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## On 'Attributes of Companions or Guardians' during Educational Travels for Young People in the Modern Era – in the Light of Apodemic Literature and Parental Instructions

*O 'przymiotach towarzyszy albo kierowników' wyjazdów edukacyjnych młodzieży w epoce nowożytnej – w świetle literatury apodemicznej i wskazówek rodzicielskich*

### ABSTRACT

From the beginning of the 16th to the end of the 18th century, the custom of sending young people for broadly understood educational purposes was practiced throughout Europe. In travels, which sometimes lasted several years, young peregrins were accompanied by a smaller or larger, depending on the financial capabilities and rank of the family, retinue. The most important role among the people who made up this procession was the

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*maior domus* or preceptor. In a sense, he took over parental functions during the journey. The article discusses the features and permissions of such a guardian, using for this purpose sources related to traveling.

The article is based on two types of sources. The first is apademic treatises, the second: parental instructions written for young people and their carers setting out to study from home. Apodemics are general guidelines, while instructions are specific to particular individuals and peregrinations. In the first case, treatises written by Teodor Zwinger, Samuel Neugebauer, Richard Lassels and Piotr Mieszkowski were used to show what the theoretical views on the role of supervisor were, the features that he should be characterized. The second uses the recommendations found in the instructions written by Krzysztof Radziwiłł, Jakub Sobieski, Piotr Myszowski, Stanisław Jabłonowski, Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski, Anna Radziwiłłowa née Sanguszków, and Waclaw Rzewuski.

Both types of sources emphasized the importance of the role of a supervisor a young person was entrusted to. The parents' task was primarily to choose the right man and instruct their son to obey him.

**Key words:** preceptor, tutor, educational trips, the modern era, *ars apodemica*, parental instructions

## INTRODUCTION – ON EDUCATIONAL TRAVELS

For centuries, from the beginning of the 16th to the end of the 18th centuries, the custom of sending young people abroad for broadly understood educational purposes was common throughout Europe. At first these were only trips to schools of various kinds. This type of trips, referred to as academic peregrinations, or *peregrinatio academica*, was already known in the Middle Ages, when scholars, thirsty for knowledge, wandered to the developing university centers. Such practices lasted for centuries<sup>1</sup>. Most likely, in the first half of the 17th century, some changes could be observed, and traveling began to be seen not as an opportunity to study specific subjects only, but it enabled focusing on other benefits, such as peregrinations filled with sightseeing, explorations, or court stays<sup>2</sup>. Young representatives of the gentry were expected not only to possess university education but also to be familiar with the world and acquainted with intricacies of court life. The usefulness of university studies became less significant and hence, what was sought after was the benefits of traveling that would meet the new expectations<sup>3</sup>. In the 17th century,

<sup>1</sup> D. Żołądź, *Podróże edukacyjne Polaków w XVI i XVII wieku*, in: J. Hellwig, W. Jamrożek, D. Żołądź, *Z prac poznańskich historyków wychowania*, Poznań 1994, pp. 29–32.

<sup>2</sup> W. Tygielski, *Peregrinatio academica czy Grand Tour? Podróże 'do szkół' w systemie edukacji staropolskiej*, in: idem, *W podróży po Europie. Studia z dziejów kultury nowożytnej*, Warszawa 2019, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 326.

a specific type of travel developed in Europe, which was characteristic of representatives of the richest, primarily English, nobility – the so-called *Grand Tour*. The term appeared for the first time in the work of Richard Lassels entitled *The Voyage of Italy, or a Compleat Journey through Italy* published in Paris in 1670<sup>4</sup>. Traveling of this kind was an extremely elitist phenomenon, intended for representatives of the richest social groups. In travels lasting several years, young travelers were accompanied by a smaller or larger retinue, depending on financial capabilities and the rank of the family. The most important person among the members of such entourage was a chamberlain or preceptor. In a sense, this person took over fatherly functions during the journey.

Entrusting the care of children to strangers, regardless of its character, resulted in the need to select the guardian with utmost care. Hetman Żółkiewski's words from his will are often quoted in literature: 'a large part of upbringing and almost everything depends on the inspector. Whoever you wish your son to become in the future make sure to hire the right inspector for him. We need a virtuous, God-fearing and sensible man; try to find such a personality so that he could be with our son'<sup>5</sup> he wrote to his wife, urging her to make effort to bring their son up properly<sup>6</sup>. Similar words were written by Jan Dowgiałło Zawisza, the bishop of Vilnius in his letter to Michał Karol Radziwiłł's wife, Izabela Katarzyna Radziwiłłowa, regarding the upbringing of her son, Stanisław Kazimierz: 'every young man resembles wax, he is formed and then expressed by the people he observes; if the inspector's habits are good, then they certainly cannot be bad in a young man'<sup>7</sup>.

The following considerations will be based on two types of sources. The first one is apodemic treatises, the other one is parental instructions written for young people leaving their homes in order to gain education,

<sup>4</sup> R. Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy, or a Compleat Journey through Italy*, Paris 1670.

<sup>5</sup> 'wielka część wychowania a wszystko niemal na inspektorze należy. Jakiego kto chce mieć syna, takiego ma mu dać inspektora. Potrzeba człowieka cnotliwego, bogobojujnego, dobrego rozsądku; staraj się za jaką taką kondycją, żeby taki był przy synu naszym'.

<sup>6</sup> S. Żółkiewski, *Testament*, in: *Pisma Stanisława Żółkiewskiego kanclerza koronnego i hetmana z jego popiersiem*, ed. A. Bielowski, Lwów 1861, p. 171.

<sup>7</sup> 'młody każdy jest jako wosk, to na się przyjmuje i to się na nim wyraża na co patrza, jeżeli w inspektorze obyczaje dobre, pewnie i w nim złe być nie mogą'. Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Archiwum Warszawskie Radziwiłłów, ref. no. dz. V, 18566; cf. M. Chachaj, *Orszak magnata odbywającego podróż edukacyjną (wiek XVI–XVIII)*, in: *Patron i dwór. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, eds. E. Dubas-Urwanowiczowa, J. Urwanowicz, Warszawa 2006, p. 166; idem, *Duchowni jako opiekunowie staropolskich studentów w obcych krajach*, in: *Itinera clericorum. Kulturotwórcze i religijne aspekty podróży duchownych*, eds. D. Quirini-Popławska, Ł. Burkiewicz, Kraków 2014, p. 207.

as well as for their guardians. Apodemics are general guidelines, and the instructions are individual recommendations for specific people and their peregrinations. Four apodemic treatises, which include broader remarks about the guardians, were selected to conduct the analyses. Two of them were written by authors from Poland. As far as parental instructions are concerned, the author used the ones in which the guardians, or more broadly speaking, the retinue of the young travelers, were given more attention by indicating the scope of their duties.

### COMMENTS ON GUARDIANS IN SELECTED APODEMIC TREATISES

Apodemic literature, or treatises on the art of peregrinations, developed from the 16th century to the end of the 18th century<sup>8</sup>. At the end of that century, due to the changes in the nature of travel, such type of literature disappeared. In total, it is estimated that in the years 1540–1831 two hundred and ninety-seven works belonging to this group were published<sup>9</sup>. In some of this kind of guides, along with a wide variety of issues related to comfortable, safe and beneficial travel, there are also comments on the guardian, indications regarding the competences and role of such a figure. It can be found in the works of, among others, Teodor Zwinger<sup>10</sup>, Samuel Neugebauer<sup>11</sup>, Richard Lassels<sup>12</sup>, and Piotr Mieszkowski<sup>13</sup>. In apodemic treatises, attention was drawn to the necessity to leave the young man under the wings of an appropriate guardian for the duration of the peregrination. The traits of the guardian were presented. The guardians were also given tips that were useful when traveling and performing assigned tasks.

<sup>8</sup> See: J. Stagl, *Apodemiken. Eine räsionierte Bibliographie der reisetheoretischen Literatur des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Paderborn 1983; R. Dziegielewski, *Przygotowanie młodzieży do podróży akademickiej w XVI–XVIII wieku na przykładzie traktatów apodemicznych, w szczególności Breviarza apodemicznego Gdańszczanina Samuela Zwickera*, Gdańsk 2015.

<sup>9</sup> U. Kutter, *Reisen-Reisehandbücher-Wissenschaft. Materialien zur Reisekultur im 18. Jahrhundert*, Neuried 1996, p. 119.

<sup>10</sup> T. Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica*, Basel 1577, [https://books.google.pl/books?id=HwjA7VbwawYC&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=HwjA7VbwawYC&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) [accessed on: 20 XI 2019].

<sup>11</sup> S. Neugebauer, *Tractatus de peregrinatione methodo naturali conscriptus ac historicis, ethicis, politicisque exemplis illustratus studio*, Bazylea 1605, [https://books.google.pl/books?id=CzBCBO6Wh\\_4C&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=CzBCBO6Wh_4C&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) [accessed on: 20 XI 2019].

<sup>12</sup> R. Lassels, *op. cit.*, [no pagination].

<sup>13</sup> P. Mieszkowski, *Institutio peregrinationum peregrinantibus peropportuna*, Lowanium 1625.

T. Zwinger pointed out what qualities a good guardian should have<sup>14</sup>. In the first place he listed those related to the substantive preparation of a pedagogue, who should have both theoretical knowledge and practical skills to be able to get it across to the students. He pointed out that diverse methods were to be used: showing/watching, reading/listening. He emphasized that adequate mental and physical capabilities are necessary to perform the work of a young person's guardian, among others, mental acuity that will shape the mind of the pupil, providing them with knowledge, advice, as well as overlooking their development. He also drew attention to the habits of the educator, as he should be impeccable, abstemious both in food and in terms of erotic life. Some other character traits are also necessary, such as diligence, dedication, forbearance, gentleness in punishment, and an ability to correct mistakes.

Among the many distinguished types of travel discussed in the work of S. Neugebauer one can find: student travels<sup>15</sup>, preceptors' travels<sup>16</sup>, and adolescents' travels<sup>17</sup>. There is a clear age diversity among the travelers. Adolescents are the youngest group of travelers leaving for school, who, due to their young age, need a preceptor's care. In Neugebauer's view, guardians accompanying young people in such peregrinations should be acquainted with the languages and lands through which they travel. Ideally, they should already have some travelling experience abroad. Then, they will know the routes which they will take, as well as places they will visit with their pupils. The guardian should also be careful, diligent, conscientious, patient, prudent, and understanding<sup>18</sup>.

According to R. Lassels, for parents sending sons on a peregrination, it was vital to provide their children with a good tutor, who would travel with them, take care of them and their upbringing, and 'play the part of', Lassels continues, 'the Archangel Raphael to young Toby and lead them safe abroad and bring them safe home'<sup>19</sup>. He believed that proper education was very important for the common good and that parents should spare no effort to do as much as possible in this respect. Lassels compares a guardian to a shirt, which is always close to the body and should be made of best fabrics. Also, the guardian of a young traveler should be the best one can possibly find. He should not only be honest,

<sup>14</sup> T. Zwinger, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>15</sup> S. Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 177–181.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 188–191.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 191–193.

<sup>18</sup> R. Dziegielewski, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>19</sup> 'grał rolę – pisał Lassels – archanioła Rafała dla młodego Tobiasza, aby wiódł ich bezpiecznie i bezpiecznie przywiódł do domu'. R. Lassels, *op. cit.*, [no pagination].

but also honorable, not only well-born, but also high-minded thanks to proper education, educated, yet not too scholarly. He should have some travel experience. He should be a prudent, firm, and discreet man. He should be a modest man, who will 'teach his pupil rather to be wise than witty, and of that example of life'<sup>20</sup>. He should be a fellow countryman, not a foreigner, since foreigners are likely to exert a bad influence on their pupils. What is more, parents must transfer their parental authority to the guardian and order their son to obey him, 'otherwise the mentee will not listen, even if the former is the wisest and most competent man in the world'<sup>21</sup>.

Roman Dziegielewski notes that clerical authors of apodemics 'were interested in providing supervision over the morality of young travelers more than technical and organizational side of the peregrination itself'<sup>22</sup>. This is especially true of Catholic clergy. Such authors strongly emphasized the role of the right guardian. An example of such an approach are the comments of P. Mieszkowski, the author of the treatise published in Leuven in 1625 titled *Institutio peregrinationum peregrinantibus peroportuna*, in which a lot of space is devoted to the figure of the guardian. According to Justin Stagl, it is the preceptors taking care of young people during their foreign trips that were most often the authors of apodemic treatises. The experience gained during the trip was the basis for putting one's comments and tips on paper. S. Neugebauer and P. Mieszkowski were involved in such activities. The former was first the guardian of Samuel and Wojciech Naruszewicz, the sons of Stanisław the castellan of Smolensk, and later accompanied Jan and Andrzej, the sons of Andrzej Firlej, the castellan of Radom, during their peregrination<sup>23</sup>. The latter looked after Łukasz Woyna, the son of Andrzej, the Lithuanian cupbearer, and Alexander, the son of the Brest-Lithuanian castellan, Łukasz Kopeć, during their stay in Ingolstadt<sup>24</sup>, and later took part in the retinue accompanying Władysław Waza during his trip around Europe in 1624<sup>25</sup>.

P. Mieszkowski in his treatise on traveling, as mentioned above,

<sup>20</sup> 'nauczy swoich podopiecznych, aby byli mądrzy [...] da im swoim życiem przykład'.

<sup>21</sup> 'inaczej podopieczny słuchać nie będzie, choćby tamten był najmądrzejszym i najbardziej kompetentnym człowiekiem świata'. *Ibidem*.

<sup>22</sup> 'bardziej niż techniczną i organizacyjną stroną podróży interesowali się zapewnieniem nadzoru nad moralnością młodych podróżników'. R. Dziegielewski, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

<sup>23</sup> S. Tworek, *Neugebauer Salomon*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [hereinafter : PSB], vol. 22, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1977, p. 686.

<sup>24</sup> P. Czapplewski, *Polacy na studiach w Ingolsztacie*, Poznań 1914, p. 48.

<sup>25</sup> R. Leszczyński, *Mieszkowski Piotr*, in: PSB, vol. 21, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1976, pp. 44-45.

wrote about 'the attributes of companions and guardians'<sup>26</sup>, that parents should provide for their sons who set off on trips to foreign countries. The fundamental value of the treatise lies in the comments in this regard. Mieszkowski devoted two chapters to the issue of the guardian. In one, he presents what sort of guardians parents should seek when sending their sons abroad (Teachings II)<sup>27</sup>, and in the other, what kind of guidance the guardians should receive from the parents (Teachings III)<sup>28</sup>.

He begins his considerations by answering the question about the legitimacy of sending gentry on a peregrination, concluding that such travel is absolutely necessary for them. He believes that a nobleman should be characterized by wisdom and nobility, so that he can fulfill his duties well, i.e. public service for the good of their homeland. According to Mieszkowski, a nobleman was to shape his character, and in order to improve his personality and gain wisdom, he should travel to foreign countries. One of the main tasks of a nobleman is to protect the Commonwealth 'with weapon in hand'<sup>29</sup>, so the gentry 'should acquire knowledge of weapons [...] by undertaking travels'<sup>30</sup>. Travel was supposed to bring specific benefits as one had to look around, learn, and in this way gain knowledge about cities, camps, or strongholds. Mieszkowski warns against idle traveling around that does not bring such benefits, he believes that a nobleman should not engage in 'traveling, which is restricted only to inquisitive crossing various lands'<sup>31</sup>.

Then he goes on to discuss the features of 'the companions or guardians' that parents should seek and select, as this will stop them from worrying about their traveling sons. Young people tend to indulge in weaknesses, sensual pleasures, follies, and therefore they should be 'assigned' teachers and guardians. 'The unawareness of adolescence', according to Mieszkowski, 'should be shaped and directed by the prudence of the elders'<sup>32</sup>. Ancient writers, such as Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch, listed features that should characterize such teachers of young people. They were to be the best educators, most tested, distinguished by good advice and seriousness, calm disposition, as well as wise, free from covetousness,

<sup>26</sup> 'przymiotach towarzyszy albo kierowników'.

<sup>27</sup> P. Mieszkowski, *op. cit.*, sheets B5–C6. Excerpts from Kazimierz Liman's translation.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, sheets C6–D7.

<sup>29</sup> 'orężem osłaniać'.

<sup>30</sup> 'obycie z orężem winna [...] zdobywać przez podejmowanie podróży'.

<sup>31</sup> 'takie podróżowanie, które ogranicza się do ciekawskiego jedynie przemierzania krain'. P. Mieszkowski, *op. cit.*, sheet B6.

<sup>32</sup> 'Nieświadomość bowiem młodzięnczego wieku – pisał Mieszkowski – winna być ukształtowana i kierowana przez roztropność starszych'.

of good repute, habits, and extensive experience. Mieszkowski also refers to the comments of St. Paul regarding bishops, and would like to refer the same to teachers, who, in terms of morals, should therefore be 'impeccable, sober, prudent, not inclined to drunkenness, modest, not quarrelsome, unselfish, but guiding his students well'<sup>33</sup>. When selecting a guardian, one should consult others about him, and check if what he says about himself is authentic. One must strive hard so that the sons do not receive as guardians 'people who are wicked, [...] simpletons, or reckless individuals'<sup>34</sup>. One should not save money in this regard as some parents are unwilling to spend too much money and 'hire people who are not respectful as guardians for their sons'<sup>35</sup>. If during a peregrination a young man was accompanied by inappropriate persons, 'rough [...] setting a bad example and having a foolish mind'<sup>36</sup>, then it was not surprising that 'foolish, morally corrupt sons [...] return from foreign expeditions'<sup>37</sup>. And what is important, guardians should be appropriate not only in words, but above all in deeds. One should bear in mind that 'the habits of young people depend on the teacher'<sup>38</sup>, who should thus set a good example. Nothing will encourage one to learn and read books if 'guardians find pleasure in dances and parades'<sup>39</sup>. Similarly, incentives to save money will not be effective if the guardians 'spend it on luxury clothing and night feast'<sup>40</sup>. Mieszkowski wrote, 'a fish rots from its head, and a young man from his guardian'<sup>41</sup>. He even recommended that the future guardian should be checked by employing him earlier at one's court and observing his behavior and habits. 'The youngsters ought to receive the best teachers, who are wise, free from lust, of right counsel, dignity, with knowledge of languages and countries, for their very need stimulates action. Moreover the guardians should also be well known figures'<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> 'obyczajów nienaganny, trzeźwy, roztropny, nie do pijaństwa skłonny, skromny, nie swarliwy, nie samolubny, lecz młodzieży swej dobrze przewodzący'. P. Mieszkowski, *op. cit.*, sheet B5.

<sup>34</sup> 'ludzi podłych [...] prostaków lub ludzi lekkomyślnych'.

<sup>35</sup> 'najmują dla swych synów opiekunów ludzi nie cieszących się żadnym poważaniem'.

<sup>36</sup> 'nieokrzeseane [...] dające zły przykład i o umyśle nierozumnym'.

<sup>37</sup> 'z zagranicznych wypraw wracają [...] synowie niemądry [...] moralnie zepsuci'.

<sup>38</sup> 'od nauczającego zależą obyczaje młodych ludzi'.

<sup>39</sup> 'opiekunowie znajdują upodobanie w tańcach i korowodach'.

<sup>40</sup> 'sami obrócają na zbytckowne odzienie i na niewczesne biesiadowanie'.

<sup>41</sup> 'ryba psuje się od głowy, młodzieniec od opiekuna'.

<sup>42</sup> 'Niechaj więc młodzieńcy otrzymają najlepszych nauczycieli, mądrych, od pożądlności wolnych, odznaczających się [światłą] radą, dostojenstwem, znajomością języków i krajów, ponieważ już sama ich potrzeba pobudza do działania. Niechaj nadto będą [ludźmi] dobrze znanymi'.



Mieszkowski goes on to wonder how many people should look after a young person. 'Should they be numerous so that one complements the other's deficiency, or is one person enough?'<sup>43</sup>. He decided that 'it is better for one teacher to shape the personality of a young person'<sup>44</sup>. 'The variety of teachers means that the young man, educated by his parents in what is best, remains [...] suspended between good and evil'<sup>45</sup>. If some discrepancies occur between the guardians, it will be difficult for him to choose which one to listen to. As a result, he will not listen to any of them. Mieszkowski strongly advocates entrusting the management of the young man and his retinue to one person only.

In the next part he goes on to provide specific guidelines regarding what recommendations and plenipotence parents should grant to both their sons and their guardians embarking on a peregrination. The advice and the scope of powers entrusted to the guardians will be discussed here. The guardians should be able to freely decide on the distribution of expenditure, but within a predetermined framework. This does not release them from the obligation to save money and be modest. Appropriate conduct in this area will contribute to the formation of similar traits in young people. Mieszkowski adds that guardians should place themselves 'in the middle between wastefulness and persistent greed'<sup>46</sup>. The preceptors of young people should outweigh their pupils with 'integrity and persistent zeal in gaining education'<sup>47</sup>. Parents are not entirely dependent on guardians, who should be monitored as much as possible, and the parents should at least be able to be acquainted with the progress made by their sons, which will also be an opportunity to check upon the guardians.

Pupils should 'obey the guardian above all'<sup>48</sup> because he represents the will of the parents. They should perceive him as 'an adviser in education and in everyday life'<sup>49</sup>. Similarly, other members of the retinue accompanying the young person should obey the guardian and support him in the care and upbringing of the young master. Mieszkowski also indicates how guardians should deal with their pupils. According to him, there are 'various ways of guiding them'<sup>50</sup>. A good educator can 'adapt

<sup>43</sup> 'Czy powinni oni być liczni, aby jeden uzupełnił niedomaganie drugiego, czy wystarczy jeden?'

<sup>44</sup> 'bardziej wskazane jest, by jeden nauczyciel kształtował młodzieńczy charakter'.

<sup>45</sup> 'Rozmaitość nauczycieli sprawia, że młodzieniec, przez rodziców w tym co najlepsze wykształcony pozostaje [...] zawieszony między dobrem a złem'.

<sup>46</sup> 'pośrodku między rozrzutnością a uporczywą chciwością'.

<sup>47</sup> 'prawością obyczajów i wytrwałą gorliwością w nauce'.

<sup>48</sup> 'nade wszystko słuchać opiekuna'.

<sup>49</sup> 'doradcę w nauce i w życiu codziennym'.

<sup>50</sup> 'rozmaite sposoby ich prowadzenia'.

to different characters<sup>51</sup> and choose appropriate educational methods. The guardian was supposed to restrain 'youthful enthusiasm'<sup>52</sup> and 'in a kindly manner give directions and ideas, and stimulate his pupils to pursue glorious matters, and give their minds more zealotness'<sup>53</sup>. Mieszkowski mentions punishment, but this should be done gently, and 'showing dislike for wickedness'<sup>54</sup>. Instead of punishment, one can simply discuss the 'improper behavior'<sup>55</sup>. It seems best to take Plutarch's instructions and 'apply reprimand and praise alternately'<sup>56</sup>. Words of encouragement will make young people more willing to devote themselves to education, and neither flogging nor offensive treatment can ever achieve that. It is best if the guardian is 'gentle and kind towards the young men [...], in a fatherly manner caring for their needs, defending their dignity, supporting them in disease and bringing comfort'<sup>57</sup>. And if there is no way out and reprimand is required, it must be ensured that all 'scolding and reprimands correspond fully to the relevant circumstances and situation'<sup>58</sup>.

The above-mentioned authors of apodemic treatises strongly emphasize the importance of appropriate guardians for young people, who are away from home, as well as personal parental supervision. They also indicate the features that should characterize a good and responsible guardian. They believe that most of the evil that may have happened to young people during their peregrinations was the result of inappropriate people selected by their parents for the role of a guardian.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS AND TIPS CONCERNING THE GUARDIAN IN PARENTAL INSTRUCTIONS

So far apodemic literature giving theoretical and general guidelines for the guardians has been discussed. Below the parents' views on the issue shall be addressed. Such recommendations can be found in extant instructions

<sup>51</sup> 'przystosować się do różnych charakterów'.

<sup>52</sup> 'młodzieńcze zapały'.

<sup>53</sup> 'w sposób uprzejmy podsunąć wskazówki i zamysły, i pobudzać ich do spraw chwalebnych, a umysłem ich przydać gorliwości'.

<sup>54</sup> 'poznać po sobie niechęć wobec niegodziwości'.

<sup>55</sup> 'nikczemne postępowanie'.

<sup>56</sup> 'stosować na przemian łajanie i pochwały'.

<sup>57</sup> 'wobec młodzieńców [...] łagodny i miły, po ojcowsku troszczący się o ich potrzeby, broniący godności, wspierający w chorobach i niosący pociechę'.

<sup>58</sup> 'napomnienia i nagany w pełni odpowiadały stosownym okolicznościom, a także sytuacji'.

that were written before sending a young man on a peregrination. The instructions and advice contained therein served as a kind of extension of the oral recommendations, which certainly were always given before sending a young man away to school or on an educational journey with his entourage. Those individual recommendations varied widely unlike apodemics, which were, one could risk saying, more standardized and general in nature. Instructions were created for the needs of a specific journey and were tailored for its requirements, and reflect individual views of the parents and educational strategies.

Parental instructions were created throughout Europe and were closely related to the phenomenon of sending young men to study at schools in the homeland and abroad, or for educational travels<sup>59</sup>. They were usually formed within the closest family, by fathers, mothers, and sometimes elder brothers. People from outside wrote such instructions less often, and in such cases they were usually the guardians of young gentry. This kind of messages became popular in the 17th and 18th centuries and contained practical tips related to a specific journey. Among the issues raised in them there were remarks concerning the guardians, their plenipotence, sometimes the division of responsibilities, if more than one person accompanied a young man. The obligation to obey the guardian was also common in the instructions. The instructions were written by parents in different parts of Europe. Many of them took into account guidelines concerning guardians. In the of Maria Zofia Lobkowicz's instructions for her son Leopold, from 1699, we read, among others, 'Mr Martini represents the mother, so he must be honored and respected and literally obeyed to in all matters and not talked back'<sup>60</sup>. And further we read 'The son should obey him and respect how things are arranged and stay everywhere for as long as the guardian says'<sup>61</sup>. Her instructions contain a lot of comments about the guardian, as if realizing her own shortcomings, she seemed to rely on the opinion and experience of her son's guardian. Similar tips were recommended in the instructions from 1733 by Franciszek Ferdynand Kinsky for his son Jan Leopold: 'my son Leopold shall obey his patron as the one who represents his father, and shall also listen to and follow

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<sup>59</sup> D. Żołędź-Strzelczyk, *O przedsięwzięciu peregrynacyjnej. Edukacyjne wojaże szlachty z Rzeczypospolitej w świetle instrukcji podróżynych*, Wilanów 2020.

<sup>60</sup> 'hofmistr Martini zastępuje matku, má ho tedy ctít a respektovat a ve všem doslova poslouchat a neodmlouvat mu'.

<sup>61</sup> 'syn ho má poslouchat a respektovat to, jak to má zařízeno a zůstávat všude tak dlouho, jak bude hofmistr říkat'. Zámek Nelahozeves, Lobkovicové roudničtí, rodinný archiv, ref. no. A 31, Instrukce pro kavalírskou cestu Leopolda Josefa Popela z Lobkovic from 1699.

his good admonitions concerning the fear of god, virtues, devotion, and noble morals<sup>62</sup>. The instructions from the Commonwealth contain similar remarks. Piotr Myszkowski wrote to his son in 1602: 'Instead of me, you'll have another preceptor, Jan Kmita, to whom I have assigned all my paternal rights over you so that you would not neglect anything because of your age'<sup>63</sup>. Krzysztof Radziwiłł obliged his son to obey his guardians, and Janusz was to 'be obedient to them, respect them and have integrity towards them just like to his own father. Do not do anything against their will, nor oppose them; do not order younger servants about, unless to inform the major superiors of something more serious'<sup>64</sup>.

Some instructions were meant only for the guardians, not for the young travelers. This was most often the case when the sons leaving home for school were too young. This was also the case of Janusz Radziwiłł, Marek and Jan Sobieskis when they left for schools in the Republic of Poland. Some fathers also addressed their remarks to the guardians, even in the case of slightly older sons going abroad. Krzysztof Radziwiłł, for example, did so, as he instructed both his son and the guardian when he sent his sixteen-year old son abroad in 1628. Apparently, he thought that everyone should be informed in detail about his plans and intentions.

When Janusz Radziwiłł was leaving for school, his father prepared an instruction addressed to Adam Steckiewicz, the young man's guardian. He recommended that Steckiewicz agree on everything that has to do with 'upbringing, exercising and teaching his son'<sup>65</sup> with Salomon Rysiński, who also accompanied the young prince. Radziwiłł certainly had a good opinion about Rysiński's competences, he must have known him personally

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<sup>62</sup> 'mein sohn Leopold, seinem hoffmeister, als welcher seinen vatter representiret, den gebührenden gehorsahm leisten auch seine gutte ermahnungen zur furcht gottes, tugenden, andacht und adlichen sitten anhören und befolgen'. Státní oblastní archiv v Zámrsku, RA Kinských (Chlumec nad Cidlinou), inv. č. 336, ref. no. 237, sheet 21, Instrukce Františka Ferdinanda Kinského týkající se kavalírské cesty jeho syna Jana Leopolda Kinského a jeho hofmistra Jana Franka from 1733.

<sup>63</sup> 'byś z powodu wieku czegoś nie zaniedbał, będziesz miał zamiast mnie jakby drugiego twego preceptora, Jana Kmitę, na którego scedowałem tymczasem wszystkie moje ojcowskie prawa wobec ciebie'. *Piotra Myszkowskiego, kasztelana lubelskiego instrukcja dla syna z 1602 r.*, in: *Ojcowskie synom przestrogi. Instrukcje rodzicielskie (XVI–XVII w.)*, introduction and explanatory notes by D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, M.E. Kowalczyk, Wrocław 2017, p. 68.

<sup>64</sup> 'we wszystkim tak jako mnie ojca słuchać, szanować i uczciwości mieć. Nad ich wolą żadnej rzeczy nie czynić, ni w czym się zdaniu ich nie przeciwzić, nad czeladzią drobniejszą nic nie przewodzić, chyba jeśliby go co od którego obchodziło, tedy starszym swoim przełożyć'. K. Radziwiłł, *Informacyja, według której syn mój książę Janusz Radziwiłł i studzy przy nim będący tak w drodze, jako na miejscu postępować sobie mają*, in: *Ojcowskie*, p. 206.

<sup>65</sup> 'wychowania, ćwiczenia i nauk syna'.

and respected him. Rysiński accompanied him in his travels when he was a young man<sup>66</sup>. Steckiewicz had fairly extensive powers, he even obtained a permission from Radziwiłł to punish the boy if necessary<sup>67</sup>. He was supposed to watch over everything and inform the prince of 'health, success, education and progress [...] honestly describing everything and in accordance with the truth'<sup>68</sup>. In 1628 Janusz set out abroad with his retinue. His father prepared three instructions for this journey. Two of them were addressed to the young prince's guardians. He was accompanied by two guardians: Aleksander Przypkowski and Olbrycht Dembowski. The first one was the marshal of the court, the other was the chamberlain<sup>69</sup>. In the university records in Leipzig, they were recorded as *mareschall* and *aulae mag[ister]*<sup>70</sup> thus clearly differentiating their competences. Radziwiłł did the same in the instructions, which say: 'I ascribe the elders with their authority as follows: I make Mr. Przypkowski first in terms of place and power, followed by Mr. Dembowski. These two faithfully and honestly, in harmony and in love will rule over both my son and all the servants. One will do nothing without the other, but together, as befits good and attentive people, they will decide about small and great things'<sup>71</sup>. Further, recalling the promises made by them, he obliged the guardians to care for his son and fulfill their obligations. He also emphasized that there should be no enmity between them, and if there were any differences of opinion, then Mr. Przypkowski's opinion is of greater importance. 'Mr. Dembowski will consider Mr. Przypkowski as the elder and the first in terms of place and power, and Mr. Przypkowski will regard Mr. Dembowski as an equal and respectful colleague'<sup>72</sup>. All the members of the retinue, including Janusz, were to be obedient to Mr. Przypkowski.

<sup>66</sup> M. Chachaj, *Zagraniczna edukacja Radziwiłłów od początku XVI do połowy XVII wieku*, Lublin 1995, p. 44.

<sup>67</sup> K. Radziwiłł, *Informacyja*, p. 201.

<sup>68</sup> 'o zdrowiu, powodzeniu, naukach i postępach [...] szczyrze wszystko wypisując, jako sama prawda mieć się w sobie będzie'. *Ibidem*, p. 205.

<sup>69</sup> M. Chachaj, *Zagraniczna*, p. 76.

<sup>70</sup> *Die jüngere Matrikel der Universität Leipzig 1559–1809*, ed. G. Erler, vol. 1, *Personenregister*, Leipzig 1909, pp. 348 and 75.

<sup>71</sup> 'tych zaś starszych jego władzą tak opisuje: naprzód pana Przypkowskiego względem miejsca i władze pierwszym czynię, po nim Dembowskiego. Ci dwaj wiernie i szczyrze, w zgodzie i w miłości tak synem moim, jako i czeladzią wszystką włądać i rządzić mają. Jeden bez drugiego nic nie czyniąc, ale się z sobą spólnie, jako na dobre i uważne ludzie należy, o wszelakich bądź małych, bądź wielkich rzeczach znaszając'. K. Radziwiłł, *Informacyja*, p. 208.

<sup>72</sup> 'Dembowski pana Przypkowskiego jako laty starszego i miejscem, i władzą pierwszego, a pan Przypkowski Dembowskiego jako kolegę sobie równego, szanować zeche'.

In Jakub Sobieski's instructions, broken down into points, written when his sons were going to Krakow, the tenth point was entitled 'The duties of those who will accompany them' and concerned the obligations of individual members of the boys' retinue. The most important companion, who was to watch over everything, was Paweł Orchowski, Marek and Jan's principal. Sobieski addressed him directly in the manual. He was mainly responsible for entrusted voivodes<sup>73</sup>. Orchowski's father, Sebastian, accompanied Jakub on his youthful journey as an 'apprentice'<sup>74</sup>, whereas his grandfather Krzysztof served under Marek, Jakub's father<sup>75</sup>. Paweł then came from a family connected with the Sobieskis for generations, and in most probability was an educated man who enjoyed the trust of a voivode since he entrusted his sons to his care. He died during the Sobieskis' travel to Paris, as we read in the diary of this peregrination written by Sebastian Gawarecki<sup>76</sup>.

Jakub Sobieski outlined his duties in quite a detail: 'I entrust to Mr. Orchowski the seniority and fatherly authority over my sons, including all their companions, as well as the supervision of all the household and handling the financial resources, which will be given and sent to his hands. Also, in his power he will have silverware, according to the register, and the children's jewels. The expenses will be kept carefully and sent to us every quarter of a year, i.e. four times a year'<sup>77</sup>. All members of the retinue were to listen to Mr. Orchowski. 'And I oblige my sons with my fatherly command and blessing, that they should obey him in my place in all things, since we are not be parted by the sea, and with God's mercy I shall know about everything, and if, God forbid, they go against my order, then they will bear the punishment. And the whole accompanying retinue I do

<sup>73</sup> K. Targosz, *Jana Sobieskiego nauki i peregrynacje*, Wrocław 1985, pp. 29–30.

<sup>74</sup> J. Sobieski, *Peregrynacja po Europie i Droga do Baden*, ed. J. Długosz, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1991, p. 86.

<sup>75</sup> Z. Trawicka, *Jakub Sobieski 1591–1646. Studium z dziejów warstwy magnackiej w Polsce doby Wazów*, Kraków 2007, pp. 38, 68.

<sup>76</sup> S. Gawarecki, *Diariusz drogi. Podróż Jana i Marka Sobieskich po Europie 1646–1648*, introduction and edited by M. Kunicki-Goldfinger, Wilanów 2013, p. 242.

<sup>77</sup> 'Pan Orchowski, ten wszystko starszeństwo i władzę ojcowską moją, której mu powierzam, będzie miał nad synami moimi. Starszeństwo także nad tymi wszystkimi, co z niemi jadą. Dozór wszytek domowy i szafunek pieniędzy, które się do rąk jego dawać i posyłać będą. Także w mocy swojej będzie miał srebro stołowe, któremu się według rejestru da, klejnoty dziecinne. Rejestra porządnie więc będzie pisał wydatków, a nam co ćwierć roku przysyłać, to jest cztery razy do roku'. J. Sobieski, *Instrukcja Jmć Pana Jakuba Sobieskiego wojewody bełskiego, starosty krasnostawskiego, dana Jmć Panu Orchowskiemu, jako dyrektorowi Jmć Pana Marka, Jana Sobieskich, wojewodzców bełskich, gdy ich na studia do Krakowa oddawał, przez punkta pisana*, in: *Ojcowskie*, p. 305.

command to obey him and regard him as an elder<sup>78</sup>. Everyone was to obey him and in turn, Orchowski was to watch over everything: 'see to everything', so that the boys recite daily prayers, and according to the will of their father 'celebrated' all the required church services<sup>79</sup>, to make sure that 'they have adequate security among the people, as thy enjoy by God's grace at present, and with which they are leaving'<sup>80</sup>. If they behaved inappropriately while enjoying someone's hospitality, the guardian was to 'let them know, either through signs or through a boy, that what they did was unacceptable and that they should act differently'<sup>81</sup>. His duties included taking care of hygiene and appropriate clothing. He was to decide about the need for a bath, to make sure that 'they don't wear patched and torn clothes, nor deformed or overtly dirty shoes'<sup>82</sup>, or 'dive in mud', and so that they take proper care of their clothes. He should inform the family about the need to buy any new garments, or he could make such a purchase himself. He was to see to that 'in their youth the brothers loved each other, without jealousy and without quarrels'<sup>83</sup>; he was to be especially watchful if 'quarrels and bitter feelings may thicken between them'<sup>84</sup>, then he should let their father know about it 'as such things should be nipped in the bud'<sup>85</sup>. Sobieski also wanted Orchowski to make sure that the boys 'did not talk to strange boys and uncouth individuals, even if those were princes, yet of playful and crude nature, reluctant to learn, as even the best sheep could get infected quickly from a dirty sheep'<sup>86</sup>. He was also supposed to watch over their learning habits, including foreign languages, and above all, he should 'vividly suggest', that if they 'want to learn languages, let them not

<sup>78</sup> 'Synów zaś moich ojcowskim rozkazaniem i błogosławieństwem obowiązują, aby mu na miejscu moim posłuszni byli we wszystkim, boć ja nie za morzem od nich będę, da Bóg będę wiedział o wszystkim choć i skądinąd, i strzeż Boże, kiedyby mieli przeciw rozkazaniu memu wykroczyć, odnieśli by za to swoje karanie. Czeladzi zaś przy nich będącej, wszytkiej rozkazuję, żeby mu byli posłuszni i jego za starszego swego znali'. *Ibidem*.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 290.

<sup>80</sup> 'przystojne bezpieczeństwo mieli między ludźmi, jakie teraz z łaski Bożej mają, i z jakim stąd wyjeżdżają'. *Ibidem*, p. 292.

<sup>81</sup> 'dać znać, albo przez znaki jakie, albo przez chłopca, że się to nie podoba i że trzeba inaczej czynić'. *Ibidem*.

<sup>82</sup> 'w łątanych i rozdartych sukienkach nie chodzili, także ani w zaszpeconych i nazbyt pobrukanych butach'.

<sup>83</sup> 'się za młodu bracia miłowali, bez zazdrości, bez swarów'.

<sup>84</sup> 'zageszczałyby się między nimi pogwarki, niemilość'.

<sup>85</sup> 'bo takim rzeczem trzeba zawczasu zabiegać'. J. Sobieski, *Instrukcja*, p. 294.

<sup>86</sup> 'ladakim nie konwersowali, z chłopiętami cudzymi i z kondyscypułami swymi takimi, choćby też i panięta byli, coby byli swawolni, pletliwi, nauk niepilnujący, bo i najlepsza owieczka od parszywej owcy wnet się i nie chcąc zarazi'. *Ibidem*, p. 295.

be ashamed during the conversation if they say something wrong, because no one will learn a language by remaining silent'<sup>87</sup>. He should write letters informing about the boys 'every single time' and thus 'reporting on their health, successes, conversations, habits, *particularia quaeque* should not save on paper but write on every matter exhaustively'<sup>88</sup>. If the boys 'did not listen to frequent admonitions and rebukes, which I do not understand about them, Mr. Orchowski should notify me, and I will know what to do with it, as there is a rod under which the youths grow'<sup>89</sup> – Sobieski wrote.

Sobieski concluded, 'I recommend it all to the faithful, tender and kind effort and care of [Mr.] Orchowski himself, obliging him to abide by all these guidelines which I have sufficiently described. And for doing it sufficiently, he shall earn himself my grace and my never ending affection'<sup>90</sup>. Sobieski's remarks show that he trusted Orchowski and believed that he would properly take care of his sons while they were away from home. This is evidenced by the fact that Orchowski accompanied the young Sobieski brothers also on their trip to Paris, still as the main guardian, assisted by Marcjān Lisowski, who 'was burdened mainly with organizational tasks'<sup>91</sup>.

There are known cases when more people accompanied a young man in his peregrination, and their competences were not clearly outlined, which resulted in conflicts between them, as predicted by P. Mieszkowski. This was the case during the foreign trip of Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, the starost of Lviv. Wojciech Romuald Fox and Jerzy Kazimierz Woynarowski traveled with him as guardians in the years 1684–1686. The preserved correspondence shows disputes and rivalries between the guardians. Sieniawski wrote to his mother: 'Mr. Woynarowski claims supremacy over Mr. Fox'<sup>92</sup> and in another letter he adds: 'They kept scolding each other so much that I left the room and told them to give it up'<sup>93</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> 'chcą się nauczyć języków, aby konwersując, nie wstydzi się, jeśli co źle rzeką, bo milczeniem żaden się żadnego języka nie nauczy'. *Ibidem*, p. 303.

<sup>88</sup> 'dając mi znać o zdrowiu ich, o powodzeniu, o konwersacyjej, obyczajach, *particularia quaeque* niech nie żałuje papieru dowodnie każdą rzecz napisać'. *Ibidem*, p. 304.

<sup>89</sup> 'częste napominania i strofowania nie słuchali, czego o nich nie rozumiem, niech mi da znać Pan Orchowski, a ja będę wiedział, co z tym rzecz, jest pręt od tego, pod którym młodzi rosną'. *Ibidem*, p. 292.

<sup>90</sup> 'polecam to wszystko wiernemu, czulemu i zyczliwemu staraniu, i pieczołowaniu samego P[ana] Orchowskiego, obowiązując go, aby przestrzegał we wszystkim tych punktów, ode mnie dostatecznie opisanych. A za dosyć uczynieniem tego, obiecując sobie łaskę moją przeciwko sobie i afekt mój nieustawający'. *Ibidem*, p. 311.

<sup>91</sup> 'obarczony był głównie zadaniami organizacyjnymi'. K. Targosz, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>92</sup> 'sobie P. Woynarowski pretenduje zwierzchność nad P. Foxem'.

<sup>93</sup> 'bardzo się łajali, żem iż aż wyszedłszy z pokoju mówił, żeby dali sobie pokój'. Quote after A. Markiewicz, *W kręgu dworu Sieniawskich: listy Jerzego Kazimierza Woynarowskiego do Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego z lat 1685–1699*, 'Przegląd Historyczny' 2010, 101, 3, pp. 418–419.



Similarly, two guardians accompanied the older sons of Hetman Stanisław Jabłonowski, namely, Jan Stanisław and Aleksander Jan during their trip abroad in the years 1682–1688<sup>94</sup>. They were Jan Michał Kossowicz and Szymon Ignacy Gutowski. The first of them wrote a diary during the trip<sup>95</sup>, which shows that he was an educated, reliable and responsible person. He was an older and more experienced man, and that is why he was the main guardian, whereas Szymon Ignacy Gutowski supported him and acted as a middleman in his contacts with the hetman. He probably fulfilled his duties well, because the hetman sent him abroad again as the guardian of another son – Stanisław Karol. Then he stayed at the Jabłonowskis' court. In 1695 he went abroad again, accompanying another young lord, this time it was Stanisław Leszczyński, Jabłonowski's nephew, the future king of Poland<sup>96</sup>.

Jabłonowski also gave tips for the guardians in his instructions. He ordered them to write letters systematically 'by reporting on the state of health, customs and progress in learning'<sup>97</sup>. They should not hide anything from him, but only write everything as it was. 'I oblige Mr. Kossowicz and Mr. Gutowski for eternal salvation, that they may truly tell me *fideliter* all good and bad things in accordance with their duty and my instruction, whatever my sons will do, without being afraid that they might upset me but *mere* I will take it from them as a blessing, and I shall reward them greatly for it'<sup>98</sup>. Their task was also to watch over the safety of the boys, they should not take their eyes off them, but accompany them always and everywhere. Jabłonowski hoped that despite appointing two guardians, there would be no disagreements between them in matters related to the boys. He promised to reward their efforts lavishly<sup>99</sup>.

Jan Kamocki was an experienced guardian for young people and traveled abroad several times with various sons of magnate families. In 1684 he was in Padua as the guardian of Przemyśl castellan Aleksander Krasicki. In 1693

<sup>94</sup> cf. A. Markiewicz, *Podróże edukacyjne w czasach Jana III Sobieskiego. Peregrinationes Jablonovianae*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 84–85.

<sup>95</sup> J.M. Kossowicz, *Diariusz podróży po Europie (1682–1688)*, ed. A. Markiewicz, Wilanów 2017.

<sup>96</sup> A. Markiewicz, *Podróże*, pp. 84–85.

<sup>97</sup> 'oznajmując o zdrowiu, o obyczajach, o postępach w nauce'. S.J. Jabłonowski, *Kopia instrukcyjnej napisanej własną ręką Jaśnie Wielmożnego Jmci Pana Stanisława Jabłonowie Jabłonowskiego wojewody i generała ziem ruskich, hetmana polnego koronnego wielkiej ekspektatywy synom Jaśnie Wielmożnym Ich Mciom Panom Janowi i Aleksandrowi Jabłonowskim na peregrynacyją do cudzych krajów danej*, in: *Ojcowskie*, p. 477.

<sup>98</sup> 'Obliguję pana Kosowicza i pana Gutowskiego na dusznym zbawieniu, aby mi *fideliter* prawdziwie oznajmowali cokolwiek dobrego i cokolwiek nie według powinności swojej i instrukcyjnej mojej czynić będą synowie moi, nie tylko żeby mię tym urazić mieli, ale *mere* przyjmę to od nich za dobrodziejstwo i będę powinien im to nagradzać'. *Ibidem*, p. 478.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 480.

he visited Padua again, this time with Adam Piotr Tarło, who later became a voivode<sup>100</sup>. He accompanied the princes Wiśniowieckis – Janusz and Michał, the sons of Anna of Chodorowskis, who in her instructions written in 1695 recommended to her sons: ‘If you do not want to lose my maternal grace and blessing, I am begging you to observe your governor, obey him in all things, do not oppose him in any way, do not show too much interest in what you have little experience in, bearing in mind that whoever obeys the elderly, cannot err’<sup>101</sup>. Kamocki traveled with the sons of Anna Zamoyska née Gniński, the wife of the crown treasurer, in the years 1697–1701. In this case, the second preceptor was a Jesuit, Jan Krukowiecki<sup>102</sup>.

The sons of Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski were accompanied by Lviv cathedral canon, Rev. Augustyn Bernic. Their father recommended him to the boys in his instructions: ‘I make Father Bernic their director [...] not only as a special friend of my home, but also as a reliable and learned man, *multis profectioibus*, whose advice and guidance they should listen to and respect. And if he urges you to good things, be grateful and do not take offence at him like reckless youths, but instead, trustfully endure everything, as he is the one who will remain with you on my behalf and in my place’<sup>103</sup>. In this case, the boys’ guardian was a friend of their father. The canon probably accompanied their younger brother years later, when he, like Teodor and Franciszek, traveled to Paris<sup>104</sup>. Józef mentioned a ‘governor priest’ in letters to his step-sister Elżbieta Sieniawska<sup>105</sup>, and might have meant Rev. Bernic.

<sup>100</sup> A. Markiewicz, *Podróże*, p. 252.

<sup>101</sup> ‘pod łaską i macierzyńskiego błogosławieństwa utratą, zaklinam was, żebyście gubernatora swego obserwowali, we wszystkim słuchając go, w niczem mu się nie sprzeciwiając, nie interesując się do tego, w czym małą macie eksperycyją, pamiętając na to, że kto starszych słucha, błądzić nigdy nie może’. A. z Chodorowskich Dolska, *Informacja Januszowi i Michałowi Korybutom książętom Wiśniowieckim, synom moim (1695)*, in: *Ojcowskie*, p. 524.

<sup>102</sup> About Zamoyska’s manual cf. A. Kucharski, *Instrukcja podróżna Anny Zamoyskiej dla synów odbywających peregrynację po Europie na przełomie XVII i XVIII w.*, ‘Czasy Nowożytnie’ 2012, 25, pp. 209–224.

<sup>103</sup> ‘przydaję im za dyrektora Jmci księdza Bernica [...] nie tylko jako osobliwego przyjaciela domu mego, ale też jako człowieka *multis profectioibus* godnego i umięjętnego, którego rady i mandukcyi słuchać, i onego szanować powinni będą. A jeżeliliby w czym do dobrego przestrzegał, to wdzięcznie przyjmować, ani się na niego urażać, jako lekkomyślna młódź, o to nie mają, ale owszem, poufale z nim o wszytkiem znosić się, jako z tym, który z ramienia mego i na miejscu moim przy nich zostawać będzie’. S.H. Lubomirski, *Instrukcja synom do cudzych krajów ode mnie wyprawionym Theodorowi i Franciszkowi Lubomirskim w Jazdowie 29 novembris A 1699*, in: *Ojcowskie*, p. 550.

<sup>104</sup> A. Markiewicz, *Podróże*, p. 55.

<sup>105</sup> Józef Lubomirski, starosta cieszkowski, do Elżbiety Sieniawskiej, siostry, in: *Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej*, vol. 3, *Jaśnie Oświecona Mościa Książno Dobrodziejko. Rodzina, przyjaciele i klienci (wybór)*, eds. B. Popiołek, U. Kicińska, A. Słaby, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016, pp. 108–109.

Preserved instructions, written by Anna Radziwiłł née Sanguszko, related to the departure of her youngest son Hieronim Florian were addressed to him and to his guardians separately, i.e. to Rev. Kazimierz Latour and a 'Mr. pantrel' (stolnik) of an unknown name. The first one, is probably the former teacher of Hieronim's older brother, Michał Kazimierz. However, when he was involved in educating Michał, he was a lay person, a major in the private Radziwiłł army. He taught the art of warfare. It is not entirely certain that it was the same person, but it cannot be excluded either<sup>106</sup>. As for the second guardian of Hieronim Florian, it is not known who he was. Perhaps it was Michał Hieronim Czacki, a Volhynia pantler in the years 1713–1740. He might have been the one who accompanied Hieronim, but it is known that he participated in the election parliament in September 1733. But at the time when the chancellor's wife wrote her instructions, nothing promised such a turn of events. In her instructions for her son, Mrs. Radziwiłł commented on his relationship with his guardians. Hieronim should then every evening 'talk to his elders about everything that happened, where and what you saw, heard, or talked about. Your elders can thus warn you if there is any drawback in you, which you should graciously accept and strive to improve on this'<sup>107</sup>. The young man should not be offended if he is rebuked but take the advice 'because everyone out of good heart will tell you, meaning to see you as perfect as possible'<sup>108</sup>. The Chancellor's wife had confidence in her son's guardians, she knew their kindness for her family, and therefore she recommended following their advice.

Mrs. Radziwiłł gave precise instructions to Hieronim Florian's guardians. Remarks to Rev. Latour began with the comment that as a governor he should 'take care of all matters'<sup>109</sup> of her son, and therefore he was to watch over the young Radziwiłł, observe him 'in everything, ignoring the fact that then, as a young person, he doesn't like it, because there will be time when he will thank him for it when he becomes perfect'<sup>110</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> K. Stojek-Sawicka, *Duchowni katolicycy w roli nauczycieli i wychowawców Radziwiłłów nieświeżkich w XVIII wieku*, 'Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty' 2006, 45, p. 215.

<sup>107</sup> 'rozmówić się z swojemi starszemi i o wszystkim dniu co się działo, gdzieście co widzieli, słyszeli, rozmawiali. Starsi tedy twoi mogą cię przestrzec, jeżeli w tobie jaki mankament widzieli, co przyjąć łaskawie powinienes i poprawić się w tym'. A. z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowa, *Instrukcja synowi memu Hieronimowi dziecie Radziwiłłowe*, in: *Przestrogi i nauki dla dzieci. Instrukcje rodzicielskie (XVIII w.)*, introduction and explanatory notes by M.E. Kowalczyk, D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, Wrocław 2017, p. 87.

<sup>108</sup> 'gdyż każdy z dobrego serca mówić ci będzie, chcąc cię widzieć jak najdoskonalszym'. *Ibidem*.

<sup>109</sup> 'mieć staranie o wszystkich akcjach'.

<sup>110</sup> 'we wszystkim, nie uważając na to, że się to podczas, jako młodemu, nie podoba,

The guardian was to take care of the young man's health, pay attention to what and how much he eats, watch over the first aid kit, so that Hieronim 'would not take the medicine himself and end up hurting himself in any way'<sup>111</sup>. His background obliged the young Radziwiłł to have proper company, so the governor should be careful with whom Hieronim is dealing with, and if Latour's recommendations did not help, then it was necessary to report this to his mother. Every day he should be with his charge from the very morning and make sure mother's instructions were fulfilled 'in respect to both devotion and appropriate clothing'<sup>112</sup>. Ideally, he should sleep in the same room with the young man, or very close to his chamber. 'And all business must always be consulted jointly with the pantler and Mr. Mogilnicki, and together always make every effort in my son's best interest'<sup>113</sup>.

The pantler received slightly longer instructions. They were of a different nature than those directed to the governor. They contain comments on how Hieronim should behave depending on the situation or the person he was meeting. For instance, with the prince-electors he should be all smiles and jovial, and never miserable. He should not laze about since the electors does not like that. The young Radziwiłł was to spend time 'engaging in games and beautiful conversations everywhere, especially in electors' rooms'<sup>114</sup>. The pantler's work was to supervise all these activities. He was also responsible for looking after Radziwiłł's butlers so that they behave properly and dress cleanly. He also had to take care of princely costumes and appropriate clothing.

Another example of a 'professional' tutor is Captain Marcin Kawiecki associated with the Rzewuski family<sup>115</sup>. He was employed by the Grand Crown Hetman Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski. First, he entrusted his eldest son to his protection, and in connection with Seweryn's trip abroad,

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będzie bowiem ten czas, że mu będzie za to dziękował, gdy się doskonałym stanie'. A. z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowa, *Informacja Jego Mości księdzu Latourowi archidiakonowi białostockiemu, gubernatorowi syna mego Hieronima, jadącego do cudzych krajów, dana, in: Przestrogi*, p. 93.

<sup>111</sup> 'lekarstwa sam nie wziął i zaszkodził w czym sobie'.

<sup>112</sup> 'tak co do nabożeństwa, jako też i do ochędostwa ciała jego należy'.

<sup>113</sup> 'O wszystkich zaś interesach zawsze spólnie naradzić się z Jm P stolnikiem i Jm P Mogilnickim i pospołu zawsze staranie czynić we wszystkich interesach syna mego'. A. z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowa, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>114</sup> 'na każdym miejscu, jako też i najbardziej na pokojach elektorskich, zabawiając się grammi, albo konwersacyjami jakimi piękniemi'.

<sup>115</sup> M. Kawiecki, *Refleksyje do przyszłej peregrynacyi Jmć Pana starosty chełmskiego a s.p. Jmć Pana wojewody wołyńskiego podane JW. Jmć Panu hetmanowi wielkiemu koronnemu ojcu jego przez Jmć Pana Kawieckiego gubernera tegoż*, in: *Przestrogi*, p. 19; cf. A. Markiewicz, *Podróże*, p. 43.

he wrote 'Reflections for the future peregrination of the Chełm staroste'. This specific travel instruction is addressed to the young man's father and contains suggestions for the future journey. Kawiecki emphasizes his experience and expertise, 'which I was able to gain', he wrote, 'working on similar posts'<sup>116</sup>. Therefore, it can be assumed that the expedition with Seweryn Rzewuski was not the first one in Kawiecki's career. His presence in Paris in 1718 was noted by Felicjan Junosza Piaskowski in his diary, but he did not state what was the purpose of Kawiecki's stay there<sup>117</sup>. Kawiecki's experience meant that Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski not only put his eldest son under his protection, but also asked for advice on matters of the planned journey, which can be traced in the above-mentioned 'Reflections'. Shortly after his return, Kawiecki set off again, this time as the guardian of the younger son, Waclaw Piotr Rzewuski<sup>118</sup>. And when he finished his service with Rzewuski, he was employed by the Sanguszko family, as a tutor of Janusz, the son of Paweł Karol<sup>119</sup>. From the time when he accompanied Rzewuski, extensive correspondence has survived, including Kawiecki's letters to Stanisław Mateusz, in which he submitted 'systematic reports [...] on account of the [...] educational and custodial function'<sup>120</sup>. As well as, letters sent from the Republic of Poland to foreign lands. In one of his letters the father reminded that the son was to be obedient to the tutor 'in all things, following his opinion and advice'<sup>121</sup>.

Ludwik Antoni Caraccioli managed the education of Waclaw Rzewuski's sons during their journeys<sup>122</sup>. First, in the years 1755–1757, he looked after the older boys Józef and Stanisław, and then took over the supervision of the youngest Seweryn, who traveled in the years 1759–1761. The father's instructions included recommendations for obedience to him.

<sup>116</sup> 'której mogłem nabyć – pisał – będąc na podobnych funkcjach'. M. Kawiecki, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>117</sup> *Pamiętnik Felicjana Junoszy Piaskowskiego podstolego podlaskiego, majora JKMcI, poczynawszy od roku 1690*, Lwiv 1865, p. 71.

<sup>118</sup> A. Wieczorek, *W 'drodże paryskiej' – podróże edukacyjne Seweryna Józefa i Wacława Rzewuskich w latach dwudziestych XVIII wieku*, in: *Studia z dziejów edukacji w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów Korony i Litwy*, eds. K. Puchowski, J. Orzeł, Wilanów 2019, pp. 143–177.

<sup>119</sup> A. Markiewicz, *Podróże*, pp. 51–52.

<sup>120</sup> 'systematyczne sprawozdania [...] z racji pełnionej [...] funkcji wychowawczo-opiekuńczej'. A. Kucharski, S. Roszak, A. Wieczorek, *O podróżach edukacyjnych w XVII i XVIII wieku – przypadek Rzewuskich*, in: *Spoleczne i kulturowe uwarunkowania edukacji Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII wieku. Materiały z badań*, part 1, ed. K. Puchowski, Warszawa 2017, p. 82, [http://pth.net.pl/uploads/IRP\\_Raport\\_1.pdf](http://pth.net.pl/uploads/IRP_Raport_1.pdf) [accessed on: 30 IV 2019].

<sup>121</sup> 'we wszystkim stosując się do zdania i rady jego'. Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie, rkps 558, p. 515, Letter from Stanisław Mateusz to Seweryn, from Lubomia 27 II 1722.

<sup>122</sup> H. Waniczkówna, *Caraccioli Ludwik Antoni de*, in: PSB, vol. 3, Kraków 1937, p. 202.

Seweryn's father wrote him three instructions, the first one when he left for Warsaw to study and the remaining two related to his trip abroad<sup>123</sup>. One of them is information for Ignacy Rulikowski, who probably took the boy to Vienna<sup>124</sup>. Apart from Rulikowski, Seweryn was accompanied by Lieutenant Colonel Bock. The guardians were to hand Seweryn over to Caraccioli, mentioned above. The father repeatedly emphasized in his writings that the son should be obedient to his guardians. 'My son should obey Lieutenant Bok as much as I do, until he gives him over to Lord Caraccioli, God permitting. Also, my son is to listen carefully to the advice and opinions of Mr. Rulikowski. During the trip Mr. Rulikowski is to get on with Lieutenant Colonel Bock'<sup>125</sup>. As one can see, the guardians should communicate with each other and jointly determine what is important for the benefit of the young man. In recommendations addressed to his son Rzewuski wrote: 'Lord Caraccioli is to be obeyed like one's own father, and nothing may be done without his consent'<sup>126</sup>. Caraccioli combined the duties of a tutor and a chamberlain, so he had to supervise not only the education of those under his care, but also the organizational and financial side of the peregrination<sup>127</sup>.

## SUMMARY

Sending sons to study or on an educational journey abroad, which sometimes lasted for several years, was a special enterprise requiring diligence in the selection of the person who was supposed to take care of the young man, his education, and the accompanying retinue. Boys and young men sent from their homes to distant schools traveled in the company of their current home teachers or guardians employed by their parents specifically for this purpose. They were sometimes, one could say, professional carers accompanying young people from different families,

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<sup>123</sup> cf. W.P. Rzewuski, *Informacja synowi memu Sewerynowi do Wiednia i dalszych cudzych krajów jadącemu dana dnia 14 Februarrii Roku Pańskiego 1759 w Podhorcach*, in: *Przestrogi*, pp. 139–164.

<sup>124</sup> W.P. Rzewuski, *Informacja Jegomości Panu Rulikowskiemu die 12 Februarrii 1759 w Podhorcach*, in: *Przestrogi*, p. 160.

<sup>125</sup> 'Mój syn powinien słuchać Jmci Pana obersztlejtnanta Boka tak jak mnie samego, póty aż go odda, da Bóg, Jmć Pan Bok Jmci Panu Caracciolemu. Także mój syn ma mieć atencyją na radę i zdanie Jmci Pana Rulikowskiego. W drodze Jmć Pan Rulikowski ma się znosić z Jmci Panem obersztlejtnantem Bokiem'.

<sup>126</sup> 'Jmci Pana Caraciollego tak właśnie jak ojca słuchać potrzeba, nic bez niego nie czyniąć'. W.P. Rzewuski, *Informacja synowi*, p. 152.

<sup>127</sup> A. Kucharski, S. Roszak, A. Wieczorek, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

passed on and recommended to friends and relatives. The experience they had from previous trips increased their value and it was easier for them to find a lucrative job. The boys were entrusted to them for a few years or sometimes even more, without the possibility of quick reaction in difficult situations on the part of the parents. Although they were certainly carefully selected, it was not always the best choice, as they sometimes proved to be unworthy of the trust that had been placed in them<sup>128</sup>.

To date, research into the phenomenon of traveling for educational purposes has mainly dealt with the experience of young travelers, and, only to a lesser extent, the people accompanying them, although several articles have been published on this subject<sup>129</sup>. It is understandable especially that the travel was undertaken in the interest of the traveling nobleman, and since he was most important everything revolved around him. However, the analysis of various sources clearly shows the importance of a guardian during such a journey. They were very diverse people in every respect: social and religious background, nationality, education and competence. Often, after finishing work as a guardian of young travelers, they went down in history in various roles performed at the courts of their former pupils or elsewhere. There were many outstanding and important individuals in this group. Among the guardians one can find poets: Erazm Otwinowski, Salomon Rysiński, Daniel Naborowski, professors of the Krakow Academy: Szymon Marycjusz, Mikołaj Śmieszkowicz, Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, scholars: Joachim Pastorius, clergy of different denominations – Catholics: Piotr Skarga, P. Mieszkowski, Protestants: Krzysztof Treacy, Jan Jonston. Among them there were foreigners: Ludwik Antoni Caraccioli, Saint-Maurice de Saint-Leu, a French colonel in Polish service. Guardians and preceptors were often of plebeian origin, but representatives of the nobility also used to take up this occupation. It was first and foremost noblemen coming from the closest surroundings of the

<sup>128</sup> cf. the case of Jan Firlej and his troubles regarding the foreign education of his sons, Andrzej and Henryk, J. Freylichówna, *Ideat wychowawczy szlachty polskiej w XVI i początku XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1938, pp. 163–164; also J. Firlej, *Instrukcja dana panu Amandusowi do prowadzenia synów*, in: *Ojcowskie*, pp. 135–142.

<sup>129</sup> cf. a.o.: M. Pawlak, *Kilka uwag o opiekunach polskich peregrynantów w XVI i XVII wieku*, in: *Między wielką polityką a szlacheckim partykularzem. Studia z dziejów nowożytnej Polski i Europy*, Toruń 1993, pp. 113–124; B. Obtulowicz, *Guwernerzy XVI–XVII wieku w praktyce wychowawczej, literaturze pedagogicznej i obyczajowej*, in: *Wokół Wacława Potockiego. Studia i szkice staropolskie w 300. rocznicę śmierci poety*, eds. J. Malicki, D. Rott, Katowice 1997, pp. 22–62; M. Chachaj, *Duchowni jako opiekunowie staropolskich studentów w obcych krajach*, in: *Itinera clericorum. Kulturotwórcze i religijne aspekty podróży duchownych*, eds. D. Quirini-Popławska, Ł. Burkiewicz, Kraków 2014, pp. 205–224; D. Żołędź-Strzelczyk, *O opiekunach i innych towarzyszach podróży*, 'Studia Edukacyjne' 1996, 2, pp. 77–89.

charge, sometimes associated with his family for generations. It is important to emphasize how important was the role the carers of young people played not only during the journey. Their impact on the personality of the children was extremely significant. What they passed on to young people during the years of study and travel had a permanent value. At times their relationships with guardians and preceptors were stronger and closer than with their own fathers. They spent more time with them, which was important considering that it was during the period of young people's personality development. This was noticed at the time, as evidenced by the above-quoted comments by Stanisław Żółkiewski saying that the son will be just like the inspector selected for him. Being with their pupils for a long time, guardians undoubtedly shaped their minds as well as the view of the world, as well as their relationships with other people. Therefore, from the charges' point of view, the competences of the guardians and the plenipotence granted by the parents were of great importance. Their efforts and their influence on young people were undoubtedly one of the ways leading to the formation of the elites of the Polish gentry. Thus, they constituted an important link both in the educational strategy for the individual, in the family context, and for the estates, in the social context. They participated in the upbringing and education of subsequent generations of noble youth, carrying out their fathers', but also more general, philosophical and pedagogical recommendations.

(translation Damian Podleśny and Piotr Maćkała)

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#### STRESZCZENIE

Od początku XVI do końca XVIII stulecia zwyczaj wysyłania młodych ludzi w szeroko rozumianych celach edukacyjnych występował na terenie całej prawie Europy. W trwających nieraz kilka lat podróżach młodym peregrynantom towarzyszył mniejszy lub większy, w zależności od możliwości finansowych i rangi rodziny, orszak. Najważniejszą rolę wśród osób wchodzących w skład tego orszaku stanowił ochmistrz lub preceptor. To on na czas podróży w pewnym sensie przejmował funkcje rodzicielskie.

Podstawą artykułu są dwa rodzaje źródeł. Pierwszy to traktaty apodemiczne, drugi rodzicielskie wskazówki pisane dla wyruszających na nauki z domu młodych ludzi i ich opiekunów. Apodemiki mają charakter ogólnych wskazówek, instrukcje zaś indywidualnych zaleceń dotyczących konkretnych osób i peregrynacji. W pierwszym przypadku sięgnięto do traktatów napisanych przez Teodora Zwingera, Samuela Neugebauera, Richarda Lasselsa oraz Piotra Mieszkowskiego by pokazać jakie były teoretyczne zapatrywania na rolę opiekuna, cechy jakimi powinien się charakteryzować. W drugim wykorzystano zalecenia zawarte w instrukcjach napisanych przez Krzysztofa Radziwiłła, Jakuba Sobieskiego, Piotra Myszkowskiego, Stanisława Jabłonowskiego, Stanisława Herakliusza Lubomirskiego, Anny z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowej, Wacława Rzewuskiego.

Zarówno jeden, jak i drugi rodzaj źródeł podkreślał jak istotna jest rola opiekuna, któremu powierzano młodego człowieka. Zadaniem rodziców był przede wszystkim wybór odpowiedniego człowieka i nakazanie synowi posłuszeństwa względem niego.

**Słowa kluczowe:** precept, opiekun, podróże edukacyjne, epoka nowożytna, apodemiki, instrukcje rodzicielskie

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