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Migrations of Jesuits Within and Outside the Order's Polish Province and Their Educational Consequences in the Second Half of the 17th Century

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ABSTRACT: The article examines the issue of migrations of the Jesuits of the Polish Province and their educational consequences in the second half of the 17th century, which has not been sufficiently studied in historiography. The author emphasizes that since 1648, under the influence of the military factor, the tendency towards personnel self-suffuciency of the Polish Province was replaced by numerous Jesuit migrations, which reached the largest scale during the Deluge period. The resulting disorder in the formation of the personnel of the Polish Province had a negative impact on the education of teachers in its eastern centres—due to the deficite of magisters who had passed the necessary stages of formation, young Jesuits with gaps in intellectual training were often involved in teaching. This negative phenomenon was partly compensated by the presence of emigrant teachers, who studied and taught abroad. Such an experience ended the intellectual and cultural isolation of the Polish Province and positively influenced the creative and career path of the emigrants.

KEYWORDS: migrations, Jesuits, Polish Province, the Deluge period, formation of Jesuit teachers.

From the last decades of the 16th century to the beginning of the 1770s, the Society of Jesus played an important role in the religious, cultural and educational life of early modern Europe. The specificity of the Order's internal structure and flexibility of its principles of activity allowed it to attain the leading positions within the Roman Catholic Church, to play a key role in the strengthening of the Counter-Reformation positions in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the late 16th and in the first half of the



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17th century, and to become an influential retranslator of the culture of the Renaissance and Baroque on the territory of Ukraine.

The historiography of Jesuit education in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth pays relatively little attention to the issue of Jesuit migration and the impact of this phenomenon on the quality of education. The authors mostly concentrated on the destructive consequences of wars, which was a factor that influenced Jesuit migrations in the middle and in the third quarter of the 17th century. The number of emigrant Jesuits was also clarified and their biographies during the Deluge period were partially reconstructed. At the same time, it seems appropriate to conduct a deeper and more complete study of the latter issue, as well as a whole research on the destructive changes in the educational level of Jesuit teachers, caused by forced migrations. The present article will be aimed at partial solution of these tasks.

The Society of Jesus was a universal system, which had a global organizational structure. Therefore, the lack of well-trained personnel in a particular country (which was natural at the beginning of the Order's activity) was compensated by the engagement of foreigners. Such situation occurs in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the last third of the 16th and in early 17th century. For example, in 1584, 17.9% (54 out of 302) of Jesuits in this country were foreigners.³ The numerical advantage of foreigners was one of the reasons for the suspicious attitude of part of the Commonwealth's nobility to the Order and for the emergence of a wave of accusations against the Jesuits regarding their lack of patriotism and the contradiction of their activity with the interests of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The apogee of this conflict became the Zebrzydowski Rebellion (1606–1609), during which the noble opposition demanded from Sigismund III the removal of the Jesuits from the royal court and from the state in general.

The next change in the strategy of the Society of Jesus in the Commonwealth (which was a drift from supporting strong royal power to the glorification of

¹ J. Łukaszewicz, Historya szkół w Koronie i w Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskiem od najdawniejszych czasów aż do roku 1794, t. 4, Księgarnia J.K. Żupańskiego, Poznań 1851, pp. 88, 125, 127; S. Załęski, Jezuici w Polsce, t. 3, Drukarnia Ludowa, Lwów 1902, pp. 22, 23, 27; t. 4, Drukarnia W.L.Anczyca i sp., Kraków 1905, pp. 982-983, 1085, 1120, 1156-1157, 1403 et al.; R. Pelczar, "Szkolnictwo jezuickie w Jarosławie 1575–1773 r.," Nasza Przeszłość, t. 84, 1995, p. 21; R. Pelczar, Szkolnictwo w miastach zachodnich ziem województwa ruskiego (XVI–XVIII w.), Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, Rzeszów 1998, pp. 85-86, 88-89, 92; K. Leń, Jezuickie kolegium św. Jana w Jarosławiu. 1573–1773, Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna "Ignatianum," Kraków 2000, pp. 45, 146; L. Grzebień (dir.), Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy. 1564–1995, WAM, Kraków 1996, pp. 26, 279, 339, 747 et al.

²L. Grzebień (dir.), op. cit., pp. 22, 45, 109, 455-456, 555 et al.

³ B. Natoński, "Szkolnictwo jezuickie w Polsce w dobie kontrreformacji," [in:] *Z dziejów szkolnictwa jezuickiego w Polsce*, J. Paszenda (dir.), WAM, Kraków 1994, p. 37.

the "golden liberties of the nobles") coincided with the creation of separate Polish and Lithuanian provinces. This gave impetus to the expansion of the network of Jesuit centres in the Commonwealth, which was eventually predetermined by fundamental changes not only in the confessional situation (Roman Catholicism gained an increasingly upper hand in the struggle for the souls of noble believers), but also in the educational sphere (Jesuit schools became the most popular and authoritative), as well as in the public perception of the Society of Jesus (the latter became harmoniously fitted into the ideological discourse of "noble democracy"). As a result, the staff of numerous new Jesuit centers was formed mainly by the persons from the Commonwealth. In 1625, foreigners in the Polish Province were already only 2.26% (12 out of 532), and in the Lithuanian one in 1628—2.3% (11 out of 478). A similar situation occurred in 1649, when in the first of these administrative units 1.55% (11 out of 709) of Jesuits were of foreign origin, and in the second—2.8% (17 out of 599).⁴

Simultaneously, we see a reduction in the range of Jesuit teachers' migration in the east of the Polish Province. This phenomenon concerned not only magisters (such as Jan Dunin, who in 1645–1648 taught in Kamianets-Podilskyi and Bar), but also more experienced teachers who had completed their formation. In particular, it regards Fr. Franciszek Wolnicki, who in 1646–1649 taught at the Kamianets-Podilskyi Collegium. In turn, as of 1649, Fr. Kazimierz Tomanowicz spent 6 years in the east of the Polish Province (in Kamianets-Podilskyi, Brest and Krosno), while outside this region only 2 years (in Toruń and Gdańsk).⁵

The beginning of the Khmelnytsky Uprising radically changed the situation with the migration of the Jesuits within the Polish Province. The rapid expansion of the war zone forced the rectors/superiors of a number of Jesuit centers to suspend school activities, remove or hide valuable movable property and evacuate most of the staff. In particular, it was done in Pereyaslav, Kyiv, Lutsk, Novgorod-Siversky, Ostroh, Xaverov, Vinnytsia, and Bar.

Such an algorithm can be traced in the next decades, which is evidenced, for example, by the Chronicle of the Krosno College. Its author noted that in 1672:

⁴*Ibidem*, pp. 37-38.

⁵ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Polonica 12, f. 17, 31 v., 53.

⁶S. Załęski, op. cit., t. 3, pp. 20, 22.

⁷ *Ibidem*, t. 4, pp. 944, 1403.

⁸ Ibidem, t. 3, p. 24.

⁹ *Ibidem*, t. 4, p. 979, 1391; С. Томашівський (dir.), «Жерела до історії України-Руси», Наукове Товариство ім. Шевченка, Львів 1898, t. IV, p. 39.

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... except for 12 persons whom it of course supported, the College ... fed in addition 18 refugees from various Colleges, who were avoiding the dangers of the Scythian [i.e. Tatarian—S.S.] incursions ...; however, these fugitive guests were not supported by the College for a whole year, but only until January, for after the danger of the enemy had subsided, they all returned to their homes.¹⁰

We are probably talking about Jesuits from Lviv, Przemyśl and Yaroslav, who were escaping during the Turkish-Tatar invasion of Galicia in 1672.

The duration of these forced migrations of the Jesuits depended primarily on how long their native centres were in danger. For example, during the Deluge period, the Yaroslav St. John Collegium constantly suffered from military actions and their consequences. In 1655, its urban infrastructure was plundered by Cossacks and Muscovites. In March 1656, Yaroslav was occupied by the Swedes, and the building of St. John Collegium became the residence of King Carl Gustav and his headquarters. The next year Yaroslav suffered from an attack by Cossack and Transylvanian troops. ¹¹ During this period, the Yaroslav Jesuits suffered significant material losses, but an even greater obstacle to restore the activity of this Jesuit centre were permanent security threats. Such an opinion is contained in the third part of the *Catalogi triennalis* of the Yaroslav St. John Collegium for 1658:

... all the schools were vacant and even if sometimes attempts were made to resume classes, due to the invasion of numerous enemies—Cossacks, Swedes, Muscovites, Hungarians—persons could not stay [there—S.S.], but were dispersed everywhere together with their Rector.¹²

In the 1660s, the Ostroh Collegium found itself in a similar situation. In 1668, in the third part of the *Catalogi triennalis* of this Jesuit center, we find a laconic entry: "the schools were closed because of the hostile invasion." It

 $^{^{10}\,^\}circ$ praeter personas 12 quas scilicet proprias sustentavit, Collegium . . . aluit insuper 18 ex variis Collegiis profugas ex pericula a Scytharum incursionibus . . . vitantes; quanquam non integro anno hi hospites profugi a Collegio sunt sustentati sed tantum ad Januarium nam postquam pericula hostium sopita sunt, ad sua domicilia redierunt omnes" (trans. S.S.). ARSI, Polonica 54, f. 93 v.

¹¹ S. Załęski, op. cit., t. 4, p. 170; K. Przyboś, "Operacja zimowo-wiosenna Karola X Gustawa w 1656 roku na ziemi przemyskiej," [in:] J. Muszyńska, J. Wijaczka (ed.) Rzeczpospolita w latach potopu, Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna im. Jana Kochanowskiego, Kielce 1996, p. 187.

¹² "vacabant scholae omnes et esto interdum instaurarentur studia, propter incursionem tantum hostium Cosacorum, Suecorum, Moschorum, Ungarorum, subsistere non poterunt personae sed in varias partes dissipabantur cum suo Rectore" (trans. S.S.). ARSI, Polonica 13, f. 201.

¹³ "Scholae vacabant propter incursionem hostilem" (trans. S.S.). ARSI, Polonica 15, f. 121.

is obvious that the teachers (and the Ostroh Jesuits as a whole) were forced to temporarily leave the Collegium for security reasons.

Until 1655, the forced migrations of the Jesuits were limited only to the eastern centers of the Polish Province and took place within its boundaries, but during the Deluge period the problem increased in scale. The war covered a large part of the Polish Province, most of its centers stopped their activities, and the Jesuits fled from the horrors of the war beyond the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the years 1655–1660, at least 41 such refugees were in the centers of the Austrian Province, 37—in the Upper German Province, 21—in the Upper Rhine Province, 9—in the Lower Rhine Province, 16—in Bohemia and Moravia. The widespread war and the large-scale exodus of personnel hindered the formation of new generation of Jesuits in the Polish Province—during the Deluge there were neither safe places nor a required number of teachers to educate young Jesuits and provide them with pedagogical experience.

The problem of the "lost generation" became acute in the mid-1660s, when the role of the military factor on the territory of the Polish Province weakened and its centers gradually increased their educational structure (for example, the Ostroh Collegium). The expansion of the structure of school required ad hoc significantly more teachers. Filling all these gaps with qualified personnel proved to be problematic, because the opportunity to form a new generation of Jesuits in the second half of the 1650s was lost. As a result, magisters (young and inexperienced Jesuits) began to be massively involved in teaching, which caused their disproportionately large presence. In the 1647/48 academic year only 17 out of 50 *studia inferiora* teachers in the east of the Polish Province were magisters, while in the 1664/65 academic year these latter were 11 out of 25, in 1668/69—16 out of 26, in 1674/75—15 out of 24, in 1679/80—20 out of 27.¹⁵

However, the problem was not only with a large number of young teachers, but also with the level of their intellectual training. Of course, deviations from the norm (one-year course of rhetoric *pro nostris*—three-year course of philosophy—four-year course of theology) occurred even in favorable times before 1648. For example, Fr. Tomanowicz, who entered the Order on August 1, 1634, did not complete the course of rhetoric *pro nostris* by 1649. Fr. Wojciech Orminski, who joined the Society of Jesus in 1643, did not pass any intellectual training for the next six years. ¹⁶

¹⁴ L. Grzebień (dir.), op. cit., pp. 22, 109, 455-456.

¹⁵ ARSI, Polonica 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 44, 45.

¹⁶ ARSI, Polonica 12, f. 20, 31 v.

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Wars of the middle and the third quarter of the 17th century as well as the increasing need for young teachers contributed to the transformation of such gaps into a mass phenomenon. This is evidenced by the analysis of the level of intellectual training of the Jesuits who taught *studia inferiora* courses in the east of the Polish Province in the last guarter of the 17th century (i.e., in the period when the Jesuits who completed the formation after 1648 dominated there). It seems appropriate to divide all Jesuit teachers into two groups—fratres (patres) and magisters. This decision is due to the fact that their intellectual training had a different set of mandatory elements, since the Jesuits mastered theology after magister's "pedagogical practice." The Tables 1-5 are based on the analysis of the *Catalogorum brevium* 1674–1699 and Catalogorum triennalium 1672, 1675, 1678, 1681, 1685, 1690, 1693, 1700. 17 What is taken into account are the data of six schools, which in 1675–1700 operated stably in the east of the Polish Province (in Krosno, Lviv, Lutsk, Ostroh, Przemyśl, Yaroslav), as well as the data of two new schools (in Ovruch and Krasnystaw), founded in 1687 and 1688.

Table 1. Level of the rhetorical education of magisters

Academic of	year teachers			0,5 year		1 yea	ar	2 years		2 years in saeculo		3 years in saeculo	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1674/1675	15	4	26,7	1	6,7	7	47,7	1	6,7	1	6,7	1	6,7
1679/1680	20	3	15	4	20	13	65	-	-	-	_	_	_
1684/1685	21	10	47,6	-	-	11	52,4	-	-	-	_	_	_
1689/1690	19	6	31,6	-	-	12	63,2	-	-	1	5,2	_	_
1694/1695	18	8	44,4	-	-	10	55,6	-	-	_	_	_	_
1699/1700	13	2	15,3	-	-	11	84,6	-	-	-	_	_	_

¹⁷ ARSI, Polonica 15-20, 22, 44, 45.

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Table 2. Level of philosophical education of magisters

Academic	Number of	0 yea	rs	2 yea	rs	3 years		
year	teachers	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
1674/1675	15	6	40	3	20	6	40	
1679/1680	20	1	5	-	_	19	95	
1684/1685	21	3	14,3	_	_	18	85,7	
1689/1690	19	7	36,8	_	_	12	63,2	
1694/1695	18	_	_	3	16,7	15	83,3	
1699/1700	13	_	_	1	7,7	12	92,3	

The analysis of the education of teachers-magisters demonstrates the actual situation with the reproduction of the personnel of the Polish Province in the 1670s-1690s (because this generation of Jesuits passed/should have passed the obligatory stages of their intellectual training several years before the data recorded in this table). We see a permanently difficult situation with the rhetorical education of young Jesuits (it became an omnipresent element of their formation only at the turn of the 17th-18th centuries). Since the end of the 1670s, on the contrary, philosophical education of magisters was at a permanently high level. The faster overcoming of the crisis in this component of the intellectual training of young Jesuits reflects the natural priorities in the strategy of personnel recovery (the knowledge of philosophy was more important for the Jesuits from the point of view of their doctrinal purity).

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Table 3. Level of rhetorical education of fratres-teachers of *studia inferiora* courses

Academic	Number	2 weeks		0 year		0,5 year		1 years		2 years	
year	year of teachers		%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1674/1675	9	_	_	4	44,4	-	_	5	55,6	-	_
1679/1680	7	1	14,2	3	42,9	_	-	3	42,9	_	-
1684/1685	6	_	_	3	50,0	_	_	3	50,0	_	_
1689/1690	9	_	_	3	33,3	1	11,1	5	55,6	_	-
1694/1695	8	_	_	1	12,5	_	_	7	87,5	_	_
1699/1700	17	_	-	7	41,2	_	-	9	52,9	1	5,9

 $Table\ 4.\ Level\ of\ philosophical\ education\ of\ fratres-teachers\ of\ \textit{studia\ inferiora\ } courses$

Academic	Number of	2 yea	rs	3 years		
year	teachers	Number	%	Number	%	
1674/1675	9	-	_	9	100	
1679/1680	7	1	14,3	6	85,7	
1684/1685	6	-	_	6	100	
1689/1690	9	-	_	9	100	
1694/1695	8	_	_	8	100	
1699/1700	17	_	_	17	100	

Academic year	Number of	0 yea	ır	2 yea	rs	2 yea (mor theolo	al	2 yea (schola theolo	stic	3 yea	rs	4 yea	rs
	teachers	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1674/1675	9	_	_	-	-	1	11,1	_	_	2	22	6	66,7
1679/1680	7	_	_	3	42,9	_	_	_	_	1	14,2	3	42,9
1684/1685	6	_	_	1	16,7	_	_	_	_	1	16,7	4	66,7
1689/1690	9	-	-	-	-	-	_	1	11.1	1	11,1	7	77,8
1694/1695	8	1	12.5	-	_	-	_	1	12,5	_	-	6	75
1699/1700	17	_	-	-	-	-	_	_	-	2	11,8	15	88,2

The then level of education of the fratres teaching courses of *studia inferiora*, in contrast to magisters, reflects more distant periods of their biography. In this group of Jesuits the echoes of the Deluge are much longer and more stable if we are talking about mastering rhetoric *pro nostris* or a four-year course in theology. The best situation is again observed with regard to the level of mastering of philosophy course.

The forced migration of part of the personnel of the Polish Province outside the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth also had certain positive consequences. Dozens of Jesuits who found themselves outside the usual environment definitely had the opportunity to expand their cultural horizons, acquire new knowledge and language skills. In the 1660s, this category of persons made up a significant part of Jesuit teachers in the east of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth—14,8-15,4% (4 of 26-27) in the academic year 1659/60, 22,2-22,9% (8 of 35-36) in the academic year 1664/65, 17,1% (6 of 35) in the academic year 1668/69.

Their intellectual and cultural enrichment abroad took place primarily when they passed the usual stages of formation. For example, one teacher in 1659/60, two in 1664/65 and three in 1668/69 had the experience of studying philosophy outside the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In turn,

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the theology course was studied abroad by four Jesuits who in 1664/65 taught in the eastern centers of the Polish Province.

Teaching was another form of intellectual and cultural communication of the Jesuits of the Polish Province with foreign environments. The vast majority of Jesuit emigrants, who later in the 1660s taught in the eastern centers of the Polish Province, had an experience of teaching abroad (i.e. 3 of 4 in the academic year 1659/60, 6 of 8 in the academic year 1664/1665 and 5 of 6 in 1668/1669). ¹⁸

The positive effect of the emigration period on the intellectual and cultural development of the Jesuits of the Polish Province is also confirmed by their subsequent creative and career achievements. For example, Fr. Jan Vosdassi during the Deluge taught rhetoric in Hungarian Gyor (or in Austrian Steyr), and later taught the same course at the Lviv Collegium (in 1659/1660). The foreign intellectual experience of this Jesuit was later reflected in his famous works on ascetic theology and poetics—Ethica ex moribus (Oliva, 1676), Proiecta poetica (Cracow, 1676). In 1667, Fr. Vosdassi was dimissed from the Society of Jesus and his intellectual abilities and erudition became in demand at the court of Jan III Sobieski, where the former Jesuit worked as a royal secretary. 19 Another Jesuit, Fr. Kasper Kostkowski, was in exile in Czechia (studying theology) and Germany (teaching rhetoric and poetry). This period of his life eventually played some role in his development as a talented theologian, poet and dramatist. Later, this Jesuit became the court missionary of Leon Bazyl Sapieha (Grand Treasurer of Lithuania) and the author of the number of texts of plays presented on the stages of several Jesuit school theaters. 20 Fr. Jan Jasłowski obviously benefited from studying theology in Olomouc (1655-1656). The high theological potential of this Jesuit is confirmed by the fact that he later became the court missionary of Bishop Stanislaus Zbaski (1680-1681).²¹

Unlike the aforementioned Jesuits, Fr. Jan Hermanni left the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as an experienced teacher, theologian and expert in Hebrew language. That is why, upon his arrival in Trnava (Slovakia), he was assigned the teaching of this subject and the position of Latin preacher at the local Jesuit church. After returning to homeland, Fr. Hermanni got an opportunity to implement his enriched professional experience while teaching theological courses (including scholastic theology in Lviv in the

 $^{^{18}}$ ARSI, Polonica 14, f. 25, 34 v., 47, 48, 157, 170, 178, 183 v. - 184 v., 199; Polonica 15, f. 36, 36 v., 39, 39 v., 53.

¹⁹ ARSI, Polonica 14, f. 34 v., 187 v.; L. Grzebień (dir.), op. cit., p. 22.

²⁰ ARSI, Polonica 14, f. 170; Polonica 15, f. 9; L. Grzebień (dir.), op. cit., p. 309.

²¹ ARSI, Polonica 14, f. 170; Polonica 15, f. 136 v.; Polonica 18, f. 28; Polonica 20, f. 28.

1664/65 academic year). Undoubtedly, the period spent abroad also played a significant role in the development of the creative potential of this Jesuit, which was reflected in two famous ascetic works (*Deliciae Regum, Panis Eucharisticus* [Rome, 1672], *Powinności zakonne* [Cracow, 1672]), as well as in *Horographia expedita* (Cracow, 1680), which described various designs of sundials. The diverse talents of this Jesuit enabled his brilliant career in the Society of Jesus—he became the procurator for the canonization of blessed Stanislaus Kostka and the secretary for Polish affairs under the Order's General in Rome (1666–1676), Provincial of the Polish Province (1684–1689), as well as the delegate of the XII and XIII General Congregations in Rome (in 1682 and 1687).²²

One more example of the usefulness of staying abroad was the life path of Fr. Andrzej Pyzowski. During the Deluge he took refuge in Jichyn (Czechia), where he studied philosophy and later taught grammar (or syntax). The new knowledge acquired during the emigration undoubtedly came in handy during further educational activity of this Jesuit (in particular, when teaching rhetoric *pro externis* at the St. John Yaroslav Collegium in 1668/1669 academic year). Fr. Pyzowski had also a bright life journey - he became a court and camp missionary under Field Hetman of the Crown Jan Sobieski (1667–1668) as well as the author of a number of dramatic works and the creator of a Jesuit school theater in Sandomierz.²³

An important consequence of the Jesuits' stay outside the Commonwealth was an increase in their knowledge of foreign languages. Fr. Jan Bielicki, while staying in Yechyna and Kutnia Hora, mastered the Czech and German languages at a sufficient level. This, of course, expanded his possibilities for intellectual communication (both with people and with certain language segments of literature) and had a positive effect on his further teaching activity (including in Lviv, where he taught philosophy).²⁴

Thus, in the eve of the Khmelnytskyi Uprising, the Polish Province showed a tendency to personnel self-sufficiency, and the ratio of foreigners among the Jesuits decreased there to an extremely insignificant level. Wars of the middle and of the third quarter of the 17th century radically changed the situation: many Jesuits from the east part of the Polish Province had to flee to safer areas in the west of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or even abroad. Mass migrations of the Deluge period had particularly large-scale consequences. This resulted in the destruction of the training of

²² ARSI, Polonica 14, f. 183 v.; Polonica 15, f. 21 v.; L. Grzebień (dir.), op. cit., p. 214.

²³ ARSI, Polonica 14, f. 19 v.; Polonica 15, f. 36; L. Grzebień (dir.), op. cit., p. 555.

 $^{^{24}}$ ARSI, Polonica 15, f. 39 v.; Polonica 14, f. 151; Polonica 17, f. 7; L. Grzebień (dir.), op. cit., p. 45.

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personnel of the Polish Province and caused a deficite of young Jesuits who would have fully completed all stages of formation. As a result, numerous teaching vacancies that appeared in the 1660s were filled mainly by persons with partial intellectual training. The decline in the level of education of the majority of Jesuits who taught in the east of the Polish Province was partially compensated by broader intellectual background of the emigrants. These latter made up a significant part of the local teaching staff and had the experience of studying and teaching outside the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (in Silesia, Czechia, Moravia, Germany, Slovakia, Hungary). Their forced stay in a different intellectual and cultural environment made it possible to interrupt the period of personnel self-sufficiency of the Polish Province and had a positive effect on the emigrants' creative activity and career development.

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