Theory of Genres," 99.

15 As de Certeau notes, hagiography, or sacred writing, was also known as hagiology in the seventeenth century; de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, 269. Hagiography, the specialized study of saints often inspired by veneration, appears in two main genres, literary and liturgical: Jacobus de Voragine's thirteenth-century *Legenda aurea* is a notable example of literary hagiography, while liturgical sources include documents, very often calendars, recording information about the devotion due to saints.

16 Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, 29-30.

17 Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, 31.

what one may call psychological exhibitionism, her text shows the writer's compulsion to represent herself in accordance with existing models of sainthood combined with the urgent desire to narrate her story as truthfully as possible. The confessional (oral) rather than autobiographical (written) impulse determines Marchocka's discourse and, though reluctantly, she writes out of obedience to her confessor's command, transforming her confession by adopting the discourse of autohagiography. Frequently stressing her humbleness, her inadequacy as a writer, and her obedience towards her superiors, Marchocka nevertheless feels guided by God in her prayers and her actions. When problems with her superiors arise, she asks God to relieve her of the burden. Initially, she considers asking God for death but then is sent an illness during which she has a dream of being crucified and covered with mud. The mud symbolizes her physical suffering; the cross, the spiritual one. But she recovers, and within half a year, with the help of the secular authorities, a new Carmelite convent is established in Lvov.¹⁸ By showing herself as a voluntary sufferer, she accepts the position of a Christian martyr, whose role it is to die for the truth of his or her faith.

Indeed, Marchocka's autobiography contains numerous elements typically found in saints lives, including *vitae* associated with the miraculous. Although the general requirements for sainthood were established much earlier, it was only in the early seventeenth century that Pope Urban VIII codified the three deemed absolutely necessary: doctrinal purity, heroic virtue, and miraculous intercessions after death. Nevertheless, in the canonization process the manifestations of "virtue" and "miracles" had to be differentiated from "folklorization" (to use de Certeau's term) and rendered with "historical exactitude."¹⁹ Miracles are a necessary part of hagiography as they testify to direct divine intervention on earth. Marchocka, for example, refers to the wounds periodically appearing above her knees as her "stigmata," even though they were not exactly in the same locations as Christ's wounds.²⁰ The typical hagiographic miracle of the saint's non-decaying body, sometimes giving off a sweet fragrance rather than the odours of putrefaction, also pertains to Marchocka, whose body, as reported by the nuns, did not decompose for a long time. Both the stigmatization and the sweet scent support what Caroline Walker Bynum and Kate Greenspan claim with regard to women's spiritual biographies: the facts offered in the texts are not necessarily reliable as verifiable truth but as evidence of what people believed to have happened.²¹

18 *Autobiografia*, 157-59.

19 De Certeau, *The Writing of History*, 271.

20 *Autobiografia*, 228 and 230.

21 Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 310 n. 21; Greenspan, "Autohagiography," 220.

Writing her confession as Sister Theresa of Jesus towards the end of her life, Marchocka struggles with her text as she struggles with her memory. Her confessional modesty is a powerful tool in explaining what might otherwise be viewed either as memory lapses or as the selection of certain events over others. One such “lapse” is her account of a vision of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and a visitation of St. Theresa of Avila.²² Having prayed to the Virgin for mercy and for a Polish victory over the Cossacks, Marchocka is later told that the king had the same vision at the same time. Although the two visions are indeed reported in two separate documents, the time of occurrence, according to Górski, must have been different. He interprets this concurrence as a hagiographic trope prompted by Marchocka’s confessor.²³

Marchocka’s life falls into the period of the Counter-Reformation, when Reformation and Counter-Reformation forces tried to establish themselves firmly in Poland, with each promising a different set of alliances.²⁴ In his monumental study on the history of spirituality in Poland from the Middle Ages to the end of the nineteenth century, Górski notes that saints lives became immensely popular in late medieval Poland, but that the *vitae* of local saints were frequently modelled on those lives already available in print; for example, the same miracles were attributed to St. Hyacinth (Jacek) as to St. Dominic, who had been St. Hyacinth’s pupil and follower.²⁵ It was local saints, often known through oral sources, however — as opposed to internationally popular saints, known chiefly through written sources — who caught the attention of local communities. The fame of the fourteenth-century Prussian visionary, Dorothea of Montau (1347-1394), for example, was such that for many centuries she was popularly referred to as Saint Dorothea, although, due to the outbreak of war between Poland and the Order of the Teutonic Knights and despite great efforts exerted by her confessor John of Marienwerder (1343-1417), the canonization was in fact never accomplished. Marchocka was perhaps equally popular. Her *Life* circulated in the late seventeenth century in a number of manuscripts, which certainly rivalled the works of mystics known across

22 *Autobiografia*, 225-26.

23 Górski, ed., *Autobiografia*, 18-20.

24 Polish Catholicism has always been tainted by the political struggle to retain independence and alliance with partners who were the guarantors of Polish independence. Since the official Christianization of the country in 966 during the reign of Mieszko, the first historical ruler of Poland, who rejected eastern Orthodox in favour of western Christianity, Poland has remained the site of political and religious power struggles.

25 Górski, *Zarys dziejów*, 45.

Europe, such as St. Theresa of Avila. Local preachers found it more effective to illustrate their sermons with examples of native rather than foreign saints.²⁶

The intellectual climate of the Polish Renaissance began to change with the slow but steady rise of Counter-Reformation movements, culminating in the mid-seventeenth century with the persecution of the Arians.²⁷ The Jesuits had arrived in 1564, and the first Carmelite convent was established in Poland in 1612. In the same year, Nuncio de Torres preached on the importance of Carmelite convents for young Poles preferring contemplation to other religious practices. He and other Roman legates as well as local priests began their struggle to return Poland to the Roman fold.²⁸ Their preaching contributed to what theologians call a religious revival, but what historians commonly regard as the return of the gentry's narrow-mindedness and bigotry and the end of social reforms and wide-ranging scholastic study. One cannot fail to notice, however, that earlier Polish humanism, as secular as it was, generously drew on the Mariological spirituality popular in Western Europe at the end of the Middle Ages. While other parts of Europe were immersed in Protestant theological debates, Poland endeavoured to represent itself as the "chosen Nation" of Mary, mother of Christ, to use Czesław Miłosz's expression, which found its apogee in the period of the wars with Protestant Sweden in the late seventeenth century. The Reformation, as well as many of the Counter-Reformation movements, also reflected class distinctions; that is, the Reformation was supported by the more enlightened aristocracy, while the Counter-Reformation was supported by the gentry, which included Marchocka's family.

Born in 1603 in the vicinity of Nowy Sącz in the south of Poland (where the Protestant Arians were prominent), Marchocka belonged to a family whose various members actively participated in the political life of the country. In order to understand the political and religious atmosphere in Poland at the beginning of the seventeenth century, one has to recall that this is precisely the time of the so-called "gentry's democracy."

26 Górski, *Zarys dziejów*, 130-56.

27 Polish Arianism is a fusion of Calvinism and the Reformed Polish Church. The Arians can be regarded as the predecessors of the Unitarian Church. Arianism advocated the separation of Church and State (to this day, never entirely accomplished in Poland) and reflected the democratic spirit pervading the intellectual thought of the minor gentry. Rejecting Trinitarianism, Arianism promoted the power of human reason and of the intellect over the old "faith over knowledge" principle. For further details, see Miłosz, *History of Polish Literature*, 28-35. Noteworthy for their learning, the Polish Arians advocated education for women. As pacifists, they wore wooden swords at the time of the Cossack wars (1648), which contributed to the anti-Arian feeling among the patriotic Poles, for whom the fight for the motherland was always a sacred duty.

28 For further details, see Górski, *Zarys dziejów*, 89-207.

This period, often thought of as Poland's Golden Age, saw the steady development of parliament as a force electing and controlling the king; it was also a period of territorial consolidation and of intellectual expansion, when the nobility participated in greater numbers in university education.²⁹ During this Golden Age, Poland projected an image of wealth and contentment. Poland was then proud of its electoral system and democratic ideals, which, however, applied only to the nobility including the gentry. Poland also took pride in its religious tolerance — in being a country “without stakes,” where neither so-called heretics nor so-called witches were burnt. This time of religious freedom, however, was rapidly coming to an end with the advent of the Counter-Reformation, whose growth ensured Marchocka's work a favourable reception, especially after her death. The confession of Sister Theresa of Jesus served to strengthen Catholicism and to provide a positive example for ordinary people. Her book enjoyed great popularity until the mid-eighteenth century, by which time such religious ardour was no longer in vogue, as Poland faced the grave reality of the partitions and was looking for different types of heroes and heroines.

Marchocka was educated at home, where she learned to read and write and where her mother also taught her some rudimentary Latin. During that time she read much edifying literature such as Piotr Skarga's *Lives of Saints*, the life of St. Catherine of Sienna, and the writings of the Carmelite sister Maria Magdalena of Pazzi. Such works were probably the only books in her home; she certainly never mentions any of the famous poets of her day. Later, she also familiarized herself with the life and works of Theresa of Avila and other Spanish mystics, but apart from her chosen name, the connection with Theresa of Avila, as shown in the autobiography, is very loose.

Marchocka began her writing on 3 May 1647. According to her own account, she was a prioress, humbly obeying her confessor's instruction to write her life and thereby confess all her sins. Her preface includes God's prolonged address to her, telling her that he is allowing her to know him “so that you will have in me, God, the source and bedrock

29 After the death of the last representative of the Jagiellonian dynasty, the country no longer had hereditary kings. Instead, the kings were elected from among the highest members of the aristocracy. At the time, the aristocracy and gentry also began to participate in university education, frequently sending their sons to the Jagiellonian University in Cracow as well as to various European universities, notably in Germany and Italy. Founded in 1364, the University of Cracow, later re-named the Jagiellonian University, was one of the foremost schools in central Europe and hosted renowned scholars from other countries. Furthermore, Poland's territory had reached its greatest expansion, with its borders stretching from the Baltic almost to the Black Sea, including the territories which are now republics within the Russian Federation.

[. . .]. I am taking you as my own, so that you may live in me as I live in you.”³⁰ Placing God’s words at the beginning, followed by the woman’s humility topos, highlights her claim that her inspiration for writing comes directly from the Divine. Addressing her confessor in the first chapter, Marchocka writes,

and I do not know why [I have to write] as I told you, Sir, everything that I will write and you already know almost all my sins. By feeling anger [when] facing difficulties with writing, I show my human imperfection, but if my writing is God’s will, I shall do it gladly. Still, I would like to ask you, Sir, to burn what I write, so that no one will see it, and this is what I beg of you.³¹

She writes not merely with the conventional modesty used to validate female voices, but out of genuine concern that her memory might fail her and that she might forget to confess some of her sins. Her initial paragraph situates her writing closer to oral confession and asserts the privilege of secrecy of the confessional. Yet her confessor, Father Ignatius of St. John the Evangelist, apparently thought it important to preserve her writing, and even though her original text was destroyed, he managed to preserve copies of her *Life*.

Marchocka’s text is far from being a precise chronological narrative. Struggling with both language and self-representation, Marchocka was fully aware of her inadequacy as a writer. Her text is purely and simply a confession, without any literary embellishments. Trying to maintain a sense of chronology in retelling her life, she is aware that sometimes her memory fails. What is more, beginning with chapter 20, the work suddenly shifts from her secular life to a depiction of the gifts received from God (chap. 22), including her mystical states and prayers. In a fashion similar to earlier mystical revelations, Marchocka envisions Christ’s Passion and interprets all events in her life, as well as her thoughts, as messages from God. These thoughts are sincere but frequently rendered clumsily, as she concentrates on the truthfulness of her account and not on literary style. The adherence to facts is one of the most interesting aspects of her text.

30 “. . . żebyś we mnie, Bogu, miała zrzędo, grunt [. . .]. I ja też ciebie, własność moje, w się wciągnął i wziął, żebyś mieszkała we mnie, a ja w tobie.” *Autobiografia*, 3; translation mine.

31 “A sama nie wiem czemu, bo toż wszystko powiedziałam waszmości, co napiszę i zna już wm dość i prawie wszystkie grzechy moje. A to się pokazuje złość i niedoskonałość moja tym czuciem trudności, ale wola dla samej wolej Boży aktu, podaje się powolnie, wiedząc też i obietnice mając od wnci, że o tym nikt nie będzie wiedział, ani tego widział tylko wm sam, i zaraz wm spali, o co ja teraz pokornie proszę, i tą kondycją w sekrecie takim piszę.” *Autobiografia*, 37; translation mine.

The first part of Marchocka's *Autobiography* captures the climate of the early Counter-Reformation through her descriptions of family life. In a manner typical of hagiographic discourse, Marchocka narrates events which occurred before she was born and which she must have heard about from her family. At one time, her mother Elżbieta Modrzejowska, several months pregnant with Anna Maria, fell from a carriage and, on another occasion, almost gave birth in church. Such incidents were interpreted by Marchocka as divine signs to her mother to devote her daughter's life to God. Her mother's guilt over the accident during her pregnancy resembles the guilt which, on a larger scale, many of her contemporaries felt over falling into the hands of the reformers, known to some as heretics. To atone for real and imaginary sins, Elżbieta Modrzejowska agreed to send her elder daughter to the convent. She also had a prophetic dream about Anna Maria, her younger daughter, entering the convent.³²

Marchocka describes herself as a proud and stubborn child spoiled by her father, Paweł. In a manner typical of the confessional mode, she narrates many events which eventually led to her conversion, such as taking first communion at the age of five, general confession at the age of twelve, and entering the convent at the age of seventeen. Her descriptions of family life provide insight into the mentality of the minor Polish gentry at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In Marchocka's account, the reader learns that her father was a stereotypical hot-headed Pole (of the type found in Henryk Sienkiewicz's novels) who, when angry with his otherwise favourite daughter, was ready to kill her. Many of the social customs, such as sleigh rides with family and neighbours or carnival festivities, which are presented as examples of Marchocka's pride and as occasions for worldly temptations, are also depicted in the first part of her *Life*.

Young Anna Maria was educated in strict adherence to the Catholic faith. She writes that as a young girl she made a promise to God to remain a virgin and to devote herself to the religious life. Keeping that promise, however, did not come easily to a young girl and woman. She was twelve when her older sister decided to enter St. Claire's Convent in Nowy Sącz. Marchocka visited this convent with her parents and later describes it most critically. The rule of silence was not maintained, and she observed many other forms of misbehaviour. During one of the many visits to the convent at Nowy Sącz which she describes, she met Father Peter of St. Andrew, who gave her St. Theresa of Avila's *Life* and fragments of the rule of Carmel. At that time, Marchocka claims to have heard a voice calling her to the spiritual life when she was trying on a mantle.³³ She also devotes

³² *Autobiografia*, 52.

³³ *Autobiografia*, 48.

extensive parts of her text to the choosing of her order³⁴ before finally selecting the newly established Carmelite order and their convent in Cracow.³⁵ Far from becoming calmly acclimated to her new surroundings, Marchocka recounts her difficult novitiate and the slow progress towards an acceptance of the primacy of the spiritual life. Indeed, during her novitiate, she was tempted to escape from the convent through a window, or to burn down the wooden building.³⁶ In her narrative of her life in the convent, Marchocka also expresses her desire to fully present her book of conscience, offering her confessor descriptions of lice alongside more edifying accounts of prayer and meditation.³⁷

In a book on the *Life of Jesus* that belonged to Marchocka's convent of the Carmelite Sisters, published in Warsaw and dated 1680, a handwritten note urges the sisters to think about and pray for their great foremothers such as Elizabeth of Hungary. This note clearly suggests that the lives of the female saints formed a popular devotional theme in post-Reformation Poland.³⁸ Anna Maria Marchocka, Sister Theresa of Jesus, the prioress, does not attempt to represent herself in compliance with the rules of the genre of mystical revelation but rather writes her life to atone for her sins. She struggles with her own memory as well as with the very writing of her *Life*, yet by doing so, she locates her narrative between confession and autohagiography. As her *Life* became exemplary for her nuns, the confessional mode was unalterably transformed into the hagiographic one, demonstrating the complexity of generic features.

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34 *Autobiografia*, 51, 57, and 64.

35 *Autobiografia*, 111. Her religious life is divided between three convents — Cracow (1620-1642), Lvov (1642-1648), and Warsaw (1649-1652). Cracow was then the capital of Poland.

36 *Autobiografia*, 75-76.

37 *Autobiografia*, 74.

38 The book is the property of the Kórnik Castle Library in Poznań. I am grateful to Professor Stanisław Sierpowski, the director of Kórnik Castle Library, for generously providing access to the book.

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