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## THE JESUITS AS THE BODY OF TEACHERS AND THE BODY OF STUDENTS IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE 1773–1820<sup>1</sup>

The Society of Jesus, a male religious order in the Catholic Church, was active in the field of education as early as in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It happened to operate in the territories ruled by the tsars of Orthodox Russia due to the political expansion of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Parts of the Republic of Poland were annexed by Russia in September 1772 during the First Partition, when Poland lost 92,000 square kilometers of land and 1,3 million inhabitants to the neighboring powers. In the territories that were incorporated into Russia, the Jesuits owned some premises in 18 places; 6 of them were colleges or residence houses, and 12 were mission stations.

In this way, against their will, only for political reasons, 201 members of the order: 97 fathers, 49 seminarians and 55 brothers – became inhabitants of the Russian Empire. In the Russian-occupied territories, they were working as pastors and educators for years, running 6 tuition-free secondary schools (one of them offered philosophical and theological courses, mainly for Jesuit students), 6 schools of music, 3 boarding schools for poor gentry youth and 1 study house (*convictus*) for the sons of noble families<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The first version of this article was presented at the ISCHE [The International Standing Conference for the History of Education] “Education and the Body” in Chicago in 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. P. Bieś, *Periodyzacja obecności Towarzystwa Jezusowego na ziemiach polskich. Struktury organizacyjne oraz edukacyjno-oświatowe i pastoralne formy aktywności, cz. 1* [The periodization of presence of the Society of Jesus on the Polish territory. Organizational, educational and pastoral forms of activity, the first part], „Studia Paedagogica Ignatiana” 2014, Vol. 17, p. 77–78; M. Inglot, *How the Jesuits survived their suppression: The Society of Jesus in the Russian Empire (1773–1814)*, Philadelphia, Saint Joseph’s University Press, 2015, p. 2; M. Inglot, *Jezuici w Imperium Rosyjskim (1772–1820) i przywrócenie Towarzystwa Jezusowego (1814)* [The Jesuits in the Russian Empire (1772–1820) and the restoration of the Society of Jesus

The Jesuit school in Połock (now Polatsk, Belarus) was one of the oldest as it was opened in 1584. The school in Orsza (now Orsha, Belarus) was founded in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (1617). In the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Jesuits opened the schools in Dyneburg (1638) (now Daugavpils, Latvia) and Witebsk (1648) (now Vitebsk, Belarus), and two more schools, in Mohylew (Mogilev, Belarus) and Mścislaw (Mstislav, Belarus) in the last decade of the century (1690)<sup>3</sup>. The other educational institutions were appended to older schools; they were established thanks to endowments from the nobility who supported the development of the local educational system.

Since 1599 teaching and upbringing in Jesuit schools were regulated by a collection of detailed standards and norms which was called *Ratio studiorum*. The document comprised 467 rules which had been worked out by the order during the period of about fifty years, and its subsequent versions underwent practical verification in schools. *Ratio*'s guidelines specified the methods and organization of the teaching process both in the classroom and in the entire school, and curricula were provided for particular education levels. Another point of focus was religious education and the significance of religious motivation both for students and their instructors<sup>4</sup>.

The rules of *Ratio studiorum* were divided into 30 sections that discussed all school tasks and functions. They presented a top-down hierarchy of responsibilities for covering the syllabuses as well as the internal auditing system. The ultimate responsibility for the education network within a province of the order rested with the provincial superior, who was nominated by the Superior General. The provincial superior was supposed to appoint prefects, lecturers and teachers from among all the Jesuits of the province, as well as to observe their classes every year and to get acquainted with the outcomes of the teaching process. Individual schools, and later on other institutions that had not been mentioned in *Ratio studiorum*, such as schools of music or boarding houses, were managed by superiors or rectors of local Jesuit communities. Those rulers were appointed by the

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(1814)]. „Studia Bobolanum” 2015, No. 1, p. 24–25; S. Obirek, *Jesuits in Poland and eastern Europe*, in: *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, ed. Th. Worcester, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 141–142, 146–147.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. P. Bieś, *Jezuickie instytucje edukacyjne w Orszy 1773–1820 [The Jesuit educational institutions in Orsza 1773–1820]*, „Studia Paedagogica Ignatiana” 2016, Vol. 19, No. 3, p. 17–18; M. Ingłot, *How...*, p. 20; I. Kadulska, *Akademia Połocka: Ośrodek kultury na Kresach 1812–1820 [The Academy in Połock: The culture centre in the Borderlands]*, Gdańsk, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2004, p. 5–7; *Szkoły jezuickie w porządku chronologicznym założenia [The Jesuit schools in the chronological order of establishment]*, in: *Z dziejów szkolnictwa jezuickiego w Polsce. Wybór artykułów [From the history of the Jesuit education in Poland. The selection of articles]*, ed. J. Paszenda, Kraków, Wydawnictwo WAM, 1994, p. 14–16; S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce [The Jesuits in Poland]*, Vol. 4, part 3, Kraków, W. L. Anczyc, 1905, p. 1055–1059, 1067.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. P. Bieś, E. Dybowska, L. Grzebień, *Pedagogia jezuitów (ignacjańska) [Towarzystwa Jezusowego] [The Jesuit pedagogy of the Society of Jesus]*, in: *Pedagogie katolickich zgromadzeń zakonnych: Historia i współczesność [The pedagogies of Catholic monastic congregations: the past and the present]*, Vol. 1, ed. J. Kostkiewicz, Kraków, Impuls, 2012, p. 64–65; J. W. Donohue, *Jesuit Education: An Essay on the Foundation of Its Idea*, New York, Fordham University Press, 1963; L. Piechnik, *Powstanie i rozwój jezuickiej „Ratio studiorum” [The establishment and development of the Jesuit “Ratio Studiorum”]*, Kraków, Wydawnictwo WAM, 2003.

provincial superior. Their collaborators, who directly oversaw schools and other educational institutions, were the so-called prefects. Those schools that offered philosophical and theological courses had two prefects: for the five-year secondary level and the tertiary level. A prefect had to hold placement examinations for entrants and to place them in grades appropriate for their achievement, to observe classes every two weeks, to schedule public examinations, and to chair examination boards. Therefore, in several educational institutions the prefect had an assistant (*socius*), a seminarian or a brother, to relieve him of some of his duties.

Two separate sets of common rules described the tasks, duties and working techniques for the lecturers of theology and philosophy, and for the secondary education teachers; both groups of educators reported to prefects. The individual rules referred to particular syllabus content for four theological subjects (the Bible, Hebrew, scholastic and moral theology), three philosophical subjects (philosophy, ethics, mathematics) and five subjects taught at the secondary level (rhetoric, poetics, syntax, grammar and the first grade courses). Other sets of rules concerned secondary school pupils and students who were Jesuits (they were called scholastics), lay pupils and students (externs), as well as auxiliary staff, namely janitors<sup>5</sup>.

The model of functioning of the Jesuit school, as outlined in *Ratio studiorum*, is highly reminiscent of the Biblical metaphor of the body (cf. 1 Cor 12,12-26) as one whole system consisting of many components, its members, that fulfil their specific functions, thus, contributing to the wellbeing of the system as well as its individual parts. In this system, the parts' functionality and purposefulness are lost if they are not viewed as interconnected. This particular body is a conglomerate of functionalities whose vital powers are exercised (and proven) when its members take over more and more responsibility for the perpetual and the most important process in the system, namely teaching and learning.

From the 1599 Jesuit school regulations, one can also draw a conclusion about the interrelatedness and reciprocity between the two communities that inhabit the academic space. *Ratio studiorum* does not build any opposition between the teaching body and the student body, but shows their common goal which can be reached in different, yet complementary ways. In practice, the rapprochement between the two groups was possible and the potential antagonisms were eliminated thanks to the fact that the Jesuits moved freely from one group to the other or belonged to both at the same time as they studied one subject and taught another.

<sup>5</sup> For an English version of *Regulae* see the first translation by Asher Raymond Ball in: *St. Ignatius and the Ratio studiorum*, ed. E. A. Fitzpatrick, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1933, the second by Allan P. Farrell, *The Jesuit "Ratio studiorum" of 1599*, Washington, Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970, and the third by Claude Paur, *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education*, Saint Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005. The Polish version of the document was translated by Tadeusz Bieńkowski and Agnieszka Stachowicz and published in: *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum SJ czyli Ustawa szkolna Towarzystwa Jezusowego [Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum SJ i.e. the School Act of the Society of Jesus]*, ed. K. Bartnicka and T. Bieńkowski, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Ateneum, 2000, p. 33–128; cf. also A. P. Bieś, *Ratio studiorum*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka [Catholic Encyclopedia]*, Vol. 16, ed. Edward Gigilewicz, Lublin, TN KUL, 2012, columns 1226–1227.

A future priest would typically enter the Society of Jesus having completed the rhetoric course and then began his two-year novitiate. Then, for a year, he could revise rhetoric during a special course intended only for Jesuits (called *Privata academia*, *Seminarium Nostrorum* or *Rhetorica Nostrorum*) under the guidance of an experienced and highly esteemed professor of the subject, or alternatively he could begin his three-year philosophical studies. Having graduated from the latter, he became a qualified teacher (*magister*). Tapping on his own experience and the instructions contained in *Ratio studiorum*, he worked as a teacher for four years in the grammar grades, usually changing the grade and the school every year. After four years of training, he joined the students again, this time taking courses in theology, and finally got ordained as a priest. Afterwards, he could continue his teaching career, mainly in the poetics and rhetoric courses, become a lecturer at the tertiary level (studies of philosophy and theology), and take administrative and supervisory positions in his institution<sup>6</sup>.

Still, there were many exceptions to this model of the teaching career at some of its stages. The changes in the rules were often connected with the teacher's individual gifts, the experience he had acquired before entering the order, or the local praxis. The educational praxis stemmed also from the fact that teaching was one of the numerous and varied activities conducted by the order and that it was necessary to take account of the current needs of each province.

Since the archives in Rome and Cracow have partly preserved the Jesuits' personal data, in either a manuscript or a printed form, in personal registers and annual catalogs (*catalogus brevis*), obituaries, as well as official and private correspondence, it is feasible to establish the size of particular Jesuit communities in selected periods; the nationality and social status of the members; their average age, educational background, and the course of professional career; the requirements that were posed to the alumni; and the selection criteria for responsible supervisory positions<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. S. Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół jezuickich w Polsce: Studium z dziejów kultury i szkolnictwa polskiego* [The fall and restoration of Jesuit schools in Poland: A study of the history of Polish culture and education], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Księży Jezuitów, 1933, p. 98–111; L. Piechnik, *Początki seminariów nauczycielskich w Polsce w wieku XVI* [The beginnings of teachers' seminars in Poland in the 16<sup>th</sup> century], in: *Z dziejów...*, p. 63–65.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A. P. Bieś, *Nauczyciele szkół jezuickich w imperium rosyjskiego (1773–1820) w źródłach zakonnych* [Teachers of Jesuit schools in the Russian Empire (1773–1820) in monastic sources], in: *Badania biograficzne w pedagogice: Studia źródłowe i bibliograficzne* [Biographical research into pedagogy: Source and bibliographic studies], ed. W. Szulakiewicz, Toruń, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2015, p. 175–179; L. Grzebień, *Dokumentacja osobowa w archiwach Towarzystwa Jezusowego ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem ziem polskich 1564–1773* [The personal documentation in the archives of the Society of Jesus with particular emphasis on the Polish territory 1564–1773], in: *Stan i perspektywy rozwoju biografistyki polskiej* [The condition and development prospects of Polish biographical writings], ed. L. Kuberski, Opole, Uniwersytet Opolski, 1998, p. 73–74; J. Kochanowicz, *Źródła do dziejów oświaty jezuickiej okresu staropolskiego* [The sources regarding the history of the Jesuit education in the old Polish period], in: *Źródła w badaniach naukowych historii edukacji* [The sources in scientific research into the history of education], ed. W. Szulakiewicz, Toruń, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2003, p. 29.

As can be seen from the compilation of the data contained in the annual catalogues<sup>8</sup> in the territories that were later annexed by Russia, just before the Partitions of Poland, the Jesuit teaching “corpus” included 54 clergymen in 6 towns (32 priests, 20 seminarians and 2 brothers), whereas the student “corpus” included 43 clergymen (13 priests and 30 scholastics) in Połock only.

Five Jesuits, two priests and three seminarians, belonged to both corpora simultaneously. Third-year students of theology, Rev. Antoni Byszkowski and Rev. Bazyli Szlachta taught mathematics and architecture to lay students (who were not members of the order), respectively; first-year students of theology, Stanisław Kluczyński and Wincenty Kryński, taught rudimentary Biblical languages and advanced Greek; and a third-year student of philosophy, Jakub Zaręba, taught elementary Greek.

Considering the responsibilities of 54 members of the pedagogical body, one can see that 24 Jesuits were engaged exclusively in the supervisory, administrative and formational tasks. They were rectors and superiors, prefects, supervisors of boarding schools and their collaborators. Frequently, they held such functions in several institutions. For instance, Rev. Mikołaj Leonowicz, who worked in Połock, headed the school of music, the seminary for poor students, and the boarding school. Fortunately, he had an assistant in the school of music, Brother Antoni Krupski, who was an experienced person as he had held the position for twenty-five years. Also the prefect of the boarding school and seminary in Orsza, Rev. Konstanty Hołowczyc was supported by Brother Józef Mączewski, who had worked for eighteen years in the school of music. Rev. Bazyli Zagórski in Orsza and Rev. Józef Kattenbring in Połock concurrently supervised both the school and the library. There was only one person, Rev. Jan Hercyk in Połock, who had both administrative and didactic responsibilities at the same time: he was the prefect of the philosophical courses and a lecturer in theology.

The largest group within the pedagogical body, including 29 people, was involved almost exclusively in teaching tasks. Among them, only five from the above mentioned Jesuits had to reconcile their school jobs and studying. Over half of them were those 18 seminarians who taught at the secondary level.

Among 43 Jesuits who belonged to the student body in Połock, 28 studied theology (between the first and the fourth year) and 12 studied philosophy in the first and the third year. The new advancements in sciences, and the practical needs of the order and local communities forced the Jesuits to include more mathematical and physical problems in their humanist educational system, especially in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. One of the solutions was to organize specialist courses the scope of which was not covered by the school regulations. Therefore, in Połock a small

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<sup>8</sup> *Catalogus personarum et officiorum Provinciae Masoviae Societatis Jesu ex anno 1772 in annum 1773*, Nesvisii, in: Archiwum Prowincji Polski Południowej Towarzystwa Jezusowego w Krakowie; later ATJKr.), ref. 1758 II; *Catalogus brevis personarum et officiorum Provinciae Lituanae Societatis Iesu ex anno 1772 in annum 1773*, Vilnae, in: Biblioteka Ossolineum, ref. XVIII 2047.



team of 3 Jesuits who had completed their philosophical studies consolidated their knowledge of mathematics and architecture during a yearly revision course, while 5 out of 12 theological students in their first year additionally participated in architecture lectures.

For the Jesuits, both the instructors and the students, the annexation of Polish territories by the Russian Empire was like an amputation or dismemberment. The new border made it impossible for them to stay in touch with the provincial superior, which was an obstacle to the proper functioning of the system, while the Jesuits and their schools became a “foreign body” in the annexed lands, an alien element in the different political and religious framework. The isolation, insecurity and disconnection became even more severe when the order was suppressed<sup>9</sup> and ceased to function in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between September and mid-November 1773.

In such circumstances, following the guidelines of their ordinary bishops and remaining loyal to the new ruler, Tsarina Catherine – who refused to submit to the papal decision and did not suppress the Society of Jesus in Russia – the Jesuits attempted to continue their effort and waited for the final decision to be taken. Between 1773–1774, due to the unstable situation and their serious doubts about the legal status of the congregation, 53 clergymen left the order<sup>10</sup>. Regrettably, as there is no adequate data from that period, it is impossible to assess how many of them belonged to the student and to the teaching body, respectively. The only facts that can be confirmed by the extant 1775 register<sup>11</sup> are the number of 13 *magisters* who taught in the schools in Mohylew, Mścislaw, Orsza, and Witebsk, and 27 seminarians in Połock. There is no available data from that period pertaining to the school in Dyneburg.

The canonical and legal status of the Jesuits in Belarus was slowly and gradually stabilized: the rector of the college in Połock became the provincial superior (1774), the seminarians were ordained (1776), and the residence houses received those ex-Jesuits from the Lithuanian and Mazovian provinces who expressed a wish to move there. As a result, the emaciated “bodies” were continuously fortified and the hitherto enterprises were not abandoned.

<sup>9</sup> To see more about the canonical and legal regulations of suppression of the Order and its survival in the Russian Empire W. V. Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, St. Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1986, p. 363–430; G. C. Cordara, *On the Suppression of the Society of Jesus: A contemporary account*, translated by: J. P. Murphy, Chicago, Loyola Press, 1999; M. Inglot, *How...*, p. 29–46; Th. M. McCoog, *Historical introduction*, in: *“Promising Hope”: Essays on the Suppression and Restoration of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, ed. Th. M. McCoog, Rome, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2003, p. 1–25; S. F. Smith, *The Suppression of the Society of Jesus*, ed. J. A. Munitiz, Leominster, Gracewing, 2004; J. Wright, *The Suppression and Restoration*, in *The Cambridge Companion...*, p. 263–277; and in Polish: R. Danieluk, *Kasata Towarzystwa Jezusowego: jej przyczyny i historiografia [The dissolution of the Society of Jesus: its reasons and historiography]*, „Studia Bobolanum” 2015, No. 1, p. 5–21; M. Inglot, *Jezuici...*, p. 23–40.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. M. Inglot, *How...*, p. 30.

<sup>11</sup> *Catalogus jesuitarum in Alba Rusia anno 1775*, in: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (later: ARSI), ref. Russ. 1032 C 35 p. 1–4. It is a manuscript copy of the files from Warsaw’s Nunciature (see Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Nunciaturae Poloniae 119, die 1/12 II 1775) made by Józef Brząkański (1863–1926).

In the second half of 1776, the student body included 11 theology students and 7 philosophy students in Połock. In 6 secondary schools there were 17 teachers. At the higher education level, also in Połock, there were 3 professors of theology, 2 professors of philosophy and a professor of architecture<sup>12</sup>.

In the next years, more signs of the new balance and stabilization were noticed: a novitiate for the prospective Jesuits was opened (1780), the General Congregation was held (1782), and the order accepted former Jesuits arriving from many European countries. As the number of Order's members increased and their organization grew stronger, new schools were opened in Saint Petersburg (1801)<sup>13</sup>, Romanów<sup>14</sup> and Riga (1813), and Użwałd (1815); while the main school in Połock was turned into the university (1812). Only one of the older schools, in Dyneburg, had to be closed in 1811 because the Russian army wanted to extend their fortress there<sup>15</sup>.

The steady development of the system was suddenly stunted in December 1815. Tsar Alexander I issued a decree in which he stipulated that the Jesuits should immediately leave the capital of the Empire. Yet the closure of the school and college for noble youth in Saint Petersburg was only the first step in the process of the radical removal of the Jesuits from Russia, which was accomplished soon after the death of, Tadeusz Brzozowski, Superior General, in Połock in March 1820<sup>16</sup>.

The fortuitously preserved printed catalog of the members and works of the Society in the Russian Empire for the period falling at the turn of 1819/1820 is a quite fair representation of the educational endeavors of the Jesuits in the advent of the abrupt and dramatic end of their longstanding labors<sup>17</sup>. At that time in the Belarusian province there were 343 members of the order living in 14 houses and 6 mission areas. Nine of them housed Jesuit educational institutions. The pedagogical body included 101 members: 75 priests and 26 seminarians. So, in

<sup>12</sup> *Catalogus personarum et officiorum vice-provinciae Alba-Russia ex anno 1776 in annum 1777*, in: ARSI, ref. Russ. 1032 C 36 p. 1–8. It is a manuscript copy of the files from Warsaw's Nunciature (Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Nunciaturae Poloniae 319, die 17 II 1777) made by Józef Brząkański (1863–1926).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. D. L. Schlaflly, *True to the Ratio Studiorum? Jesuit Colleges in St. Petersburg*, „History of Education Quarterly” 1997, Vol. 37, No. 4, p. 421–434.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. B. Topij–Stempińska, *Dziedzictwo edukacyjne dziewiętnastowiecznych szkół jezuickich: Gimnazjum w Romanowie na Wołyniu [Educational heritage of the Jesuit schools in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: the Gymnasium in Romanów, Volhynia]*, in: *Dziedzictwo Kresów: Kultura, narody, wyznania [The legacy of the Borderlands: culture, awards, religions]*, ed. I. Kozimała, A. Królikowska, B. Topij–Stempińska, Kraków, Wydawnictwo WAM, 2014, p. 95–106.

<sup>15</sup> After the Collegium in Dyneburg was closed, the five grade school was organized in Krasław, where it existed from 1811 to 1813. Cf. A. P. Bieś, *Nauczyciele...*, p. 173; I.G. [J. M. Giżycki], *Materiały do dziejów Akademii Połockiej i szkół od niej zależnych [Materials regarding the history of the Academy in Połock and its affiliated schools]*, Kraków, W. L. Anczyz, 1905, p. 172–173; S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce [The Jesuits in Poland]*, Vol. 5, part 1, Kraków, W. L. Anczyz, 1906, p. 357–358.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. M. Inglot, *Jezuici...*, p. 38–39.

<sup>17</sup> *Catalogus sociorum et officiorum Societatis Jesu in Imperio Rossiaco ex anno 1819 in annum 1820*, Polociae, in: ATJKr. ref. 1757.

the course of nearly 50 years, the number of clergymen who were involved in education almost doubled, although there were no Jesuit brothers among them. The largest team of 40 people – 33 priests and 7 brothers – worked in Połock, with its college of three faculties, the secondary school and the boarding house. Romanów, which was the seat of the boarding house and the school offering a philosophical course, employed 13 priests. In Mohylew, 12 Jesuits (6 priests and 6 seminarians) toiled in the local school, which offered a philosophical course, and in the residence houses for the poor and wealthy youth. The schools in Mścisław, Witebsk and Orsza employed 10 (6+4), 9 (6+3), and 8 (5+3) Jesuits, respectively.

Places	Priests	Seminarians	Together
Mścisław	6	4	10
Witebsk	6	3	9
Orsza	5	3	8

The boarding school in Użwałd had 6 (3+3) Jesuit teachers. In Riga, one priest supervised the school, while one *magister* taught secondary school students. The Astrakhan boarding school was run by Rev. Marcus Fournier<sup>18</sup>.

The staff division in the pedagogical body was not proportional. Almost half of the people, namely 50, had only teaching responsibilities. 22 people were engaged in teaching and supervising educational institutions. The latter task was the sole occupation of 29 Jesuits. This group embraced some individuals who were responsible for more than one institution. Rev. Stanisław Świętochowski, as the provincial superior, oversaw the entire Russian network of Jesuit schools, and at the same time, as the college rector in Orsza, headed the institutions there. Rev. Jan Rozaven<sup>19</sup> was the dean of the theological faculty of the college in Połock and the superior of the student boarding house there. Rev. Michał Leśniewski was chancellor of the college and the prefect of the library.

In the same period, the Jesuit student body included 56 members. 12 of them, having completed their two-year novitiate in Użwałd, went to Orsza,

<sup>18</sup> Born in 1760 in Sézens, France, the diocesan priest, who was captured during the French Revolution and unchained by the English during his transport to Guyana, arrived in Belarus in 1805 and joined the Order. Cf. *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy [The encyclopedia about the Jesuits in Poland and Lithuania]*, ed. L. Grzebień, Kraków, WAM Publishing House, 1996, p. 166.

<sup>19</sup> Born in 1772 in France, from 1804 a Jesuit in Belarus, an apologist and an ascetic writer, maintained contact with J. M. de Maistre and accompanied some members of the Russian aristocracy in its conversion to Catholicism. On his pedagogical work see A. P. Bieś, *Kwestie oświatowe na łamach „Miesięcznika Połockiego” (1817–1820) [Educational issues in “Miesięcznik Połockiego (1817–1820)”, in: Zachować dla przyszłości. Sprawy szkolnictwa oświaty i opieki w przekazie prasowym XIX i początków XX wieku [Keep it for descendants. The educational and care issues in press in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century]*, ed. I. Michalska, G. Michalski, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2018, p. 17–21.



where they attended a yearly course in rhetoric, considered a “teacher training” course, which was conducted by Rev. Ignacy Chodykiewicz. 21 scholastics participated in the two-year philosophical course in Połock; 6 out of 14 students in their first year, besides philosophy, studied Greek. In Połock 23 Jesuits (21 priests and 2 seminarians) studied theology. Some students of theology additionally worked as teachers and prefects, so they were also members of the teaching body. Strictly speaking, 4 students of theology worked as prefects and pedagogues in the *convictus*, and one of them, Rev. Wedastus Nizart, who was born in Beaufort, France, taught French in the first grade. Two other students were assistants to the prefect of the library. Rev. Mikołaj Suszczewski, as a third-year student of theology, worked as the secretary of the college and a lecturer in Russian literature. The Russian language was taught by his relative, Rev. Antoni Suszczewski, a second-year student. The German teachers were Rev. Adam Petryszcza, a fourth-year student, and a first-year seminarian, Józef Cych. The task of teaching French was divided between Rev. Filip Beatrix Sacchi<sup>20</sup> (the second year), Rev. Aleksander Saprynowski (the first year), and Rev. Michał Rypiński, who audited moral theology. A unique figure among the philologists was Rev. Ksawery Czarnocki, a first-year theology student who was an adjunct to the professor of mathematics. That means one-fourth of the student body (14 men) were concurrently regular members of the teaching body.

In the opinion of the majority of historians<sup>21</sup>, the educational pursuits of the Jesuits, anchored in the humanist tradition and codified in *Ratio studiorum* of 1599, were the main factor that contributed to the survival of the order and its fifty-year activity within the Russian Empire. Although due to political decisions, a portion of the larger whole had been hibernated, it was, amazingly, revived, which proved the dynamics and vigor of the educational and learning system. This was based on the model of complementary cooperation of two bodies: the pedagogical and the student body. The unrestrained, sometimes repeated and reversed movement from one group to the other, as well as the coeval affiliation to both bodies, seemed to greatly facilitate the processes of communication, nurturing talents, gaining experience and accepting responsibilities, which built the educational success of the institutions and their staff.

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<sup>20</sup> Born in 1791 in Moscow, Russia, the son of a Frenchman and an Italian woman joined the Order in 1807 and worked in the USA after the Jesuits were expelled from Russia. More on him see Anthony J. Kuzniewski, *Francis Dzierozynski and the Jesuit Restoration in the United States*, „The Catholic Historical Review” 1992, Vol. 78, No 1, p. 51–73; *Encyklopedia...*, p. 595.

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. W. V. Bangert, *A History...*, p. 413–415, 429–430; M. Inglot, *How...*, p. 12, 72; I. Kadulska, *Akademia...*, p. 17; S. Obirek, *Jesuits...*, p. 146–147; D. L. Schlafly, *True...*, p. 421–423, 433–434; S. Zalewski, *Jezuici...*, Vol. 5, part I, p. 126–128.

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### ***The Jesuits as the body of teachers and the body of students in the Russian empire 1773–1820***

#### **Summary**

The educational activity of the Jesuit order was, according to the majority of historians, one of the main reasons for its unexpected survival, despite the dissolution by the Pope, within the borders of the Russian Empire. Initially, the Jesuit “body of teachers” consisted of only 45 monks performing duties, i.a. of tutors, teachers, lecturers, prefects, regents, and rectors in 6 schools and 8 other educational institutions called boarding schools, seminars and dormitories. Some members of the Order belonged to the “body of students” and got prepared for the future job as teachers, and studied philosophy and theology under the guidance of the older confreres. Within more than 40 years when the Order functioned within the borders of the Russian state, both “bodies” developed and grew stronger, and the Jesuits smoothly moved from the group of students to the group of teachers.

Thanks to partially preserved archives of the monastic personal documentation in Rome and Cracow – handwritten or printed – in the form of personal and annual catalogs (*catalogus brevis*), obituaries, as well as official and private correspondence, at present it is possible to determine, i.a. changes in the number of surveyed groups in particular years, social and national origin of their members, education, average age, career path, requirements for adepts, and the criteria for the selection of responsible managerial positions.

Moreover, the reference made herein to the metaphor of the body makes it possible to show the differences and, at the same time, complementarity with the roles and functions provided for in the regulations of the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum* of 1599. Especially in the case of broadly understood school staff, paying attention to the complementarity of tasks performed in the educational process, which was

naturally subjected to the “learning body” makes it possible to capture and show the integrity of this process taking place in different dimensions of school reality.

The end of fruitful activities of the Society of Jesus in terms of education and training within the borders of the Russian state was the expulsion of the Jesuits by Tsar Alexander I only six years after the canonical restoration of the Order by Pope Pius VII all over the world.

**Keywords:** the Jesuits, teachers, students, Jesuit schools, Jesuit education, 18<sup>th</sup> century/19<sup>th</sup> century.