

# Social Aspects of Education

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## EDUCATION OF NOBLEMEN'S SONS IN 16<sup>th</sup> CENTURY POLAND

The turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Poland saw a change in the attitude to children's education. The ability of reading and writing started to be perceived as not only reserved for the clergymen and men in authority, but also necessary for the children of the gentry, burghers and even the lower social classes. Especially the latter saw education as a way of social advancement. Stanisław Orzechowski recalls that "my father constantly drummed it into me and reproached me, citing the cost of my upbringing and education. Polished and educated by dint of so much effort of my family, I would become a priest and pave for my brothers the way to positions of prominence"<sup>1</sup>. According to the French scholar J. Delumeau, the knowledge of Latin was indispensable for everybody's career and enabled one to find his place in the world of culture of that time<sup>2</sup>. Thus children's education became a new, important element of the life-style of the era.

The model of education in 16<sup>th</sup> century Europe was based on the humanist tradition of the Greek school with its emphasis on philology, rhetoric and linguistics, therefore it was called *paideia*. It was to shape the mentality and personality of man so that he could in future take part in the culture and civic life of his

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<sup>1</sup> S. Orzechowski, *List do Jana Franciszka Komendanta o sobie samym (Letter to Jan Franciszek Commendant About Myself)*, in: *I d e m*, *Wybór pism*, ed. J. Starnawski, Wrocław 1972, p. 633.

<sup>2</sup> J. Delumeau, *La civilisation de la Renaissance*, Paris 1967, pp. 422–423.

country. Hence education conceived in this way was also called civic humanism<sup>3</sup>.

The basis of Renaissance education was the study of *humanitatis*, the so-called *humaniora*, which in the 15<sup>th</sup> century embraced such subjects as: Latin language and grammar, rhetoric, poetics, history and ethics (moral philosophy). The propagators of humanist education held two contradictory concepts of the acquisition and later consumption of accessible knowledge. The first was voiced, among others, by Erasmus of Rotterdam who thought that linguistic education should be a way to acquiring a knowledge of the humanities and be helpful in the study of the ancient authors. Thus an educated man should participate not only in the political, but also cultural life of the state. The second trend took an utilitarian attitude and emphasized the practical application of acquired knowledge in the life of a future citizen. The Polish gentry inclined to the latter concept. The stipulations that one should not learn everything but only what can be of use in his public activity can be found in the works of outstanding Polish publicists, politicians and scholars of the 16<sup>th</sup> century: Stanisław Orzechowski, Szymon Marcyjusz, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, Wawrzyniec Gościłicki, and Stanisław Sokółowski. Marcin Kromer emphasized that: "Anyway, at present, when we know what high value lies in learning languages, rhetoric and literature, our compatriots also set to it with much zeal, though they seek in it rather social benefit than fame"<sup>4</sup>. Both Polish Catholics and Protestants were eager to provide their sons with practical knowledge, useful in public life. Therefore they sent their offspring to schools that satisfied such expectations.

A member of the Polish gentry who graduated from a humanist school, would have known in the first place both Latin language and literature, and to a smaller extent, Greek. Knowledge of German and Italian was also desirable. He had to be able to speak convincingly in the *Sejm* or a dietine, using arguments

<sup>3</sup> J. Budzyński, *Paideia humanistyczna czyli wychowanie do kultury: studium z dziejów klasycznej edukacji w gimnazjum (The Humanist Paideia or Education for Culture: A Study in the History of Grammar-School Classical Education)*. Częstochowa 2003.

<sup>4</sup> M. Kromer, *Polska czyli o położeniu, ludności, obyczajach, urządach i sprawach publicznych Królestwa polskiego księgi dwie (Poland or About the Situation, Population, Customs, Offices and Public Affairs of the Polish Kingdom Two Books)*. trans. S. Kozłowski, ed. R. Marchwiński, Olsztyn 1977, p. 64.

drawn from the ancient authors. Knowledge of the history (and geography) of his own country, as well as of antiquity (and the *Bible*), and moral philosophy were also indispensable elements of his education<sup>5</sup>. He was expected to write well-styled letters to his family, acquaintances and political friends. Other qualities embraced the knowledge of the foundations of the system of the Polish Gentry Commonwealth, and of Polish law, as well as conformity with behaviour accepted by the gentry custom in Poland. It was the task of the parents to find a right way for inculcating this knowledge on their sons. They might learn from home tutors or at school (public or that for the court elite), or acquire practical qualifications in a chancery of some secular or ecclesiastical dignitary. In an educational instruction addressed to his son, Hieronim Baliński even advised him to listen to the debates of the *Sejm*, observe people and thus acquire political and civic experience<sup>6</sup>.

The basic education was usually acquired at home. There, supervised by a tutor or some member of the family, a child learned his prayers and the alphabet. A prayer book or the *Bible* served as primers. Wealthy noblemen specially ordered copies printed in large type, good for children. Some have been preserved in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow<sup>7</sup>.

Sons of the poorer gentry attended parish schools whose network had taken shape in Poland as early as the Middle Ages. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century a better or worse school worked almost in every parish. However, only those placed in big cities, with curricula adjusted to the new requirements, enjoyed the interest of the gentry. Thus great popularity was gained by the Catholic schools in Cracow and Lwów, reformed in 1550. In 1519 the first humanist school in the Polish lands, the so-called Lubrański Academy, was founded in Poznań. In the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Protestant academic gymnasiums were established in

<sup>5</sup> T. Bieńkowski, *Szkoły w kulturze staropolskiej (Schools in Old-Polish Culture)*, "Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty", vol. XXV, 1983, *passim*. The author's reflections relate to the whole old-Polish period, not only the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which differed from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in respect of the contents of teaching.

<sup>6</sup> H. Baliński, *De educatione pueri nobilis*, ed. Z. Bujakowski, "Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce" vol. 14, Kraków 1910, p. 336.

<sup>7</sup> Although the author writes about the royal children, her observations may also pertain to the magnates and wealthy gentry. See U. Borkowska, *Edukacja Jagiellonów (The Jagiellons' Education)*, "Roczniki Historyczne" vol. LXXI, 2005, p. 111.

the cities of Royal Prussia (1535 Elbląg, 1558 Gdańsk, 1568 Toruń), and later in Little Poland (1551 Pińczów, Cracow, 1588 Lubartów), and in Great Poland (1555 Leszno). Finally, in the 1560s, Jesuit colleges started to be founded, which towards the end of the century became dominant institutes that educated successive generations of young Poles. Worthy of note among the schools of that era are those of the type of institutes of higher education, which were meant to compete with the oldest of them — Cracow University. Among them was the University of Królewiec (Königsberg, 1544), intended for educating young Protestants from Prussia and Lithuania. Other competitors of Cracow were the Jesuit Academy of Wilno (1578) and Zamojski Academy (1596) designed for young knights. Possibilities of education were also offered by Cracow University, which established a network of its own schools, the so-called academic colonies (from 1588 onwards), as well as by many foreign, old and new Catholic and Protestant universities and colleges. Before the humanistic gymnasiums were established in the Polish lands, young Poles went to the German and Italian universities, which had earlier put into practice the new ideas of humanism, and to the Jesuit colleges, whose network started to take shape in Europe from the 1540s onwards.

There were several stages in a young gentleman's education. At the age of 10–12 he usually left home, and was sent to some school in his native country, or to a university or academy abroad. There he stayed for 3–5 years. Young students were accompanied by tutors and guardians, called preceptors. On such an educational voyage, its founder, the young son, took also his kinsmen and sons of political friends. Such a retinue frequently numbered several people, and their maintenance cost a lot of money. Therefore the rich were willingly joined by the poorer. Estimates show that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century about 5 thousand young Poles studied abroad<sup>8</sup>.

The Polish gentry almost unanimously opted for school education. Still, many families, especially rich, employed tutors to prepare the young boys for studies at home or abroad. I have succeeded in establishing the names of about 70 preceptors of

<sup>8</sup> A. Kamler, A. Wyczański, *Inwestowanie w edukację dzieci w XVI-wiecznej Polsce (The Investment in the Education of Children in 16<sup>th</sup> Century Poland)*. "Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny" 1995, № 3.

gentlemen's sons who took up this difficult task in the years 1501–1586<sup>9</sup>. Among them were the beginning or even established writers and poets (Krzysztof Hegendorfer, Jan Łasicki, Andrzej Schoneus), school-founders or reformers (Wojciech of Kalisz, Mikołaj Śmieszkwic, Krzysztof Trency), authors of text-books (Krzysztof Hegendorfer, Rudolf Agricola), religious polemicists both Catholic (Benedykt Herbest, Stanisław Hozjusz), and of reformed denominations (Stanisław Murelius), physicians (Stefan Micanus, Jan Soszyński), and lecturers of Cracow University (Stanisław Sokołowski, Stanisław Picus Zawadzki). Many of them, after leaving pedagogical work, made their name in Polish culture (Wacław Grodecki, Krzysztof Hegendorfer, Stanisław Hozjusz, Jan Jonas, Stanisław Reszka, Wojciech Sokołowski). They were generally graduates of Cracow University or of Italian or German universities. Some had listened to lectures in several universities and boasted bachelor's or master's degrees (Jan Bargiel, Aleksy Dantyszek). There were also some doctors of both canon and civil law (Andrzej Góra of Mikołajewice, Szymon Marycjusz, Mikołaj Śmieszkwic), of theology (Stanisław Sokołowski), and even of medicine (Jan Solfa)<sup>10</sup>. The sources show that foreigners were seldom employed as teachers of Polish gentlemen. We know of Heinrich Wolf of Switzerland who taught the young sons of the Myszkowskis, Firlejs and Dłuskis<sup>11</sup>. It is possible that foreign teachers charged higher fees, they were also fewer in Poland than the native ones. Hence their services were more difficult to obtain.

To prevent a change in denomination, so frequent in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the teacher had to be of the same faith as the pupil. Most teachers were derived from the burghers or petty gentry, and as a result of their earlier didactic (few cases) or scholarly work they sometimes became ennobled. Very few, however, were raised to the gentry estate. Among them was Szymon Marycjusz, in his young days the tutor of the Herburts' children, or Stanisław

<sup>9</sup> A. Kamler, *Od szkoły do senatu. Wykształcenie senatorów w Koronie w latach 1501–1586. Studia (From School to Senate. Education of Senators in the Polish Crown in the Years 1501–1586. Studies)*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 85–92.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>11</sup> *Polskie przypadki Henryka Wolfa z Zurychu. Dziennik podróży z lat 1570–1578 (Polish Adventures of Heinrich Wolf of Zurich. A Travel Diary of 1570–1578)*, ed. H. Kieniewicz, M. Szymański, R. Sochań, Warszawa 1996, p. 12.

Reszka, the teacher of Andrzej Bathory, and also Andrzej Falk — the preceptor of Andrzej Odrowąż, Castellan of Żarnowiec<sup>12</sup>. Due to those teachers who accompanied gentlemen's sons on their travels, news of what was being read in Europe reached the wider ranks of the gentry. In this way they learned of the new books. Anzelm Eforyn, the teacher of the Boners' children, was a middleman in the book trade. Also Jan Łasicki, the tutor of many sons of Protestants, who spent almost 25 years travelling with his young masters, brought from Basel the latest publications of such editors as Froben or Episcopus and supplied the Poles with much sought after earlier editions of some popular publications<sup>13</sup>.

Wealthy gentry had very high requirements, both professional and moral, of the teachers employed in their homes. Jan Amor Tarnowski, while establishing a school in Tarnów in 1559, insisted that its rector should represent solid knowledge, and preferably should have of a degree in the liberal arts<sup>14</sup>. However, the demands regarding professionalism were not accompanied by an adequate remuneration. This is shown by the taxation tables, the so-called poll-tax registers, of 1520 and 1590. This tax, voted in emergency, concerned all the estates, professions and age-groups. Thus it may give us a reliable idea of the financial condition of the society of those times. Those who designed those tables were well aware of the financial possibilities of the tax-payer and established the tax divisions so as to reflect his financial standing and social prestige<sup>15</sup>. The status of a teacher was then equal to that of a poor cotter. Of course, locally, salaries were differentiated. At the top were university professors, at the bottom teachers of rural or country-town parish schools. It is most difficult to estimate the income of the teachers of the gentry children, mainly because of a lack of sources. Heinrich Wolf, who taught the sons of Polish Protestants, received, by Polish standards, a good contract — 36 zlotys in cash for a year, clothing and board<sup>16</sup>. Wojciech Nowopolczyk, employed by Sigismund Augustus as the teacher of his nephew,

<sup>12</sup> A. Kamler, *Od szkoły*, pp. 98–100.

<sup>13</sup> M. Jaglarz, *Księgarstwo krakowskie w XVI wieku (16<sup>th</sup> Century Book Trade in Cracow)*, Kraków 2004, p. 144.

<sup>14</sup> A. Kamler, *Od szkoły*, p. 63.

<sup>15</sup> A. Wyczański, *Uwarstwienie społeczne w Polsce. Studia (Social Stratification in Poland. Studies)*, Warszawa 1977, p. 206.

<sup>16</sup> *Polskie przypadki Henryka Wolfa*, p. 59.

the 12 year old Jan Zygmunt Zapolya, received 9 times as much. This was not a typical contract, but the monarch highly appraised the pedagogue's abilities and professional qualifications. Nowopolczyk was a philologist, specializing in Greek and Roman writings. Stanisław Koszutski, the royal librarian, received the same kind of contract.

It seems that what made teachers accept a tutor's job in gentry homes was not the salary, but profits in the form of going abroad to study together with their charge, a remunerative benefice and employment at his patron's court, or joining the clientage circle of the parent, even up to ennoblement. Therefore the decision of taking up sometimes pedagogically difficult and poorly paid didactic work was made in view of the future profits. The group of 70 people who in the years 1501–1586 were in charge of the education of the children of the Polish power elite included the future bishops (Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz, Bishop of Poznań Stanisław Branicki), abbots (Kacper Geschkau), canons (Stanisław Reszka), professors (Krzysztof Hegendorfer, Benedykt Herbest, Szymon Marycjusz, Mikołaj Śmieszkowic, Wojciech of Kalisz). No teacher ever received a noteworthy secular promotion. Szymon Marycjusz, after his ennoblement adopted the name of Czystochlebski and settled in the country. He became a gentleman mainly due to his marriage, and not his contribution to the education of the young Herburts.

The direction of education in a gentry family was chosen by the father, but whether it was a single-handed decision, or taken after consultation with his wife, we do not know. The final verdict depended on the relations between the couple. It was the fathers who were the authors of the few pedagogical instructions that survived from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. They had the form of memorials handed to their sons before they set out on an educational journey, or were included in the testament. The decision about children's education had to be prudent, for this was a fund-consuming investment. Because of a lack of historical sources no attempts at estimating the cost of education have so far been made. The records that reached historians were single, frequently inexact pieces of information that rather reflected the tendencies than the authentic dimensions of this phenomenon. Stanisław Tańko's studies cost his family about 10 thousand zlotys<sup>17</sup>. To

<sup>17</sup> A. Kamler, A. Wyczański, *Inwestowanie w edukację dzictel*, p. 25.

pay for the studies of his two sons, Piotr Prandota, voivode of Rawa, sold two villages in Mazovia for 1 200 zlotys in 1494<sup>18</sup>. We do not know whether this covered the whole cost. Z. Pietrzyk estimates the annual cost of education within the Polish borders at c. 150 zlotys<sup>19</sup>. The cost of a stay in European academic centres was over ten times higher. If what Orzechowski says is true, Jan Tarnowski paid 100 thousand zlotys for a two-year stay of his son, Jan Krzysztof, at the emperor's court in Vienna<sup>20</sup>. Perhaps this included the cost of the title of the Counts of the Holy Roman Empire, obtained by the Tarnowskis from the emperor? Let us add, for comparison, that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the annual revenue yielded by a middle-size manorial farm amounted to 174 zlotys<sup>21</sup>. How does the great number of those who studied abroad agree with the high cost of education? We should not wonder that without the assistance of rich relatives the education of many sons of the gentry and burghers might end in a parish school. Without being promoted by their uncles, many nephews of wealthy clergymen would not stand a chance of gaining the education which opened to them a new quality of life and a way to social advancement. A completely new phenomenon in the Polish lands — both in the territorial and social sense — was the creation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century of scholarship foundations. They were established by people with suitable means, who understood the benefit coming from having an educated family and subjects. One of the first was the initiative of Primate Jan Łaski who in 1502 assigned his revenues from the Cracow canonry for the maintenance of his two kinsmen who studied in Cracow, and seventeen years later contributed to the scholarships of his three other relatives. In this way the illustrious lawyers, Maciej Śliwnicki and Maciej Sobocki, acquired their education. Erazm Ciołek, bishop of Plock, sent to Italy the best graduates of the school he maintained in his palace, and after their return employed them

<sup>18</sup> K. Pacuski, *Prędota Piotr*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny (PSB)*, vol. XXVIII/3, fasc. 118, pp. 455–456.

<sup>19</sup> Z. Pietrzyk, *W kręgu Strasburga. Peregrynacje młodzieży z Rzeczypospolitej Polsko-Litewskiej w latach 1538–1621 (In the Orbit of Strasburg. Peregrinations of Young Men from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Years 1538–1621)*, Kraków 1997, p. 192.

<sup>20</sup> Ł. Wilczura, *Hetman hetmanów. Jan Amor Tarnowski (1488–1561) (The Hetman of Hetmans. Jan Amor Tarnowski, 1488–1561)*, Kraków 2005, p. 24.

<sup>21</sup> A. Wyczański, *Szlachta polska XVI wieku (Polish 16<sup>th</sup> Century Gentry)*, Warszawa 2001, p. 104.



as teachers in the schools in his diocese. Another bishop of Plock, Andrzej Noskowski, created several scholarship foundations; the biggest one, established in 1558, provided funds for the education of 40 students, including 20 from Mazovia. In return for these scholarships he expected them to come back to their native regions and work there in schools for at least two years. Other wealthy heads of Crown bishoprics followed in the footsteps of their colleagues. The studies of capable young men were financed by Jan Chojeński, when he was the administrator of the Przemyśl diocese, as well as by Marcin Kromer and Stanisław Hozjusz, when they were the bishops of Warmia. Piotr Tomicki, bishop and Vice-Chancellor, financed the foreign education of his own kinsmen. Rich chapters laid out money for the education of their canons. A similar type of activity was developed by Jan Dantyszek when he was the bishop of Chełmno. Bishops also took pains to modernize the curricula of the schools earlier established in their dioceses and called others into being. Some of them soon collapsed, others left their permanent mark in the Polish culture of that period (for example, Lubrański Academy, Jesuit Colleges in Pultusk and Kalisz).

Also lay patrons offered financial support to young people. However, the scope of their initiatives was much smaller. They usually confined themselves to financing the studies of the companions of their sons on their foreign travels, or to establishing schools on their estates. Mikołaj Firlej maintained a school at Lewartowo, Andrzej Górka in Poznań. Jan Zamojski's school — Zamojski Academy — was a monument to his glory. It was the first time that the memory of the patron and his family survived him in the form of an educational institution in Poland. The life of schools established by the gentry, mainly non-Catholic, was usually short. It finished with the founder's death or shortly after, since his family usually did not want to go on financing their maintenance, because of a lack of funds, change of denomination, or for both these reasons together.

I have made a thorough study of the education of the power elite in 16<sup>th</sup> century Poland. The basis of my analysis was the group of senators that sat on the Senators' Chamber in the years 1501–1586. I took into consideration only those who were nominated bishops, voivodes or castellans in the Crown lands or performed the function of ministers. I left Lithuania out of account. The

group under analysis consisted of about 500 names. It turned out that the education of 53% of the representatives of the Senate can be documented<sup>22</sup>. I do not possess any data about the education of the rest, but this does not mean that the group might not include senators who also spent their young days in schools or learnt at home or in a palace school under the direction of some teachers. Hence, in fact, the percentage of educated clergymen and laymen among the senators is bigger, especially if we take into account the opinions of their contemporaries about their erudition and interests, if we come to know their literary works, letters, rhetoric art, knowledge of ancient and modern languages, as well as their patronage over schools, writers or poets.

The best educated group in the Senate consisted of bishops. The threshold of their education was not established in Poland, but imposed by canon law. 87% of bishops had behind them a stay at various colleges — most of them were graduates of Cracow, Padua, Bologna and Rome. The clergymen included graduates of the Protestant universities of Wittenberg, Leipzig or Strasburg. Most of them took the office of bishops after years of work as Royal Secretaries.

Among the lay senators only one in three could boast of being a graduate of some educational institution. However, among the major senators (voivodes) this percentage amounted to 69, while among the minor (castellans) — to 31. The offices of ministers — the Grand and Court Marshal, Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, Grand and Court Treasurers — were entrusted to well-prepared men, professionals (treasurers, chancellors), with broad intellectual horizons, which does not rule out the influence of their family connections on their choice.

Most members of the Polish power elite were graduates of Cracow or Italian and German universities, or absolvents of Protestant grammar schools in Poland and abroad (Strasburg, Lausanne) and Jesuit colleges (from the 1540s onwards foreign, and after 1564 also Polish). The future senators, especially at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century when the network of Renaissance schools just started developing, usually attended the cathedral or collegiate schools in bigger towns, not too distant from their homes. The poor gentry from Mazovia or Łęczyca voivodeship

<sup>22</sup> A. Kamler, *Od szkoły, passim*.

usually went to parish schools. Maciej Drzewicki, the future Grand Chancellor and Archbishop of Gniezno, started his education in a parish school in Drzewica, and then followed it in the cathedral school in Włocławek. The future bishop of Płock, Andrzej Noskowski, first attended the school attached to the cathedral in Płock, and only later in Cracow. It is possible that the later school reforms in the Płock diocese carried out by Noskowski were inspired by the difficulties he encountered in his elementary education. The future voivodes of Rawa — Andrzej Sierpski, and Płock — Feliks Szreński, were also alumni of the Płock cathedral school. The offspring of the Tomicki family: Jan (castellan of Rogoźno), Mikołaj (castellan of Gniezno) and Stanisław (castellan of Międzyrzec) were alumni of the cathedral school in Gniezno.

In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the palace schools attached to the Royal Court or the seats of the bishops (in Cracow, of such bishops as Piotr Tomicki, Piotr Myszkowski, Samuel Maciejowski, in Skierniewice of Jan Przerembski) and lay dignitaries (Piotr Kmita in Wiśnicz, Jan Tarnowski in Wiewiórka), or such institutions as royal, judicial and military chanceries, which still at the beginning of the century played a considerable role, had already a minimal influence on the education of senators' children. They did not run organized education, with regular classes and teachers. Still, the gentry, especially in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, sent their offspring there, to acquire general knowledge and suitable polish desirable for the ranks of the poorer gentry sons. These institutions were criticized sharply by some publicists, who did not succeed in getting admitted (M a r y c j u s z), or did not make a brilliant career (M o d r z e w s k i).

Young sons of the gentry were, however, still interested in getting educated in a chancery. One could acquire there practical skill in the application of Polish law and in office work. Such education could also produce in the future profitable social contacts. With time, especially the Royal Chancery, was more interested in employing professionals than in their training, which is proved by the fate of the Royal Secretaries who later held prominent state posts.

The choice of the place of education for children of a gentry family depended on the financial status of their parents. Most educated sons of gentlemen came from Little Poland, Great Poland and Royal Prussia. In the group of the castellans of Little

Poland one in three had had some school experience<sup>23</sup>. Those gentlemen in whose life it is difficult to trace the time spent at school, put a lot of effort into having their sons educated. They sought for them good teachers and schools of high standing. It must be emphasized that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century education of gentlemen's sons, in contrast to those of the burghers or peasants, usually did not end in acquiring a diploma — being a member of the gentry estate was proof enough of one's education. However, among the senators who sat on the Senate in the period under analysis there were also some bishops and laymen who broke away from that tradition and gained degrees (e.g. Stanisław Karnkowski, Piotr Kostka, Jan Ocieski, Jan Ostroróg, Marcin Skotnicki, Jan Zamoyski). Gentlemen's sons either studied law or confined themselves to listening to lectures in the arts, where they deepened their knowledge of the principles of rhetoric, poetics and philosophy. Great emphasis was especially placed on the usefulness of rhetoric (in the local and later career), classical Latin and foreign languages, and later also of Polish in social communication. The influence of the new humanist education can be seen in the later actions of the senators (the financing of schools and of the education of individual persons, publication of their own or their protégés' literary works)<sup>24</sup>.

*(Translated by Agnieszka Kreczmar)*

<sup>23</sup> A. Kamler, *Uwagi o wykształceniu małopolskiej elity władzy (Remarks on the Education of the Power Elite from Little Poland)*, in: *Cała historia to dzieje ludzi...*, ed. C. Kukło, Białystok 2004.

<sup>24</sup> A. Kamler, *Od szkoły*, the chapter *Senatorski mecenat (Senators' Patronage)*.