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Didžioji Kunigaikštystė
Personalijos. Idėjos. Refleksijos

LIETUVOS ISTORIJOS INSTITUTAS

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JÓZEF KAZIMIERZ KOSSAKOWSKI AND THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF PRIESTS IN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH IN THE PERIOD OF ENLIGHTENMENT¹

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Abstract. In the late eighteenth century, the distance between the changing norms and values and the unchanging material conditions of priests' everyday lives grew rapidly. The aim of this article is to explore and understand the life and work of the bishop of Livonia, Józef Kazimierz Kossakowski. He was the author of *Ksiądz pleban* [*The Parson*], one of the most acknowledged parenetic books promoting new social obligations of priests, however his actions were far from the ideals he promoted. His case is especially interesting because he also wrote a diary describing his life from the childhood to becoming a bishop.

Keywords: Parish clergy, the Catholic Enlightenment, everyday life, diary, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

In the late eighteenth century, some Polish and Lithuanian bishops continued the reforms of the Council of Trent, but in the enlightened form, and tried to convince priests to alter their everyday lives. Some, like Michał Poniatowski, forced priests to participate in collective spiritual retreats and deanery congregations. Others, like Ignacy Jakub Massalski, encouraged the clergy to engage in public matters by leading social and agricultural reforms in the parishes. Most of the bishops demanded for parsons and vicars to be fully committed to their duties of ministry, liturgy and management of benefices. Moreover, in the period of the Enlightenment, the position of the clergy began to be both criticised and defended publicly, and ideas of the Catholic Enlightenment and counter-Enlightenment reached parishes, sometimes undermining formerly established and unshakeable views about the social role and obligations of priests.²

1 The research is funded by the National Science Center in Poland under the project PRE-LUDIUM 16, no 2018/31/N/HS3/02079.

2 Magdalena Ślusarska, Oświeceniowe modele biskupa, plebana i parafii. Kontynuacja czy zmiana tradycji?, in: *Dwór – plebania – rodzina chłopska. Szkice z dziejów wsi polskiej XVII i XVIII wieku*, red. Magdalena Ślusarska, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 1998, p. 37–53; Eadem, Ku odnowie życia religijno-moralnego wiernych i poprawie ich obyczajów. Duchowieństwo diecezji wileńskiej w okresie pontyfikatu biskupa Ignacego Jakuba Massalskiego (1762–1794) a

On the other hand, throughout the eighteenth century nothing changed in the social and economic conditions of the lives of members of the parish clergy. Still, the income of parsons was mostly derived from parish folwarks, which were serfdom-based agricultural enterprises, and from *iura stolae*, i.e. money paid by parishioners for weddings, christenings and funerals. Priests were under the influence of village owners, who by the law of patronage had appointed them to their positions, but on the other hand priests could autonomously penalise parishioners for moral misdeeds. They were obliged to obey deans and especially bishops, who could punish them for insubordination with fines, incarceration or excommunication. Yet in reality, such supervisors intervened only in extremely scandalous cases, otherwise leaving parsons with vast autonomy.³

In the late eighteenth century, the distance between the changing norms and values and the unchanging material conditions of priests' everyday lives grew rapidly. Therefore, parsons and vicars had to adopt some strategies to overcome this tension. It's possible that they may have agreed with new social models and tried to change their lives in spite of objective difficulties, and they may have actively opposed enlightened novelties on both ideological and practical levels. However, they could also choose a compromised strategy of publicly accepting the new values and yet living as if nothing had to be changed.

The aim of this article is to explore, explain and understand this latter strategy, adopted by the bishop of Livonia, Józef Kazimierz Kossakowski. He was the author of *Ksiądz pleban The Parson*, one of the most acknowledged parenetic books promoting new social obligations of the priests.⁴ On the other hand, however, it is known that his actions were far from the ideals

oświeceniowa reforma katolicka, in: *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, 2010, t. 33, p. 171–211; Jan Kracik, Ewangelicznie i rozumnie. Oświecenie katolickie, in: *Paradoksy z dziejów kościoła*, Kraków: Petrus, 2012, p. 212–228; Rafał Szczyrowski, *Zaradzić potrzebom doczesnym i wiecznym. Idee oświecenia w Kościele katolickim w Polsce (do 1795 r.)*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2014; Stanisław Witecki, *Przekaz kulturowy w parafiach katolickich Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów czasów stanisławowskich*, Kraków: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2018.

3 Dariusz Główka, *Gospodarka w dobrach plebańskich na Mazowszu w XVI–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa: Semper, 1991; Stanisław Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku. Struktura, funkcje społeczno religijne i edukacyjne*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2004; Dariusz Główka, *Majątek osobisty duchowieństwa katolickiego w Koronie w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2004; Jan Kracik, *Prawie wielebni. Z dziejów kleru parafialnego w XVII–XVIII wieku*, Kraków: Petrus, 2011; Bogumił Szady, *Między panem i plebanem – mechanizmy obsady funkcji duchownych w Rzeczypospolitej wielu wyznań w XVI–XVIII wieku*, in: *Między Rzymem i Nowosybirskiem. Księga Jubileuszowa dedykowana ks. Marianowi Radwanowi SCJ*, red. Irena Wodzianowska and Hubert Łaszkiwicz, Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2012, p. 197–212.

4 Józef Kossakowski, *Ksiądz pleban*, Warszawa: w Drukarni uprzywilejowanej J. K. Mci i Rzpłiety Gröllowskiej, 1786.

he promoted.⁵ His case is especially interesting because he also wrote a diary describing his life from the childhood to becoming a bishop.⁶ There is some reliable literature about his life based on other sources, so we are able to see the differences between his auto-narration and reality. The case study allows not only for the understanding of how material context influenced the possibility of enforcing ideals but also to present the self-reflection and self-presentation of one of the most influential and controversial figures of the Catholic Enlightenment.

In the first part of the article, I analyse the social model of priests presented by Kossakowski in the context of social and economic conditions of priests' everyday lives. I refer to the works of prosopography, historical anthropology, history of ministry, education and bishops' biographies.⁷ In the second part I investigate Kossakowski's diary and try to solve the aforementioned research problems.

Józef Kazimierz Kossakowski presented his views on the ideal of the priests' everyday life in the book *Książdz pleban*, published in Warsaw in 1786. At that time he was already a Bishop of Livonia, the smallest diocese in the Commonwealth, consisting of just a few parishes. He did have previous experience of being a parson and a canon. At that time, the benefices he owned provided him with an income which was sufficient to lead a comfortable life and to participate in country politics, but was too small to allow him to obtain the social position he dreamed of. He focused on literary work, in which he used his wealth of experience to engage in intellectual dialogue with an enlightened public. Likely, among the addressees were those who he admired, envied and fought, such as Primate

5 Andrzej Zahorski, Kossakowski Józef Kazimierz, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, t. 14, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1968, p. 268–272; *Pisarze polskiego oświecenia*, red. Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, Zbigniew Goliński, Warszawa: PWN, 1994.

6 [Józef Kazimierz Kossakowski], *Pamiętniki Józefa Kossakowskiego biskupa inflanckiego: 1738–1788*, wydał Adam Darowski, Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1891.

7 Michał Marian Grzybowski, *Kościelna działalność Michała Jerzego Poniatowskiego biskupa płockiego 1773–1785*, Warszawa: ATK, 1983; Bogdan Rok, Mentalność duchowieństwa polskiego w XVIII wieku, in: *Studia z dziejów kultury i mentalności czasów nowożytnych*, red. Krystyn Matwijowski, Bogdan Rok, Wrocław: Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii, 1993, p. 41–57; Tadeusz Kasabała, *Ignacy Massalski biskup wileński*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 1998; Stanisław Litak, Edukacja duchowieństwa parafialnego w XVI–XVIII wieku w Rzeczypospolitej, in: *Almanach Historyczny*, 2004, t. 6, p. 35–57; Jan Szczepaniak, *Duchowieństwo diecezji krakowskiej w XVIII wieku. Studium prozopograficzne*, Kraków: Antykwa, 2010; Mieczysław Różański, *Duchowieństwo parafialne archidiaconatu uniejowskiego w XVIII wieku. Studium prozopograficzne*, Archidiecezjalne wydawnictwo łódzkie, Łódź 2010; Jan Kracik, *Prawie wielebni, passim*; Tomasz Wiślicz, *Shepherds of the Catholic Flock: Polish Parochial Clergy, Popular Religion, and the Reception of the Council of Trent*, in: *Gelehrte Geistlichkeit – geistliche Gelehrte. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bürgertums in der Frühneuzeit*, ed by. Luise Schorn-Schütte, Duncker & Humblot, Berlin, 2012, vol. 97, *Historische Forschungen*, p. 25–52.

Michał Jerzy Poniatowski and the Bishop of Vilnius Ignacy Jakub Massalski. Without a doubt, he took inspiration from the works of the Bishop of Warmia Ignacy Krasicki, whose popular novel *Pan Podstoli* was mentioned as a favourite book of the narrator of *Ksiądz pleban*.⁸

The book is narrated by a young nobleman traveling to his newly inherited estate. The first person account, written in the style of diary, gives a feeling of legitimacy. The author's opinions are concealed as short remarks, after vivid descriptions of the situations which do not really need any further comment. At the beginning of his journey, the narrator meets several priests who have not been fulfilling their duties, abusing their positions and behaving in a manner, which is no longer encouraged or permitted by the episcopate. After reaching his destination, the traveller meets someone strikingly different, whose work and achievements bring light to the darkness and set an example for the clergy to follow.

The first priest met by the young nobleman is a former monk. He is described as a well-educated erudite, whose rationality and knowledge at first makes a very good impression. In conversation with the narrator, he openly ridicules superstitions and misconceptions of both peasantry and nobility, pointing out such false beliefs as the moon's influence on people's fates, the immobility of the Earth and the Polish legends about Wanda who did not want to marry a prince from Germany, as well as cruel prince Popiel who was eaten by mice. He spends his time reading natural science, historiography and eclectic philosophy books, which are scattered across his messy home. He is so engaged in his studies that he neither has time for tidying up his living quarters nor washing and clothing himself properly. For the young nobleman, the most striking thing, however, is his neglect of his pastoral duties. The priest explains, that he doesn't teach catechism because, firstly, he has no faith in it being understood by the people, and, secondly, it could be done even by an ordinary itinerant storyteller. Apparently, in his opinion he is too educated to perform his most basic duties, so he delegates them to the vicar.⁹

In the picture of the erudite priest we can see the reality of former Jesuit monks' everyday lives after the cancellation of the order. A vast number of these extraordinarily educated men became parsons and started completely different lives. Philosopher Jan Bohomolec, parson of Skaryszew near Warsaw, is an example of a priest who was a member of the intellectual elite and who did not engage in pastoral duties at all.¹⁰ Of course, there are also opposite examples of Jesuits, deeply

8 Józef Kossakowski, *Ksiądz pleban*, p. 7.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 10–17.

10 Michał Marian Grzybowski, *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej. Z archiwaliów diecezjalnych płockich XVIII wieku*, vol. 8, p. 84; Dorota Pietrzakiewicz-Sobczak, Jan Bohomolec SJ – oświecony filantrop, in: *Wkład Jezuitów do kultury i nauki Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów i pod zaborami*, red. Irena Stasiewicz-Jasiukowa, Kraków–Warszawa: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2004, p. 683–712.

interested in preaching and teaching catechism, such as Jan Bogurski, a parson of Lipno.¹¹ Thus, it is likely that the aim of the chapter was not to discuss former Jesuits as a group, but rather to prove that high, secular education did not lead to dissemination of knowledge but to the contempt for ordinary people. It might have been a direct polemic with the opinions held and propagated by the influential Primate Michał Jerzy Poniatowski, but also it was a reflection of the mainstream practices. For example, it was common to replace difficult sermons with much more basic catechism.¹² Though it is important to state that the argument was not for counter-Enlightenment. On the contrary, choosing proper religious education for priests was motivated by the need for more efficient enlightening of the people.¹³

The second priest met, by the narrator, despite his very young age is already a dean and possesses a very rich benefice. Formerly a member of the bishop's court, he finds living in a village dull and unsatisfying. Dreaming about becoming a canon and moving back to the capital of diocese, he tries to make his parochial life as worldly as possible. His home is constructed in the style typical for nobility, but in spite of showing wealth it is designed with taste and with care for comfort. He wears modern western and secular clothes such as a tailcoat and a wig, and actively participates in social gatherings of the local elite. He organises a dinner for all noble neighbours, during which he advocates for specialised agricultural methods based on Dutch example and serves coffee, tea and chocolate. The narrator is impressed by his culture but simultaneously repelled by his openly expressed lack of interest in any pastoral duties, all of which he designates to the vicar whom he disrespectfully calls a farmhand. Asked about the reasons for becoming a priest he frankly answers that ecclesiastical career seems and indeed is easier, but still he sometimes regrets his decision.¹⁴

In the picture of the young dean the author criticises worldly life and emphasises the vital importance of a true priestly vacation. He seems to suggest that the depicted problem was individual in nature. In reality, educated priests with courtly taste, residing in the parishes but not interested in pastoral duties, were a

11 Michał Marian Grzybowski, *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej. Z archiwaliów diecezjalnych płockich XVIII wieku*, t. 10, p. 248; [Jan Bogurski], Kazanie o ufności w opatrności boskiej względem potrzeb życia doczesnego. Przez Imć X. Jana Bogurskiego plebana jezewskiego, in: *Kazania niektóre Księży Diecezji Płockiej z podanych co rocznie dwiema ratami w Maju i w Październiku do Kancelarii Zadwornej Biskupiej 1782. Teraz z tejże Kancelarii wydane i do druku podane 1785*, s. 1, 1785, p. 339–370.

12 Tomasz Wiślicz, Jak nauczyć analfabety? Metodologiczne problemy duszpasterstwa katolickiego w Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku, in: *Między Barokiem a Oświeceniem. Edukacja, wykształcenie, wiedza*, red. Stanisław Achremczyk, Olsztyn: Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego, 2005, p. 161–176.

13 Richard Butterwick, Between Anti-Enlightenment and enlightened Catholicism: provincial preachers in late eighteenth-century Poland-Lithuania, in: *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, 2008, p. 201–228; Stanisław Witecki, *Przekaz kulturowy*, p. 111–121.

14 Józef Kossakowski, *Ksiądz pleban*, p. 18–29.

rare phenomenon.¹⁵ What was common, however, was a total absence of parsons in a parish or parsons simply delegating their duties to the vicars regardless of education, but with close relations to the affluence of the benefice. According to the canon law, a parson was allowed to freely spend parish benefice income in exchange for residing close to the church and providing spiritual care for the parishioners. However, a parson did not have to perform pastoral duties himself, he could legally hire a vicar and make him do everything for him. As a result, many young noblemen sought only parishes rich enough to provide income without any obligation to work. For the members of the most influential families such parishes were only the first and unsatisfying step to a further church career. So, the problem was not individual but systemic. The richest, most educated and familiar with lay culture parsons had the least contact with the believers.¹⁶

The parson of the third parish, who is visited by the narrator, is a living caricature of the counter-Reformation priesthood. He proudly announces that he has expelled all non-Catholics from the parish. Before Sunday mass he is punishing harshly for the slightest misdeeds. Men whose wives have broken the sixth commandment are forced to wear artificial horns, those who don't know catechism well enough are fined and forced to kneel on the ground, and those who dare to buy alcohol in an inn other than that owned by the parson are lashed. In a sermon, he convinces parishioners that the only way to avoid purgatory and hell is to survive hell-like conditions on earth. When asked about the reasons for his behaviour, he attempts to justify his actions by shifting attention to the cruelty of non-Catholics and the moral effectiveness of punishments. The narrator compares him to the devil not only because of his questionable pastoral methods but also due to his appearance, stocky physique and bushy eyebrows, covering his eyes.¹⁷

There is evidence that at the end of the eighteenth century such style of ministry still existed but was becoming less and less common. Books, read by the tyrannous priest from the novel, were present in great numbers in parish libraries inherited by previous parsons across the Commonwealth, but only a few priests admitted to using them regularly. Sermons were often about hell and

15 The argument is based on the content of parish book collections and declaration of priests to the bishop's visitors, see: Tomasz Moskal, *Biblioteki parafialne w archidiecezji sandomierskiej w XVIII w.*, Sandomierz: Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 2005; Joanna Szady, *Księgozbiory parafialne w prepozyturze wiślickiej w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, Lublin: KUL, 2008; Stanisław Witecki, *Oświecony katolicyzm trydencki. Księgozbiory duchowieństwa parafialnego diecezji płockiej w okresie pontyfikatu bp Michała Jerzego Poniatowskiego*, in: *Wiek Oświecenia*, 2017, t. 33, p. 149–186.

16 Hugo Kołłątaj, *Pamiętnik o stanie duchowieństwa katolickiego polskiego i innych wyznań w połowie XVIII wieku*, Poznań: J. K. Żupański, 1840, <http://polona.pl/item/10928212/2/>; Jan Szczepaniak, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Jan Kracik, *Prawie wielebni, passim*; Richard Butterwick, *Polska rewolucja a kościół katolicki 1788–1792*, Kraków: ARCANA, 2012, p. 109–170.

17 Józef Kossakowski, *Ksiądz pleban*, p. 30–41.

final judgment, but these topics were not dominant. They were treated equally with other dogmas, commandments, sacraments and good mores. Punishing the faithful was a practice criticised by most bishops, it certainly happened nevertheless. However, they were rather restricted to using jousts as a form of punishment since only this penalty was mentioned.¹⁸

Then the young traveller hears a story about a priest who is appointed to position by a befriended family, but after a few years he not only breaks ties of patronage but also starts to abuse his position as a landlord. He demands from his serfs too much work and takes too big an *iura stolae*. Village owners want to remove him, but it turns out to be impossible. Canon law procedure is complicated and penalties are low. Ungrateful priest is only sent to a spiritual retreat and his patrons resign from further processes. Later, the narrator meets a desperate family who hasn't been able to bury a relative because priests demanded *iura stolae* in exchange for the burial, which they could not afford. The parishioners explain that the parson has leased his benefice to a nobleman. He hires a vicar, however, he pays him nothing, so to earn a living the priest has to raise prices. The young traveller is also told that the previous priest, renowned for his ability for astrological prognosis, had leased his benefice with the right to collect *iura stolae* to a local Jew, who was more understanding of human misery.

Finally, the last parson he meets before reaching his destination is barely recognisable as a priest. He leases out his benefice, wears traditional polish nobility clothes, travels in a carriage, and complains about the despotic power of bishops being so unjust in comparison with the freedoms that the nobility was guaranteed in the Commonwealth. He also criticises the contemplative orders relying on the authority of *Monachomachia*, written by Bishop Ignacy Krasicki. And with that opinion the narrator agrees. Nevertheless, all priests who have leased out their benefices do not earn any respect or understanding from the young traveller.¹⁹

According to the bishops' courts documents, and letters sent by the ecclesiastical administration to the parsons and deans in the Vilnius diocese, lack of residence, disrepair of parish property, abuse of *iura stolae* and secularised lifestyles, including heavy drinking, were the most common issues among parish clergy.²⁰

18 Stanisław Witecki, *Przekaz kulturowy*, p. 282–300.

19 Józef Kossakowski, *Ksiądz pleban*, p. 42–57.

20 For example, Vilnius diocesan auditor wrote to on dean: „To mnie bardziej zastanawia, że tenże jegomość ksiądz pleban aż do przestąpienia niedawno wyszłych rozrządzeń pasterskich uporczywie trzyma się źle wprowadzonego zwyczaju używania kar cielesnych ku poprawie obyczajów [...]. Zapobiec temu wcześniej dla przykładu i przerażenia podobnie o kunięć, postronek na szyi i inne kary nie roztropnie gorliwych kapłanów, osądziłem za rzecz potrzebną, a to przez przyzwoite niniejszego przestępstwa ukaranie”, in: *Protokół listów okólnych y partykularnych od jaśnie oświeconego X-cia Imści y od im X-a audytora z woli tegoż J.O. X-cia Imści pisanych R-u 1784 dnia 1 miesiąca stycznia zaczęty*, 1784, Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos Rankraščių skyrius, F57-B53-1390, p. 35–36. Other moral issues of parish clergy see: Jan Kracik, *Prawie wielebni, passim*.

Church authorities treated that as insubordination and personal sinfulness of priests, demanding more effective education, persuasion and punishments. However, it is obvious that those were the inevitable consequences of the social system, including the aforementioned possibility to delegate all chores to vicars, but also the patronage law, regulating recruitment for church positions. The right to appoint a priest to the position belonged to the successors of the benefice funder, a village private or institutional owner such as a nobleman or noblewoman, king, city, university, cloister, cathedral chapter or bishop. The diocesan authorities only had the right to examine the candidate who had not yet been ordained. If he passed it or had already been a priest, approval of the bishop was nothing more than a formality, and as a result bishops did not have the power to control church human resources.²¹ They might have and did demand in pastoral letters that the candidate be truly pious and well educated, but in reality what mattered were the connections to the patron.²² As a result, for many parsons parishes were nothing more than a source of income, and pastoral duties were performed by the vicars, paid only according to the free will of their supervisors.

After all his disappointing meetings, the narrator reaches his destination which turns out to be an agricultural paradise, created by a local priest. A description of his merits fill the second part of the book, so I will recall only the most distinguished, which show the general characteristics of Józef Kazimierz Kosakowski's social theory. Ultimately, it is obvious that the main hero of the book represents the postulates of the author. The parson lived in a solid but modest house, wore cloths of the same characteristic, and ate only food cultivated locally. He participated in local nobility's social life but as a leader of opinion, and simultaneously tried to have paternal relations with peasants. He fulfilled all his pastoral duties, however, he did not speak about them too much, instead treating them as something obvious. Only preaching gained some attention. His sermons were only about moral issues and served as a reminder of the virtues which he tried to promote before all by his own example. This style was an enlightened ideal promoted by all bishops and realised by preachers popular in Lithuania such as Wawrzyniec Rydzewski.²³

His social and economic achievements were most remarkable. The priest started his ministry by cancelling the *iura stolae* and allocating most of parishes' incomes to the newly organised brotherhood of mercy. He convinced all noblemen in the parish to change free obligatory labour of serfs into fixed payments

21 Jan Szczepaniak, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Jan Kracik, *Prawie wielebni*, *passim*; Bogumił Szady, *op. cit.*, p. 197–212.

22 Michał Marian Grzybowski, Formacja intelektualna i moralna duchowieństwa diecezji płockiej w czasach rządów bp M. H. Poniatowskiego (1773–1785), in: *Studia Płockie*, 1976, t. 4, p. 77–100; Stanisław Witecki, *Przekaz kulturowy*, p. 51–122.

23 *Ibid.*

and to allow for the self-governing of villages. He managed to build a new stone church entirely from donations and decided against installing benches to underline equality of the people before God. He helped peasants to do their own gardening and eat healthily, and he managed to increase their well-being so much that the parish hospice could be replaced with a hospital to cure and isolate sick people during epidemics. He organised a school for both children and adults and marked cottages with letters to help peasants get used to the alphabet. After all parishioners learned to read and write he arranged and gave away summaries of the most useful books.²⁴

These examples are sufficient to summarise the author's philosophy. It was physiocracy, supplemented by utilitarianism. The goal was, obviously, to increase the income of landowners by stimulating demographic growth and making agriculture more effective. However, rational management of land, money and abilities were supposed to make the lives of all people better and enhance the harmonious cooperation between estates. In this social system, the parson had not only the role of a spiritual leader but also of the social one, being an educator, animator of economic initiative and promoter of the Catholic Enlightenment. The Enlightenment, which was not against feudalism but which was trying to make the binding and indisputable reality perfect.

Changing one without the other was, however, a utopia. Józef Kossakowski knew the mechanisms of the benefice system and for promoting ideals he chose a priest whose parents were poor nobles without connections. For such a person, and also for townsmen, becoming a priest was a social promotion and the end, rather than the beginning, of a career. Lack of hope for leaving their parish encouraged them to take care of it, and modest benefices forced them to do it personally. However, the likelihood of engagement in parish matters did not mean that it was possible to do it the way proposed by the novelist. For example, dedicating parish income to charity did not, and in fact could not, happen since it threatened priest's family and parish interests. Church authorities were against any decreasing of benefices.²⁵ Completely unlikely was also the concept of convincing the nobility to denounce their privileges for the sake of long-term

24 Józef Kossakowski, *Ksiądz pleban*, Chapters VIII–XXIII.

25 Parish property inviolability is the main concern of all pastoral visitations, see: Michał Marian Grzybowski, *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej. Z archiwaliów diecezjalnych płockich XVIII wieku*, vol. 1–15; *Breslaujos dekanato vizitacija 1782–1783 m.*, parengė Romualdas Firkovičius, Vilnius: Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademija, 2008 [seria: *Fontes Historiae Lituaniae*, vol. VII]; *Vyskupo Ignoto Jokūbo Masalskio Kauno dekanato vizitacija 1782 m.*, parengė Vytautas Jogėla, Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2001 [seria: *Fontes Historiae Lituaniae*, vol. VI]; *Ukmergės dekanato vizitacija 1784 m.*, parengė Sigitas Jegelevičius, Vilnius: Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademija, 2009, [seria: *Fontes Historiae Lituaniae*, vol. VIII]; *Pabaisko dekanato vizitacija 1782–1784 m.*, parengė Algirdas Antanas Baliulis, Vilnius: Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademija, 2010 [seria: *Fontes Historiae Lituaniae*, vol. IX].

advantages. Ultimately, the social reform happened no sooner than in the year 1861 and it was still barely accepted.²⁶

Amongst all Polish and Lithuanian bishops engaged in the Catholic Enlightenment, Józef Kazimierz Kossakowski published the most complex and most radical programme of the change in the everyday lives of priests. It was possible, because he was the only one who presented his ideas in the form of a novel and did not have to take into consideration all the constraints of the social and economic reality of the priests' lives. His vision was not impossible to realise since it was in many ways based on the case of canon Paweł Brzostowski, who regulated relations with serfs in the form of a written contract, superseded labour with rent and organised education for all inhabitants. However, his achievements were an exception, and he did everything in private villages, not in the church benefice, and definitely without the support of nobility in the neighbourhood.²⁷

Józef Kazimierz Kossakowski's diaries differ stylistically from his novel to such extent that it is difficult to believe that they were created by the same author. He wrote his recollections with long complicated sentences. The main story was sometimes prolonged, sometimes broken, and often interrupted with digressions and unnecessary details. Paradoxically, his autobiographical account, in contrast to the fictional work, lacked vividness. The diaries are focused on his personal interests with almost complete exclusion of general matters. They consisted of bare information about travels, meetings, intrigues, divisions of property, borrowing and repaying debts.

Fortunately, once in a while he dared to comment on events and assess a behaviour or a phenomenon. He admitted, that the desire to be a priest came from his fondness for the liturgy.²⁸ He did not have especially strong faith, was not interested in theology or ministry and in fact had no idea what the parson's duties looked like. The final decision regarding ordination he made after being appointed as a parson in the little rural town of Wołpa, which happened before his enrolment to the seminary. Moreover, he frankly described that he received

26 William Bruce Lincoln, *The Great Reforms: Autocracy, Bureaucracy, and the Politics of Change in Imperial Russia*, Northern Illinois University Press, 1990.

27 Emmanuel Rostworowski, *Reforma pawłowska Pawła Ksawerego Brzostowskiego (1767–1795)*, in: *Przegląd Historyczny*, 1953, t.44, p. 101–152; Mieczysław Motyka, 'Ksiądz Pleban' Józefa Kossakowskiego wobec doświadczeń Rzeczypospolitej Pawłowskiej, in: *Roczniki Naukowo-Dydaktyczne WSP w Rzeszowie*, 1969, no 4 (6), p. 7–17; Magdalena Górka, Paweł Ksawery Brzostowski – autoportret ustawodawcy i mecenasa, in: *Dwór – plebania – rodzina chłopska. Szkice z dziejów wsi polskiej XVII i XVIII wieku*, red. Magdalena Ślusarska, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 1998, p. 103–123; Tadeusz Marcinkowski, *Paweł Brzostowski (1739–1827) założyciel Republiki Pawłowskiej*, Goleniów: „Bios”, 2000.

28 „Pamiętać nie mogę, z kąd w tym dziecinnym wieku moim nastąpiła we mnie chęć do stanu duchownego, którego obowiązzków, ani powinności nie znałem [...] od najmłodszych dni cała i jedyna była zabawa dla mnie msze śpiewać, aparat kościelny przybierać”, [Józef Kazimierz Kossakowski], *Pamiętniki Józefa Kossakowskiego*, p. 12.

the benefice as a result of an intrigue, and held a grudge against his accomplice Ignacy Jakub Massalski, who became a bishop and, against their deal, arranged for Józef Kazimierz Kossakowski to be positioned merely in a parish.²⁹

In the seminary he found satisfaction in preaching, but he admitted with seldom seen shame to be interested only in the rhetorical effect, paying little attention to the content.³⁰ After finishing the seminary he moved to Wołpa, cancelled *iura stolae* fees and for a while performed his priestly duties, albeit with the help of vicars. He took care of parish properties, invited craftsmen, finished old litigations, recovered money owed to the parish, and constructed a new wooden church that still exists to this day. He arranged his home modestly and spent time mostly on reading books and social meetings with nobles, and less often so with priests from the neighbourhood. He mentioned as something surprising that he did not play cards after he had broken the habit in the seminary. He changed rules to allow serfs to pay rent, instead of making them work for free, but as he admitted, the reason for this was increase of the income, not the wellbeing of the peasants.³¹ He recalled his time as a village priest being the best time in his life, calm, decent and useful.³² At that time, he came to conclusions on the crucial role of parsons in amending provincial life and wrote the draft of *Książdz pleban*.

Regardless of his personal views and philosophy developed on their basis, soon he became canon, departed from Wołpa, delegated all duties to the vicars, and fully engaged in politics, always seeking personal gains, even at the cost of treason. What is fascinating, is that he described all his promotions as if they just belonged to him. His narration suggests that he always felt the need to spend vast sums of money on public activity, and thus had to always earn more and more. Repeatedly he wrote about his morally disputable endeavours as objective, but unpleasant necessities.³³

Comparison of the events described in the diaries with information from other sources shows that Józef Kazimierz Kossakowski did not hide any activities,

29 *Ibid.*, p. 28–32.

30 „Chociaż w moich kazaniach, które miałem, nigdy nie miałem celu, żebym szukał nauki dla słuchających, ale tak je układałem, jak zadaną lekcją do doświadczenia mego talentu...”, *Ibid.*, p. 39.

31 „Dzierżawca dowiódł, iż nie miał co z liczną pańszczyzną *in fundo* robić i chętnie zezwolił, żebym część trzecią gospodarzy na czynszu osadził, co też z ich że ułożenia wykonałem. Przypatrzenie się swobodzie przeprowadzonych, a płatnych, pobudziło innych, iż wszyscy teraz żądali iść na czynsz, na co też musiałem zezwolić, znosząc jeden folwark i cały grunt z niego rozdzielając między ludzi. Nierównie pewniejszy i większy miałem dochód z tego przewrotu i ustawy, niżeli miałem z dzierżawy arendarzom...”, *Ibid.*, p. 72.

32 „Bodajbym był nigdy go nie opuszczał, a więcej może w schyłku życia mojego żalować będę, żem go opuścił przy sposobie innego a roztargnionego życia!”, *Ibid.*, p. 45.

33 „Więcej zadziwiony, niż wzruszony, podziękowałem królowi, a więcej uwielbiałem w duszy mojej Opatrzność Boską, której rękę zawsze poznawałem we wszystkich przypadkach, iż prowadząc przez ciernie i zmartwienia, nigdy do ostatka goryczy kosztować nie dopuszczała, ale na pomyślny zawsze koniec doprowadzała”, *Ibid.*, p. 84.

even those that stood in striking contradiction to his own ideals promoted in the novel. He was an expert in the benefice system, being both the victim and the ruthless abuser of its rules. All of his own deeds he eagerly described as a necessity, silently excusing himself by blaming objective factors and other people. Yet in his novel he still naively believed that such pathologies were just personal sins.

Józef Kazimierz Kossakowski was a morality promoter who led a life almost exactly opposed to his own philosophy. Therefore it is difficult not to assess him morally, but still, the job of historian is to understand and explain. One of the explanations may be the general inability of most people to imagine the world governed by cultural rules different than the given ones. Belief in the natural state and faultlessness of social reality and personal responsibility of individual behaviour made it very easy to see the social issues as personal sins, and to simultaneously justify personal deeds as a consequence of other people's immorality.

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JUOZAPAS KAZIMIERAS KOSAKOVSKIS IR KASDIENIS DVASININKŲ GYVENIMAS APŠVIETOS EPOCHOS ABIEJŲ TAUTŲ RESPUBLIKOJE

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XVIII amžiaus pabaigoje augo takoskyra tarp sparčiai besikeičiančių normų ir vertybių sistemos bei feodalinės sistemos gniaužtuose išliekančių Abiejų Tautų Respublikos parapijų dvasininkijos kasdieninio gyvenimo sąlygų. Daugelis religinės raštijos kūrėjų siūlė įvairias pertvarkos idėjas. Kai kurias šių idėjų ėmėsi įgyvendinti vyskupai, šiandien žinomi kaip apšviestosis katalikybės ir katalikiškosios Apšvietos atstovai. To meto dvasininkų keliamų idėjų ribotumas buvo susijęs su beneficijų sistema, apibrėžusia tiek bažnytinių pajamų šaltinius, tiek ir išrinkimo į bažnytines pareigybes būdus. Kunigo karjera priklausė nuo jo kilmės ir turimų patronų įtakos, bet ne nuo sugebėjimų ar asmeninių nuopelnų. Turtingų parapijų klebonai visas savo pareigas „deleguodavo“ vikarams, o pastarieji, turėdami per menką aprūpinimą, neretai savo išlaikymo kaštus perkeldavo ant tikinčiųjų pečių. Šio straipsnio tikslas yra remiantis Livonijos vyskupo Juozapo Kazimiero Kosakovskio kūrybos analize atskleisti įtampą, išryškėjusią tarp Apšvietos epochos idealų ir feodalinės tikrovės. Livonijos vyskupas buvo vieno kompleksiausių ir radikaliausių projektų, siekusių pakeisti dvasininkų kasdienybę, autorius, savo idėjas išdėstęs moralistiniame romane *Kunigas klebonas* (*Ksiądz pleban*). Drauge puikiai išmanydamas beneficinės sistemos realijas, J. K. Kosakovskis sugebėjo jas tinkamai išnaudoti asmeninei gerovei kurti. Šią savo veiklą, neretai akivaizdžiai priešingą deklaruotoms idėjoms, jis aprašė atsiminimuose. Remiantis šiais šaltiniais, per asmeninės dvasininko refleksijos prizmę analizuojama reali ir postuluo-jama parapinės dvasininkijos kasdienybė Apšvietos epochoje.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: parapinė dvasininkija, katalikiškoji Apšvieta, kasdienybės istorija, dienoraštis, Abiejų Tautų Respublika.