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Jesuits' Education in the Lithuanian Province—Between Tradition and Change: A Contribution to Jesuit Prosopography in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Kształcenie jezuitów prowincji litewskiej – między tradycją a zmianą. Przyczynek do prozopografii jezuitów w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej

ABSTRACT

The present paper deals with the education of Jesuits in the Lithuanian Province and its influence on the religious vows made by the end of their religious formation. The research investigates changes that occurred in the structure of Jesuit personnel in regard to the education they received before and after their entry to the Jesuit Order. The main research source consists of personal catalogues from the Roman Archive of the Society of Jesus, to which the methods of statistical analysis and prosopography have been applied. The paper focuses on the following issues: (1) the general number of Jesuit personnel in the province, (2) the studies they completed before and (3) after their entry to the religious order, (4) the number of the professed of four vows and spiritual coadjutors, and (5) the influence of the school reform on Jesuit education, with particular regard to the mathematical sciences. The analysed sources indicate a gradual unification of the educational process, which consisted of a three-year philosophical course and a four-year theological course. Owing to the implementation of this model, the number of Jesuits professed of four vows increased and the number of spiritual coadjutors diminished.

KEYWORDS:

Grand Duchy of Lithuania, history of education, teacher training colleges, casuistry, mathematics, prosopography

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie, historia edukacji, seminaria nauczycielskie, kazuistyka, matematyka, prozopografia

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ABSTRAKT

Niniejszy artykuł omawia kształcenie jezuitów prowincji litewskiej oraz jego wpływ na rodzaj ślubów zakonnych składanych po ukończeniu formacji. Celem opracowania jest analiza zmian, jakie zachodziły w strukturze personelu jeśli chodzi o studia odbyte zarówno przed, jak i po wstąpieniu do zakonu. Bazę źródłową stanowią katalogi osobowe prowincji litewskiej, przechowywane w Archiwum Rzymskim Towarzystwa Jezusowego, które zostały opracowane metodą statystyczno-prozopograficzną. Analiza skupia się następujących zagadnieniach: (1) ogólna liczebność personelu prowincji, (2) studia zaliczone przed przyjęciem do Towarzystwa, (3) studia odbyte po wstąpieniu do zakonu, (4) liczebność profesów czterech ślubów i koadiutorów duchownych, (5) wpływ reformy szkolnictwa jezuickiego na kształcenie jezuitów, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem nauk ścisłych. W świetle badanego materiału można zauważyć stopniowe ujednoczanie procesu kształcenia, na które składały się trzyletni kurs filozofii i czteroletni kurs teologii scholastycznej. W wyniku tego procesu liczba profesów czterech ślubów zwiększała się kosztem koadiutorów duchownych.

Introduction

The formation and education of the consecrated clergy is a particularly significant issue in the light of research on the Catholic Church's activity in the modern epoch. Although several valuable studies have been published in the Polish historiography, the subject matter has not yet been discussed in an exhaustive way (Flaga 1998; Królikowska 2019). This consideration also refers to the Society of Jesus, which over the course of its activity in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth over around two hundred years (1565–1773) played a prominent role both in the implementation of the programme of the Council of Trent as well as in the education of elites and in the cultural development of nationals living in the former territory of the First Polish Republic. St Ignatius Loyola already attached great importance to the preparation of members of the Order (*Konstytucje Towarzystwa Jezusowego* 2001). Consequently, the Society can be distinguished from other Orders owing to a longer period of formation. Its subsequent stages were a two-year novitiate,

an extensive philosophical study course programme (three-year) and a theology course (four-year) as well as the year of the third probation preceding the fourth vow (Ruiz Jurado 1991: 265–351). Despite laying down such strict requirements, St Loyola was aware of the diversity of the talents and abilities of particular candidates. Therefore not only did he preserve the division into priests and those not ordained into the priesthood, which already existed in other Orders, but he also expected an internal division among Jesuits into the professed of four vows, the professed of three vows, and spiritual coadjutors (Lukács 1968: 238–316).

The aim of the article is to make a closer examination of the relations between education and the character of religious vows. The relations did not only affect the career paths of particular Jesuits, but it also influenced the overall activity of the Order, since the level of their education determined the functions they performed. The analysis of the selected issue allows us to observe changes in the personnel structure of the Society within the territory of the former First Polish Republic. In this context, a question arises about whether the changes were a result of the adaptation of the Society to the social and political conditions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, or whether it stemmed from a general trend of changes occurring in other European countries.

The scope of the research covers the Lithuanian Province which included, apart from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, some parts of the Polish Crown (Northern Mazovia, Warmia and Podlachia) as well as Livonia and Courland (Grzebień 2012: 19–28). Establishing the Lithuanian Province in 1608 not only stabilised the administrative division of the Society for 150 years, but it also created—despite territorial losses in favour of Sweden and Russia in the 17th century—conditions for the further expansion of the Order in the western and northern territories of the former First Polish Republic (Mariani 2013: 111–133).¹ The Lithuanian Province is an ideal research territory not only owing to its religious and ethnical diversity, but also due to the existence of Vilnius University, the only Jesuit Universi-

¹ It was not until 1759 that the Mazovia Province was separated from the Lithuanian Province. The Mazovia Province, apart from Mazovia and Podlachia regions, covered a considerable part of the Ruthenian lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This study covers the personnel of both provinces for the period 1759–1773.

ty in the former First Polish Republic, which provided Jesuits with a strong intellectual base and guaranteed a constant influence on the education of elites.

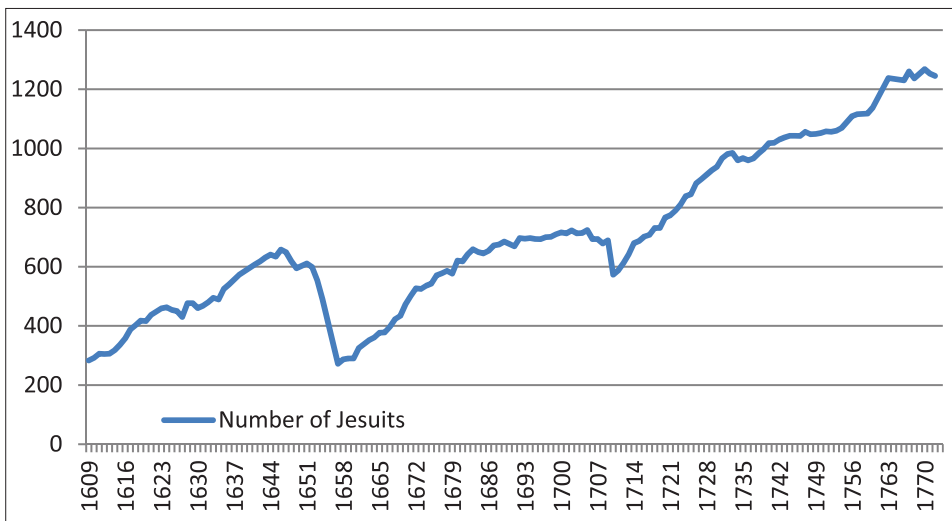
Owing to the centralised administration of the Society, a rich archival legacy has been preserved documenting the career courses of its members. Among other things, it contains personal catalogues, both annual (*breves*) and triennial (*triennales*), at present belonging to the Roman Archive of the Society of Jesus, which are valuable source material for further studies of the Society's historical and social character. Owing to their standardised content, these sources make it possible to apply a statistical approach. According to the annual catalogues, a group of 6110 Jesuits were identified as engaged in their work in the period 1608–1773 in the Lithuanian Province (from 1759, in the Lithuanian and Mazovia Province). Almost two-thirds of them (3909 people) were Jesuits ordained into the priesthood, scholastics or novices, who did at least some of their studies on the territory of the Province.²

Jesuit education should be considered in the light of a general increase in the Order's personnel. As indicated in **Graph 1**, the dynamic development did not proceed in a linear manner. At the time of its creation, there were just over 280 people in the Lithuanian Province. By the mid-17th century, the number had increased to 600. Except for the 20s, when stagnation was caused by the Polish-Swedish wars (1621–1626, 1626–1629), this first period of the existence of the Lithuanian Province was exceptionally positive. In the second half of the century, a decline occurred as a result of an outbreak of plague of 1653 and due to the Polish-Russian War (1654–1667). The war resulted not only in the loss of Smolensk, but it also caused the closure of Vilnius institutions situated near the border of the Grand Duchy of Moscow (Polotsk, Vitebsk, Orsha). These events were the reason for the emigration of many Jesuits, particularly young Jesuits, who continued their studies in colleges in other provinces. When the situation in the country regained stability, the Lithuanian Province recovered rather quickly. At the end of the 17th century, the number exceeded the one from before Moscow's invasion, reaching about 700

² Eight other people should also belong to that group. These people started their careers as scholastics and later became brothers.

members. The years of the Great Northern War (1700–1721) resulted in another crisis. An outbreak of plague in the years 1708–1710 claimed many fatalities (Poplatek 1928–1931: 264–272, 368–369; Mariani 2016: 65–103). Not until after the Silent Sejm (session of Parliament) of 1717 did a period of expansion occur, which was particularly rapid in the 20s of the 18th century. Except for the period of the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1736), which was characterised by stagnation, a positive tendency remained until the dissolution of the Jesuit Order. The day before the brief of Clement XIV known as *Dominus ac redemptor* was issued, there were 1250 members in the Lithuanian and Mazovia Province.

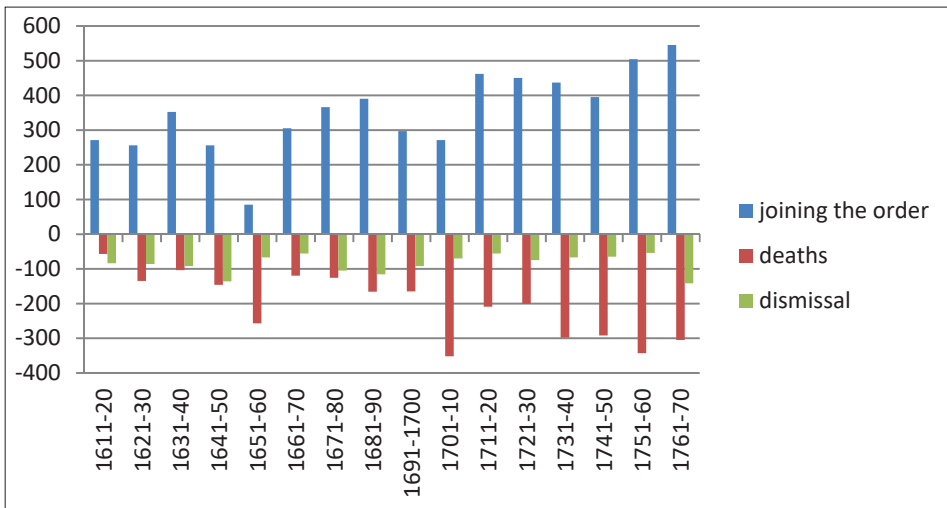
Graph 1: Number of Jesuits in the Lithuanian province (since 1759—Lithuanian and Mazovian provinces)



The development described above was the result of interactions between positive and negative factors. Among the former ones, there was the acceptance of novices, and the latter factors were deaths and dismissals. The migration of personnel from or into other provinces played a secondary role in quantitative terms. The interactions between positive and negative factors are indicated in

Graph 2. The number of accepted candidates usually exceeded the number of deaths and dismissals, which guaranteed a positive balance. The only periods of serious crisis, when losses exceeded the number of Jesuits accepted into the Society, were the 50s of the 17th century and the first decade of the 18th century. The wars taking place in the territory of the First Polish Republic, on the one hand, disturbed the recruitment process, and, on the other, directly increased the number of deaths. Dismissals remained at a low level in the periods of these crises, which provides evidence of discipline being maintained in the Order as well as of a strong bond between the Jesuit communities under threat.

Graph 2: Number of joining the order, deaths and dismissal



A comparison between the number of novices and the number of deaths and dismissals for the first half of the 17th century illustrates the transformations of periods of deceleration and stagnation. While a rapid increase in the number of personnel can be observed in the 10s and 30s, the decades of 1621–30 and 1641–50 were characterised by stagnation and regress. The deceleration which occurred in the third decade resulted from wars with Sweden, which, due to the loss

of part of Livonia, led to the closure of institutions in Riga, Wenden and Tartu. The long-term closure of the Collegium Hosianum in Braniewo had an even greater significance in this context. This institution, which provided numerous vocations for the Order, played a prominent role in the education of the consecrated youth (Załęski 1905: 26–27). An outbreak of plague in the years 1624–1625 also resulted in an increase in the number of deaths (Grzebień 1996: 148). Despite the above-mentioned events, a reversal of the upward trend, lasting since the province was established, may not be observed until the 40s of the 17th century. This phenomenon, predicting the crisis of the following decade, is indicated by a decrease in the number of candidates with a simultaneous increase in dismissals, which for the first time in the history of the Lithuanian Province resulted in a slightly negative balance.

On the other hand, after the crises of the second half of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, the number of accepted candidates increased sharply (1661–1680, 1711–1730), then a few periods of relative stability occurred (1681–1700, 1731–1750). Another increase in the number of novices entering the Order was observed in the period 1751–1760. A reform of Jesuit education, initiated in the 30s of the 18th century and fully implemented within two decades, contributed to attracting candidates (Bednarski 2003).³ In this respect, the situation in the Commonwealth differed from conditions in western European countries such as France, where secularisation led to a decrease in the number of vocations in the second half of the 18th century (Thompson 2018: 21–22).⁴ The deceleration of an increase can be observed in the 60s, which was indicated by a slight decrease in the number of accepted novices with a simultaneous increase in the number of dismissals (Grzebień 1996: 5–6, 730).⁵ Among the factors that influenced the situation were an awareness of Jesuits' persecution in America and eastern Europe as well as the

³ The literature on the subject is particularly extensive, but this monograph by Stanisław Bednarski retains its relevance.

⁴ With regard to the Society, the disrepute surrounding the Order at the time of its persecution in America and under the Bourbon monarchy affected the phenomenon.

⁵ At that time, the Order included such prominent figures as John Baptist Albertrandi and Waclaw Wiazewicz.

uncertainty of internal affairs in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the period of the Bar Confederation (*Konfederacja Barska*).

The number of dismissed Jesuits was usually smaller than the number of deaths. Unlike deaths, dismissals were usually given to those who did not make their final vows. The scale of the phenomenon underwent changes over time, which is indicated by the fact that dismissals from the Society were more common in the 17th century than in the following century. In some decades, the number of dismissals was significant compared with the number of deaths, as well as in relation to the general population of the Order. This comment refers mainly to the 40s and 80s of the 17th century, when an increase in the number of dismissed Jesuits was the consequence of rapid expansion or of the necessity to appoint new personnel to a network of institutions, similarly to the 30s. It can also relate to compensating for losses stemming from the Polish-Russian War in the 70s of the 17th century. In both cases, the requirements candidates had to meet were lowered. A lack of relevant abilities and insufficient motivation soon resulted in their dismissal from the Society.

Education prior to entering the Jesuit Order

The authorities of the Society of Jesus paid particular attention to the education candidates received before entering the Order, since this determined whether further studies were completed after the novitiate (Łukaszewska-Haberkowa 2013: 18). In the light of **Table 1**, it can be concluded that over 70% of candidates completed at least a year of rhetoric or humanities courses, usually rhetoric or poetics, in schools run by the Society. Despite the development of a network of religious schools, the above-mentioned percentage did not alter considerably. This fact not only provides evidence of the significance of the educational institutions, particularly the Sodality of Our Lady, in fostering vocations, but it also illustrates that the vocation of the Society was particularly engaged in the education of the youth. The number of candidates who graduated in philosophy or theology prior to entering the Society was small but significant. In this respect, a slight increase can be observed in the number of philosophy students, at least until the middle of the 18th century, while the number of theology students diminished a little. The increase in the number

of philosophy graduates resulted from the wider availability of philosophical education owing to two-year courses run by Jesuits for lay youth (*Dispositio personarum provinciae Lituanae* 1750).⁶ As regards theology students, the number of graduates of moral theology decreased, whereas the percentage of students of scholastic theology remained stable. The predominance of young people over adults among candidates determined a low number of students of theology. The number of adults who entered the Order as ordained priests always remained small.⁷

Table 1. Studies completed before joining the Society

	Up to 1650		1651–1700		1701–1740		1741–1773		In total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Humanistic	704	73.3	652	73.7	723	70.7	758	72.8	2837	72.6
Philosophical	71	7.4	89	10.1	146	14.3	120	11.5	426	10.9
Moral theology	28	2.9	13	1.5	16	1.6	3	0.3	60	1.5
Scholastic theology	19	2.0	9	1.0	27	2.6	23	2.2	78	2.0
No data	139	14.5	122	13.8	110	10.8	137	13.2	508	13.0
In total	961	100.0	885	100.0	1022	100.0	1041	100.0	3909	100.0

Despite the relative stability of the general picture, significant changes occurred within each of the study courses. As regards the students of the rhetoric and humanities course, the predominance of rhetoric graduates increased over their younger colleagues from the

⁶ In the first half of the 18th century, two-year philosophical courses were conducted in Braniewo, Kaunas, Drohiczyn, Minsk, Pinsk, Pašiaušė, Pułtusk, and Warsaw as well as in Vitebsk.

⁷ Among the 88 people accepted into the Society as ordained priests, 35 (3.6% of the total of 961) entered before the mid-17th century, 11 (1.2% of the total of 885) in the second half of the century, 36 (3.5% of the total of 1022) in the years 1701–1740, and merely 6 (0.6% of the total of 1041) in the more recent decades of the existence of the Society.

poetics course.⁸ The phenomenon was connected with the age of their entry into the Society. According to the legislation of the Order, the minimum age was 14 (Jochymczyk 2018: 232–240).⁹ An increase in the presence of rhetoric graduates among the students doing a course on humanities and rhetoric, on the one hand, was the result of an expansion of Jesuit schools, which more often guaranteed a complete five-grade course on humanities and rhetoric. On the other hand, it stemmed from Jesuits' caution to avoid accusations of attracting youths against the will of their parents (Prosperi 2016).¹⁰ Moreover, accepting candidates who had already completed their rhetoric and humanities studies relieved the Society of the duty to provide courses in those disciplines. In this context, already in the first half of the 17th century, among the Jesuits ordained into the priesthood, there were very few people who merely completed the lower grades of the rhetoric and humanities course—grammar and syntaxis.

With respect to philosophical studies, the predominance of the number of graduates who completed the entire course—regardless of its duration, either a two-year course or a three-year one—increased over the number of candidates who attended only a logic or physics course.¹¹ Candidates who did not complete all their philosophical studies had to complement their knowledge on philosophy before they enrolled in a scholastic theology course. Otherwise,

⁸ Among the Jesuits who entered before 1650, the poetics graduates accounted for 35% of the rhetoric and humanities course members (248 out of 704 people). This percentage fell to 8% (53 out of 652 people) in a group of Jesuits who entered in the second half of the 17th century. In the years 1701–1740, they accounted for almost 3% (20 out of 723 people). An increase in the number of poetics students was observed in the later period, when it rose to almost 7% (52 out of 758 people).

⁹ The issue of the average age of the candidates for the Society goes beyond the scope of these considerations. Discrepancies in the birth dates of particular Jesuits make the research difficult.

¹⁰ Such considerations were particularly significant in the Society's relations with the nobility.

¹¹ Of the 71 students of philosophy who entered the Society before 1650, merely 28 completed logic or physics courses (35%). The remaining students completed the entire course. The percentage of students who did not complete the philosophical course fell to 27% (24 out of 89 people) in the period between 1651–1700, and then decreased to 13% (19 out of 146 people) in the period 1701–1740. Not until the years 1741–1773 did it increase slightly to 15% (18 out of 120 people).

they could be directly referred to a course on moral theology. As regards philosophical studies, regional differences may also be observed. The most characteristic phenomenon was a greater percentage of philosophy students among candidates from Warmia and Royal Prussia in comparison with the overall number of personnel.¹² This can be explained in light of the bourgeois character of the local community. Unlike the nobility, for whom obtaining humanities and rhetoric education was usually sufficient for a military or political career, for the inhabitants of Royal Prussia, a philosophical course was a preliminary step for further studies on medicine or law, which were essential in order to hold public offices (Dygdała 1995: 119–137; Kardas 2004: 196–199, 225–230; Mikulski 1996: 324–325; Brodnicki 2012).¹³ In the Catholic Warmia, the Collegium Hosianum in Braniewo and the college in Reszel responded to the need in terms of teaching philosophy, where Jesuits ran two-year courses for extramural students (Grzebień 1996: 64, 567).

Education after entering the Jesuit Order

The number of consecrated youths studying constitutes an essential intelligence level indicator of the Society. While the two-year novitiate focused on spiritual formation and on getting to know the charism of the Order (Poplatek, manuscript no. 3288–3290), formal education was received by scholastics preparing for their priestly ordination. As already mentioned, the Jesuit *cursus studiorum* consisted of a three-year philosophical study course, divided into logic, physics and metaphysics, as well as a four-year scholastic theology study course (dogmatic). In justified cases, it was possible to prolong or retake a study course on a private basis. Philosophical and theological studies were often preceded by a year-long or a two-year-long rhetoric course aimed at Jesuit scholastics. Its main role was to standardise the level of humanist-rhetorical knowledge they received

¹² Of the 577 Jesuits from this territory, 127 entered the Order after completing at least one year of the philosophical course, which is 22%. For the whole personnel, this percentage falls to almost 11% (423 out of 3909 people).

¹³ Extensive literature has been devoted to the elites of Gdansk and Toruń.

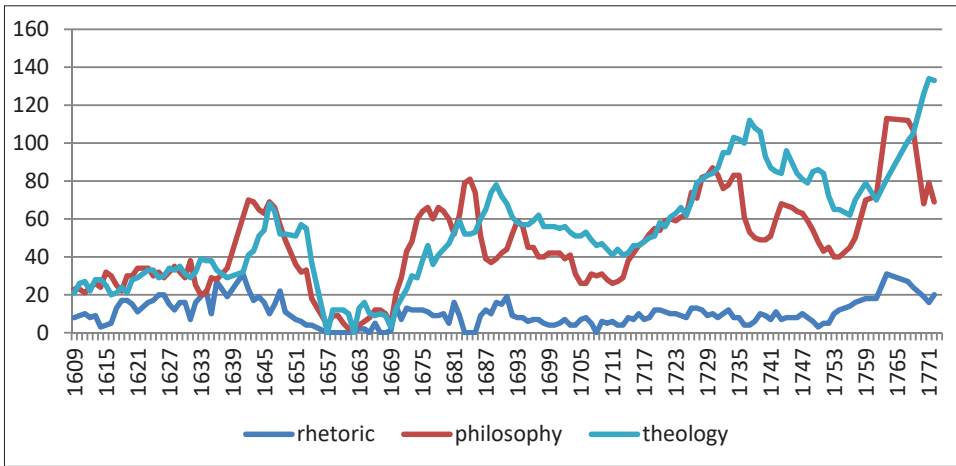
before entering the Society, to enhance their spiritual expression and to make the consecrated youth accustomed to education.

A course of moral theology (casuistry) was also characteristic of the Jesuit educational system. The courses lasted for a year or two and were dedicated to less gifted scholastics. Casuistry was a practical discipline for preparing for priesthood. In the earlier period, the course was meant for scholastics who had at least completed a course on logic, and later for those who had failed their first year of scholastic theology.

Against this background, the average ratio between students of particular courses should be considered. **Graph 3** confirms a thesis put forward in the existing literature about the quantitative predominance of theology students over philosophy ones (Flaga 1998: 118), and at the same time allows us to specify it. While in the first half of the 17th century the numbers of scholastic philosophers and theologians were similar, after the 80s of the same century, the number of theology students was usually higher or at least equal to the number of philosophers. In the period of the expansion of personnel, the number of philosophy students increased faster and then decreased in favour of theology students. This resulted from the sequence of the study courses in the Jesuit *cursus studiorum*. In reality, the higher number of students of theology on an annual basis did not correspond with the general number of theology students over the period under consideration. The phenomenon becomes understandable when two facts are taken into account. Firstly, the philosophy course lasted three years, while the theological one lasted for four. Secondly, not all philosophy graduates stayed in the Order long enough to study theology; some of them passed away or were dismissed. Finally, an institutional factor also influenced the number of theologian scholastics. While three-year studies were relatively easy to organise and be transferred from one institution to another depending on the need (Grzebień 1996: 458, 526),¹⁴ theological courses required a greater financial and intellectual basis, which only educational institutions with the best financial means could provide.

¹⁴ Apart from Vilnius University, the boarding school in Nesvizh had a long tradition of teaching philosophy (1626–1632, 1641–1650, 1658–1660, 1677–1685, 1699–1702 and 1721–1773), as did the one in Polock (1649–1655, 1675–1700, 1707–1737, 1740–1760 and 1764–1773).

Graph 3: Number of scholastics in rhetoric, philosophy and theology



In quantitative terms, the rhetoric course played a secondary role as the number of its participants (also called *rhetores academici*) rarely exceeded 20 people, despite an increase in the general number of Jesuit students. The number of rhetoric scholastics was higher in the first half of the 17th century. This phenomenon was the result of a more diverse level of education that candidates received before entering the Order in the first decades of the existence of the Lithuanian Province. Therefore, a necessity for further education of scholastics arose. In the second half of the 17th century, however, the number of rhetoric scholastics decreased. This decline was the result of personnel shortage and the necessity to shorten the period of education so as to restore the Jesuit personnel. Resignation from enrolling scholastics for a rhetoric course may be interpreted as the reason for lowering the level of training of Jesuit teachers. However, this phenomenon should be considered from a different perspective; the rhetoric course was becoming less relevant due to a more uniform level of preparation of candidates with regard to humanities. The number of people who learnt rhetoric before entering the Order was steadily growing. Moreover, similarly to a philosophical course,

teaching rhetoric could be organised on an ad hoc basis. In the first decades of the existence of the Lithuanian Province, a rhetoric course was conducted in Polotsk (Królikowska 2019: 254).¹⁵ Its existence was difficult, however, due to the trans-border character of the city and the catastrophic effects of the fire of 1632. Consequently, the teacher-training college was transferred to Nesvizh and then, in 1641, to Vilnius (ARSI, Lituania 10, c. 106r).¹⁶ In the second half of the 17th century, rhetoric courses were conducted for a short period of time at various educational institutions (Królikowska 2019: 254).¹⁷ It was not until 1716 that the functioning of the teacher-training college stabilised in Slutsk, where it existed continuously until the Lithuanian Province was divided in 1759, and then in the Mazovia Province (1765–1773) (Królikowska 2109: 254). According to the post-dissolution catalogue of the college library in Slutsk, the quality of education was satisfactory (Nacjonalny Gistaryczny Archiw Białarusi, f. 1781, vol. 27, no. 538, k. 40v–42r). Although the number of its students was relatively low, the Jesuit College in Slutsk played a significant role in educating Jesuit teachers, who since the 30s of the 18th century had participated in the educational reform of schools in the Lithuanian Province (Vilniaus Universiteto Biblioteka, F3, no. 1653).¹⁸

The average ratio between the number of students of scholastic and moral theology deserves particular attention. This allows us to interpret changes taking place among groups of priests with regard to the vows they took. **Graph 4** illustrates an increase in the number of scholastic theology students at the expense of moral theology ones. This tendency manifested itself when more courses were available. While at the beginning of the studied period

¹⁵ The teacher-training college was located there in the years 1609–1614 and 1617–1632. In the period 1614–1617, it was situated in Riga.

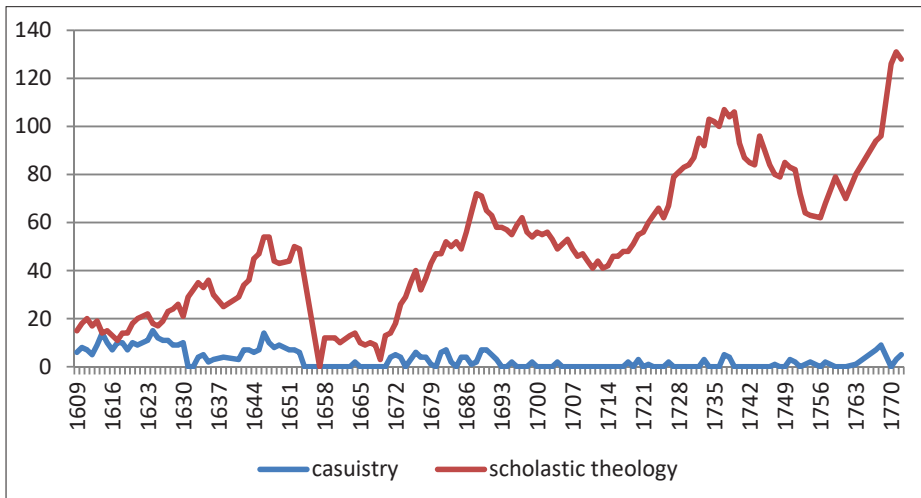
¹⁶ In 1645, the boarding school in Polotsk paid the Vilnius Jesuit High School 5000 Polish zloty for maintaining rhetoric scholastics.

¹⁷ These institutions were located in Navahrudak, Orsha, Reszel, Polotsk, Kražiai, Pinsk and Daugavpils.

¹⁸ Marcin Kurzeniecki distinguished himself from other professors in the years 1737–1739. Scripts from his classes have been preserved in the library of Vilnius University, such as *Regulae rhetoricae post taciturniorem ascetism solutae eloquentiae religiosioribus in sumario traditae*.

a scholastic theology study course was conducted only at Vilnius University, later there were such courses at Braniewo (1641), Warsaw (1679), Pinsk (1703) and Polock (1737), and, after the division of the Lithuanian Province, also in Grodno (1762) (ARSI, Lituania 51, c. 161v). Owing to that, the Lithuanian Province was capable of providing an even greater number of scholastics with higher education.

Graph 4: Number of students in scholastic theology and moral theology



In the first half of the 17th century, Reasoning by extrapolation the course of casuistry for Jesuit scholastics was considerably popular, yet it lost some of its popularity in the second half of the century. In the 18th century, it was no longer conducted regularly, but was organised on an ad hoc basis for a small number of scholastics. It was not until the dissolution of the Society that the subject regained its value for Jesuit education in the Mazovia Province. This resulted from a need for rural missionaries in the period of the development of rural missions in the Rus territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. A decrease in the number of Jesuit students of moral theology did not mean that the subject was neglected.

Efficiency in resolving moral disputes was a valuable asset acknowledged by the aristocracy, who preferred Jesuit court chaplains to representatives of other religious orders (Mariani 2015: 66).¹⁹ The significance of casuistry in Jesuit education is also confirmed by the annual catalogues, which contain a relatively constant number of tutors of that study course (*Catalogus personarum et officiorum provinciae Lituanae* 1757).²⁰ This form of education was aimed at those who did not belong to the Society, mainly at diocesan priests, in accordance with the rule of separating scholastics and extra-mural students (Flaga 1998: 128–129).

The comments referring to annual fluctuations of the numbers of scholastics can be completed by **Table 2**, which illustrates the number of students of particular courses. The number of scholastics remained stable at about 80% of the religious members of the Society who completed the novitiate. Significant changes affected rhetoric and theology scholastics. The percentage of the former decreased from two-thirds of the entering members before 1650 to one-third in the first half of the 18th century. It was only in the last of the studied sub-periods that the number of teacher training college increased slightly, reaching 40%. In the field of theology, the percentage of students of casuistry fell from a quarter to below 10% in the second half of the 17th century, while the percentage of scholastic theology students increased to over half of the Jesuits in the first half of the 17th century and up to 80% in the first decades of the 18th century.²¹

¹⁹ Curiously, the Grand Marshal of Lithuania Joseph Scipio de Campo appointed Sebastian Litarowicz court chaplain in 1739 despite his close relations with Piarists.

²⁰ In the first years of the existence of the province, there is a record of a professor of casuistry not only in Nyasvizh, but also at Vilnius University, Braniewo and Pułtusk. In the academic year 1757/58, moral theology professors lectured in Braniewo, Kražiai, Warsaw and Vilnius (the university and papal alumnat). A course for scholastics was conducted in Navahrudak.

²¹ Jesuits who entered in the period 1741–1773 constitute an exception. The lower percentage of theology students compared to the earlier decades resulted from the dissolution of the Jesuit Order, which made many scholastics cease their studies.

Table 2. Studies completed after joining the Society

	Up to 1650		1651–1700		1701–1740		1741–1773		In total	
Number of clergy after finishing the novitiate	880		796		966		918		3560	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rhetoric	573	65.1	309	38.8	305	31.6	370	40.3	1557	43.7
Philosophy	695	79.0	673	84.5	756	78.3	741	80.7	2865	80.5
Scholastic theology	505	57.4	614	77.1	792	82.0	578	63.0	2489	70.0
Moral theology	245	27.8	65	8.2	21	2.2	27	2.9	358	10.0

Also noteworthy is combining the courses of moral theology with other disciplines of Jesuit *cursus studiorum*, i.e. with philosophy and scholastic theology.

In this respect, the unique character of the second half of the 17th century can be observed in comparison to the rest of the period considered. In the first half of the 17th and in the 18th centuries, the percentages of Jesuit students of moral theology who studied philosophy or scholastic theology in the Society were similar: nearly 70% of moral theologians studied philosophy, and one-quarter—scholastic theology.²² With regard to Jesuits who entered in the second half of the 17th century, both percentages were higher: 80% of Jesuit scholastics of moral theology had studied philosophy before, and 40%—moral theology. On the basis of these data, it can be concluded that despite the necessity to accelerate religious formation in order to compensate for the losses caused by the crisis of the second half of the 17th century, the programme of study course sequence of Jesuit scholastics was not determined in advance. Jesuits taking moral theology courses underwent a thorough selection and were tested during the earlier stages of their education.

²² With regard to the 245 Jesuits who entered before 1650 who studied casuistry, 62 had previously listened to at least part of the scholastic theology course, and 169 had listened to the philosophy course. Of the 48 Jesuits who joined in the 18th century who studied moral theology in the Society, 11 had previously listened to scholastic theology for at least a year, and 33 (69%) had even completed philosophical studies. As many as 27 out of these 33 people had completed a three-year philosophical course.

The influence of education on priestly ordination and the character of religious vows

The aim of the philosophical and theological studies was to prepare the scholastics for the priesthood. Due to an insufficient number of priests in many orders, scholastics were ordained priests before they completed their studies so as to engage them in pastoral work (Flaga 1998: 124–125). This phenomenon also affected the Society, yet it was never of great significance. As a rule, it was the ordinary or his representative who ordained priests (ARSI, Lithuania 58, c. 145, 158, 181, 192, 206r–v, 221, 245, 246, 262).²³ Regardless of who the consecrator was, the decision about the abilities of the candidate to be ordained as a priest belonged to the superiors. Attaching great importance to education, pastoral needs were not to distract and interfere in the educational process. Therefore it was prohibited to appoint theology scholastics of Vilnius University to pastoral work before they graduated (Piechnik 1984: 69). This prohibition against imposing additional duties on scholastics was not always obeyed.²⁴ In the Lithuanian Province, until the end of the 17th century, priestly ordinations took place during the fourth year of scholastic theology courses (Library KUL, no. 206, c. 111v; ARSI, Lithuania 56–II).²⁵ In the following century, a rule was adopted to consecrate priests in the third year of their studies. Apart from individual cases motivated by the outstanding abilities of a candidate, early priestly ordination only took place after great catastrophes that led to the deaths of many Jesuits, creating a necessity to rapidly ordain groups of priests (Załęski 1905: 154).²⁶ Education was accomplished earlier than religious formation, since after their theological studies, priests were appoint-

²³ Sometimes manuscript inventories of ordained priests were attached to annual catalogues.

²⁴ However, according to the personal catalogues, they had a subsidiary character, e.g. Vice-regens of seminary or Subminister.

²⁵ There were some exceptions. For instance, theology students at Vilnius University were ordained as early as their third year of studies in 1677/78 and 1682/83.

²⁶ For instance, in the years 1713–1715, scholastics at Vilnius University received their priestly ordination during the second year of their scholastic theology studies.

ed to pastoral work or teaching, which usually lasted at least a year, and then to their third probation. Not until this last stage did Jesuits make their final religious vows.

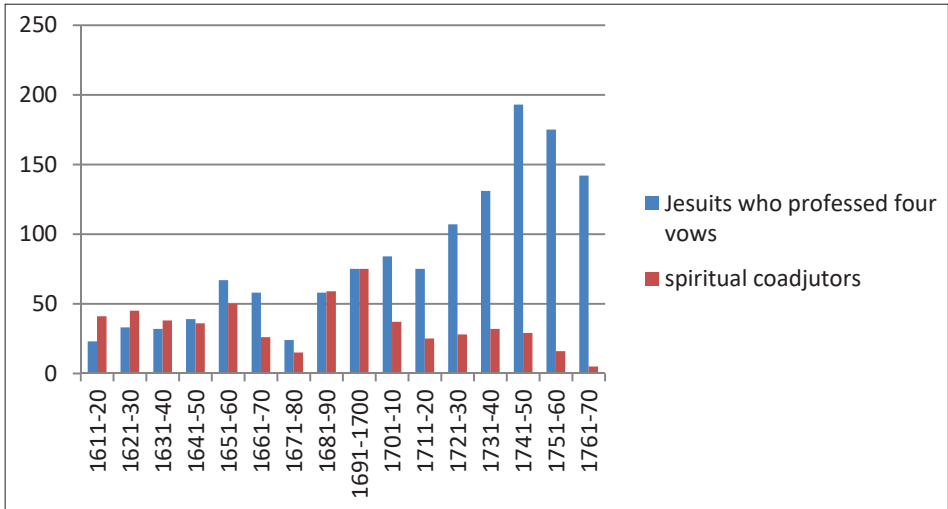
With regard to the vows, an increase in the number of Jesuits who made the fourth vow can be observed, at the expense of spiritual coadjutors. The phenomenon formed part of the general trend occurring in other European countries, which was closely related to the described changes in theological studies. As regards the Lithuanian Province, an increase in the importance of Jesuits professed of four vows did not happen in a linear manner (**Graph 5a/b**). In the first three decades of the existence of the province, the number of Jesuits who became spiritual coadjutors was higher than the number of those professed of four vows. The situation changed in the 40s of the 17th century. From then until the 60s, the predominance of those professed of four vows over spiritual coadjutors strengthened. A reversal of the trend happened in the last decades of the 17th century. The phenomenon can be explained in light of the existing situation in the province, which, after the crisis of the second half of the 17th century, had to rapidly restore its personnel. Shortening the period of education in the case of persons who were less gifted or allowing them to make three common vows fulfilled that need. This practice was applied not only to graduates of moral theology courses. Sometimes persons who did not complete their scholastic theology course also became spiritual.²⁷ On the other hand, in the 18th century, the ratio between those professed of four vows and spiritual coadjutors changed even more in favour of the former. In light of the existing situation in the second half of the 17th century, it should be observed that the role of spiritual coadjutors was not limited to modest tasks such as hearing confessions, teaching catechism, or conducting missions in the country. Many spiritual coadjutors even held the office of superior and therefore belonged to provincial congregations (Grzebiń 1996: 403, 684).²⁸

²⁷ Among the 178 spiritual coadjutors who made their final vows in the years 1701–1773, 127 studied scholastic theology.

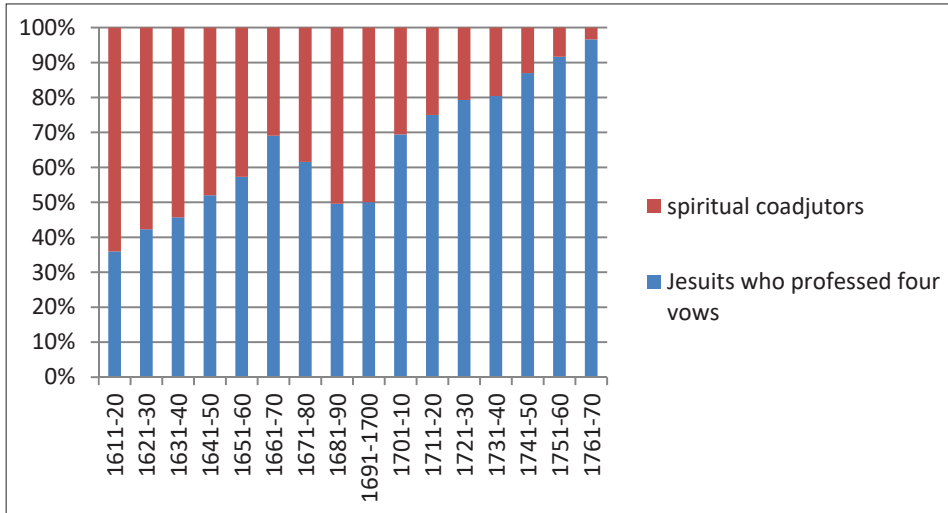
²⁸ For instance, Florian Malewski was Rector in Łomża (1658–1661) as well as in Polotsk (1670–1673 and 1676–1680), while Stanisław Tarnowiecki held the office of superior in Drohiczyn in the years 1677–1680. Both of them



Graph 5a: Number of Jesuits who professed four vows and the spiritual coadjutors



Graph 5b. Proportion between Jesuits who professed four vows and the spiritual coadjutors



The reform of Jesuit schools and Jesuit education

The mutual influence of the reform of Jesuit schools aimed at secular youth and the education of scholastics in the Order has not yet been thoroughly researched. In the Lithuanian Province, the restoration of Jesuit education began in the 30s of the 18th century. The process involved many factors: the expectations of a narrow elite of the nobility, who demanded an extension of the curriculum, the teaching experience gained by Jesuits in western Europe and under the Habsburg Monarchy, and competition with other Orders such as Piarists and Teatines (Grzebień 2001: 53–66). In practice, the reform of Jesuit education resulted not so much in the change of its structure but in its study content. Modern languages, history, geography as well as experimental physics complemented the curriculum of the *Ratio Studiorum*. With regard to the education of elites, a specific compromise was reached by the creation of gentry colleges (Puchowski 2007). On the one hand, implementing the Jesuit reform required properly prepared teaching staff; on the other hand, the candidates recruited from the reformed schools joined the Society with wider knowledge than their older colleagues. The percentage of consecrated youth who knew modern languages well is a clear indication of this phenomenon (Mariani 2017b: 105).²⁹

Among the changes that may be observed in the *cursus studiorum* of the Jesuits in the Lithuanian Province, the most essential one was the intensification in relations between foreign studies and the geographical mobility of Jesuits. The foreign studies of Jesuits, especially those in Rome, had a long tradition and fell within the wider context of the Italian educational journeys of Polish elites. Due to a poorly developed network of institutions, these journeys had particular significance in the initial decades of the activity of the Society on the territory of the First Polish Republic (Łukaszewska-Haberkowa 2013: 156–159). In spite of the more modest scale of the phenomenon compared with the Polish territory, scholastics were sent to

were also procurators of the Lithuanian Province in the years 1673–1676 and 1683–1685, respectively.

²⁹ See J. Poplatek, *Znajomość języków u jezuitów polskich w latach 1567–1599 i 1740–1770* (typescript in Archiwum Prowincji Polskiej Południowej Towarzystwa Jezusowego).

study in the Collegium Romanum in the first half of the 17th century (ARSI, Lituania 6, passim; Lituania 55, passim)³⁰ almost ceaselessly, even in the period of crisis in the second half of the century (ARSI, Lituania 55, passim).³¹ Only the catastrophes of the first decade of the 18th century halted the educational journeys of Jesuits for a dozen years. Foreign studies generated costs for the province, yet they brought considerable benefits since they guaranteed an awareness of the political and social realities of Roma Aeterna, which turned out to be valuable in their successive stays (Grzebień 1996: 92).³² Foreign studies were held in high esteem among Jesuits' families, who in the first half of the 18th century supported these undertakings, bearing in mind their religious careers (Grzebień 1996: 649).³³ Broadening the horizons of Lithuanian Jesuits, foreign journeys also gave rise to their intellectual ambitions, which were difficult to fulfil in the adverse economic conditions of the First Polish Republic in the second half of the 17th century. While the majority of Jesuits, undoubtedly, obeyed the decision of their superiors ordering them to return to Poland, some, like Adam Adamandy Kochański, applied for a maximum extension of their stay (Lisiak 2005: 52).

When the reform of Jesuit education was implemented, apart from an increase in the number of Jesuits sent to study abroad, a wider variety of destinations and study courses can also be observed. Apart from Rome (Collegium Romanum ARSI, Lituania 58, passim; Lituania 59, passim; Grzebień 1996: 359),³⁴ from the second

³⁰ Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski and Andrzej Rudomina (1622), Marcján Wituski (1634/35), Jan Młodzianowski and Władysław Rudziński (1646–1650) as well as Eliaż Downarowicz (1649/50) studied in Rome.

³¹ In the second half of the 17th century, Jan Godebski (1672–1675) and Adam Kmicic (1689–1691) studied theology in Rome.

³² For instance, Ignacy Chodźko studied theology in Rome in the years 1750–1753. Then he became the Polish penitentiary at St. Peter's Basilica.

³³ Marcin Załuski (1722/23), later a suffragan of Polotsk, and Paweł Stryjeński (1726–1729) studied in Rome.

³⁴ Franciszek Bohomolec and Michał Kiełpsz (1747–1749), Ignacy Chodźko (1750–1753), Józef Chrapowiecki (1750–1754), Stefan Łuski (1752–1755), Antoni Grotuz (1760–1763), Antoni Rymkiewicz and Mateusz Kisielewski (1771–1773) studied theology at the Collegium Romanum. Among the Jesuits of Mazovia Province, Gabriel Lenkiewicz studied architecture in Rome in the years 1762–1765.

half of the 18th century, the Jesuits of the Lithuanian Province also studied in Prague (Grzebień 1996: 54, 452, 519, 799),³⁵ Vienna (Grzebień 1996: 215, 395, 799)³⁶ and Graz (Grzebień 1996: 215)³⁷ as well as in Paris (ARSI, Lituania 58, *passim*),³⁸ Lyon (Grzebień 1996: 308, 317)³⁹ and Marseille (Grzebień 1996: 308).⁴⁰ Relations between Polish Jesuits and their counterparts from the Habsburg countries had a long tradition, which became apparent not only at the time when the first Jesuit institutions were established in the Polish territory, but also from the mutual help provided during the Thirty Years' War, when many Czech and Austrian Jesuits sought shelter in the Polish and Lithuanian provinces, as well as during the Polish-Russian and Polish-Swedish wars, when Jesuits migrated in the opposite direction (Tomczak 2019: 103).⁴¹

Foreign studies also had a considerable influence on the restoration of Jesuit education in the field of sciences. Lithuanian Jesuits held the Prague Jesuit community under the patronage of a prominent astronomer, Joseph Stepling, a founder of Prague University Observatory, in high regard. Thomas Żebrowski, who studied at the Observatory, initiated a similar institution after his return to Vilnius and became the first professor of the College of Mathematics for Jesuit scholastics (ARSI, Lituania 58, *passim*).⁴² The nobility, who contributed to financing their physics and mathematics studies, ac-

³⁵ Apart from Tomasz Żebrowski (1751/52), Jan Bohomolec, Kazimierz Naruszewicz and Marcin Poczobut studied mathematics in Prague in the years 1754–1756.

³⁶ Tomasz Żebrowski (1750/51), Stefan Łuskina (1750–1752) and Jan Hercyk (1759/60) studied in Rome.

³⁷ Jerzy Hercyk studied mathematics and theology in Graz (1756–1758).

³⁸ Stanisław Szadurski studied theology in Paris (1753–1756).

³⁹ Mikołaj Kossowski (1753/54) and Jerzy Koźmiński studied mathematics in Lyon (1756–1758).

⁴⁰ Mikołaj Kossowski continued his mathematics studies in Marseille (1754/55).

⁴¹ For more on the subject of Polish and Lithuanian Jesuits' visits to Prague, see Tomczak (2019).

⁴² In fact, Żebrowski was not the first mathematics student from the Lithuanian Province. In the years 1732–1734, Kazimierz Schultz, later mathematics professor in Vilnius (1739–1743) and Braniewo (1743–1745), studied in the Czech capital.

knowledge of the benefits of raising the level of Jesuits' education not only for the Order but for the entire country (Rossyjskij gosudarstvennij archiv drevnich aktov, f. 1603, op. 5, no. 1333, 70r-77r).⁴³ The arrival of a small group of 13 French Jesuits had a complementary significance for foreign studies. Some of them completed the education they had started in their homeland in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before the expulsion of the Order. Most of them were engaged in teaching modern languages, physics and mathematics in public schools or in boarding schools for the gentry (Bednarski 2003: 492–493).

The mathematics course was the only method of completion for the traditional Jesuit *cursus studiorum*. This one- or two-year course was aimed at scholastics who had graduated in philosophy. In the Lithuanian Province, the need to educate professional maths teachers had been recognised much earlier than the middle of the 18th century. It resulted not only from the prominence of Vilnius University, with its distinguished professors such as Oswald Kruger, but also from the expectations of local elites, who insisted on extending the range of the mathematics curriculum beyond the narrow boundaries that were established in the final version of the *Ratio Studiorum* (Lisiak 2003: 18–20). The creation of a mathematics course for Jesuit scholastics at Warsaw College in the years 1690–1692 is evidence of these efforts (Lisiak 2003: 66).⁴⁴ The course was not a priority, which is indicated not only by its short duration but also by the fact that two prominent professors of the Lithuanian Province, Wojciech Tytkowski and Adam Kochański, did not decide to conduct it. It was not until 1752/53 that the mathematics course appeared on a permanent basis in the *cursus studiorum* of Lithuanian Jesuits. The above-mentioned Tomasz Żebrowski was in charge of the Vilnius mathematics course until his premature death in 1758. Even though Żebrowski contributed to familiarising the young generation of Jesuits with sci-

⁴³ In the years 1761–1763, Marcin Poczobut and Kazimierz Naruszewicz went abroad owing to a scholarship granted by Michał Fryderyk and Aleksander August Czartoryski. The letters of the latter with the Lithuanian Provincial Kazimierz Przeciszewski have been preserved in the Russian State Historical Archive.

⁴⁴ Two Jesuits—Aleksander Sokolski and Jakub Bartsch—studied under the supervision of Stefan Kornieja.

entific achievements, in quantitative terms, the significance of the course was rather limited. Only 11 scholastics studied there in the years 1752–1758 (Lisiak 2003: 70). Their knowledge benefited their pedagogical work and in some cases was broadened through foreign journeys. After the death of Żebrowski, no mathematics scholastics were recorded in the annual catalogues of the Lithuanian Province. Nevertheless, Jakub Nalcjanowicz, Kazimierz Naruszewicz and Marcin Poczobut continued to teach that subject (Lisiak 2003: 57). Their students were philosophy scholastics. After 1759, Mazovia Province organised its own mathematics courses in Warsaw (1766–1770), Nesvizh (1770–1772) and Polotsk (1772–1773) (Lisiak 2003: 70–71). A specific characteristic of the newly established administrative unit of the Society was an architecture course, conducted by Gabriel Lenkiewicz in Polotsk in the years 1768–69 and 1771–72 (*Catalogus personarum et officiorum Provinciae Lituanae 1770*).⁴⁵

Despite maintaining the study structure specified in the *Ratio Studiorum*, the curriculum was modernised. It refers to the courses for secular youth as well as those aimed at Jesuit scholastics. Changes in the philosophy curriculum were particularly dynamic. Loyal to scholastic tradition, Jesuits attempted to reconcile it with the newest discoveries of experimental physics in the spirit of *philosophia recentiorum*. It is not only the achievements of prominent Jesuit authors connected with Vilnius University (Bargieł 1978; Bargieł 1980: 146–206) but also the content of archives of other colleges where philosophy was taught that gives an indication of the interpenetration of modern scientific theories into education (Mariani 2017a: 65–66).⁴⁶

In summary, changes in Jesuit education in the Lithuanian Province in the 17th and the 18th centuries should be evaluated positively. These changes are indications of the gradual unification of the cultural and educational level Jesuits attained both before and after joining the Society. In the first decades of the activity of St. Ignatius Loyola's order in the territory of the Commonwealth, members of the Society were characterised by their diverse origins and varied competences.

⁴⁵ The students belonged not only to the Mazovia Province but also to the Lithuanian Province: Antoni Rymkiewicz and Mateusz Kisielewski studied architecture in Polotsk in the school year 1770/71.

⁴⁶ An interesting phenomenon is the publications of Jesuits from the Austrian Province, referring to the trend of *philosophia recentiorum*.

However, over time, the model of education underwent some crystallisation: candidates were accepted on the completion of a rhetoric course and after their novitiate, they did a three-year philosophy course and a four-year scholastic theology course. In this context, the other parts of the Jesuit *cursus studiorum* lost their significance; for instance, a rhetoric course consolidating the level of knowledge obtained before entering the Society, as well as the teaching of moral theology, which was an option for the less-gifted Jesuits. An increase in the number of the professed of four vows at the expense of spiritual coadjutors formed part of the Europe-wide trend of change, which resulted from the wider availability of scholastic theology education. The phenomenon was significant not only in quantitative terms, but resulted from the gradual exclusion of spiritual coadjutors from the authorities of the Order. In this perspective, the question arises as to whether the diversity of origins, talents and career paths of the first generation of Jesuits constituted the Order's wealth, fostering its penetration of various social circles. However, it seems that owing to increasing uniformity in the education of the Society, the institution itself achieved much greater efficiency in the 18th century in comparison to the previous centuries.

The changes in education occurred depending on local circumstances. In this respect, the situation of the second half of the 18th century is significant, when the Polish-Russian and Polish-Swedish wars contributed to the reversal of the tendency, which had already had implications in the first decades of the century. The above mentioned tendency refers mainly to the role of spiritual coadjutors, whose value, in the period of reconstruction, was acknowledged due to their exceptional commitment to pastoral work. It was not until the normalisation of the situation in the Lithuanian Province after the Great Northern War that the restoration of personnel got back on the right track, simultaneously with which transformations in other European administrative units were taking place.

A reform of religious education was also reflected in Jesuit education. Due to the fact that the majority of novices were recruited from the alumni of Jesuit schools, the modernisation of curriculum had a direct impact on the competences with which the youth were provided at the time of starting their religious formation. From the 40s of the 18th century onwards, both an appreciation of traditional

elements as well as the appearance of novelties may be observed. Among the former, there was concern about the teacher-training college, an integral part of the accomplishment of school reforms. On the other hand, the mathematics course was a novelty for Jesuit scholastics. Although the course involved prolonging the period of education, the order benefited from it by gaining teachers with excellent preparation, especially through the teaching of foreign languages in boarding schools for the gentry. The mathematics course was part of the wider trend of changes that resulted in engaging theology scholastics in teaching, especially foreign languages and mathematical sciences in boarding schools for the gentry. The tendency to prolong the period of pedagogical work before being ordained to the priesthood was not a typical feature of the Lithuanian Province (Thompson 2018: 40–41).⁴⁷ In terms of an administrative unit, this is not a symptom of a crisis but evidence of the still significant influence of Jesuits on the education of elites.

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⁴⁷ The situation was similar in the French Province, where those who were not yet professed were substitute teachers of a diminishing number of priests.

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