

The Inventory of the Jesuit College in Slutsk and its Estates from 1773–1774

Summary

Inventories issued after the suppression of the Society of Jesus (1773) contain precious information about the Jesuit cultural, social, and economic activities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The present source edition focuses on the Slutsk College. Four manuscripts related to this Jesuit house still exist. Two are preserved in the National Historical Archive of Belarus in Minsk, respectively in the archival fonds “Consistory of the Mohylew Catholic archbishopric” (f. 1781, vop. 27, nr 538) and “Radziwiłł family” (f. 694, vop. 2, nr 7445), one in the General Archive of Old Records in Warsaw (“Warsaw Radziwiłł Archive”, f. 354, dział VIII, nr 519), and one to the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius (“Vilnius Belarusian fond”, f. 21, nr 1445).

These manuscripts differ by character and content. The first Minsk specimen and the Vilnius one are both originals. The Warsaw manuscript is a contemporary certified copy issued by the inspectors chosen by the General Confederation of Lithuania. The second Minsk specimen is a later copy issued in the early 1780s for the Commission of National Education. Whereas the first Minsk specimen only focuses on the college building, its library and its archive, the other manuscripts also describe its estates. The pharmacy inventory is available in the manuscripts from Vilnius and Warsaw. The first Minsk manuscript remained in Slutsk after the suppression of the Society of Jesus and thus was updated by rector Stefan Nojszewski. Due to the precise relationship between specimens, this edition relies on the first Minsk specimen and the Vilnius manuscript. For this reason, the editor has also resigned from systematically collating them, highlighting only major variants.

Slutsk lies about 100 kilometres south of Minsk on the Sluch River, a tributary of the Prypiat River. Initially, the town belonged to the Kyivan Rus, owing its wealth to the Black-Baltic Sea trade route. Due to the gradual disintegration of this state, Slutsk became the capital of an autonomous principality, falling under Lithuanian influence in the fourteenth century. After the Lublin Union between Poland and Lithuania (1569), Slutsk belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until 1793, when it became part of the Russian Empire.

Like every other private town, the history of Slutsk is closely related to that of its owners. For about two hundred years, from 1395 until the end of the sixteenth century,

the Olelkowicz family ruled over Slutsk as vassals of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, after the death of all male family members, the Olelkowicz estates were inherited by the Calvinist bench of the Radziwiłł family thanks to the marriage between Janusz, cupbearer of Lithuania, and Zofia Olelkowicz. The town remained in the hands of the Protestant Radziwiłłs until the end of the century. After Bogusław died in 1669, his estates passed into the hands of his only daughter Ludwika Karolina. The young princess, educated at the Calvinist court of Friedrich Wilhelm Hohenzollern, Elector of Brandenburg, entrusted the administration of her Lithuanian estates to local officials like Kazimierz Kłockocki and Stanisław Niezabitowski. Due to her wealth, she became the most sought-after match in late seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania, to the extent that even Jakub Sobieski, King John III's elder son, attempted to marry her. Finally, after a short and childless marriage with the Elector's son Leopold, she married Charles III Philipp Wittelsbach of the Palatinate-Neuburg. After Ludwika Karolina died in 1695, the prince administered her Lithuanian possessions, now called the Neuburg estates (Pol. *dobra neuburskie*), on behalf of his daughter Elisabeth Auguste and later granddaughters. In reality, hetman Kazimierz Jan Sapieha occupied the estates to prevent his rivals, the Catholic Radziwiłłs from Nieśwież, from doing the same. In 1700, the Sapiehas were defeated during the Lithuanian Civil War. Deprived of their military protection, the Neuburg estates were formally entrusted to the Radziwiłłs from Nieśwież but, in reality, remained under Russian occupation over a significant part of the Great Northern War (1700–1721). In 1714, Charles Philipp decided to lease them to King Augustus II. In the long run, however, not the Polish monarch but the Catholic Radziwiłłs were the main beneficiaries of this conflict. By undermining the Sapiehas' political dominance, the Great Northern War had removed the main obstacle to acquiring the Neuburg estates. The Catholic Radziwiłłs finally succeeded in their efforts in the mid-eighteenth century. Between 1736 and 1760, Slutsk became one of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł's main residences. Thanks to his passion for music and theatre, the city culturally flourished, while the garrison stimulated the local economy. After Hieronim Florian's childless death in 1760, his elder brother Michał Kazimierz "Rybeńko" (1702–1762), and later his sons Karol Stanisław "Panie Kochanku" (1734–1790) and Hieronim Wincenty (1759–1787) inherited Slutsk. However, the town's prosperity ended due to Karol Stanisław's political emigration in 1764–1767 and 1769–1777.

Unlike other parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Counterreformation did not set foot in Slutsk thanks to the long-lasting rule of non-Catholic families. While the patronage of the Olelkowicz family ensured the predominance of the Orthodox Church, the Calvinist Radziwiłłs carried out a diverse religious policy, encouraging the establishment of Reformed, Lutheran, and Jewish communities. Coexistence was relatively peaceful since these communities, mainly consisting of outsiders, did not compete with the Orthodox burghers, who dominated the town magistrate. On the national political stage, the Calvinist Radziwiłłs pursued an alliance with the Orthodox Church against the Counterreformation policies carried out by the Polish King Sigismund III. This prevented the establishment of the Greek-Catholic Church in Slutsk after the Union of Brest (1596). At the same time, a new elite emerged thanks to the Radziwiłłs rewarding their noble clients with tenures. Following their patrons, many tenants turned to Calvinism. After the extinction of the Calvinist bench of the Radziwiłł family, this local elite remained faithful to the Reformed Church, supporting it financially and politically. It also managed

to maintain its economic independence by successfully hindering any attempt made by later owners to repurchase the tenures. Potentially facing strong opposition, the Catholic Radziwiłłs decided not to enforce Counterreformation to ensure the political stability of the principality and levy high taxes on it.

In the mid-seventeenth century, just before the arrival of the Jesuits, the city stretched on both banks of the Sluch River and was surrounded by ramparts. A bridge connected the Old Town north of the river with the New Town south. Two suburbs – Trojczany and Ostrów – expanded westwards and eastwards from the Old Town. Due to the turmoil of the Cossack uprising led by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi (1648–1657) and the Polish-Russian War of 1654–1667, Bogusław Radziwiłł built a citadel east of the New Town, along the Sluch left bank, between 1655 and 1662. Thanks to this decision, Slutsk was one of the few urban centres of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to remain free from Russian occupation between 1655 and 1660.

By the standards of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Slutsk was a large city. Almost two-thirds of its seven-thousand population were Ruthenian Orthodox. Jews represented the most conspicuous minority (about 30 per cent). Their number rapidly increased due to the immigration from Ukraine during the Khmelnytskyi uprising. Other denominations (Catholic, Calvinists, and Lutherans) constituted less than one-tenth of the town's population.

Religious buildings precisely reflect the city's social and cultural landscape. The Orthodox dominated with about 15 churches and three monasteries. While two of them were within the city walls (the Holy Saviour male monastery and the St Elias female monastery), the third one, the Holy Trinity monastery, stood in the Trojczany suburb and constituted the most important Orthodox spiritual centre in the region. Moreover, the Orthodox burghers managed to prevent the settlement of other denominations around the market square located west of the castle. Among other groups, the Jews were in the most favourable position, having received their privilege before the owner granted municipal rights to the town in the 1650s. Their two synagogues were relatively near to the market square. Other communities had one church each, usually in lower-profile locations.

Though founded in the fifteenth century, the Catholic wooden parish church served a tiny community of about 30 members in the first half of the seventeenth century. The church was located at Podzamcze, east of the Slutsk castle. The Calvinist church was built in the early seventeenth century in the New Town (Senatorska Street), while the Lutheran one was erected in the mid-seventeenth century near the Old Town market square. Thanks to its Calvinist gymnasium, Slutsk was one of the most important centres of the Reformed Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the seat of the senior of the Nowogródek district. From a social perspective, Protestant communities differed from each other. The Reformed mainly consisted of noble servants of the Radziwiłł family and had a predominantly Polish character. The Lutheran one had instead a German character and owed its growth to the Slutsk garrison. Since 1683, the Lutheran community run the only pharmacy in Slutsk. Greek Catholic churches did not emerge in the city, and no Roman-Catholic religious orders arrived before 1661. The first to settle in Slutsk were the Franciscan Observants (known in Poland as Bernardines), thanks to Samuel Oskierka's foundation. However, only in 1734, they managed to gather enough resources to build their church in the eastern part of the Old Town. Jesuits soon followed the Franciscans in 1689. After them, no other Roman-Catholic congregation arrived in Slutsk until 1816.

Due to the city's economic strength and the political influence of its owners, the Jesuits had already directed their interest to Slutsk at the turn of the 1570s and 1580s, when two out of three Olelkowicz brothers converted to Catholicism. However, the extinction of the family and the attitude of its successors prevented the Jesuits from setting foot in the town. Only when Slutsk became a safe harbour during the Polish-Russian war, some Jesuit missionaries from Nieśwież came to help the local parson. In 1689, they settled permanently thanks to a small foundation made by Jan Kazimierz Słoński and his first wife Katarzyna Boksza. The original foundation was enhanced in 1696 by Marianna Łyskowska, widow of the Lutheran garrison commander Abraham Bekier von Adlersfeld, and soon after Słoński's second wife. Thanks to their donations, the Jesuits launched a small mission in the eastern part of the Old Town, close to the city ramparts. In 1704, the mission rose to residence status. The establishment of the Jesuit mission in Slutsk took place over troubled years. Since Charles Philipps' benevolence was often not sufficient to overwhelm the resistance of the local administrator, the Calvinist Stanisław Niezabitowski, the Jesuits had to rely on hetman Kazimierz Jan Sapieha, who in the 1690s was at the height of his power. In turn, the bishop of Vilnius Kazimierz Konstanty Brzostowski opposed the Jesuits, considering them as too loyal to the hetman, with whom he was having a harsh political dispute. The Slutsk parson Teodor Mentycki was also displeased by the presence of the Jesuits, whom he perceived as rivals. When the tide turned against the Sapiehas in 1700, the Jesuits feared being expelled from Slutsk. However, thanks to their political tact, they managed to persuade the local elite that their presence did not endanger the social order and, on the contrary, could even be beneficial in those troubled years. In such a context, in 1707, Hieronim Kłokocki offered a sufficient foundation to raise the residence to college status. Hieronim was the son of Kazimierz Kłokocki, a former administrator of the Slutsk estates. Despite being Bogusław Radziwiłł's official, Kazimierz remained a Roman Catholic, although tolerant, having married the Calvinist Regina Mirska. Kazimierz had been comprehensively educated abroad, was a passionate book collector and launched a printing house in Slutsk in the 1670s. Like his father, Hieronim had made the grand tour. In 1706, the 42-year-old noble, unmarried and childless Kłokocki decided to join the Society of Jesus and offered his estates in the Nowogródek voivodeship and Masovia to the planned Slutsk college. His possession in the New Town (Senatorska Street) became the spot where the college was built a few years later. Kłokocki's generosity went even further since he donated his private library and made an additional foundation for a noblemen boarding school called *Seminarium Kłokocianum*. Thanks to all these donations, the Father General raised the Slutsk residence to college in 1715. Kłokocki's foundation provided an income sufficient for about thirty community members.

The Jesuits carried out missionary activities throughout the city and the college's estates. Despite achieving the conversion of a few influential burghers, they did not change the city's overall multiethnic and multireligious profile but merely contributed to its variety. During Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł's rule, they provided spiritual care to the garrison and occasionally converted convicts held in captivity for drunkenness. However, Jesuits undoubtedly strengthened the local small catholic community, among others, by establishing a Divine Providence sodality.

More important was their educational role. The grammar school, opened in 1698, soon included all five courses up to rhetoric. However, due to the relatively small number of pupils, it employed only three professors: the first teaching infima, the second for

grammar and syntax, and the third for poetic and rhetoric. In any case, the Jesuit school provided Catholic students an alternative to the neighbouring Calvinist gymnasium. Lectures took place in a small school building along Senatorska Street. Additionally, the Jesuits held a rhetoric course for scholastics in 1716–1761 and 1765–1773 and occasionally even taught philosophy and foreign languages (German and French).

The inventories provide a detailed description of the Jesuit buildings. Unlike many other houses across Poland-Lithuania, the Slutsk College was built of wood. For safety reasons, instead of erecting a compact building, the Jesuits adapted existing structures and erected new ones as free-standing buildings. After moving from the Old to the New Town in 1707, the Jesuits initially turned Kłokocki's house, standing at the centre of the possession, into their new residence. Adjacent to it, they built a two-storey building including the refectory and the kitchen on the ground floor and a large common room on the first floor. A small courtyard separated the residence from the monastery gate along Senatorska Street. On the same street, west of the monastery gate, the Jesuits erected a school building with three lecture rooms. East of the residence stood the wooden Holy Trinity Church, built between 1714 and 1715, according to Fr Grzegorz Engell's project. To blend into an environment dominated by non-Catholics, this church, featuring a central plan and surmounted by five domes, reminded more of an Orthodox than a Catholic one. Behind the church, the Fathers arranged the courtyard with stables, a coach house, and a musical boarding school. For safety reasons, the servants' quarter, brewery, granary, and pig shed were situated on the opposite side of the Jesuit possession, west of the residence. South of it, in the middle of the garden, a two-storey bricked treasure house (Pol. *skarbiec*) hosted the library. In 1707, the former building in the Old Town became the seat of Kłokocki's boarding school. Opposite to it, the Jesuits built the small Holy Spirit church in the early 1720s.

None of these buildings has lasted until the present day. The Holy Trinity church and the Jesuit College were destroyed by a fire in 1804. Only the treasure house survived until the beginning of the twentieth century. Following the decision not to rebuild the school, the Calvinist community overtook the former Jesuit possession. In the Old Town, the former Jesuit boarding school with the Holy Spirit church gradually decayed after the Society's suppression. In 1816, these buildings were entrusted to the Sisters of Holy Mary's Life (Pol. *mariawitki*) and renovated. They were finally demolished after the suppression of the religious congregation in 1842.

Besides Jesuit buildings, the inventory provides information about other institutions connected to the College, such as the music boarding school, the pharmacy, the library, and the archive. The musical boarding school began its activity around 1713. Unlike other inventories of Jesuit houses, that from Slutsk does not contain either a list of the musicians or a catalogue of the music scores.

The pharmacy, established in 1757, was initially entrusted to a certain Hausler, a former employee of the Lutheran pharmacy. Later, between 1764 and 1773, it was run by the lay brother Karol Pawłowski, who reorganized it at its own expense. According to the 1773 inventory, the pharmacy occupied in a free-standing wooden building along Senatorska Street, probably near the Jesuit school. The Commission of National Education left Pawłowski in charge of the pharmacy even after the Society's suppression despite the allegations made by the Lutherans that he had made their businesses go bankrupt. The Slutsk pharmacy was small compared to other analogous Jesuit institutions. Its inventory

includes only about 350 entries. Unfortunately, Pawłowski did not record either the content of the pharmacy library or the cost of medicines.

The college library included almost 2,400 books. About three-fourths of them belonged to the general book collection, while the rest were in the handy collections of the rhetoric professor, the grammar teachers, the missionary, and the rhetoric scholastics. Despite reflecting the overall Jesuit spiritual and intellectual formation, the library content varied depending on the activity profile of each Jesuit house and the benefactors' cultural interests. Compared to other Jesuit libraries, the Slutsk one contained more books concerning technical and military issues, many of which originated from Kazimierz Kłokocki's private library. Similarly, multiple books about history and politics were available in Slutsk, along with a large section of prohibited books. The relatively large sections about medicine and natural sciences are also atypical for Jesuit book collections. Among religious books, controversial theology and homiletics were overrepresented compared to dogmatic theology and casuistry. The library is the only part of the Jesuit heritage in Slutsk that has survived until now. Thanks to their safe location, the college's books did not succumb to fire in 1804. After the local district school was closed and only the Calvinist gymnasium remained in Slutsk, the former Jesuit library was transferred to the Vilnius University.

Whereas the library catalogue reflects the Jesuit intellectual and spiritual formation, the inventory of the college archive provides insights into day-to-day management. The archival records were arranged according to their provenance. The inventory first describes the documents concerning various rural possessions. Then, it records the financial obligations of multiple persons and institutions towards the college, highlighting the relationships between the Society, the nobility, and the Jews.

The inventory of the Slutsk College contains the description of ten estates: Bokszyce, Bołhowicze, Brańczyce, Jamińsk, Kijewicze, Padzierze, Usa, Usowo, Zamosze i Zamoście. All but Usa were in the Nowogródek district. Unfortunately, the three Masovian estates of the college (Bogurzyn, Bogurzynek, and Rumoki), situated more than 500 kilometres from Slutsk, were omitted. Overall, the estates in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania included 731 subject families, farming about 7,300 ha of arable land and providing a yearly income of almost 34,000 zlotys. Around Slutsk, serfdom-based farming specialized in grain production and export was less developed than in the estates of other Jesuit colleges. Although all except one estate were organized around serfdom-based agricultural enterprises (Pol. *folwark*), rents in kind and money still represented a large portion of each estate's income. This peculiarity depended on the geographic dispersion of these estates, their relatively small size, and their location in the Black Sea hydrographic basin. By hindering the economies of scale, all these factors increased the cost of grain transport towards the Baltic ports, thus making the serfdom-based system less manageable and competitive. Another peculiarity was that four out of ten estates were tenures, providing about half of the college's yearly income. Unlike other Jesuit houses, which sometimes held small tenures, two of them (Bokszyce and Brańczyce), belonging to the Slutsk principality, were among the largest estates of the Slutsk College. This fact put the Jesuits in a similar position to secular clients of the Radziwiłł family.

Besides economic and social issues, the estate inventories also offer an insight into the life of Jesuits and their subjects. Despite its small size, Padzierze, donated by Charles Philipp in 1709, served as a recreational area, being the closest estate to Slutsk. In the

early 1720s, the Jesuits built a villa there, nicely located along the Sluch River. Thanks to the description of various rural churches, the inventory shows the Jesuits' role in the spreading of the Greek Catholic Church and the Latinization of its liturgy.

The edition's critical apparatus is modelled after the inventories of the Nieśwież and Nowogródek Colleges, published in 2020. Against the city's historical background depicted in the introduction, the editor identifies people, places, and events mentioned in the source. Latin interpolations are translated within square brackets in the main text, whereas footnotes explain the meaning of old Polish words. All these terms are included in the glossary that precedes the critical edition. The editor also provides a virtual reconstruction of the Jesuit library based on various bibliographic repertoires. Call numbers of the book copies preserved in the Vilnius University Library were added according to ownership marks. In the pharmacy inventory, the editor identifies each entry, solving alchemical signs. Information about the usage of each product is based on the pharmacopoeias used by Jesuit pharmacists.