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THE UPBRINGING OF THE YOUNG RADZIWIŁŁS IN THE 17TH C.

The education of the Radziwiłłs (both Catholics and Protestants) has become the subject of many studies¹. However, they have been mainly devoted to their school education and the educational system, taking little account of the issues of their actual upbringing. The present article is an attempt to present first of all the problems connected with “upbringing” in the old Polish understanding: the ensuring of survival, feeding, hygiene of the young children — up to the beginning of their school education under the direction of professional teachers.

By resorting to court regulations, accounts and inventories, I could to a greater degree take into consideration the material and organizational aspects of the children’s upbringing within the framework of everyday life

¹In chronological order: H. Wisner, *Lata szkolne Janusza Radziwiłła. Przyczynek do dziejów szkolnictwa kalwińskiego na Litwie w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku (Janusz Radziwiłł’s School Days. A Contribution to the History of Calvinist Schools in Lithuania in the First Half of the 17th c.)*, “Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. XIV, 1969, pp. 183–194; M. Zachara, T. Majewska-Lancholc, *Instrukcja Krzysztofa II Radziwiłła dla syna Janusza (Krzysztof II Radziwiłł’s Instruction for His Son Janusz)*, “Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce”, vol. XVI, 1971, pp. 171–184; W. Kaczorowski, *Wychowanie Janusza Radziwiłła w świetle instrukcji rodzicielskiej (Janusz Radziwiłł’s Upbringing in the Light of His Father’s Instruction)*, “Sprawozdania Opolskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk”, Wydział I Nauk Historyczno-Społecznych, № 19, Opole 1984; W. Sokołowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna dla Janusza Radziwiłła do szkoły zborowej w Wilnie (kartka z dziejów wychowania młodzieży szlacheckiej na Litwie w XVII w.) (A Pedagogical Instruction for Janusz Radziwiłł for the Protestant Community School in Wilno [a Page from the History of the Upbringing of Gentry Youth in 17th c. Lithuania])*, “Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty”, vol. XXXII, 1989, pp. 261–273; idem, *Studia i peregrynacje Janusza i Krzysztofa Radziwiłłów w latach 1595–1603. Model edukacji syna magnackiego na przełomie XVI i XVII w. (Janusz and Krzysztof Radziwiłł’s Studies and Peregrinations in the Years 1595–1603. The Model of Education of a Magnate’s Son at the Turn of the 16th c.)*, “Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty”, vol. XXXV, 1992, pp. 3–35; M. Jarczykowa, *Krzysztof II Radziwiłł (1585–1640) wobec zagadnień dydaktycznych i naukowych (Krzysztof II Radziwiłł’s [1585–1640] Views on Didactics and Learning)*, “Studia Bibliologiczne”, vol. 9, Katowice 1995, Prace naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego № 1525; M. Chachaj, *Zagraniczna edukacja Radziwiłłów od początku XVI do połowy XVII wieku (The Radziwiłłs’ Education Abroad from the Beginning of the 16th till the Middle of the 17th c.)*, Lublin 1995 — *ibidem* a list of the literature on the subject.

in a Lithuanian magnate's court. By reading again the originals of the sources (instructions, wills, correspondence), used previously in other studies, I could specify or rectify some points (dates of births and deaths, upbringing of children with their mother, by female retainers) in the assertions of the existing literature on the subject.

I present the upbringing of the offspring of both sexes of the Radziwiłłs from Birże — Calvinists: Janusz (1579–1620) — the later Wilno Castellan, Krzysztof (1585–1640) — the Hetman of Lithuania; and Bogusław (1620–1669) — the Lithuanian Equerry, for about 50 years: since the birth of Krzysztof Radziwiłł's first son in 1610 till Prince Bogusław's educational instruction for his daughter Ludwika Karolina from 1667.

In this period the court of the Radziwiłłs moved, the children were born and brought up both in urban and rural residences, and received their own courtiers very early in their lives² — which, obviously, influenced to a large extent the chances for their survival, their physical condition and mode of education.

The children of Janusz Radziwiłł: Eleonora Elżbieta, Zofia Agnieszka and Bogusław were born and brought up in the early years of their lives mainly in towns³. After the Wilno Castellan's death (6/7 Nov. 1620) they remained in the care of their mother in Königsberg, Elbing, occasionally in Wilno, at Smolzyn in the Duchy of Pomerania and at Lichtenberg in Saxony⁴ — until Bogusław was placed in the custody of his uncle, Krzysztof Radziwiłł, in 1628. Ludwika Karolina, the only daughter of Bogusław and Anna Maria Radziwiłł, was also born in a town (Königsberg, 28 Febr. 1667)⁵.

²See U. Augustyniak, *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa II Radziwiłła* (Krzysztof II Radziwiłł's Court and Clientele), "Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce", vol. XXXVIII, 1994, pp. 63–77; eadem, *Dwory kobiece i dziecięce w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVII wieku* (*Women's and Children's Courts in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 17th c.*), "Mówią Wieki", No 4 (431), 1995, pp. 11–14.

³Two years after his marriage to Elżbieta Zofia neé Hohenzollern (July 7, 1613 in Berlin) — the first daughter Elżbieta Eleonora (b. May 5, 1615 — d. August 5, 1633 in Dresden) "at Szydlice in Gdańsk"; the first-born son Jan Jerzy, born prematurely (November 28, 1616 at Torgau on the Elbe) who lived only a few days because of a miscarriage; second daughter Zofia Agnieszka (b. May 18, 1618 at Smolzyn in the Duchy of Pomerania — d. in Dresden in 1637); Bogusław (b. May 3, 1620 on Sunday between 4 and 5 o'clock in the morning) in Gdańsk, in a house rented by the Radziwiłł family from Mayor Johann von der Linde — see T. Wasilewski, *Zarys dziejów Bogusława Radziwiłła. Rodowód i pierwsze lata życia* (*An Outline of the History of Bogusław Radziwiłł. His Lineage and the Early Years of His Life*), in: B. Radziwiłł, *Autobiografia* (*Autobiography*), Warszawa 1979, pp. 10–12.

⁴T. Wasilewski, *op. cit.* and *Bogusław Radziwiłł h. Trąby (1620–1669)* (Bogusław Radziwiłł of the Trąby, 1620–1669), *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XXX/1, fasc. 124, pp. 161–172, data from p. 161.

⁵Idem, *Ludwika Karolina z Radziwiłłów (1667–1695)* (*Ludwika Karolina neé Radziwiłł, 1667–1695*), *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XVIII, pp. 110–112.

Although the mentions made about the upbringing of Prince Janusz's children are enigmatic, it can be assumed that it did not depart from European patterns, due to their German educational environment and because their greatest formative influence in their childhood was their mother, Elżbieta Zofia neé Hohenzollern — a situation which was exceptional in the Radziwiłłs' court. On the other hand Bogusław Radziwiłł's educational instruction for his daughter⁶ (in accordance with the family tradition constructed by him personally) enables us to reconstruct the process of a baby's nursing.

Babies were surrounded with meticulous care from the first moments of their lives — we know, e.g., that Bogusław Radziwiłł received his own servants and travelled in a separate coach as a months-old baby. In the Wilno residence (and probably also in other town seats of the family) children had separate rooms, decorated just like those of the adults⁷. Good hygienic conditions (sewage systems as early as from the 1620s, baths)⁸, made it easier for the children to survive childhood diseases.

The basic difference between the situation of Janusz Radziwiłł's children and that of Krzysztof Radziwiłł's — was that the everyday life of the Wilno Castellan and his wife, as private persons living in rented town houses, enabled them to be in constant contact with their children (especially the elder daughters). On the basis of Janusz Radziwiłł's correspondence and the inventory of his residence in the house of Mayor Johann von der Linde in Gdańsk one can easily visualize his recreation in the company of his wife and elder daughter — “the little Princess”, sitting “on a high stool, covered with green cloth”, who was given a squirrel in a cage with bells as a toy⁹.

It can be surmised that staying in the company of adults, Prince Janusz's children from their earliest childhood dined at table and were taught how to behave in a cultivated and neat way. Also in Bogusław Radziwiłł's later instruction for those in charge of his daughter we find a recommendation

⁶See U. Augustyniak, *Instrukcja Bogusława Radziwiłła dla opiekunów jego córki, Ludwika Karoliny (Przyczynek do edukacji młodej ewangeliczki w końcu XVII wieku) (Bogusław Radziwiłł's Instruction for the Guardians of His Daughter, Ludwika Karolina. A Contribution to the Education of a Young Protestant Woman at the End of the 17th c.)*, “Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce” vol. XXXVI, 1991, pp. 215–235.

⁷“Rejestr we dworze wileńskim” (“The Register of the Wilno Residence”): The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Radziwiłł Files (later cited as CAHR, RF) sec. XXVI, N^o 37, p. 46.

⁸CAHR, The collection of paper documents, N^o 8149: the Wilno City Council's and Wilno Mayor's permit to conduct pipes from city pipes to K. Radziwiłł's residence, 1623.

⁹“Rejestr rzeczy, które się ze Gdańska do Wilna posyłają przez Szczęsnego Żydowicza” (“The register of things sent from Gdańsk to Wilno by Szczęsny Żydowicz”, June 1620, RF sec. XXVI, N^o 22.

that she should “sit and dine decorously at table, without besmearing herself like a piglet”¹⁰.

Quite different were the conditions of children’s upbringing at Krzysztof Radziwiłł’s court. As a patriarchal lord of the manor and of his clientele, he imposed strict discipline on his charges. His “ordinances” — internal regulations for the children and women in the mansion — strike us by their rigour. The main feature of the management of the mansion by the Hetman’s wife, Anna neé Kiszka, was a tendency to limit contacts with external world.

Among the six children of the Lithuanian Hetman who came to the world in various rural residences: at Orla in Podlachia, at Popiel and other estates in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania¹¹ — only two reached maturity: Janusz (1612 — 1655) and Katarzyna (1614 — 1674) — although in her confinement their mother was surrounded with scrupulous care. Her health was attended to by specially engaged women, expert in the ailments of the “fair sex”, and (an uncommon thing in this era) by qualified physicians — among others doctor Matys Vorbek–Lettow and his son Maciej¹² (later the court–doctor to Ladislaus IV) as well as doctor Samuel Makowski from Lublin, a well–known paediatrist¹³.

Each birth of Radziwiłł’s children was welcomed with joy regardless of their sex. The birth of Bogusław Radziwiłł’s daughter in Königsberg was celebrated with a salute from cannons and a solemn church service with the participation of clergymen of all the Christian denominations (the Evangeli-

¹⁰U. Augustyniak, *Instrukcja Bogusława Radziwiłła*, p. 228.

¹¹The first–born son, called according to the family tradition Mikolaj (pet name *Miś*, *Misiaczek*) — born at Orla, four years after Krzysztof’s marriage to the fourteen–year–old Anna neé Kiszka. He was a sickly child, perhaps for this reason very early separated from his mother. He died in the spring of 1611. The next children of Krzysztof and Anna were: Janusz, born at Popiel in Lithuania (December 2, 1612 — d. 1655); Katarzyna born in an unknown estate in Lithuania (1614 — d. 1674); Jerzy b. May 6, 1616 probably at Orla — d. between Jan. and March 1617; Halszka (b. 1622, d. Oct. 26, 1626) and Stefan, who lived barely a few months (b. and d. 1624) — born in unknown localities (H. Wisner, *loc. cit.*). The mistaken dates of births and deaths provided in: H. Wisner, *Radziwiłł Krzysztof h. Trąby (1595–1640)*, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXX/2, fasc. 125, p. 282, have been corrected in the above list on the basis of the correspondence to the Radziwiłłs (sec. V RF).

¹²The “old” Dr. Matys appears in Radziwiłł’s correspondence as a court doctor (barber–surgeon) already in the years 1610–1611, when his son was starting his medical education at Louvain. Maciej Matysowicz Vorbek–Lettow became a court–doctor to K. Radziwiłł in 1618, earlier he served his brother Janusz — see M. Vorbek–Lettow, *Skarbnica pamięci różnych spraw domowych jako i potocznych przypomnienia godnych i potrzebnych zachowująca. Pamiętnik lekarza króla Władysława IV* (The Treasury of Memory Preserving Various Domestic as well as Everyday Things Worth Remembering and Useful. Memoirs of King Ladislaus IV’s Doctor), Wrocław 1968, p. 60, p. 62.

¹³S. Makowski was a doctor of medicine, the king’s physician, who during a tumult in Lublin on Jan. 4, 1633, together with other Protestants stormed the Bernardines’ monastery; arrested, he escaped being executed — see A. Kossowski, *Protestantyzm w Lublinie i lubelskiem w XVI–XVII wieku* (Protestantism in Lublin and the Lublin Region in the 16th–17th c.), Lublin 1933, pp. 170–175.

cal Superintendent Nowogródek District, the Orthodox Church Archimandrite and a Catholic priest)¹⁴. Congratulations showered from everywhere and the christening — despite the pastors' warnings — was celebrated with *pompose et splendore*. The babies' funerals — both of boys and girls¹⁵ — were equally pompous — in keeping with the traditional family ceremonial.

Individual approach to children from the moment of their birth found its expression among other things in the preparation of portraits of the deceased babies, later preserved in the Radziwiłłs' *Kunstkammeren*¹⁶. The signs of an emotional reaction to the departure of "innocent infants", recorded in the correspondence of the Radziwiłłs with their servants, contradict the opinion, long established in the literature on the subject, about a cool attitude to childrens' deaths in 17th c. European culture — especially in Protestant circles¹⁷.

The children's chances for survival were increased by their isolation. The concern for their health and safety decided that the Lithuanian Hetman's offspring and wife were most often placed in separate residences — at Orla and Zabłudów in Podlachia, at Dokudów, Dolatycze, Kojdanów, Kopyl in Lithuania; they stayed in the main Radziwiłłs' residences at Birże and Stuck only in the periods of a war threat or the children's education in Protestant community schools — the urban residences were considered unhealthy because of the "plagues".

¹⁴B. Radziwiłł to the commissioners Feb. 28, 1667, in Königsberg, RF, sec. IV, file 6, env. 69.

¹⁵A. Jarosz, M. Jarczykova, "Kosztowny klejnot straciliśmy w Domie naszym" — *śmierć Halszki Radziwiłłówny w świetle korespondencji XVII wieku* ("We Lost a Precious Jewel in our House" — the Death of Halszka Radziwiłłówna in the Light of 17th c. Correspondence), in: *Necessitas et ars. Studia staropolskie dedykowane profesorowi Januszowi Pelcowi (Necessitas et ars. Old-Polish Studies Dedicated to Professor Janusz Pelc)*, ed. by B. Otwinowska, A. Nowicka-Jeżowa, J. Kowalczyk, A. Karpiński, Warszawa 1993, vol. 2, pp. 129–134.

¹⁶"Regestr rzeczy które są w skarbnicy Jaśnie Oświeconej Księżny Jej Mści Ludwiki Karoliny Radziwiłłówny koniuszanki W. Ks. Lit." ("A Register of Things in the Treasury of Her Highness Ludwika Karolina Radziwiłłówna, the Equerry of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's daughter") Dec. 9, 1671, at Königsberg, RF sec. XXVI, № 97, p. 129, a list of canvass paintings, rolled without frames: "roll" 9, item 16–21; roll 10, item 4 and 11 — cf. T. Sulczyńska, *Inwentarz galerii obrazów Radziwiłłów z XVII wieku (An Inventory of the Radziwiłł Picture Gallery from the 17th c.)*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki", vol. XXIII, 1961, № 3, p. 270; RF sec. XXVI, book 45, "Regestr rzeczy skarbowych różnych" ("A Register of Various Things in the Treasury") p. 121: portraits of two deceased children in one roll.

¹⁷Ph. Ariès, *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris 1960; F. Lebrun, *Les hommes et la mort en Anjou aux 17^e et 18^e siècles. Essai de démographie et de psychologie historiques*, Paris 1971, p. 422; D. E. Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death. A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change*, New York 1977, part II, chapt. 3: *Death and Childhood*, pp. 44–71. Cf. M. Bogucka's polemic, *The Lost World of the "Sarmatians". Customs as the Regulator of Polish Social Life in Early Modern Times*, Warszawa 1996.

In accordance with Krzysztof Radziwiłł's instructions ("information") for his servants¹⁸, the residences of his wife were separated from the world, and inside them, the rooms of the Princess and of the female retainers were separated from the male rooms.

Separate rooms were occupied by children. This resulted from the concern for their comfort, but above all their health. It is possible that the knowledge about the transmission of infectious diseases came earlier to the Radziwiłłs' court than to the Royal Court in Warsaw — where the four sons of Sigismund III and of his second wife, Constance von Habsburg, occupied one common room, and had common servants at their disposal¹⁹.

During Janusz Radziwiłł's illness (smallpox), the younger children were moved to another room and taken care of by separate servants²⁰. There were permanent court—doctors and barber—surgeons (among others Dawid Detéves, a Polonized Frenchman)²¹ — who were in charge both of the dispensary run by the stewardess, and of the diet of the wet—nurse who fed the youngest babies. The doctors were to protect the Radziwiłłs' offspring mainly against the illnesses that ran in the family: a susceptibility to "colds" and propensity for melancholy. The Calvinist court preachers were obliged to everyday prayer for the sick children, and endeavours were made to protect the latter from noise — even at the cost of other residents' comfort.

At the time of his separation from his family, Radziwiłł's servants and relatives were obliged to provide him with steady information about the health of his wife and children — together with that about his hounds and horses, which in this case only confirms the special importance of this issue.

A lot of weight was attached to the hygiene, especially of girls — hence the presence of washer—women among the personnel of Halszka and Ludwika Karolina Radziwiłł, and recommendations to the stewardess to observe cleanliness in the little Princess' rooms and change her "white linen" (here

¹⁸RF sec. XI, № 37, pp. 95–97: "Memoriał w odjechaniu Małżonki i Dziełek moich dany urodzonemu Panu Mikołajowi Piórowi i Panu Albrychtowi Karmanowskiemu w Owancie 2 VI 1624" ("A Memorial on the Departure of My Wife and Children Given to Mr Mikołaj Pióro and Mr Albrycht Karmanowski at Owanta on June 2, 1624"); *ibidem*, p. 257–260: "Informacja panu Brzozowskiemu" ("Information for Mr. Brzozowski"); *ibidem*, pp. 261–263: "Informacja panu Wilczkowi" ("Information for Mr. Wilczek"), undated (at Dokudów 1624/1625); *ibidem*, pp. 264–267: "Pamięć Brzozowskiemu i inszym sługom przy małżonce mej zostającym" ("A reminder to Brzozowski and other servants staying with my wife"), undated (at Dolatyce). Contamination of the last three instructions together with fragments now lost in: Cz. J a n k o w s k i, *Powiat oszmiański (Oszmiana District)*, St. Petersburg 1896–1898, vol. 2, p. 47–50, annexes (cited later as Cz. J a n k o w s k i).

¹⁹B. F a b i a n i, *Na dworze Wazów w Warszawie (At the Court of the Vasas in Warsaw)*, Warszawa 1988, p. 48.

²⁰K. Skulimowski to K. Radziwiłł on May 22, 1616 from Orla, RF sec. V, No 14530.

²¹A list (incomplete) of physicians and apothecaries in the service of the Radziwiłłs in: U. A u g u s t y n i a k, *Dwór i klientela*, p. 75, note 94.

linen, underwear or nappies) every day²². Also the sons were taught to take care of cleanliness, and the lists of expenditures for the boys' courts include soap²³.

The Radziwiłłs' instructions included also directions concerning the way to feed children — a suitable diet was seen then as the main source of health²⁴. We know that Hetman Jan Zamoyski ordered his son to be fed with delicate meat (poultry, veal) and to give him seasoned beer to drink²⁵. The Radziwiłłs' instructions are less detailed — Krzysztof Radziwiłł confined himself to a warning that his son might fall sick “with excessive indulgence in food and drink”²⁶. This was probably a premature fear, since Janusz was rather an “under eater” and at the age of 12 he was described as a puny and small child, which could have been caused by a lack of appetite and short sleep²⁷.

We know that vegetables and fruit were articles permanently provided to the Radziwiłłs' court, and consumed also by children²⁸. However, it is difficult to establish with any certainty which products included in the lists of purchases for children's courts were destined for the children precisely. E.g., the list of products bought for the court of the months-old Princess Halszka includes vegetables, mushrooms, onions, vinegar, pork, beef and meat²⁹ — of course, all of them destined for servants.

Of special interest are the instructions of Bogusław Radziwiłł who forbade his children's guardians giving his daughter hard drinks, “too delicate” but also “too rich”, spicy dishes, and recommended that she begin her breakfast in the morning with fresh fruit (which is harmful eaten after other food); he ordered her to brush her teeth after meals, and warned against

²²U. Augustyniak, *Instrukcja Bogusława Radziwiłła*, p. 230.

²³P. Kochlewski, “Wydatek pieniędzy moich na potrzeby Ks. J. M. Bogusława” (“The expenditure of my money for the needs of His Highness Prince Bogusław”), Sept. 1628 — Oct. 1629, RF sec. V, № 5965, part 2, pp. 1–2.

²⁴Z. Kucho w i c z, *Spoleczne konsekwencje postępującej degeneracji możnowładztwa polskiego w XVII–XVIII wieku (Social Consequences of the Mounting Degeneration of the Polish Magnates' Class in the 17th–18th c.)*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, vol. LXXVI, 1969, fasc. 15, p. 21.

²⁵A. Witusik, *Młodość Tomasza Zamoyskiego (Tomasz Zamoyski's Youth)*, Lublin 1977, pp. 66–67; cf. A. Danysz, *Instrukcja wychowawcza Jakuba Sobieskiego dla synów ok. 1640 (Jakub Sobieski's Educational Instruction for His Sons about 1640)*, Poznań 1899, p. 13.

²⁶W. Sokołowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, p. 267.

²⁷“Konsyderacje strony wystania ks[ie]cia Janusza do cudzej ziemie” (“Deliberations on Sending Prince Janusz Abroad”), (cited later as “Konsyderacje”), undated (about 1622), RF sec. XI, № 37, p. 311; cf. H. Wisner, *Lata szkolne Janusza Radziwiłła*, p. 183.

²⁸P. Kochlewski, “Wydatek pieniędzy... na potrzeby Ks. J. M. Bogusława”, RF sec. V, № 5965, part 2, pp. 1–2: among other things 65 florins for plums.

²⁹“Ordinaria, która pod niebytność Ks. JMci ma być na tydzień dawana dla tych, którzy tu przy księżniczce Halszce zostaną” (“Allowance in kind, which should be given every week to those who will stay with Princess Halszka in the absence of the Prince”). March 17, 1622, at Birze, RF sec. XI, № 37, p. 350.

keeping her in too warm rooms, or giving her too many medicines, purgatives, and applying cosmetics (which would spoil her complexion!)³⁰. There is a visible change compared Zamoyski's times, when the cold, and use of water for washing were considered murderous to children; to prevent small-pox it was recommended to rub your ears, eyes, mouth and nose with a sapphire³¹.

It should be emphasized that the hygienic conditions of children's life in the residences of the Radziwiłłs of Birże were very advantageous in comparison to the residences of other magnates in the 17th c. All the inventories of the Radziwiłłs' estates from the first half of the 17th c. show that there were baths (situated inside the urban residences and in separate buildings near the rural residences)³² and toilets (as a rule inside the buildings). In all the residences there were also gardens, affording recreation in the open air.

Most probably the concern for the health and safety dictated that the young Radziwiłłs, even if they stayed in the same residence as their mother, very early received their own separate guardians, chosen from among her female or male retainers. In 1614, 15 servants were assigned to attend to the Hetman's "honorable progeny" (the two-year old Janusz and probably the months-old Katarzyna)³³. The courts for the particular children were also created very early: both for girls (Krzysztof's daughter Halszka, and Bogusław's daughter Ludwika Karolina — right after their birth)³⁴ and boys — generally when they started their school education³⁵.

The exceptionally early separation of the infants of both sexes from their mother at Krzysztof Radziwiłł's court undoubtedly diverged from the norms of the old-Polish nobility. It is hard to say whether this resulted from anxiety about the Princess' health, from some other circumstances, or was it the peculiar character of this court's system? It seems, however, that we should revise the accepted opinion that in the magnates' courts of the

³⁰U. Augustyniak, *Instrukcja Bogusława Radziwiłła*, p. 229.

³¹A. Witusik, *op. cit.*, p. 90, cit. B. Zamoyska's letter to her son on May 18, 1609, from Krzeszów, CAHR, Zamoyski Files (ZF), N° 282, letter 32.

³²See Inventories of estates: RF sec. XXV, N° 1697 — Kojdanów, 1620; N° 45499 — Stara Wieś, 1619; N° 4017^a, Stara Wieś, 1659; N° 695 — Dolatycze, 1628; N° 176 — Bielica, 1627; RF sec. XXVI, N° 37 — Wilno, 1621; N° 11 — Słuck, 1616.

³³P. Modrzewski to K. Radziwiłł Oct. 2, 1614 from Owanta, RF Sec. V, N° 9878.

³⁴RF sec. XI, N° 37, p. 350: in *Ordinaria* for Princess Halszka's court from 1622 — 13 servants; U. Augustyniak, *Instrukcja Bogusława Radziwiłła*, pp. 230–231: Ludwika Karolina's court members — 8 people (3 noblewomen and 5 servants) abroad, 27 people in Poland.

³⁵W. Sokółowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, p. 272: the list of Janusz Radziwiłł's servants — 14 people (2 servants, 8 menials, 2 footmen); Lietuvos Valstybės Istorijos Archyvas (LVIA), F. 1280, opis 1 (inv. 1), N° 2057, p. 74: the members of B. Radziwiłł's court about 1628–1630 included (most probably) *primus annis quatuor personarum*.

Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, children (boys till the age of seven, girls till their marriage) remained in the care of their mother and her female retainers.

The children's residences were from the beginning staffed with servants of both sexes, their management always assigned to male "senior servants". Their main function was to ensure the inhabitants of the mansion safe and healthy accommodation and food as well as to run the court accounts, separately for the male and the female courtiers. They were recruited on the basis of their administrative efficiency — for parallel with the management of the Princess' and her children's courts they performed some other economic and military functions, frequently as managers of the estate where the Princess and her retainers were currently staying. "Senior servants" were to co-operate closely with "senior ladies" from among the Princess' female retainers, however everyday practice was such that the female and the male courts functioned separately and had no contacts (except at meal-time). Thus it can be said that the boys from the Radziwiłł family (Janusz and Bogusław) temporarily **stayed** in Princess Anna's court³⁶, while they were **brought up** under male supervision — for they were forbidden from infancy to stay in the company of female retainers, except at meal-time³⁷.

Not until a separate boys' or girls' court was established, besides the "senior manager" (major-domo), who until then performed his functions and supervised the servants, a steward or a stewardess was chosen, preferably from among persons without their own families and with some pedagogical experience gained at other magnates' courts.

The major-domo and steward, co-operating closely with one another, had full rights of guardianship (of prizes and punishment) over their charges: both the young Radziwiłłs and their servants, selected from among the children of Protestant clients who used to serve them throughout their lives. The young boys brought up together with their young master should show respect for him even at play.

The senior servants were responsible for the whole "upbringing, training and education" of their charges; the matters of physical and psychological health are intermingled in the court instructions and regulations — it can be seen that these matters were not distinguished very precisely, just as there was no clear division between the time of childhood and youth. Upbringing embraced young persons until the age of 24 (in the case of men) and until marriage (in the case of women) — i.e. until the moment when they broke

³⁶H. Wisner, *op. cit.*, p. 189; T. Wasilewski, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

³⁷Cz. Jankowski, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

from the care of their parents and reached the age of “efficiency”. Krzysztof Radziwiłł distinguished in his will the following stages of his son’s upbringing: learning (at home and in the Protestant community school) from the age of 7, education abroad from the age of 10 to 17, training in a military camp or at the Royal Court (in Poland or in the West) from the age of 17 till that of 21, a cavalier’s peregrination to “foreign lands” (*incognito*) till the age of 24³⁸.

However, the differences between youths’ successive stages of development were not distinguished clearly at the beginning of the 17th c. — although in contacts with young children, their distinctive features connected with age were even then noticed as an independent value³⁹.

Interest in children appears in the Lithuanian Hetman’s correspondence initially in the context of the “health and rest” of his wife, for whom her “little dots” were supposed to be a source of fun and joy just like parrots and dogs. However, the period of treating children as a source of diversion for adults⁴⁰ and the common play of boys and girls with domestic animals was very short. A few year-old boys had already other recreation and toys, preparing them for adult life — as e.g. the five year old Janusz Radziwiłł, who played “war with Swedes” during his father’s Livonian campaign⁴¹. Three years later the Hetman clearly ruled out from his son’s upbringing “feminine manners and games” in his pedagogical instruction for the guardians of his son⁴².

The young Radziwiłłs were treated from their babyhood as full right members of the family — e.g. the few months old Bogusław Radziwiłł became (a dozen or so days after his father’s funeral) a godfather to Krzysztof Lettow, the court-doctor’s son⁴³. For lack of suitable words to distinguish the period of childhood from youth, from the very beginning they were called in correspondence “Master” and “Miss” — which sounds funny, e.g. in a servant’s account, who met his “young master” (a few

³⁸K. Radziwiłł, testament September 15, 1619 at Dokudów, in: *Testamenty ewangelików reformowanych w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim (Testaments of Calvinists in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania)*, ed. U. Augustyniak, Warszawa 1992, pp. 152–157.

³⁹Cf. A. Vincenz, *O przemianach “modelu” dzieciństwa w literaturze wieku XVI w Małopolsce (komunikat) (On the Transformations of the “Model” of Childhood in 16th c. Literature in Little Poland. A Report)*, in: *Cracovia litterarum*, Wrocław 1991, p. 377: about “the discovery of childhood”, earlier in Poland than in France; cf. J. De Wald, *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture. France 1570–1715*, University of California, Oxford 1993, p. 98: on the love of children and the acknowledgement of their “merits” about 1640.

⁴⁰E.g. M. Rej from Nagłowice, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego (Life of an Honest Man)*, ed. J. Krzyżanowski, Wrocław 1956, books II, capitulum 1, p. 119: on children as “natural clowns”.

⁴¹L. Barczykowski to K. Radziwiłł September 1, 1617 from Birże, RF sec. V, № 374.

⁴²W. Sokołowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, p. 271.

⁴³M. Vorbek-Lettow, *Skarbnica pamięci*, pp. 63–64.

months old Janusz) at Popiel and found him “a polite though huge person”⁴⁴. The vocabulary (diminutives and endearing words) appearing both in information and pedagogical instructions written by Krzysztof Radziwiłł⁴⁵, just as in the first letters of the children Janusz and Katarzyna to “their gracious lord, father and great benefactor”⁴⁶, even if we treat it as a conventional element, takes us well into the emotional climate of relations between children and their parents — especially their father, the author of the programme of their upbringing, formulated above all in the testamentary “exhortations” from the years 1617–1627.

It seems that the primary assumption of this programme of upbringing is the conviction that it can change the children’s innate characters and improve their “defects”. This view seems to have been widespread in Radziwiłł’s circle, since the Hetman’s client, Marcin Broniewski, sent him his son as a *tabela nuda*, on which he would draw whatever he wanted⁴⁹.

By “good upbringing” the Radziwiłłs — Calvinists — understood above all the knowledge of religious principles, as the basis of ethical education; regardless of the child’s sex and age, religious upbringing started with learning prayers “as soon as the child starts speaking” and Catechism — “as soon as the child acquires some ... *iudicium*”⁵⁰, as well as reading the Bible on one’s own (with the omission of the shocking chapters of the Old Testament) and also participating from the earliest years in religious services — at first those celebrated every day by court preachers, and later in the Protestant churches, several times a week.

⁴⁴A. Steckiewicz to K. Radziwiłł July 10, 1613 from Birże, RF sec. V, № 15061.

⁴⁵K. Radziwiłł, “Informacja p. Wilczkowi”, RF sec. XI, № 37, p. 262: about his daughter “Halzusięńka”; *idem*, “Pamięć Pukszczie, Progulbickiemu, Piórowi, Skulimowskiemu w Jaszunach 20 VIII 1615” (“A Reminder to Puksza, Progulbicki, Pióro, Skulimowski at Jaszuny on August 20, 1615”), pt. 4, RF sec. XI, № 37, p. 95 (earlier 24); “Informacja p. Steckiewiczowi 1620” (“Information for Mr. Steckiewicz 1620”); W. Sokółowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, p. 271, “Informacja p. Brzozowskiemu” 1624 at Owanta, Cz. Jankowski, *op. cit.* p. 49: about his son “Januszek”.

⁴⁶J. II Radziwiłł to his father Sept. 6, 1617 from Birże, RF sec. IV, file 15, p. 177; K. Radziwiłłówna to her father in: “Listy oryginalne żon i córek Radziwiłłów” (“Original Letters of the Radziwiłłs’ Wives and Daughters”) M.S. of Biblioteka Narodowa (BN), call number III 3277, microfilm 5229, p. 203, undated (a letter written by a child’s hand, before 1621); *ibidem*, p. 231, to the same from Starczyca undated; *ibidem*, p. 236: to the same, undated from Kopyl. Cf. B. Radziwiłł to K. Radziwiłł — the first letter by a strange hand on Jan. 3, 1622 from Gdańsk; Aug. 20, 1630 from Dolatycze, congratulations for “stryjaszeniek”, RF IV, vol. 4, p. 45.

⁴⁷Discussion in: U. Augustyniak, *Wizerunek Krzysztofa II Radziwiłła jako magnata–ewangelika w świetle jego testamentów* (*The Picture of Krzysztof II Radziwiłł as a Magnate–Calvinist in the Light of his Testaments*), “Przegląd Historyczny”, vol. LXXXI, 1990, fasc. 3–4, pp. 461–477.

⁴⁸K. Radziwiłł, testament Sept. 15, 1619 at Dokudów, in: U. Augustyniak, *Testamenty ewangelików reformowanych*, p. 152.

⁴⁹M. Broniewski to K. Radziwiłł April 6, 1623 from Sielec, RF V, № 1419, pp. 426–429.

⁵⁰U. Augustyniak, *Instrukcja Bogusława Radziwiłła*, p. 227.

In contrast to Catholic instructions, laying emphasis on the emotional attitude to faith and private devotion⁵¹, the recommendations of the Radziwiłłs of Birże put emphasis on awakening the child's understanding of the contents conveyed by reading or oral lecture. Hence a concern to adjust the sermons to the children's age and perceptive abilities. E.g. Bogusław Radziwiłł recommended to his daughter's court preacher to celebrate a service *compendiose*, so as not to discourage the child from listening by a too-long sitting. He also wanted his daughter to be questioned about the ideas remembered after the service⁵².

It was recommended that Janusz Radziwiłł should stay in his homeland until he mastered foreign languages — otherwise he might not understand foreign-language sermons and be shocked by the differences of the ritual in the Evangelical churches of the West⁵³.

Although the religious posture of Krzysztof Radziwiłł was more strict than that of his nephew Bogusław, they both held a conviction that the knowledge of principles should be manifested in deeds. This corresponded with the supreme principle of the Protestant way of teaching: through imitation and the avoidance of shocking the innocents. According to a telling statement by the Lutheran pedagogue Erazm Glicznier: "The child is like an ape: what it sees it wants to do"⁵⁴.

So on the one hand a child should be shown the example of virtues to be followed — which for Ludwika Karolina was to be the example of her "saintly" mother⁵⁵, on the other should be taught the fear of God and knowledge of truth not only through private prayer and regular attendance at church but also through forbidding the child "any words or deeds that would smack of sin or to show any cause for disgrace either by its tongue or manners"⁵⁶.

⁵¹A. Witusik, *op. cit.*, p. 84: on the results of T. Zamoyski's religious education, which prompted the young son of the Hetman towards bigotry; M. Chachaj, *op. cit.*, p. 73: on the influence of Baroque religiosity, affecting emotions and imagination, appealing not to reason but to the feelings of the Radziwiłłs from Nieśwież.

⁵²U. Augustyniak, *Instrukcja Bogusława Radziwiłła*, p. 227.

⁵³"Konsyderacyje", RF, sec. XI, № 37, p. 314.

⁵⁴E. Glicznier, *Książeczki o wychowaniu dzieci barzo dobre, pożyteczne i potrzebne, z których rodzicy ku wychowaniu dzieci swych naukę dołożną wyczerpnąć mogą. Teraz nowo uczynione i z pilnością wyrobione (Very Good and Useful Books on Children's Upbringing, from which Parents Can Draw a Suitable Lesson about the Upbringing of Their Children. Now Scrupulously Prepared and Presented Anew)*, Kraków 1608, cit. after S. Jedynak, *Staropolskie wzory osobowe (trzy nurty w etyce polskiej późnego Odrodzenia) (Old-Polish Personality Patterns. Three Currents in the Polish Late Renaissance Ethics)*, "Studia Filozoficzne", № 5 (90), 1973, p. 176.

⁵⁵U. Augustyniak, *Instrukcja Bogusława Radziwiłła*, p. 227.

⁵⁶W. Sokołowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, from 1620, p. 266; K. Radziwiłł, *Nad generalną o intycyji syna mego Janusza informacją (On the General Information about the Institution of my Son Janusz)* 1628, in: M. Zachara, T. Majewska-Lanchołc, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

The ethical ideal, stemming from the principles of the Gospel, applied to both sons and daughters and remained unchanged throughout their lives — hence the repetitive use of almost identical phrases in the exhortations to youth at different stages of their development. The most “universal” virtues worth following were for boys: modesty, sincerity and truthfulness, for girls: — charity. The most condemned vices in the offspring of both sexes were: lying, obstinacy, and anger.

To eradicate them it was recommended to use the rod (both for Ludwika Karolina and Janusz at the age of 8 or 16) — but only as an extremity, after exhausting all other means of persuasion⁵⁷. This largely diverged from pedagogical practice in an era when the pedagogical literature and parental instructions abounded in the images of a professional pedagogue — a cruel sadist, ruining his charges’ health by beating and intimidation⁵⁸.

Persuasion, trying to make a child understand its guilt, and a belief in the possibility of teaching it to observe the principles, of its own free will, inculcation of self-control and enthusiasm for learning, are a striking feature of the Radziwiłłs’ parental instructions. Krzysztof Radziwiłł constructed all his pedagogical programme on the principle that “the institution of great people must not be slavish but based on their free will”⁵⁹ Bogusław Radziwiłł warned the guardians of his daughter, not to treat her too severely: “for excessive fear causes melancholy and the child loses its presence through it”⁶⁰.

Another distinctive feature of the Radziwiłłs’ instructions is an individualist approach to the child, taking note of its typical bad habits — and at the same time a relative liberality, allowing for some freedom in the daily time-table. This relates mainly to Krzysztof Radziwiłł’s instructions for the guardians of his son, which did not contain any detailed directions as to when the child should get up, go to bed or have meals, and allowed for everyday recreation apart from the hours of learning, and even for the child’s right to have plenty of sleep⁶¹. It’s quite another matter that in this case the father’s liberality produced bad results and later brought a lot of trouble to the preceptors of seventeen-year-old Janusz abroad, for he couldn’t be cured of the habit of too much sleep⁶².

⁵⁷W. Sokołowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, p. 268, M. Zachara, T. Majewska-Lancholc, *Nad generalną informacją*, p. 183; cf. U. Augustyniak, *Instrukcja Bogusława Radziwiłła*, pp. 227–228.

⁵⁸M. K. Radziwiłł “Sierotka”, *Admonitoria in: Archiwum domu Radziwiłłów (The Archives of the Radziwiłł House)*, ed. A. Sokołowski, *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. VIII, Kraków 1881, p. 59.

⁵⁹W. Sokołowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, p. 267.

⁶⁰U. Augustyniak, *Instrukcja Bogusława Radziwiłła*, p. 228.

⁶¹W. Sokołowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, p. 268.

⁶²M. Chachaj, *op. cit.* p. 78.

The Lithuanian Hetman's approach to pedagogical matters was completely different from the programme for everyday life introduced by Tomasz Zamoyski (at that time regarded as exemplary), with its time-table of daily occupations detailed to the hour from 5.30 in the morning till 9.00 in the evening, determined by religious practices — and allowing some time for recreation only once a week (on Thursday)⁶³.

The programme of recreation for the eight-year-old Janusz Radziwiłł included some physical training: running, weight-lifting contests and firing a harquebus or shooting a bow⁶⁴. Similarly the nine-year-old Bogusław, right after his arrival in Kiejdany, where his uncle assumed his custody, asked him for a little spear, in order to train throwing it through a ring⁶⁵. The Radziwiłłs started to learn riding very early — Janusz received his first horse at the age of five⁶⁶. At the age of 12 the repertoire of the boys' sports was enriched by fencing, treated as a prize for book-learning⁶⁷. This type of "motorial games" were included in the all-European canon of aristocratic male sports and were treated as a preparation for the military in the knights' academies⁶⁸.

The repertoire of sports and pastimes envisaged for boys in the Birze environment was, however, larger, for (according to the asseverations of Prince Krzysztof's anonymous counsellor) it could even include painting instead of other "unnecessary amusements" such as learning to play the lute or to dance, which were considered "unmanly" and designed by Bogusław Radziwiłł for the repertoire of his daughter's pastimes⁷⁰.

Generally — the home education and the early years of the boys' school education as well as the whole education of girls were to be conveyed by demonstrative methods, while reading (apart from the Bible) was of secondary importance; the pedagogues were warned not to overload the children's

⁶³S. Żurkowski, *Żywot Tomasza Zamoyskiego, kanclerza w. kor.* (*The Life of Tomasz Zamoyski, Great Crown Chancellor*), ed. A. Batowski, Lwów 1860, pp. 6–7.; A. Witusik, *op. cit.*, pp. 83–84.

⁶⁴W. Sokołowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, p. 268.

⁶⁵T. Wasilewski, *Introduction to: B. Radziwiłł, Autobiografia*, p. 17.

⁶⁶L. Barczykowski to K. Radziwiłł Sept. 1, 1617, from Birze, RF sec. V, № 374.

⁶⁷"Konsyderacyje", RF sec. XI, № 37, p. 315; M. Zachara, T. Majewska-Lanchołc, *Nad generalną informacją*, pp. 179, 183.

⁶⁸N. Conrads, *Ritterakademien der frühen Neuzeit. Bildung als Standesprivileg im 16 und 17 Jahrhundert*, "Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften", vol. XXI, Göttingen 1982.

⁶⁹"Konsyderacyje", RF sec. XI, № 37, p. 315; M. Zachara, T. Majewska-Lanchołc, *Nad generalną informacją*, p. 183.

⁷⁰U. Augustyniak, *Instrukcja Bogusława Radziwiłła*, p. 230.

“wit” and memory at too young age⁷¹. Thus in the period of childhood the children (in Protestant circles both boys and girls) were taught only what “that young age made them most capable of”⁷², above all foreign languages, which were to be absorbed through conversation with their surroundings. The people chosen to take care of the ten-year-old Janusz knew German and Latin, so that he could train those languages by listening and using them⁷³. The author of *Konsyderacyje* (*Deliberations*) thought it appropriate to surround Janusz with people “who would talk only Latin with him”. During his peregrinations abroad (initially planned for him at the age of ten) he was also to learn French⁷⁴, because of his envisaged court career. During Ladislaus IV’s reign, this language became equal to traditional German at the royal court. As Krzysztof Radziwiłł said in his letter to his son from 1633: “now at our court if you do not know these languages [here: German and French], it is as if you did not know Polish”⁷⁵.

Other problems were encountered by Bogusław Radziwiłł, in the early years of his life brought up in German-speaking surroundings. Krzysztof Radziwiłł, when he assumed the custody of his nephew, recommended teaching him Polish and manners as soon as possible, since ignorance of them would be an obstacle in his service to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth⁷⁶. One can easily perceive here the hetman’s dislike of the foreign system introduced in the boy’s upbringing by his mother.

Bogusław Radziwiłł recommended for the boys the same method of teaching languages as for his daughter, whose stewardess and maids-of-honour should know both Polish and German; French was also admitted, but Italian and Latin were ruled out⁷⁷.

It seems, however, that we should not overestimate the extent to which foreign languages were known by the children. The most important thing was to know some colloquial “polite phrases” (various “little compliments”) that would facilitate contact with many-lingual surroundings and people of different social condition⁷⁸.

⁷¹W. Sokołowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, p. 266; U. Augustyniak, *Instrukcja Bogusława Radziwiłła*, p. 228.

⁷²*Ibidem*, p. 314.

⁷³W. Sokołowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, p. 267.

⁷⁴“Konsyderacyje”, RF sec. XI, № 37, p. 310; M. Zachara, T. Majewska-Lanchołc, p. 182.

⁷⁵K. II Radziwiłł to his son Apr. 7, 1633 from the camp “na Krasnym”, RF, sec. IV, env. 322, letter 332.

⁷⁶U. Augustyniak, *Wizerunek*, p. 474.

⁷⁷U. Augustyniak, *Instrukcja Bogusława Radziwiłła*, p. 228.

⁷⁸*Ibidem*.

Very early (at the age of 2–4 years) did the children start learning to write (calligraphy), supervised by a special teacher of “*scriptura*”, and were trained in the habit of frequent correspondence (especially with their family), which was treated as preparation for everyday work in the office in their adult age⁷⁹

Preparation of a magnate’s son for school work in his childhood did not consist in designing a detailed curriculum of studies or index of lessons. He was to be taught only what was suitable for his social condition and could be useful in future public activity. Krzysztof Radziwiłł said clearly that he did not expect his son to become “a school doctor”, but a good politician and son of his country⁸⁰.

What mattered was above all the formation of a young magnate’s character and teaching him to deal properly with people. Freedom of contact, good memory, oratorical talents were most desirable, and the young Radziwiłł was to acquire these qualities by taking an active part from his childhood in meetings with the family and friends of his father and mother and learning the principles of old-Polish politeness⁸¹.

Within the framework of school learning an uncommon way of teaching elocution was also envisaged for Janusz (assessed as “of a heavy nature and with speech difficulties”) — through participation in school performances, where he was to play the roles suitable for his high birth⁸². During his home learning in one of his rural residences, the young (barely twelve-year-old) Radziwiłł was to attend the nearby dietines, and even take the floor there — in order to get to know and to win some political friends⁸³.

As it can be seen, there was no question of isolating a child in its own, separate world. However, there was also no question of its becoming familiar with adults. The matter of utmost importance in upbringing was the earliest possible preparation for adult life — among other things by imitating the authorities, with the observance of the hierarchy of rank, resulting from “age and position”.

The principle of ethical upbringing, formation of personality and posture worthy of a son of a great family, by imitating the examples drawn from

⁷⁹W. Sokołowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, p. 267; idem, *Studia i peregrynacje*, p. 22.

⁸⁰*Ibidem*, p. 266; cf. M. K. Radziwiłł “Sierotka”, *Admonitorium, cit. ed.*, p. 59: teaching and discipline should be applied to his sons appropriately to their rank, since “they are men with a vocation for knighthood”.

⁸¹W. Sokołowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, p. 266.

⁸²“Konsyderacje”, RF sec. XI, N^o 37, p. 315.

⁸³*Ibidem*. Cf. [B. Radziwiłł], “Obserwacje pewne circa politica, oeconomica i rządu dobrego koło majątności...” (“Some observations on politica, oeconomica and a good rule of the estate...”), RF sec. XI, N^o 50, pp. 338–351, p. 347: on the need to introduce the young Radziwiłłs early into public life.

one's surroundings, was common to the magnates' parental instructions⁸⁴ and explains the scrupulous selection of people admitted to the "young master's" company. Examples of good manners were to be provided above all by his father's⁸⁵ friends and "senior servants", in everyday social intercourse and (obligatory) conversation "so that he could both learn to speak and know what he should talk about with everyone according to their status"⁸⁶.

The emphasis on teaching the magnates' children the art of conversation and public speaking from their childhood, as elements of social skill, enables one to realize to what extent these abilities towered in the aristocratic culture of Baroque times over bookish erudition — not only in old-Polish culture⁸⁷.

The major domo and steward appeared *loco parentis* and their charge was to respect them and obey like his father, and should do nothing without their knowledge and consent⁸⁸. Even abroad the position of "senior servants" remained unshaken, since it was from them, and not from foreigners: "proud Spaniards, frivolous Frenchmen or ribald Germans" that a young magnate was to learn good manners⁸⁹. This resulted from the fact that Krzysztof Radziwiłł planned his son's foreign peregrination initially very early in comparison to the contemporary norm — 16–19 years⁹⁰ — thus the trusted servants were to be not only intermediaries but also the child's defenders in his relations with foreign surroundings.

In comparison to "senior servants", as the patron's plenipotentiaries, the position of hired teachers — specialists in various types of knowledge — was at the Birze court distinctly inferior. The advantage of engaging foreign pedagogues — lecturers from the Protestant universities ruined during the Thirty Years' War — was explained among other things by financial economy: the professors' salaries amounted to 4–5 thous. zloties, while an educational peregrination — to 20 thousand⁹¹.

⁸⁴A. Witusik, *op. cit.* p. 103: on the principles of Tomasz Zamoyski's upbringing.

⁸⁵A. Witusik, pp. 94–95; W. Sokołowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, p. 269; M. Zachara, T. Majewska-Lanchołc, *Nad generalną informacją*, p. 183.

⁸⁶W. Sokołowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, p. 271–272.

⁸⁷See E. Goldsmith, *Exclusive Conversations. The Art of Interaction in Seventeenth Century France*, Philadelphia 1988, cf. M. de Montaigne, chapt. XXV: *O bakalarstwie (On School-Teaching)*, in: *Próby (Essays)*, tr. T. Żeleński-Boy, ed. Z. Gierczyński, Warszawa 1985, book 1, pp. 248–258.

⁸⁸M. Zachara, T. Majewska-Lanchołc, *Instrukcja Krzysztofa II Radziwiłła from 1628*, p. 174.

⁸⁹"Konsyderacje", RF sec. XI, № 37, p. 313.

⁹⁰K. Radziwiłł, testament Sept. 15, 1619 at Dokudów, in: *Testamenty ewangelików reformowanych*, p. 153; cf. W. Sokołowski, *Studia i peregrynacje*, pp. 32–33.

⁹¹"Konsyderacje", RF sec. XI № 37, p. 315.

The beginning of school education did not constitute a turning point in the upbringing of young magnates in the first half of the 17th c. It seems that in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, just like in the contemporary France, practical education played a supreme part and the rank of more formal education grew about the middle of the century⁹².

In the Protestant environment of the Radziwiłł's court at Birże, learning in a Protestant community school went hand in hand with (until their departure abroad) the children's home education and played rather a socializing than educational role. It was to demonstrate the solidarity of the religious community through the common education of the patron's son, his relatives and clients, and at the same time it served to isolate the future political élite.

The educational programme of the Radziwiłłs (especially Krzysztof) was their authorial programme and one should not overestimate the role of stewards or the Prince's counsellors in its construction, or even more so of professional teachers — even the more outstanding ones. Reinhold Adami, Janusz's preceptor abroad, who dared to suggest the choice of university for his pupil, was immediately called to order — by reminding him that he was no guardian, but only a servant of the Prince's son⁹³.

The Radziwiłłs' educational instructions were formulated after the best West–European patterns — however, rather French than German. They preferred a model of education which threw into relief freedom and individualism — in accordance with *la manière de France*, and in contrast to the German system, which was based on school routine⁹⁴.

This most probably resulted from the personal experience of Krzysztof and Janusz Radziwiłł, whose youthful educational peregrinations⁹⁵ filled them with a dislike of German universities — especially Leipzig⁹⁶. In spite of their family relationship with German ruling houses⁹⁷ — they were

⁹²See e.g. J. Dewald, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–83.

⁹³K. Radziwiłł to A. Przykowski Jan. 22, 1631 at Dubinki, printed in: E. Kotłubaj, *Życie Janusza Radziwiłła (The Life of Janusz Radziwiłł)*, Wilno — Witebsk 1859, Suppl. III, p. 233.

⁹⁴J. Dewald, *op. cit.* p. 95; cf. M. de Montaigne, chapt. XXVI: *O wychowaniu dzieci (On the Children's Upbringing)*, in: *Próby (Essais)*, *cit. ed.*, book 1, pp. 258–288.

⁹⁵J. Radziwiłł studied at the universities in Strasburg, Basel, and in the knights' academy in Paris, K. Radziwiłł — in Heidelberg and Leipzig, see M. Chachaj, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–51, W. Sokołowski, *Studia i peregrynacje*, pp. 12–25.

⁹⁶K. Radziwiłł to his father Oct. 20, 1601 from Leipzig, RF sec. IV, env. 297, letter 1; cf. W. Sokołowski, *Studia i peregrynacje*, pp. 23–25.

⁹⁷See K. F. Eichhorn, *Stosunek książęcego domu Radziwiłłów do domów książęcych w Niemczech, uważany ze stanowiska historycznego pod względem praw niemieckich politycznych i książęcych (The Relations between the Princely House of Radziwiłł to the German Princely Houses; A Historical Approach Considering the German Political Law and the Princes' Rights)*, tr. L. count Rzyyszczewski, Warszawa 1843.

critical of the cultural level of the majority of German courts, especially that of the Saxon electors⁹⁸. Nor did they like (it seems) the German language. Especially Krzysztof Radziwiłł had serious problems in his youth with mastering German⁹⁹ and he preferred to read and pray (in private) in French (if not Polish).

The Radziwiłłs had both political¹⁰⁰ and religious connections with France. The sons of the Radziwiłłs' clients, bursars of Janusz and Krzysztof Radziwiłł, were educated in Sedan — at the court of Dukes de Bouillon and at the local Protestant university¹⁰¹.

The French models — of the knights' academy — were clearly referred to by an anonymous counsellor to Radziwiłł (probably Daniel Naborowski), who in his *Konsyderacje* suggested establishing a school where the Prince's son, his relatives and other young noblemen could receive an "honest training" in the sphere of politics, history, horse-riding and fencing, from which "a great renown would spread not only in our country but also abroad about such a worthy upbringing of the Prince's son"¹⁰².

The patronage of the Radziwiłłs from Birze of the Protestant schools in Lithuania was an element of their cultural patronage, serving among other things to build up the splendour of their family¹⁰³. A similar role was to be played by the foundation of grammar schools at Słuck and Kiejdany¹⁰⁴, established as an alternative to German universities, which did not fully correspond with the model of education preferred in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

⁹⁸See *Die Selbstbiographie des Burgraffen Fabian zu Dohna (1550–1621)*, ed. C. Krollman, Leipzig 1905, p. 98: on K. Radziwiłł's acquaintance with the princes of Zweibrücken, counts: von Leiningen, von Eysenburg, von Solms and Prince Christian of Anhalt, made on the occasion of a christening at the house of Louis Philip, the Rhenish Palatine; cf. K. Radziwiłł to his father Jan. 20, 1602 from Leipzig, CAHR, RF, sec. IV, env. 297, letter 2: a critical appraisal of the elector of Saxony's court.

⁹⁹K. II Radziwiłł to his father Apr. 6, 1602 from Leipzig, RF, sec. IV, env. 297, letter 4; the same to his father Apr. 5, 1602 from Leipzig (in his own hand), RF, sec. IV, unsigned records.

¹⁰⁰See *Spisek orleański w latach 1626–1628 (The Orlean Plot 1626–1628)*, ed. U. Augustyniak, W. Sokołowski, Warszawa 1990.

¹⁰¹Cf. J. Moreau-Reibel, *Sto lat podróży różnowierców polskich do Francji (A Hundred Years of the Polish Dissenters' Journeys to France)*, "Reformacja w Polsce", № 33–40, 1937–1939, Kraków 1947, pp. 1–27: on K. Radziwiłł's educational patronage, p. 13 and foll.

¹⁰²"Konsyderacje", RF sec. XI, № 37, p. 315.

¹⁰³See U. Augustyniak, *Wizerunek*, pp. 466–468. I deal with the subject more extensively in the work in preparation: *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa II Radziwiłła (Krzysztof II Radziwiłł's Court and Clientele)*.

¹⁰⁴See the document of the foundation of a school at Słuck by J. Radziwiłł on May 20, 1617 (signed by among others K. II Radziwiłł and P. Kochlewski) in: I. Glebov, *Istoricheskaya zapiska ob slutskoj gimnazji 1617–1901*, Wilno 1903, pp. 169–170; Krzysztof II Radziwiłł's letter on the occasion of the opening of the Słuck school Nov. 6, 1630, *ibidem*, pp. 171–176; *Postanowienie o szkołach (A Resolution about Schools) 1625* in: *akta synodów prowincjonalnych Jednoty Litewskiej 1611–1625 (Records of Provincial Councils of the Lithuanian Calvinist Church 1611–1625)*, "Monumenta Reformationis Polonicae et Lithuanicae", Series IV, fasc. 2, Wilno 1915, pp. 92–98.

Generally, one can say that the preferred model of education of youth corresponded with the French cultural option of the Calvinist line of the Radziwiłłs, manifest also in architecture and literary tastes¹⁰⁵. Both the models and the scope of influence of the Radziwiłłs' educational system and its relations with those adopted in other magnates' courts in the Commonwealth require, however, more profound research — since apart from the court of Jan Zamoyski, little is known about them.

Finally, it is worth considering what were the results of the young Radziwiłłs' upbringing in their childhood? The greatest influence was probably exerted on Prince Krzysztof's favourite — Katarzyna Radziwiłłówna¹⁰⁶. In her teens she conducted a steady correspondence with her father, in which she often remembered her childhood when he fulfilled all her wishes¹⁰⁷.

On the other hand the effects of the Lithuanian Hetman's liberal instructions on the formation of his son's character should be rather assessed critically. This is testified by Janusz's peripety during his foreign peregrination in Leipzig and Leiden where he incited the students of the local university to revolt against the City Council¹⁰⁸, as well as by his conflict with his father in connection with his marriage to the Catholic Katarzyna Tęczyńska. The Lithuanian Hetman lived to see his ideal heir rather in his nephew — Bogusław, who in his *Obserwacje polityczne i ekonomiczne około rządu dobrego* (*Political and Economic Observations about a Good Rule*) formulated among others some instructions concerning the "professional" education of the young Radziwiłłs, clearly referring to his uncle's views¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁵M. Chachaj, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–99; A. Ryszkiewicz, *Francusko-polskie związki artystyczne. W kręgu J. L. Davida* (*French-Polish Artistic Relations. In J. L. David's Circle*), Warszawa 1967, p. 7; W. Weintraub, *Z dziejów Rabelais' ego w Polsce* (*From the History of Rabelais in Poland*), in: *Od Reja do Boya* (*From Mikołaj Rej to Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński*), Warszawa 1977, pp. 103–114.

¹⁰⁶K. Radziwiłł, testament Sept. 15, 1619 at Dokudów, in: *Testamenty ewangelików reformowanych*, pp. 155–156: on the plans for Katarzyna's marriage and entrusting her in her brother's care. Katarzyna, a devout Calvinist, was married to the Catholic Jerzy Karol Chlebowicz in 1639. However, earlier on, a better match had been planned for her, for even Prince John Casimir (Vasa) was said to seek her hand in marriage — see *Relacje nuncjusów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690* (*Reports of Apostolic Nuncios and Other Persons on Poland from 1548 to 1690*), ed. E. Rykaczewski, Berlin, Poznań 1864, vol. II, p. 207, H. Visconti to Cardinal Barberini, Warszawa July 15, 1636.

¹⁰⁷"Listy dawne oryginalne żon i córek Radziwiłłów", M.S. Biblioteka Narodowa, call number III 3277, microfilm 5229, p. 205, p. 235; p. 236.

¹⁰⁸RF sec. XI, № 37, unbound records: K. Radziwiłł to A. Przykowski undated (1629), p. 346: admonition for the "Leiden brawl!"; cf. M. Chachaj, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 82.

¹⁰⁹Cf. note 83.

Nevertheless — both the young Radziwiłłs received a full “cavalier’s” education; the social and military successes of Bogusław in the West are known from his *Autobiografia* (*Autobiography*) and Janusz’s refined manners and great lord’s haughtiness aroused admiration among the Frenchmen from Queen Ludwika Maria’s retinue¹¹⁰. The effectiveness of this upbringing is confirmed by the illustrious career of both brothers in the service of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth until the Swedish “deluge”; their mistaken political option in 1655 should not, in my opinion, be associated with the results of their education or their religious denomination.

The Lithuanian Hetman’s instructions became a model for other magnates, also Catholics. Fifty years after Krzysztof Radziwiłł wrote his pedagogical instruction for Janusz, it was applied to the upbringing of his sons by the Grand Marshal of Lithuania Aleksander Hilary Połubiński¹¹¹.

(Translated by Agnieszka Kreczmar)

¹¹⁰B. Radziwiłł, *Autobiografia*, ed. T. Wasilewski, Warszawa, pp. 20–39; H. Wisner, *op. cit.* p. 183; cf. J. de Laboureur, *Wypisy z podróży pani de Guberiant, posłowej nadzwyczajnej do Polski* (*Specimens from the Journey of M-me de Guberiant, a Special Envoy to Poland*), in: J. U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników o dawnej Polsce* (*A Collection of Memoirs on Old Poland*), vol. 4, Warszawa 1822, p. 199.

¹¹¹W. Sokołowski, *Instrukcja pedagogiczna*, p. 265.