DOI:10.17951/rh.2023.56.181-203

Aleksandra Ziober

(University of Wrocław, Poland) https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6195-0638 e-mail: aleksandra.ziober@uwr.edu.pl

Educational Travels of the Elite of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to German Reich in the First Half of 17th Century. The Case of Selected Representatives of the Sapieha Family

Podróże edukacyjne elit Rzeczypospolitej do Rzeszy Niemieckiej w pierwszej połowie XVII w. Przypadki wybranych przedstawicieli rodu Sapiehów

ABSTRACT

From the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, trips to foreign countries were one of the most popular ways to broaden intellectual horizons, gain knowledge of the world and receive a good education. The magnates sent their sons on these very expensive expeditions to provide them with good preparation for a political career, and

PUBLICATION INFO e-ISSN: 2449-8467 ISSN: 2082-6060 THE AUTHOR'S ADDRESS: Aleksandra Ziober, the Historical Institute of the University of Wrocław, 49 Szewska Street, Wrocław 50-139, Poland SOURCE OF FUNDING: The article was made as a result of research conducted as part of SONATA 17 project titled Social and economic clientele of Jan Stanisław Sapieha. A study of the history of factions in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (project no. UMO-2016/23/N/HS3/00679) financed by the National Science Centre in Kraków SUBMITTED: ACCEPTED: PUBLISHED ONLINE: 2022.01.07 2023.01.21 2023.12.21 **EDITORIAL** WEBSITE OF THE JOURNAL: Crossref do COMMITTEE E-mail: https://journals.umcs.pl/rh reshistorica@umcs.pl DIRECTORY OF **OPEN ACCESS**

JOURNALS

so were the representatives of the wealthiest families of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, including the Sapieha family. The voivode of Vilnius, Lew, paid particular attention to the education of his children. His sons were educated at the most important universities, primarily in the German Reich, and participated in classes led by outstanding scholars of that period. It is worth noting that Sapieha also took care of the education of his relatives: the children of the deceased voivode of Vitebsk, Mikołaj, and the Chamberlain of Orsza, Hrehory Iwanowicz, whom he supervised. It is also noteworthy that representatives of the Sapieha Kodeń line also tried to provide the best education for their children, and despite not having as many financial resources and political influence as the voivode of Vilnius, they sent their sons to study abroad too.

Key words: educational travels, education, Sapieha, Grand Duchy of Lithuania

STRESZCZENIE

Od przełomu XVI i XVII w. wyjazdy za granicę były jednym z najpopularniejszych sposobów poszerzania horyzontów intelektualnych, zdobywania wiedzy o świecie i dobrego wykształcenia. Na te bardzo kosztowne wyprawy magnaci wysyłali swoich synów, aby zapewnić im dobre przygotowanie do kariery politycznej, podobnie jak przedstawiciele najbogatszych rodów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, w tym Sapiehowie. Wojewoda wileński Lew zwracał szczególną uwagę na edukację swoich dzieci. Jego synowie kształcili się na najważniejszych europejskich uczelniach, przede wszystkim w Rzeszy Niemieckiej, i uczestniczyli w zajęciach prowadzonych przez wybitnych uczonych tego okresu. Trzeba dodać, że Sapieha dbał także o edukację swoich bliższych i dalszych krewnych, warto w tym miejscu wspomnieć przynajmniej o dzieciach zmarłego wojewody witebskiego Mikołaja oraz podkomorzego orszańskiego Hrehorego Iwanowicza. Na uwagę zasługuje również fakt, że przedstawiciele linii Sapiehów Kodeńskich także starali się zapewnić swoim synom jak najlepsze wykształcenie i mimo braku odpowiednich środków finansowych i wpływów politycznych wysyłali ich na studia za granicę, a działania te aktywnie wspierał wojewoda wileński.

Słowa kluczowe: podróże edukacyjne, edukacja, Sapiehowie, Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie

From the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, educational trips abroad began to enjoy popularity among the noble elites of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They were to serve primarily as a supplement to the education acquired in the country, learn about Western European culture, broaden intellectual horizons, gain knowledge about the world, and to get a good education. It should be emphasized, however, that it was not only about sitting at university benches, listening to lectures, or receiving private lessons. What was equally important, it was to gain more practical skills, such as knowledge of foreign cultures and watching how European aristocratic manors functioned. The noblemen of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth spared no money for these costly expeditions and sent their sons abroad to provide them with good preparation for a political career.

This type of education was provided to children by the representatives of the wealthiest families of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – Radziwiłł,

Chodkiewicz, and Sapieha. Particularly, a lot of space in the literature is devoted to the travels of members of the Radziwiłł family, so it is worth reviewing the educational trips of another family – the Sapiehas of the Kodeń and Różany lines. This topic has not yet been met with the interest of researchers. In this context, it may be interesting as to what role in the education of the Sapiehas was played by universities in the German Reich, which in the first half of the 17th century enjoyed great popularity. Another step in analysis will be to indicate if and how the education received abroad could have influenced the careers of the representatives of said family. In this context, the educational journeys to Germany of selected members of the Sapieha family will be analyzed, including the sons of the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, Grand Hetman of Lithuania, Voivode of Vilnius – Lew, Voivode of Vitebsk – Mikołaj, Voivode of Nowogródek – Mikołaj, Chamberlain of Orsza – Hrehory Iwanowicz and Chamberlain of Włodzimierz – Fryderyk.

REASONS FOR UNDERTAKING EDUCATIONAL TRIPS BY THE NOBILITY OF THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH IN THE FARLY MODERN PERIOD

The journeys of youth and adults from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Europe experienced an increase from the mid-16th century. In this period, favorable circumstances appeared that allowed for greater mobility, and the desire to explore the world was still alive. At that time, people also began to create textbooks that showed how to travel "with benefit". In one of them (*De arte peregrinandi*) it was written: "The journey is the difficulty of watching and exploring foreign lands, and this effort will not be undertaken by just anyone" (author's translation)². Even though the travels were very expensive and quite risky, they were very popular, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries. The curiosity of the world, as well as humanistic trends, effectively influenced the mentality of the nobility, and educational trips became a permanent part of the concept of teaching. The issue of prestige, which was obtained after returning to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, played a very important role here³.

¹ W. Czapliński, J. Długosz, *Podróż młodego magnata do szkół*, Warszawa 1969, s. 26.

Ibidem. s. 27.

³ W. Tygielski, Peregrinatio academica czy Grand Tour? Podróże "do szkół" w systemie edukacji staropolskiej, w: Kolegium i wspólnota akademicka w tradycji europejskiej i amerykańskiej, red. M. O'Connor, P. Wilczek, Boston–Warszawa 2011, s. 319–320.

Education and knowledge about the world could be gained in various ways, one of them was traveling abroad. These were organized expeditions, and the young nobleman set off on it with a group of servants (the number depended on the family's wealth) and the guardian of the expedition, the so-called preceptor. He conducted the stages of the pupil's education, informed his father about the progress, which fulfilled his will. The preceptor also had to be experienced in traveling abroad. Therefore, the most frequently chosen person for this role was someone who had already stayed in a specific country⁴. As a result, the main purpose of educational journeys was to gain or deepen the knowledge already possessed⁵. Education abroad was often undertaken due to dissatisfaction with the level of domestic education; it was also believed that people "attached" to the lands were less knowledgeable⁶.

A teenage boy (12–14 years) was considered the ideal age for a trip. This should not come as a surprise, because young people matured faster than they are now, and young noblemen took part in public and political life more than once after the age of 10. An example is Krzysztof Pac, who, at the age of 10, took part in the sessions of the sejmik in Mińsk⁷.

However, what was expected of young people returning from foreign education? What skills and knowledge were they going to get there? In a way, the answers to these questions can be found in the parental instructions, which were to be a guide for both the sons and the preceptor with whom they set out on their journey. This information was detailed and corrected in the correspondence exchanged during the journey. In addition to the general calls for commitment to learning, diligence, and restraint, there are also precise guidelines for education. The most frequent information was on language learning, rhetoric, law, political, and historical reading. Sciences such as mathematics, geometry, geography, and astronomy were also mentioned. An important role was also played by exercises that were to prepare for future service in the army, e.g. horse riding, fencing, and saber fighting⁸. It is worth quoting Wojciech Tygielski, who said: "So we are dealing with a specific combination of legal and historical erudition – especially useful in public discourse – knowledge

⁴ W. Czapliński, J. Długosz, op. cit., s. 26, 31; D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, Podróże edukacyjne w staropolskiej myśli pedagogicznej, "Chowanna" 1998, 61, 2, s. 32; F. Wolański, Europa jako punkt odniesienia dla postrzegania przestrzeni geograficznej przez szlachtę polską osiemnastego wieku w świetle relacji podróżniczych i geograficznych, Wrocław 2002, s. 93.

⁵ W. Czapliński, J. Długosz, op. cit., s. 26; D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, *Podróże edukacyjne w starpolskiej*, s. 32; F. Wolański, op. cit., s. 93.

⁶ D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, *Podróże edukacyjne w staropolskiej*, s. 33.

W. Czapliński, J. Długosz, op. cit., s. 31.

⁸ *Ibidem*, s. 27, 28–31; W. Tygielski, op. cit., s. 320–321.

of exact sciences and qualifications, which we would describe as fitness and social" (author's translation; original in Polish)⁹.

Travel abroad thus combined several basic elements, including school education, self-education, practice, and observation. One of the main motivations for taking up the trip were extra-curricular, out-of-school elements. Many travelers emphasize in their memoirs that they are bored with sitting on university benches and that they enjoy acquiring practical skills more¹⁰.

There are two basic types of educational travels. The first one were trips aimed at studying in foreign schools and universities. Generally, they are called *peregrinatio academica*, i.e. in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth simply travels to study, academic journeys. It is believed that such trips prevaled in the Middle Ages and at the beginning of the 15th century. Therefore, they mainly consisted in studies at foreign universities, they shaped the ideal of an educated person, a humanist¹¹.

However, this type of thinking changed after some time, and at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, the nobility of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth began to demand a different education for their sons. Although studies at the university still had their place in the curriculum, they were not as long as before. Only the elements that corresponded to the needs of the nobility and prepare them for future functions, mainly politicians and diplomats, were selected. This type of education was supplemented with practical exercises, e.g. horse riding, fencing¹².

Therefore, the second type of peregrinations was developed, which were undertaken to get to know the world and people, as well as their customs and culture. Learning foreign languages remained an important goal. Trips of this type can be called "tourist" travels because they also focused on seeing the most important places in the visited countries. Generally, this type of trip is called a *Grand Tour* (this term was developed and used more often in the second half of the 17th century). However, as in the case of *peregrinatio academica*, they were not only about sitting on the school benches, but about getting to know the world in practice¹³.

^{9 &}quot;Mamy więc do czynienia ze specyficzną kombinacją erudycji prawno-historycznej – szczególnie przydatnej w dyskursie publicznym – wiedzy z zakresu nauk o ścisłym charakterze oraz kwalifikacji, które określilibyśmy mianem sprawnościowo-towarzyskich". W. Tygielski, op. cit., s. 321.

¹⁰ D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, *Podróże edukacyjne w staropolskiej*, s. 33.

¹¹ Ibidem, s. 34.

¹² D. Żołądź, *Podróże edukacyjne XVI i XVII wieku – próba typologii*, "Biuletyn Historii Wychowania" 2019, 1, s. 9.

D. Żołądź, Podróże edukacyjne w staropolskiej, s. 33; W. Tygielski, op. cit., s. 332–333.

It is worth noting that a similar division also appeared in German, where we deal with *Ausbildungsreise* (emphasis on education) and *Bildungsreise* (the need to acquire general manners)¹⁴.

Educational travel was both encouraged and discouraged¹⁵. They were recommended primarily as a means of acquiring knowledge and skills that were to be mainly useful in holding later political functions. As a result, they were concerned about acquiring qualifications useful in public life. So, first of all, nobility wanted to prepare their sons for future parliamentary functions (at various levels of the local government system) or court functions - both at the court of the nobility and the king. Of course, the most lucrative and prestigious, and therefore desirable, was service at the royal court. Therefore, young noblemen often visited foreign centers of power, e.g. princes or rulers, where they were to learn foreign customs and traditions, habits, social nuances, conduct conversations, and to simply meet new people. Also, the journeys were to instill proper manners in young people and contribute to the development of their personality, which was also used in politics, but also in the administration of goods, military activities, and everyday life. It, therefore, seems that an important change took place in the 16th and 17th centuries, where the need to adopt social and political manners became more vital than the knowledge that could be obtained in the school benches of foreign universities¹⁶.

Despite the fact that foreign trips were very popular among the Polish and Lithuanian nobility, neither a uniform curriculum, the best route of educational travels, or teaching subject had ever been developed¹⁷. It was certainly recommended to visit Vienna, Paris, and numerous centers in Italy, as well as Leuven, which was an important location for Polish-Lithuanian youth¹⁸.

GERMAN REICH AS AN EDUCATIONAL TRAVEL DESTINATION OF THE NOBILITY OF THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 17TH CENTURY

Germany was most often visited during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation period due to the numerous transformations that took place

¹⁴ A. Mączak, Peregrynacje. Wojaże. Turystyka, Warszawa 2001, s. 137, 142.

¹⁵ W. Tygielski, op. cit., s. 320.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, s. 322–323; W. Czapliński, J. Długosz, op. cit., s. 26–27; D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, *Podróże edukacyjne w staropolskiej*, s. 34.

D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, Podróże edukacyjne w staropolskiej, s. 34.

¹⁸ W. Tygielski, op. cit., s. 324, 326.

at its universities. In the second half of the 16th century, when Catholicism emerged victorious in some parts of the country, many local schools were run by the Jesuits. Information quickly spread throughout the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that the schools they ran held an exceptionally high standards. Therefore, the nobility began to send their sons there for education, and Polish and Lithuanian youth were very eagerly educated in the centers run by Jesuits¹⁹. The universities of Ingolstadt, Dillingen, and Würzburg were especially popular²⁰. A huge advantage of German universities was also their proximity, which significantly reduced the incurred costs. Famous professors Filip Melanchthon, Jan Sturm, and many others also boosted the attractiveness of the local universities²¹.

Some saw the trip to Germany as one of the stages of foreign education. This was the opinion of, among others, Hieronim Baliński, who in his treatise "De educatione pueri nobiles" from 1598 emphasized that after the age of 12, every young man should go to this country to get used to drinking wine and beer. There he should also learn languages and acquire good manners. Later, he was to continue his journey to Italy²². The issue of the acquisition of the German language seemed particularly important for young magnates who wanted to pursue a career at the royal court of the Vasa in the late 16th and first half of the 17th century, but also in diplomacy. Both wives of Zygmunt III (Constance of Austria, Anne of Austria) and Władysław IV (Cecylia Renata of Austria) were Austrians. Therefore, the ability to use the German language could have a huge impact on the development of a political career²³.

However, not everyone supported travel to Germany. Sebastian Petrycy from Pilzno believed, for example, that they can do a lot of damage, especially in terms of faith²⁴. He also denied that a Polish and Lithuanian noble must learn German, because Latin would be enough: "That the nobility sends their children to Germany is a vain item, and a great neglect to acquire another thing. I am speaking of a vain effort: the German is unnecessary for nobility. If legations are made in Germany, Latin is much more handsome for all common nations than German. Second,

¹⁹ D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, Peregrinatio academica studia młodzieży polskiej z Korony i Litwy na akademiach i uniwersytetach niemieckich w XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku, Poznań 1996, s. 24; D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, Polacy z Korony i Litwy na studiach w jezuickim Würzburgu (1582–1630), "Biuletyn Historii Wychowania" 1996, 102, s. 5; D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, Podróże edukacyjne w staropolskiej, s. 33; W. Czapliński, J. Długosz, op. cit., s. 28.

²⁰ D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, *Polacy*, s. 6.

²¹ Eadem, *Peregrinatio*, s. 30.

²² Eadem, *Podróże edukacyjne w staropolskiej*, s. 35–36.

²³ *Ibidem*, s. 38; eadem, *Peregrinatio*, s. 28–29.

²⁴ Eadem, Podróże edukacyjne w staropolskiej, s. 42.

the Germans never celebrate legations with us in Polish, only in Latin, and why shouldn't we do the same? It is great to dwell for better things in the German nobility, because our customs are very opposed to their customs: they will not agree but for drunkenness"²⁵.

The confession was one of the most important reasons for choosing a foreign school²⁶. As a result, opinions on leaving for Germany were divided, especially during the Reformation. They were feared primarily for religious reasons, and they were often accused of spreading Protestantism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Sometimes, even while traveling, the nobility changed their religion²⁷.

Germany often constituted one of the stages, often the first one, of the journey of young people from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. From there, they set off towards Italy, France, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Sometimes it also happened that they would briefly return to the Commonwealth, and then embark on a further journey to other European countries²⁸.

At the time that interests us the most (the first half of the 17th century), German universities are characterized by the development in terms of rivalry between the Reformation and Catholicism. In this spirit, even new schools were founded, an example of which is the Catholic Giessen, which was supposed to be a counterweight to Marburg. On the other hand, it also influenced the ambitions of individual princes, as each of them wanted to have a renowned university. Thus, it influenced the overall development of the school network in Germany, as well as raising the level of education. For example, from the mid-16th century to the middle of the next century, as many as 15 universities were established, as well as schools that later become universities. At that time, the already older academic centers run by the Jesuits (e.g. Dillingen, Freiburg, Ingolstadt, Würzburg, etc.) began to operate more dynamically, whose main task

²⁵ "Co szlachta śle dzieci do Niemiec, jest rzecz próżnego nakładu i do inszej rzeczy nabycia wielkie omieszkanie. Próżnego mówię nakładu: język niemiecki szlachcie jest niepotrzebny. Jeśli legacje odprawować w Niemcech, daleko przystojniej łacińskim językiem, jako wszytkim narodom spólnym, niźli niemieckim odprawować. Druga, Niemcy u nas nigdy polskim językiem legacjej nie odprawują, jeno łacińskim, a czemu byśmy też nie mieli toż czynić. Jest omieszkanie wielkie do lepszych rzeczy w Niemcech szlachcie mieszkać, iż nasze obyczaje z ich obyczajami są barzo przeciwne: nie zgodzą się, jedno w pijaństwie". Cf. ibidem, s. 42.

²⁶ Eadem, Peregrinatio, s. 25–26.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, s. 25.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, s. 31.

was to raise their educational level, and thus attract new students, as well as expand the influence of Catholicism²⁹.

EDUCATIONAL TRAVELS OF SELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SAPIEHA FAMILY IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XVII CENTURY

The Great Lithuanian Chancellor Lew Sapieha paid great attention to the education of his sons. This was noted by the Polish historian Marian Chachaj who stated that: "The Radziwiłłs did not always match the thoroughness of the education received abroad by representatives of the remaining magnate families of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, even Sapiehas – the sons of the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania"30. It should be emphasized that Lew Sapieha was aware of the role that good education plays in the life of a future politician, and therefore he took care of the progress of his sons – Jan Stanisław, Kazimierz Leon and Krzysztof Mikołaj. It should be emphasized that such educational trips were not the cheapest, which confirms the determination of the father of young nobles. Each of the sons made a trip abroad, which lasted several years, and during travel they visited several academic centers. Jan Stanisław stayed abroad for educational purposes for a total of 2 years (1606–1608), but was still sent on several other educational travels after that; the other sons of Lew Sapieha traveled much longer, eight years in total, with a few breaks (1621–1629)³¹.

The first to go on a foreign trip was Jan Stanisław, however, he began his education at the Vilnius Academy (1599–1600). His preceptor there probably where Mikołaj Łęczyński. Young magnates traveled mainly in a group, as was also in the case of the eldest son of the Vilnius voivode, which was accompanied by his cousin Krzysztof Stefan. They

²⁹ *Ibidem*, s. 41.

³⁰ "Radziwiłłowie nie zawsze dorównywali gruntownością otrzymanego za granicą wykształcenia przedstawicielom pozostałych rodów magnackich Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, choćby Sapiehom – synom kanclerza wielkiego litewskiego Lwa". M. Chachaj, Zagraniczna edukacja Radziwiłłów od początku XVI do połowy XVII wieku, Lublin 1995, s. 100.

³¹ Among others: Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені В.Стефаника [dalej: LNNBU], fond 103, vol. 7, nr 935, nlb., L. Sapieha to J.S. Sapieha, 17 XI 1628, Bauska; A. Ziober, Korespondencja rodzinna Sapiehów z czasów wyjazdów zagranicznych Jana Stanisława, Kazimierza Leona i Krzysztofa Mikołaja w latach 1627–1630. Wybrane zagadnienia, w: Epistolografia w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, red. P. Borek, M. Olma, Kraków 2015, s. 67–80; eadem, Korespondencja Kazimierza Leona i Mikołaja Krzysztofa Sapiehów z podróży w latach 1625–1627. Wybrane aspekty, w: Egodokumenty. Tradycje historiograficzne i perspektywy badawcze, red. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Pacevičius, S. Roszak, Toruń 2015, s. 43–56.

left in in 1606, and at the beginning of this year, they matriculated at university in Würzburg. Unfortunately the young Sapiehas did not sign the matriculation books there, which was quite common. It was similar, for example in case of the nephews of Radziwiłł Sierotka, over whom he supervised – Mikołaj Krzysztof and Albrycht Stanisław³². Jan Stanislaw studied in Würzburg until September of 1607³³.

The University of Würzburg was founded in 1402 by Bishop Johann von Egloffstein. However, this foundation collapsed and the university was reopened in 1582 thanks to the activities of Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn. At that time, it consisted of four faculties: philosophy, law, medicine, and theology. At the end of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century, the University of Würzburg was the center of German humanism, and the second most important center of Catholic reform in the country, right after Bavaria. In addition, the level of education was very high. These factors influenced the international character of the Franconian educational center, where young people from the Netherlands, France, England, and Scotland studied. Moreover, the university was very popular among the nobility from the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth³⁴.

The choice of this university by Lew Sapieha for his son could be due to several reasons. Firstly, the university in Würzburg was certainly cheaper than, for example, its respective schools in Munich, and secondly, the faculties were run by Jesuits, which would be somewhat a continuation of the study that Jan Stanisław had received earlier. Also, both sciences and humanities taught there enjoyed a very good reputation³⁵.

Due to the fact that the diary of Jan Stanisław Sapieha's travels has not been preserved (or has not been found or prepared at all), the most important source is the correspondence from the time of his journey. On one hand, these will of course be the letters of the young magnate himself, but interesting information (in a way more objective) can be found in the messeges of his preceptors Wawrzyniec Kosmowski and Stefan Pac. Their main task, of course, was to take care of Sapieha's educational progress, but also to inform his father about them. Much space was devoted to the health problems of Jan Stanisław, which began to manifest

³² H. Lulewicz, *Sapieha Jan Stanisław*, w: *Polski słownik biograficzny* [dalej: *PSB*], t. 34, red. H. Markiewicz, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1992–1993, s. 624; M. Chachaj, *Zagraniczna*, s. 66.

³³ H. Lulewicz, op. cit., s. 624.

³⁴ L. Kozieł, *Polscy studenci na uniwersytecie w Würzburgu w XVI i XVII w. – studium statystyczne*, "Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty" 1997, 38, s. 27–28; M. Chachaj, *Zagraniczna*, s. 67; D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, *Peregrinatio*, s. 42.

³⁵ A. Goszczyński, *Podróże edukacyjne Jana Stanisława Sapiehy* (1589–1635), w: Wielkie rody dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, red. T. Ciesielski, M. Sawicki, Opole 2018, s. 396–397.

themselves during his stay at university in Würzburg and accompanied him until his death³⁶.

The first letter about this subject comes from February 17, 1607. Wawrzyniec Kosmowski informed Lew Sapieha that his eldest son, on February 9, felt bad while attending a public lecture. The disease reveals itself by cold, headache, and fever. Later, other symptoms joined in, such as chest and throat pains. The medic only diagnosed a runny nose and gave the appropriate medicine. These, however, resulted in stomach convulsions and nosebleeds. Concerned about the situation, the preceptor was asking the residents of Würzburg what could have led to Sapieha's poor health. They believed that the local air harmed the citizens of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This was due to the location of the village between the mountains, and therefore the air did not have adequate flow. The city was often covered in fog. In addition, it was thought that calcium was contaminating the water there. The whole situation showed, however, how weak Sapieha's body was, which even the smallest cold could have caused a threat to his life³⁷. In this letter, Kosmowski also suggested that it would be beneficial for Jan Stanisław to change the place of teaching. It would not adversely affect Sapieha's education either, because he was already finishing a course in Roman law, and he could learn other things elsewhere. Jan Stanisław recovered quite quickly, and Kosmowski informed Lew Sapieha about this on 23 March³⁸.

It is also worth quoting a fragment of the preceptor's letter in which he describes his conversation with the parson of Olszany known as Krasnodowski. It concerned the level of education at German universities. The priest was to be surprised that Sapieha sent his son to Würzburg because Munich could boast outstanding personalities and low living costs at that time. Krasnodowski probably convinced Kosmowski of his opinion, because he insisted in a letter to Lew Sapieha to transfer Jan Stanisław to Munich³⁹.

After stay in Würzburg, the oldest son of Lew Sapieha went on a further journey to Paris, due to issues with "bad air" and stayed in Frankfurt am Main. When he came to the French capital he became a student very famous Sorbonne professor Isaac Casaubonus who was under custody

³⁶ More about Jan Stanisław and his illness: A. Ziober, *Od autorytetu do szaleństwa – rola Jana Stanisława Sapiehy w rodzinie*, "Wiadomości Historyczne z Wiedzą o Społeczeństwie" 2017, 6, s. 15–19. The issues raised in the letters were thoroughly discussed by A. Goszczyński: idem, *Podróże*, s. 391–410.

³⁷ A. Goszczyński, *op. cit.*, s. 397–398.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, s. 398–399.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, s. 399.

of King Henry IV⁴⁰. Before returning to the homeland, Jan Stanisław stayed for some time in Nuremberg and Leuven, where he likely learned horse riding and fencing. Sapieha's educational journey ended in 1608, when he returned to the Commonwealth.

At this stage, however, the education of Jan Stanisław was not over. At the turn of 1611 and 1612, he set out on a journey once again, and attended the University of Ingolstadt, which was a frequent destination of Polish and Lithuanian youth⁴¹. The University of Ingolstadt at that time was partially dominated by the Jesuits, who gradually, from the middle of the 16th century, gained more and more influence in the academy, initially by controlling the college⁴². The University of Ingolstadt was founded as the first school of this kind in Bavaria in 1472 by Prince Louis IX the Rich, and it was modeled on the university in Vienna. Four faculties (art, theology, law, and medical) had been established. During the Reformation, the university experienced a decline in popularity and times of crisis. It ended with the arrival of the Jesuits in the middle of the 16th century. Gradually, the number of students in the city grew. The University of Ingolstadt was popular among young people from Switzerland, Bohemia and Moravia, France, and Italy⁴³. During the Counter-Reformation, it was one of the most visited universities by the nobility from the Polish-Lithuanian state (663 students from the Republic of Poland appeared here in the years 1472–1800)⁴⁴. However, it was the most popular among the Germans⁴⁵.

It can be assumed that, as in the case of the university in Würzburg, this choice was determined by the Jesuit character of the school. Jan Stanisław quickly began to complain about the air in this area and asked for the possibility of returning to Lithuania. This must have caused consternation to Lew Sapieha, who, fearing for his son's health, allowed his return to the country. However, he decided to take care of Jan Stanisław's education in a different way and sent him again on a more practical journey, both diplomatic and educational. After the death of Emperor

⁴⁰ Die Matrikel der Universität Würzburg Erster teil, Erste Hälfte, München und Leipzig 1922; H. Lulewicz, op. cit., s. 624; Isaac Casaubon, w: Encyclopaedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Isaac-Casaubon#accordion-article-history [dostęp: 7.01.2022].

⁴¹ D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, Peregrinatio, s. 41–42; M. Chachaj, Zagraniczna, s. 56.

⁴² D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, Peregrinatio, s. 41–42; M. Chachaj, Zagraniczna, s. 56.

⁴³ W. Wüst, *Universelles Studieren in Spätmittelalter und Fruhmoderne? Polen (Krakau) und Suädeutschland (Altdorf, Dillingen, Erlangen, Ingolstadt und Würzburg) im Vergleich,* "Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej/Bulletin der Polnischen Historischen Mission" 2020, 15, s. 78–79; D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, *Peregrinatio*, s. 125–126.

⁴⁴ D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, Peregrinatio, s. 125; W. Wüst, op. cit., s. 78–79.

⁴⁵ W. Wüst, op. cit., s. 78–79.

Rudolf II, his successor was soon expected to be crowned. Therefore, Lew Sapieha arranged for letters of recommendation for his son from King Zygmunt III Waza, so that he could take part in this ceremony. While this kind of trip was not aimed at sitting on university benches and listening to lectures, it brought more indirect effects. The traveler learned the skill of tracing between coterie, obtained refinement and knowledge of how to establish a conversation. Therefore, this kind of trip prepared Jan Stanisław to perform the most important political functions in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth⁴⁶.

The nature of this trip was much open and Jan Stanisław could make his own decisions about which direction he was going to go. For example, when he learned about the delay in the emperor's coronation due to the death of the Cologne elector Ernest Wittelsbach, he decided to go to Cieplice and various cities in Hessen, where he probably established political contacts with the princes. After attending the coronation ceremony of the emperor, Sapieha went towards Italy⁴⁷.

Lew Sapieha also took care of foreign education of his younger sons – Kazimierz Leon and Krzysztof Mikołaj. They embarked on it after completing their education at the Vilnius Academy in autumn of 1621. Kasper Cetner became their guardian. During the trip they stopped, among others, in Lipsk (they arrived here on November 17, 1621), where they stayed for several days for "better safety, having gathered, we'll go to Munich", which university was their final destination⁴⁸. The visit to Leipzig was not associated in any way with the local university⁴⁹, which was Protestant at that time. In 1588, Leipzig no longer required a confession to be entered in the university books. Gradually, the influence of Calvinism strengthened at the university, but also religious tolerance became common. At the time when Christian II took the throne, the university began

⁴⁶ A. Goszczyński, op. cit., s. 402–404.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, s. 405.

⁴⁸ LNNBU, dz. I, teka II, nr 222, nlb., K.L. and K.M. Sapiehas to L. Sapieha, 18 XI 1621, Leipzig.

⁴⁹ The University of Leipzig was established in 1409, and in the mid-16th century it enjoyed relative popularity among the inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was probably largely influenced by it being located close to the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian state. It often happened that in Leipzig there were people who wanted to study at the Protestant University of Wittenberg, but were afraid to reveal their religious preferences. So they matriculated in Leipzig and attended their studies in Wittenberg. D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, *Peregrinatio*, s. 131. Record of students in Leipzig, including the Republic of Poland, until 1600: *Metrica nec non liber nationis Polonicae Universitatis Lipsiensis ab anno 1409 usque ad 1600*, wyd. S. Tomkowicz, *Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce*, t. 2, Kraków 1882.

to lose its autonomy, and the Lutherans gained more and more influence⁵⁰. So it should not be a surprise that Lew Sapieha did not choose Leipzig as a place of education for both of his sons and relatives.

Later, Kazimierz Leon and Krzysztof Mikołaj were invited by the Saxon prince John Casimir himself to visit Coburg. They claimed that "he was happy with your [Lew Sapieha – A. Z.] letters and knew that you were promoting his case in Warsaw". Brothers also stay in Nuremberg, where they were solemnly greeted by the local city council "with various wine"⁵¹, after that they also visited Augsburg⁵².

In the capital of Bayern, Kazimierz Leon and Krzysztof Mikołaj take lessons about humanism and rhetoric at a Jesuit college. They also participated in private lessons in Latin and German languages. In one of their letters to their father, they said that they were very much used to studying with the Jesuits. Krzysztof Mikołaj wrote about "understanding styles" and history, and in the future he intended to learn rhetoric⁵³. In Munich, they also visited with various Bavarian princes⁵⁴. In a letter from February 5, they confirmed that they diligently study not only at the Jesuit school but also at home by receiving private lessons in Latin and German and do not waste time on laziness⁵⁵.

In the next letter from June 3, the brothers informed their father that they were in Ingolstadt and attending a comedy play at the invitation of the Jesuits. However, they did not intend to move from Munich to Augsburg or Inglostadt anymore, and the reasons were to be given to Lew Sapieha by Kacper Cetner, the guardian of Kazmierz Leon and Krzysztof Mikołaj⁵⁶.

The next destination of their travels was the University of Ingolstadt, where they appeared in January 1624 (they leave their signatures in the marticulation book on January 17, 1624)⁵⁷. It is possible that their guardian

⁵⁰ D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, *Peregrinatio*, s. 131–132.

⁵¹ LNNBU, dz. I, teka II, nr 229, nlb., K.L. and K.M. Sapiehas to L. Sapieha, 10 XII 1621, Nuremberg.

⁵² A. Rachuba, *Sapieha Kazimierz Leon h. Lis*, w: *PSB*, t. 35, red. H. Markiewicz, Warszawa–Kraków 1994, s. 31.

⁵³ LNNBU, dz. I, teka II, nr 235, nlb., K.M. and K.L. Sapiehas to L. Sapieha, 30 XII 1621, Munich.

⁵⁴ Ibidem.

 $^{^{55}\,}$ LNNBU, dz. I, teka II, nr 246, nlb., K.M. and K.L. Sapiehas to L. Sapieha, 5 II 1622, Munich

⁵⁶ LNNBU, dz. I, teka II, nr 295, nlb., K.L. and K.M. Sapiehas to L. Sapieha, 3 VI 1622, Munich.

A. Rachuba, Sapieha Kazimierz Leon, s. 31.

in this time have been the polyhistor Szymon Starowolski⁵⁸. In a letter from Brześć Litewski, the young Sapiehas described the difficult situation they encountered in the Reich. They had to move from Ingolstadt to Augsburg where there were better doctors and medicines for Krzysztof Mikołaj's illness. However, the treatment had no effect and only thanks to Cetner's efforts Sapieha's health did not deteriorate. Doctors were also unsure whether to send the brothers to Italy or suggest they return home. Finally, it was decided to return to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. An opportunity arose and they set out with some traders, so they had not informed their father about their plans⁵⁹. They finally returned back to their homeland in November 1624.

However, as I mentioned at the beginning, it was not the end of the educational journeys of the young Sapiehas. They leave the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in March 1625 and they go to Aachen through Wrocław, Frankfurt am Main, Cologne⁶⁰, and their guardians were Hieronim Piestrzycki and Jakub Szadurski. Later, they stayed in Leuven for a long time and studied there. Then they went to Italy. The brothers were certainly back in Lithuania in 1630⁶¹.

Other representatives of the Sapieha family were also aware of the importance of education for future career of their sons. An example may be the children of Voivode of Vitebsk, Mikołaj, and his second wife Hanna Wiśniowiecka – Mikołaj, Krzysztof, Fryderyk Aleksander and Aleksander Kazimierz. Unfortunately, in 1599 their father died and the care of them was transferred to other noblemen, including Lew Sapieha. There were also other caretakers: Voivode of Troki, Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, the Voivode of Braclaw, Janusz Zbaraski and Paweł Stefan Sapieha, the Lithuanian Equerry⁶². One of the brothers, Mikołaj (1581–1644), started his education in 1602 in Brunsberg on Jesuit college⁶³. Probably three years later his younger brothers began their education. They seem to have

⁵⁸ M. Chachaj, Duchowni jako opiekunowie staropolskich studentów w obcych krajach, w: Itinera clericorum. Kulturotwórcze i religijne aspekty podróży duchownych, red. D. Quirini-Popławska, Ł. Burkiewicz, Kraków 2014, s. 211.

 $^{^{59}}$ LNNBU, dz. I, teka III, nr 418, nlb., K.L. and K.M. Sapiehas to L. Sapieha, 11 XI 1624, Munich.

⁶⁰ A. Rachuba, Sapieha Kazimierz Leon, s. 31.

⁶¹ *Ibidem,* s. 31; idem, *Sapieha Krzysztof Mikołaj h. Lis,* w: *PSB,* t. 35, s. 70–71; M. Bersohn, *Studenci Polacy na Uniwersytecie Bolońskim w XVI i XVII wieku,* Kraków 1983, s. 31. More information about letters of Sapiehas from this period: A. Ziober, *Korespondencja Kazimierza Leona,* s. 43–56; eadem, *Korespondencja rodzinna,* s. 67–80.

⁶² M. Nagielski, *Sapieha Mikołaj h. Lis*, w: *PSB*, t. 35, s. 124; idem, *Sapieha Krzysztof h. Lis*, w: *PSB*, t. 35, s. 68.

⁶³ M. Nagielski, *Sapieha Mikołaj*, s. 124–125.

informed their guardian, Lew, about their academic progress and the most important events in their lives. An example is Krzysztof, who wrote to the Vilnius voivode thanking him for the donated money. He also wrote about the pleasant reception of him by the Bishop of Warmia, Szymon Rudnicki⁶⁴. Unfortunately, we do not have detailed information on the foreign education of the brothers. Probably all of the brothers or only Mikołaj and Krzysztof start their journey to Western European countries before 160565. We know that Krzysztof and Mikołaj arrived to university in Munich and in mid-June of 1604 during their stay they met other noblemans from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth - Jan Jerzy and Albrycht Władysław Radziwiłł. The situation was guite funny and friends greeted each other with Latin speeches⁶⁶. Later, Mikołaj and Krzysztof visited Vienna, Trier (around 1608), and Mainz, and finally stayed for longer in Paris⁶⁷. We also know that, the other two brothers, Fryderyk Aleksander and Aleksander Kazimierz were also at this time in capital of France and left this city for Leuven in 1610⁶⁸.

Another representative of the Sapieha family who studied abroad was Tomasz (1598–1646). He was a son of the Voivode of Nowogródek Mikołaj and Raina of Dorohostajskis. Like others representatives of Sapieha family he started his education at the Jesuit college, but in Lublin in 1617. Later, together with his brother Kazimierz Mikołaj, he started education at the University of Cracow, exactly at the College of Nowodworski. Probably at the turn of 1620 and 1621 he leave the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and went to Germany to start learning at university. He choose Ingolstad, where he signed into the matriculation book on October 11, 1621. Naturally, apart from his studies in Germany, Sapieha also went to other universities. We know that he appeared in Bologna (1623) and Leuven (1625)⁶⁹.

The aforementioned Krzysztof Stefan (1590–1627) undertook an educational journey around Europe in 1605–1608 with his cousin Jan Stanisław. The first one, like his traveling companion, studied in Würzburg

⁶⁴ Idem, Sapieha Krzysztof, s. 68–69.

⁶⁵ Mirosław Nagielski reports that they set off on a journey in 1605, but it seems that it happened earlier: M. Nagielski, *Sapieha Mikołaj*, s. 124–125; idem, *Sapieha Krzysztof*, s. 68–69.

⁶⁶ M. Chachaj, Zagraniczna, s. 57–58.

⁶⁷ M. Nagielski, *Sapieha Mikołaj*, s. 124–125; idem, *Sapieha Krzysztof*, s. 68–69.

⁶⁸ Idem, Sapieha Mikołaj, s. 124–125; A. Kucharski, Peregrynant uczony. Biblioteki i książki w programie i realiach staropolskich podróży XVII wieku, "Folia Toruniensia" 2011, 11, s. 19.

⁶⁹ A. Rachuba, *Sapieha Tomasz na Holszanach h. Lis*, w: *PSB*, t. 35, s. 154–155; *Polacy na studyiach w Inglosztacie*, red. P. Czaplewski, Poznań 1914, s. 48; M. Bersohn, *op. cit.*, s. 42.

(September 1607)⁷⁰. In the same year, Krzysztof Stefan defended his thesis in law, and you can read about this event in: *Disputatio XVIII. Ex celeberrimo legis Aquiliae titulo in theses contracta*⁷¹. He went on a journey with Jan Stanisław and visited both Frankfurt and Paris with him, where they studied together⁷². It is worth mentioning here that also Krzysztof Stefan informed family about the health condition of Jan Stanisław. An example would be the letters he sent to Halszka from the Radziwiłł family (stepmother of Jan Stanisław)⁷³.

The offspring of Włodzimierz Fryderyk and Ewa Skaszewska most likely also studied in Germany. After being educated at national Jesuit schools and universities, both Jan Fryderyk (1618–1664) and Tomasz Kazimierz (1621–1654) after 1635 set off on a foreign trip⁷⁴. The younger brother still traveled around Europe and he visited Germany, Sicily, France and England, but we don't know if he was with his brother⁷⁵.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to find information about the educational trips of other members of the Sapieha family. Certainly, a further in-depth search of the archives in the countries of Western Europe is necessary. We have rudimentary information and mentions about the education of the rest. For example, Jan Ferdynand Sapieha (1629–1659), later a Lithuanian Cupbearer (he was a son of Mikołaj, Vilnius Castellan, and Jadwiga Anna of Wojnów) studied at the Nowodworski College in Cracow (autumn of 1642), and later took an educational journey through Western Europe⁷⁶. We also know that Frederic Sapieha (d. 1650, son of Lithuanian Chancellor, Mikołaj and Bohdana née Massalski), supposedly went to the Ingolstadt University in 159977. In the marticulation book of this university, we can also find signatures of Stanisław Sapieha "palatinides Kioviensis" (he sign to the book on April 23, 1608) and "D. Samuel Sapieha a Czarnobyl" (he arrived at the beginning of August of 1609). Unfortunately, it would be very difficult to verify these people⁷⁸. It is worth mentioning also about Paweł Jan Sapieha (1609–1665), who did not have foreign

⁷⁰ M. Nagielski, Sapieha Krzysztof Stefan h. Lis, w: PSB, t. 35, s. 67.

⁷¹ Würzburger Hochschulschriften 1581–1803. Bestansverzeichnis, nach Vorarbeiten J. A. Brein, Herausgegeben von G. Mälzer, unter Mitarbeit von Rudolf Stahr und Gabriele Wollmann, Würzburg 1992, s. 158.

⁷² Cf. M. Nagielski, Sapieha Krzysztof Stefan, s. 67.

⁷³ Idem, Sapieha Krzysztof Stefan, s. 67.

⁷⁴ W. Majewski, *Sapieha Jan Fryderyk h. Lis*, w: *PSB*, t. 35, s. 1; A. Rachuba, *Sapieha Tomasz Kazimierz h. Lis*, w: *PSB*, t. 35, s. 155.

⁷⁵ A. Rachuba, Sapieha Tomasz Kazimierz, s. 155.

⁷⁶ Idem, Sapieha Jan Ferdynand h. Lis, w: PSB, t. 35, s. 6.

⁷⁷ Idem, Sapieha Fryderyk h. Lis, w: PSB, t. 34, s. 611.

⁷⁸ Polacy na Studyach w Ingolsztacie, s. 40.

education himself, but took care of the education of his sons, whom he sent to Western Europe⁷⁹.

Representatives of the Sapieha family of the Czereja and Kodenska lines either did not travel to receive education outside the Polish-Lihuanian Commonwealth, or we simply do not have information about them.

SUMMARY

Both lines of the Sapieha family usually started their education from a popular Jesuit school in Brunsberg⁸⁰ (the representatives of other Lithuanian families acted similarly, for example, the Radziwiłł family of the Nieśwież line⁸¹), and then moved to one of the national universities. Most chosen universities included the one in Krakow and the Vilnius Academy. Continuing their education, the Sapiehas traveled mainly towards Germany and Italy, which does not depart from the general trends prevailing among the elites of the Republic of Poland, studying at the most important and popular universities there. In the case of Germany, Munich, Würzburg, Ingolstadt or Frankfurt am Main were often chosen. Ingolstadt, Würzburg, and Dillingen stood out as the universities of the Counter-Reformation and the Catholic denomination⁸². The Sapieha family members most likely did not attend the University of Dillingen because it was not popular among the inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth⁸³. In the case of the analyzed family, the University in Ingolstadt was very important. The Sapiehas studied there for almost a generation (among others: Jan Stanisław, Kazimierz Leon and Krzysztof Mikołaj, Tomasz, son of Mikołaj, voivoide of Nowogródek Stanisław and Krzysztof Stefan)84. Both Munich and Ingolstadt helped to shape passion for Catholicism. The Jesuits played a huge role in this occurrence, but also a very important role was played by two princes, William V and his son Maksymilian, as well as by representatives of influential aristocratic families, e.g. the

⁷⁹ A. Rachuba, Sapieha Paweł Jan h. Lis, w: PSB, t. 35, s. 138; idem, Paweł Jan Sapieha (1610–1665) – niebywała kariera z przypadku czy przemyślana kalkulacja?, w: Społeczeństwo staropolskie, t. 5, Społeczeństwo a elity, red. I.M. Dacka-Górzyńska, A. Karpiński, Warszawa 2018, s. 160; idem, Sapieha Kazimierz Jan Paweł h. Lis, w: PSB, t. 35, s. 37–38; idem, Sapieha Benedykt Paweł h. Lis, w: PSB, t. 34, s. 583.

⁸⁰ S. Achremczyk, *Uczniowie kolegium jezuickiego w Braniewie w latach 1694–1776*, "Komunikaty Warmińsko-Mazurskie" 1982, 4, s. 299–300.

⁸¹ M. Chachaj, Zagraniczna, s. 53.

⁸² W. Wüst, op. cit., s. 81.

⁸³ M. Chachaj, Zagraniczna, s. 70.

⁸⁴ D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, *Peregrinatio*, s. 30–31.

founders of the college in Augsburg, the Fuggers⁸⁵. For this reason, Lew Sapieha sent his sons and relatives mainly to these regions of Germany.

Lew Sapieha paid particular attention to the education of his children. His sons were educated at the most important universities and participated in classes led by eminent scholars of the time, such as Eric Putean and Isaac Casaubonus. It is worth noting that the Grand Lithuanian Chancellor also took care of the education of his relatives: the children of the deceased Voivode of Vitebsk, Mikołaj, (Mikołaj, Krzysztof, Fryderyk Aleksander, and Aleksander Kazimierz) and the Chamberlain of Orsza, Hrehory Iwanowicz (Krzysztof Stefan), whom he supervised. In this regard, it is very surprising that Lew refused to travel abroad to see Alexander Dadzbog. It is also noteworthy that representatives of the Kodeń line of the Sapieha family also tried to provide the best education for their children. Despite not having as much financial and political influence as the Lithuanian Chancellor, they sent their sons to study abroad. It is possible that Lew supported their education, because he was well-known for supporting his less wealthy relatives. The Sapiehas of the Kodeń line were also part of this group⁸⁶. However, this issue requires further investigation.

According to current research, about 40% of the highest senatorial offices in the Commonwealth were obtained by nobles who took an educational journey in their youth. Studying at foreign universities also helped to develop the careers presented above to the Sapieha. The sons of Lew - Jan Stanisław and Kazimierz Leon - achieved the greatest careers of the analyzed representatives of the Sapieha family. The first one, in 1617, became the Court Marshal of Lithuania, and a few years later he became the Grand Marshal of Lithuania. It was one of the most important senatorial offices in Lithuania. In addition, Sapieha became famous as an outstanding speaker, which was certainly influenced by the teachings he received abroad. However, his mental illness and rapid death in 1635 prevented the further development of Jan Stanisław's career. Kazimierz Leon, after the death of the older brother, became the leader of one of the largest factions in Lithuania. His career also developed quickly. In 1631 he became the Royal Secretary and Lithuanian Writer, later he became the Court Marshal of Lithuania, and finally, in 1645, he obtained the office of the Lithuanian Vice-Chancellor. It is believed that at that time he was the richest citizen of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Krzysztof Stefan, who was traveling with Jan Stanisław in 1621, received the office

⁸⁵ M. Chachaj, Zagraniczna, s. 59.

⁸⁶ A. Rachuba, Fakcja Lwa Sapiehy – zarys problematyki, w: Między Lwowem a Wrocławiem. Księga jubileuszowa Krystyna Matwijowskiego, red. B. Rok, J. Maroń, Toruń 2006, s. 503–511.

of a Great Lithuanian Writer, but he died a few years later. Important offices were also obtained by Mikołaj Sapieha, who became the Voivode of Brzesc Litewski and Voivode of Minsk, which secured him a place in the Senate. Also, his brother Krzysztof climbed the career ladder and became, inter alia, Grand Lithuanian Cupbearer. Tomasz Sapieha also achieved a big career, obtaining the senatorial office – Voivode of Nowogrodek in 1643.

To sum up, it should be emphasized that a large proportion of the representatives of the Sapieha family of both lines made educational trips abroad in the first half of the 17th century. Many of them also studied at universities in the German Reich, which were often the primary destination. This confirms that they were already, at that time, a valued way of acquiring knowledge and education, which later translated into a political, spiritual, and distinguished career among the nobility. In addition, they indicated the prestige and wealth of the family. We know quite a lot about some journeys (like the trips of the sons of Lew Sapieha, although they also require in-depth analysis), while we only have fragments about some others. Undoubtedly, the educational travels of the Sapieha from the first half of the 17th century are an interesting research topic, however, they require further investigation and extensive queries both in national and foreign archives. Studies abroad perfectly prepared the Sapieha family members to perform the most important functions in the Polish-Lithuanian state. A good politician must, first and foremost, be a great speaker, know the law, skillfully maneuver between coterie, and also be a good soldier. The teachings acquired by the Sapieha in Germany certainly contributed greatly to their subsequent offices and the role they played in the political arena of the Grand Duchy.

The Sapieha's travels are a kind of Grand Tour. Most of the youth from this family, apart from enrolling in university books, also took part in practical exercises, such as horseback riding and fencing. They also visited the courts of foreign princes and rulers, which was to teach them to become familiar with the highest social classes. The Sapieha family was educated at Catholic colleges and universities run by the Jesuits or partially subordinated to them. It was certainly related to the faith they professed, as well as the religious zeal of their guardian, Lew, who chose their educational destinations. For comparison, Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł "Sierotka" acted similarly at the beginning of the 17th century. The Jesuits also played an enormous role in the education of his sons, and the religion determined the purpose of the trip⁸⁷.

⁸⁷ M. Chachaj, Zagraniczna, s. 53.

Although the Polish-Lithuanian nobility was discouraged from making long journeys, the sons of Lew Sapieha, Kazimierz Leon, and Krzysztof Mikołaj spent almost 10 years abroad. It was similar in the case of Jan Stanisław, who stayed in "foreign countries" several times for several years. Most of the Lithuanian nobility did so at that time, for example, the Radziwiłł family of both lines and the Wołowicz family⁸⁸. So it seems that the Sapieha's educational journeys did not differ significantly from the practices used by the elites of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and fit into the general canon of teaching. It should be emphasized, however, that the sons of the Voivode of Vilnius, Lew, gained one of the best educations among the nobility at that time. This prepared them to perform important political and diplomatic functions in the future.

REFERENCES (BIBLIOGRAFIA)

Archival sources (Źródła archiwalne)

L'vivs'ka natsional'na naukova biblioteka Ukrayiny imeni V.Stefanyka [Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені В.Стефаника]: Fond 103, vol. 7; dz. I, teka II.

Printed sources (Źródła drukowane)

Die Matrikel der Universität Würzburg Erster teil, Erste Hälfte, München und Leipzig 1922. Metrica nec non liber nationis Polonicae Universitatis Lipsiensis ab anno 1409 usque ad 1600, wyd. S. Tomkowicz, Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce, t. 2, Kraków 1882.

Studies (Opracowania)

Achremczyk S., *Uczniowie kolegium jezuickiego w Braniewie w latach 1694–1776*, "Komunikaty Warmińsko-Mazurskie" 1982, 4.

Bersohn M., Studenci Polacy na Uniwersytecie Bolońskim w XVI i XVII wieku, Kraków 1983.

Chachaj M., Duchowni jako opiekunowie staropolskich studentów w obcych krajach, w: Itinera clericorum. Kulturotwórcze i religijne aspekty podróży duchownych, red. D. Quirini-Popławska, Ł. Burkiewicz, Kraków 2014.

Chachaj M., Zagraniczna edukacja Radziwiłłów od początku XVI do połowy XVII wieku, Lublin 1995.

Czapliński W., Długosz J., Podróż młodego magnata do szkół, Warszawa 1969.

Goszczyński A., *Podróże edukacyjne Jana Stanisława Sapiehy* (1589–1635), w: Wielkie rody dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, red. T. Ciesielski, M. Sawicki, Ópole 2018.

Isaac Casaubon, w: Encyclopaedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Isaac-Casaubon#accordion-article-history [dostęp: 7.01.2022].

Kozieł L., Polscy studenci na uniwersytecie w Würzburgu w XVI i XVII w. – studium statystyczne, "Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty" 1997, 38.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, s. 59.

- Kucharski A., *Peregrynant uczony. Biblioteki i książki w programie i realiach staropolskich podróży XVII wieku*, "Folia Toruniensia" 2011, 11.
- Lulewicz H., Sapieha Jan Stanisław, w: Polski słownik biograficzny, t. 34, red. H. Markiewicz, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1992–1993.
- Mączak A., Peregrynacje. Wojaże. Turystyka, Warszawa 2001.
- Majewski W., Sapieha Jan Fryderyk h. Lis, w: Polski słownik biograficzny, t. 35, red. H. Markiewicz, Warszawa–Kraków 1994.
- Nagielski M., Sapieha Krzysztof h. Lis, w: Polski słownik biograficzny, t. 35, red. H. Markiewicz, Warszawa–Kraków 1994.
- Nagielski M., Sapieha Krzysztof Stefan h. Lis, w: Polski słownik biograficzny, t. 35, red. H. Markiewicz, Warszawa–Kraków 1994.
- Nagielski M., Sapieha Mikołaj h. Lis, w: Polski słownik biograficzny, t. 35, red. H. Markiewicz, Warszawa–Kraków 1994.
- Polacy na studyiach w Inglosztacie, red. P. Czaplewski, Poznań 1914.
- Rachuba A., Fakcja Lwa Sapiehy zarys problematyki, w: Między Lwowem a Wrocławiem. Księga jubileuszowa Krystyna Matwijowskiego, red. B. Rok, J. Maroń, Toruń 2006.
- Rachuba A., Paweł Jan Sapieha (1610–1665) niebywała kariera z przypadku czy przemyślana kalkulacja?, w: Społeczeństwo staropolskie, t. 5, Społeczeństwo a elity, red. I.M. Dacka-Górzyńska, A. Karpiński, Warszawa 2018.
- Rachuba A., *Sapieha Benedykt Paweł h. Lis*, w: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 34, red. H. Markiewicz, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1992.
- Rachuba A., Sapieha Fryderyk h. Lis, w: Polski słownik biograficzny, t. 34, red. H. Markiewicz, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1992.
- Rachuba A., Sapieha Jan Ferdynand h. Lis, w: Polski słownik biograficzny, t. 35, red. H. Markiewicz, Warszawa–Kraków 1994.
- Rachuba A., Sapieha Kazimierz Jan Paweł h. Lis, w: Polski słownik biograficzny, t. 35, red. H. Markiewicz, Warszawa–Kraków 1994.
- Rachuba A., *Sapieha Kazimierz Leon h. Lis*, w: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 35, red. H. Markiewicz, Warszawa–Kraków 1994.
- Rachuba A., Sapieha Krzysztof Mikołaj h. Lis, w: Polski słownik biograficzny, t. 35, red. H. Markiewicz, Warszawa–Kraków 1994.
- Rachuba A., Sapieha Paweł Jan h. Lis, w: Polski słownik biograficzny, t. 35, red. H. Markiewicz, Warszawa–Kraków 1994.
- Rachuba A., Sapieha Tomasz Kazimierz h. Lis, w: Polski słownik biograficzny, t. 35, red. H. Markiewicz, Warszawa–Kraków 1994.
- Rachuba A., Sapieha Tomasz na Holszanach h. Lis, w: Polski słownik biograficzny, t. 35, red. H. Markiewicz, Warszawa–Kraków 1994.
- Tygielski W., Peregrinatio academica czy Grand Tour? Podróże "do szkół" w systemie edukacji staropolskiej, w: Kolegium i wspólnota akademicka w tradycji europejskiej i amerykańskiej, red. M. O'Connor, P. Wilczek, Boston–Warszawa 2011.
- Wolański F., Europa jako punkt odniesienia dla postrzegania przestrzeni geograficznej przez szlachtę polską osiemnastego wieku w świetle relacji podróżniczych i geograficznych, Wroclaw 2002.
- Würzburger Hochschulschriften 1581–1803. Bestansverzeichnis, nach Vorarbeiten J. A. Brein, Herausgegeben von G. Mälzer, unter Mitarbeit von Rudolf Stahr und Gabriele Wollmann, Würzburg 1992.
- Wüst W., Universelles Studieren in Spätmittelalter und Frühmoderne? Polen (Krakau) und Süddeutschland (Altdorf, Dillingen, Erlangen, Ingolstadt und Würzburg) im Vergleich, "Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej/Bulletin der Polnischen Historischen Mission" 2020, 15.

- Ziober A., Korespondencja Kazimierza Leona i Mikołaja Krzysztofa Sapiehów z podróży w latach 1625–1627. Wybrane aspekty, w: Egodokumenty. Tradycje historiograficzne i perspektywy badawcze, red. W. Chorążyczewski, A. Pacevičius, S. Roszak, Toruń 2015.
- Ziober A., Korespondencja rodzinna Sapiehów z czasów wyjazdów zagranicznych Jana Stanisława, Kazimierza Leona i Krzysztofa Mikołaja w latach 1627–1630. Wybrane zagadnienia, w: Epistolografia w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, red. P. Borek, M. Olma, Kraków 2015.
- Ziober A., *Od autorytetu do szaleństwa rola Jana Stanisława Sapiehy w rodzinie*, "Wiadomości Historyczne z Wiedzą o Społeczeństwie" 2017, 6.
- Żołądź D., *Podróże edukacyjne XVI i XVII wieku próba typologii*, "Biuletyn Historii Wychowania" 2019, 1.
- Żołądź-Strzelczyk D., Peregrinatio academica studia młodzieży polskiej z Korony i Litwy na akademiach i uniwersytetach niemieckich w XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku, Poznań 1996
- Żołądź-Strzelczyk D., Podróże edukacyjne w staropolskiej myśli pedagogicznej, "Chowanna" 1998, 61, 2.
- Żołądź-Strzelczyk D., *Polacy z Korony i Litwy na studiach w jezuickim Würzburgu (1582–1630),* "Biuletyn Historii Wychowania" 1996, 102.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Aleksandra Ziober – PhD in humanities in history, lecturer in the Department of Economic History, Demography, and Statistics in the Historical Institute at the University of Wrocław. Author of a monograph titled *Postawy elit Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego wobec elekcji Władysława IV Wazy i Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego*. Leader of two projects of the National Science Center in Krakow, she also received several scholarships from the Lanckoroński Foundation and Polish Historical Mission in Würzburg. Her research interests involve the political and social history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, elections of Polish rulers, travels of Lithuanian elites, and diplomatic relations of English envoys in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 17th century.

NOTA O AUTORZE

Aleksandra Ziober – doktor nauk humanistycznych w zakresie historii, adiunkt Wydziału Nauk Historycznych i Pedagogicznych, wykładowczyni w Zakładzie Historii Gospodarczej, Demografii i Statystyki Instytutu Historycznego na Uniwersytecie Wrocławskim. Autorka książki pod tytułem *Postawy elit Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego wobec elekcji Władysława IV Wazy i Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego*. Kierowniczka dwóch projektów przyznanych w ramach konkursów Narodowego Centrum Nauki w Krakowie, wielokrotna stypendystka Fundacji Lanckorońskich oraz Polskiej Misji Historycznej w Würzburgu. Jej obiektem zainteresowań naukowych są historia polityczna i społeczna Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, elekcje władców polskich, podróże elit litewskich i relacje dyplomatyczne posłów angielskich w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w XVII w.