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THOUGHTS ON THE BOOK PRODUCTION, USAGE, AND THE FRENCH LANGUAGE IN EGODOCUMENTAL LETTERS OF REVEREND REMIGIAN KOSSAKOWSKI (1730–1780)

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Summary. *This article is a case study that presents an opinion on book production and trade, as well as the importance of the language in which the book is printed, as expressed in the ego documentary correspondence created in the late Enlightenment. The data come from the letters, written by a former Jesuit priest in Hrodna and Vilnius, a former Professor at Vilnius University, Remigian Korwin Kossakowski. Kossakowski sent letters from Paris to Vilnius, where he worked as a representative of the Commission of National Education of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (PLC), in addressing his colleague, a former confrere Jesuit and former teacher, Marcin Odlanicki Poczobut. Close, friendly relations with the addressee may explain the egodocumentality and a certain intimacy in Kossakowski's letters; this very reason allowed Kossakowski to freely express his thoughts and elaborate on topics relevant to him. Among other things, Kossakowski discussed the role of language as a medium of a particular worldview. He also compared book*

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production and usage in Paris and in Vilnius. While preaching against the French language as a channel through which atheism and libertinism could easily spread, Kossakowski seemingly repeated the clichés found in some Lithuanian sermons and Polish texts of the epoch. At the same time, he expressed sympathy and pride in his vernacular (Polish) and ideas of peculiarity of every nation's mind, thus somewhat resembling the thoughts of his contemporary, Johann Gottfried Herder. Kossakowski disapproved of the global dominance of French, achieved at the expense of weaker languages, such as Polish. He criticized the poor quality of the abundant, hastily prepared French publications, while blaming his compatriots for being too lazy and not self-assured enough to write original books. Kossakowski's outspoken position is a rare testimony, which is valuable for the history of mentalities in the PLC. The article builds on the analysis of Kossakowski's correspondence from 1777 to 1780, parts of which the author has previously discussed in international conferences.

Keywords: egodocuments, correspondence, Enlightenment, Jesuits, book publishing, gallophobia.

Mintys apie knygų leidybą, skaitymą ir prancūzų kalbą kunigo Remigijaus Kosakovskio (1730–1780) egodokumentiniuose laiškuose

Santrauka. Straipsnį sudaro atvejo analizė, pristatanti gan subjektyvias nuomones apie knygų leidybą ir jų skaitymą bei svarbą kalbos, kuria knyga skelbiama. Tyrimo medžiaga atrasta vėlyvosios Apšvietos asmens egodokumentinėje korespondencijoje. Tai yra buvusio jėzuito, pamokslininko Gardine bei Vilniuje ir Vilniaus universiteto filosofijos bei teologijos daktaro, dėstytojo Remigijaus Korvino Kosakovskio rašyti laiškai. Kosakovskis rašė iš Paryžiaus, kuriame ėjo Abiejų Tautų Respublikos (toliau – ATR) Tautos edukacinės komisijos korespondento pareigas, į Vilnių kolegai, buvusiam savo mokytojui ir ordino broliui Martynui Odlianickiui Počobutui. Kosakovskio laiškų egodokumentiškumas ir tam tikras intymumas aiškintinas artimais draugiškais ryšiais su adresatu. Ši aplinkybė leido Kosakovskiui rašyti laisvai ir detaliau aptarti tai, kas jam atrodė svarbu. Tarp kitų temų jis aptarė kalbos, kaip pasaulėžiūrą formuojančios terpės, vaidmenį. Kosakovskis taip pat lygino knygų rašymo, leidimo, platinimo aplinkybes Paryžiuje ir Vilniuje. Smerkdamas prancūzų kalbą, kaip kanalą, kuriuo galėjo plisti bedievystė ir libertinizmas, Kosakovskis, rodos, kartojo to meto Lietuvos pamoksluose ir Lenkijoje pasirodžiusiuose tekstuose aptinkamas klišes, tačiau kartu išsakė ir

rūpestį bei pasididžiavimą gimtąja (lenkų) kalba, taip pat pateikė apmąstymus apie kiekvienos tautos mentalitetą, kiek primenančius tuo metu formuluotas Johanno Gottfriedo Herderio išvalgas. Kosakovskis kritikavo prancūzų kalbos pasaulinį dominavimą, dėl kurio nukentėjo mažiau populiarios kalbos, tarp jų ir lenkų kalba. Jis skeptiškai vertino gausių ir paskubomis rengtų prancūziškų knygų kokybę, smerkė tingius tautiečius, pristigčius pasitikėjimo savimi ir vengiančius rašyti savas knygas. Kosakovskio laiškuose iškalbingai ir atvirai išreikšta pozicija yra retas bei vertingas ATR visuomenės nario mąstysenos paminklas. Straipsnis paremtas Kosakovskio 1777–1780 m. korespondencijos tyrimais, kurių dalį autorė aptarė tarptautinėse konferencijose.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: egodokumentai, korespondencija, Apšvieta, jėzuitai, knygų leidyba, galofobija

INTRODUCTION

The main intention of this article is to show that, in the egodocumentary correspondence created by a member of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's (hereinafter – GDL) society in the late Enlightenment, it is possible to find articulate personal opinions on contemporary book production and use, as well as the author's linguistic attitudes. The letters of Reverend (hereinafter – Rev.) Remigian (or Remigiusz) Korwin Kossakowski (1730–1780, provide valuable material for this research¹. The known texts produced by R. Kossakowski are the surviving letters, which are today stored in the libraries of Lithuania and Poland; a short note in French in the *Journal des Savants*²; and a desideratum,

1 Most of RK's letters stored in Lithuania have been digitized and are accessible online: in the Digital Collections of Vilnius University Library, stored in the Manuscript division of this library (hereinafter VUB RS, after the Lithuanian name *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos Rankraščių skyrius*), F2-DC42_33-[from 1 to 32], F16-8_3, F16-9l, F16-13_5, F17-5, F17-3a; in the Rare book and Manuscript department of the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania (hereinafter LNMMB RKRS, after the Lithuanian name *Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka, Retų knygų ir rankraščių skyrius*), F99-190, p. 39–50; some of the letters stored in the Manuscript Department of the Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (hereinafter LMAVB RS, after the Lithuanian name *Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, Rankraščių skyrius*), F151-827, 882, 883, 974, part of them have been scanned; a document and a microfilm in the Lithuanian State Historical Archives (hereinafter LVIA, after the Lithuanian name *Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas*), f. 1135, ap. 20, b. 427, p. 136r-139r.

2 [KOSSAKOWSKI, Remigian]. Constellation nouvelle. *Le Journal des Savants*, August of 1778, p. 571.

not yet found but, hopefully, still surviving: a manuscript containing texts of his sermons. It is known that R. Kossakowski also worked on translating books from French into Latin and Polish³.

This text explores the contents of the letters: what makes them egodocumentary, and how the themes of book production and the French language are addressed. It is a case study, a type of research that combines different methodologies, helping identify the best way to highlight R. Kossakowski's personal opinions. Several objectives were pursued in the course of this research: to discuss the egodocumentary nature of R. Kossakowski's letters, and to gather and analyse R. Kossakowski's opinions on two interrelated topics: first, the critique of the French language, and second, R. Kossakowski's thoughts on book production, and to place R. Kossakowski's opinions in the intellectual context of the epoch. These aims shaped the research structure, which was developed through several subtopics, united in the conclusions.

EARLIER RESEARCH ON R. KOSSAKOWSKI'S LETTERS

Edward Rabowicz, who composed R. Kossakowski's biography for *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, wrote: "the ample correspondence with the homeland, which Kossakowski wrote then, survived. The letters to Poczobut, which Kossakowski would jokingly call 'the chronicles', are examples of the extraordinarily expressive *gawęda* style. He would criticize the scientific situation in France and the French materialists, especially Diderot and d'Alembert"⁴. The Baroque literary style of *gawęda*, a form of oral narration, is "a long tale from a raconteur tradition"⁵ that originated in the 17th century. This style is not suitable for business letters, but it is promising for researchers in the history of mentalities.

Most of the known R. Kossakowski's letters were written in 1777–1780 and sent from Paris to Vilnius to inform about the process of elections to the Royal

- 3 RABOWICZ, Edmund. Kossakowski Remigian (Remigiusz). *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*. Wrocław, 1969, vol. XIV/2, p. 285; R. Kossakowski to M. PO CZOBUT. *Wielmożny Mci Xięże Astronomie...* Paris, 1778-08-20. VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-20.
- 4 RABOWICZ, Edmund. Kossakowski Remigian (Remigiusz), p. 285. Translations from Polish to English here and further made by the author of this article. Mentioned are two French philosophers and writers, notably, Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783).
- 5 BILCZEWSKI, Tomasz; BILL, Stanley; and POPIEL, Magdalena, eds. *The Routledge World Companion to Polish Literature*. London; New York, 2022, p. 47.

Academy of Sciences in Paris. Most of the letters are addressed to one of the candidates in these elections, Vilnius Academy astronomer Marcin Poczubut (1728–1810), who was R. Kossakowski's senior colleague at the academy, a former teacher, and confrere in the Jesuit Order. Poczubut was elected a member-correspondent of the Academy on August 19, 1778. Matulaitytė⁶ and Triaire⁷ referred to these elections and related activities of R. Kossakowski. By using these letters, Girininkaitė could reconstruct the itinerary of the scientific journey of the Vilnius astronomer Andrew Strzecki (1737–1797), which was also relevant to these elections⁸. R. Kossakowski was only occasionally mentioned in other encyclopedias⁹ and texts on the history of education in GDL and in Vilnius¹⁰. Recently, Regina Jakubėnas¹¹ and Veronika Girininkaitė¹² each explo-

- 6 MATULAITYTĖ, Stasė. *Senoji Vilniaus universiteto astronomijos observatorija ir jos biblioteka*. Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2004, p. 65.
- 7 TRIAIRE, Dominique. Lalande, Bernoulli, Poczubut... Letters from Western scholars to astronomers of the East. *Revue d'histoire des sciences*, 2012, vol. 65, no. 1, p. 159–180.
- 8 GIRININKAITĖ, Veronika. The Scientific Wanderjahr of Vilnius Astronomer Andrew Strzecki in 1777–1778. *Acta Baltica Historiae et Philosophiae Scientiarum*, 2023, vol. 11, no. 1, p. 52–80.
- 9 GRZEBIEŃ, Ludwik, ed. Kossakowski, Remigian. *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995*. Kraków, 2004, p. 308; TYLA, Antanas. Kosakovskiai. In: *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija*. Vilnius, 2006, vol. 10, p. 63.
- 10 RAILA, Eligijus. *Ignotus Ignotas*: Vilniaus vyskupas Ignotas Jokūbas Masalskis. Vilnius, 2010. 236, [1] p.; JOVAIŠA, Liudas. Istorija. In: *Alma Mater Vilnensis*: Vilniaus universiteto istorijos bruožai: kolektyvinė monografija. Vilnius, 2009, p. 242; MILINKEVIČIŪTĖ, Daiva. Draugijų žmogus: Martyno Počobuto Odlianickio komunikacija su Vakarų Europos mokslininkais XVIII amžiaus antroje pusėje. *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, 2021, vol. 51, p. 32–48.
- 11 JAKUBĖNAS, Regina. Obraz Paryžia jako „miasta światel“ i celu podróży edukacyjnych młodzieży szlacheckiej w listach ks. Remigiusza Kossakowskiego. *XVIII amžiaus studijos*. Vol. 11, *Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė*: pilietis, šeima, edukacija. Ed. Ramunė Šmigelskytė-Stukienė. Vilnius, 2025, p. 178–191; JAKUBĖNAS, Regina. I podobny jest Paryż do Sodomy i Gomory, niż do Aten i inszych miast mądrych greckich, egipskich i włoskich” – ludzie oświecenia w listach z Paryża ks. Remigiusza Kossakowskiego. In: *Oświecenie nieoświecone: poza normą i modą*. Eds. Agata Ročko, Danuta Kowalewska. Warszawa, 2025, p. 341–355; JAKUBĖNAS, Regina. Relacje ks. Remigiusza Kossakowskiego o jego staraniach w sprawie przyjęcia ks. Marcina Poczubuta-Odlanickiego w poczet członków Francuskiej Akademii Nauk (Na podstawie korespondencji z Poczubutem), *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, 2021, vol. 51, p. 49–72.
- 12 GIRININKAITĖ, Veronika. Remigijaus Korvin Kosakovskio (1730–1780) laiškai Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekoje. In: *Pod znakiem Orła i Pogoni*: polsko-litewskie związki naukowe i kulturowe w dziejach Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego. Eds. Irena Fedorowicz, Mirosław Dawlewicz, Kinga Geben. Vilnius, 2020, p. 28–51; GIRININKAITĖ, Veronika. The Cor-

red different aspects of R. Kossakowski's correspondence in their conference papers and articles. Still, the personality of R. Kossakowski and his writings look intriguing and worth researching because of R. Kossakowski's unique, rhetorically skillful, unrestrained voice and almost unique experiences of an ex-Jesuit who frequented the best Parisian salons.

BIOGRAPHY OF R. KOSSAKOWSKI

Born in Samogitia, in a family of petty nobility, R. Kossakowski, along with his four brothers, was orphaned in childhood and raised by his uncle. Later, he grew up, learned and worked at the courts of distant relatives, the counts Kossakowski¹³ and, afterward, the princely family Massalski¹⁴. After studying in Jesuit schools, R. Kossakowski accompanied his lifelong patron, future Vilnius Bishop Jakub Ignacy Massalski (1727–1794), who went to Rome for studies from 1749 to 1752. After returning to Lithuania, R. Kossakowski became a Jesuit in 1753, a priest in 1763, studied at the Vilnius Academy, and obtained a doctorate in 1766¹⁵. R. Kossakowski taught Rhetorics and History at Vilnius Academy in 1765–68 and worked at the Philosophy Department in 1769–70¹⁶. In 1768–69 and 1771–73, he oversaw the Hrodna Jesuit college library and served as a preacher¹⁷. He would celebrate masses and deliver sermons at the Court sessions in Hrodna and at the Academy in Vilnius for about 12 years¹⁸. Soon after the suppression of the Jesuit Order, which in GDL happened in 1773, R. Kossakowski was appointed a canon of Poznań. In 1774, the Commission of National Education, which was established to supervise state education and its financial support, appointed R. Kossakowski as one of its two foreign correspondents¹⁹. R. Kossakowski left the Commonwealth with the

respondence of Marcin Poczubut-Odlanicki in Vilnius University Library. *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, 2021, vol. 51, p. 19–31.

13 KOSSAKOWSKI, Józef Kazimierz. *Pamiętniki Józefa Kossakowskiego biskupa inflanckiego, 1738–1788: z portretem*. Ed. Adam Darowski. Warszawa, 1891, p. 20.

14 RAILA, Eligijus. *Ignotus Ignotas*, p. 51.

15 SVIRSKAS, Morkus; and BALČIENĖ, Irena, eds. *Akademijos laurai*. Vilnius, 1997, p. 238.

16 KAMIŃSKA, Janina. *Universitas Vilnensis: Akademia Wileńska i Szkoła Główna Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, 1773–1792*. Pułtusk, 2004, p. 35.

17 GRZEBIEŃ, Ludwik, ed. Kossakowski, Remigian, p. 308.

18 Letter by R. Kossakowski to Ignacy Potocki, October 23, 1778. In: BOŻENNA, Michalik, ed. *Korespondencja Ignacego Potockiego w sprawach edukacyjnych (1774–1809)*. Wrocław, 1978, p. 37. The original letter is stored at AGAD, APP, manuscript 279a/180, p. 1–4.

19 MITERA-DOBROWOLSKA, Mieczysława, ed. *Protokoły posiedzeń Komisji Edukacji Narodo-*

Borch family, perhaps while assisting the young Count Jan Michał Borch, who went on his Grand Tour²⁰.

In his letters, R. Kossakowski wrote of his fluency in French²¹ and even his ability to joke and be witty in the Parisian society. R. Kossakowski also knew Polish, Latin, and Italian. As he stated, he could not read English. R. Kossakowski knew Lithuanian since childhood, which was a rare ability among Vilnius academics: the staff list compiled in 1773 mentions only 17 Vilnius Academy teachers who knew Lithuanian²²; this language's position was weakened relative to the prestige of Polish. Though Lithuanian traits, such as different accents, customs, and cuisine, were valued, the identity was seen as a hybrid one. After the Union of Lublin in 1569, many nobles accepted the formula *gente Lituanus, natione Polonus* (Lithuanian person of Polish nation), and the Lithuanian language was preserved in only a few noble families, mostly in Samogitia. Therefore, the number of written Lithuanian sources from the 18th century is scarce, and they were well described and published in the 20th century by linguists, historians, and bibliographers²³. However, when R. Kossakowski discussed publishing, it was Polish that he mentioned as the native language. He also referred to his homeland as *Polszcza* (an obsolete variant of Poland's name²⁴). However, he usually mentioned Lithuanian locality names, such as Lioliai, Kuktiškis, or Varniai, and even, perhaps jokingly, once inserted a Lithuanian greeting²⁵. R. Kossakowski's letters are in Polish with some dialectal traits and occasional sayings in Latin and French.

wej, 1773–1785. Wrocław [etc.], 1973, p. 21, 38. L'abbé Nicolas Baudeau (1730–1792) was appointed as the second correspondent.

- 20 RABOWICZ, Edmund. Kossakowski Remigian (Remigiusz), p. 286; STROEV, Alexandre. À la recherche de la correspondance savante du comte Michał Jan Borch. In: *Correspondances d'érudits aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles: France, Pologne, Lituanie*. Rennes, 2014, p. 171. Rabowicz mentions that R. Kossakowski travelled with Borch; it is documented that, in 1775, both Borch and R. Kossakowski were in Lyon, and R. Kossakowski often mentioned in his letters that he is busy supervising the young Polish gentlemen who study abroad.
- 21 VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-18.
- 22 LEBEDYS, Jurgis. *Lietuvių kalba XVII–XVIII a. viešajame gyvenime*. Ed. V. Zaborskaitė. Vilnius, 1976, p. 235; this information was gathered from VUB RS, F2-DC7.
- 23 KIAUPA, Zigmantas. Kalbėjimas apie lietuvių tautą XVIII amžiuje. *Darbai ir dienos*, 2014, vol. 61, p. 265.
- 24 WOLAŃSKI, Adam. Forma w Polszcze. *Słownik języku polskiego*, entry made on June 19, 2023.
- 25 *Buk sweykas ir givas*, in R. Kossakowski to M. POCZOBUĆ. *Wielmożny Mci Xięże Astronomie...* Paris, 1778-08-07. VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-15.

Little is known about R. Kossakowski's brothers, except for Anthony (1718–1786), who, for some time, worked in the royal chancellery, later went on adventurous voyages, and was missing for many years. R. Kossakowski wrote that he met his brother after Anthony returned:

[I met him] in Warsaw, as he arrived recently and met me. He is a decent person; it feels good to be with him, a pious Catholic, who firmly blames all the vices, knows many languages, so to speak, a perfect person. He has been to Moscow, to Sweden, Turkey, Greece, and some Asian countries. He wears a kind of officer's uniform, but I have not yet asked of which country...]²⁶

Anthony is now known mostly as the court poet of King Poniatowski, who wrote verses for occasions. He did arrange a mass in Warsaw after R. Kossakowski died in Paris in 1780²⁷, and later corresponded with Vilnius about debts to R. Kossakowski that he had inherited²⁸.

BUSINESS LETTERS GONE EGODOCUMENTAL

R. Kossakowski not only produced informative letters; he also refined them, thus creating the style of friendly, relaxed chat, and inserting metatextual elements (begging pardon for mistakes, explaining why the letters grow so long, declaring his stance, and exercising the power of the messenger, who gatekeeps the important information). The paradox of R. Kossakowski's long, verbose, and essay-like letters lies in their casual, friendly, joking style, which is unsuitable for business correspondence, which they are, given their situation and goal. It seems that R. Kossakowski was aware of this and still took advantage of the recipient's eagerness to hear the news. Perhaps in answering to Poczubut's critique, R. Kossakowski explained that he had earned the right to write as he pleased by volunteering to help his friends and not being employed to do so:

26 Pol.: ...w Warszawie, przybył tu niedawno y widział się ze mną. Człowiek przystoyny, niezłe koło niego, pobożny Katolik, mocno żałujący za płochości, wiele językow umie, słowem całę doskonały. Był w Moskwie, we Szwecyi, W Turczach w Grecyi y po niektórych Panstwach Azyi; Po Oficiersku się nosi, alem się ieszcze niepytał gdzie iest oficerem... The quotations from R. Kossakowski's letters in this article are given in the original orthography. From the letter of R. Kossakowski to, perhaps, Vilnius Bishop I. J. MASSALSKI. Warszawa, 1760-01-28. LNMMB, F99-190, l. 43.

27 *Suplement do gazety Warszawskiej*. Numer 100. we szrode dnia 13 Grudnia roku 1780.

28 VUB RS, F2-DC42_32-1 and F2-DC42_33-2.

[*Distinguo* (differentiate right and wrong parts of the statement): [You say] I should speak and write on the topic, without all this rubbish. If it is one's duty, **concedo** (I agree), but if one does it by his free will, just wanting to be of help, **nego** (I disagree). You must choose whether you refuse my service or read it the way I like to write. I can both speak jokingly and work hard. I talk briefly with petite French and protractedly with lengthy Poles. Moreover, what a joy it is for me to get to talk with the wise one because here we do not have many of those.]²⁹

The choice of a friendly chat style allowed the writer to digress while discussing topics unrelated to the letter's main aim. Some surviving R. Kossakowski's letters to other addressees are direct, which suggests that this stylistic choice was deliberate³⁰. Poczubut did not appreciate it and expressed it bluntly in the only letter from him to R. Kossakowski that has been found³¹. Poczubut wrote that he could not write the answers as often as requested because of his enormous workload, and said directly that R. Kossakowski may be a person with too much spare time, bored, and with nothing better to do than to bother busy people with letters that are too long. R. Kossakowski noted he was good with text styles:

[You can see, Mylord, that I can use the Laconic and concise style, as well as Asiatic, and I know the kind of European style, and Samogitian, lengthy as intestine³² and then again digressing once or twice before getting to the topic, and even after the start, letting it again get astray and grab some grass by the road, as Bucephalus³³ I once had used to do.]³⁴

29 Pol. And Latin: **Distingvo**: *Mow, pisz o interesie bez andronow kiedyś iest z powinności obowiązany, **concedo**. Kiedy co z dobrej woli y z przystugi czynisz, **nego**. Abo nieużywaycie mię do interesu, abo czytaycie iak mi się podoba czytać. Umieć ia y zarcikami zbywać y serio rzeczy robic. Gadam tu kuso z kusemi francuzami a długo z długimi Polakami. Ile że radbym się nagadać z mądrym, bo takich tu niewiele.* R. Kossakowski to M. POZUBUT. *Wielmożny Mci Xięże Astronomie*. Paris, 1778-07-30. VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-14. <https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/990009601551008452>

30 LMMNB RKRS letters of R. Kossakowski, addressed to Bishop Massalski.

31 POZUBUT, M. to R. Kossakowski. *Kochany Remiasze Gadula...* Vilnius, 1780-07-24. LMAVB RS, F151-636, p. 1.

32 The meaning of this phrase is not quite clear.

33 A horse; Bucephalus was the name of Alexander the Great's horse.

34 Pol.: *Widzisz WMc Pan że ia laconicum stilum umieć y concisum y asiaticum, ale też umieć y europejski y zmudzki iak kiszka długo pociągnać pirkiem kominka, raz y drugi wydać nim do rzeczy przystąpię, a i przystąpiwszy zboczyć a trawki z drogi iak dawniejszy moy Bucefał zarwać.* R. Kossakowski to M. POZUBUT. *Wielmożny Mci Xięże Astronomie...* Paris, 1778-08-20. VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-17.

In Rhetorics, there is a distinction between the minimal and straightforward Laconic and bombastic, decorated Asiatic styles; whereas, the 'European' and 'Samogitian' styles are R. Kossakowski's nonce words.

R. Kossakowski wrote most of his letters on low-quality paper, with poor ink, in small letters, and sometimes also on all available margins, and usually sent them in a way that seemed cheaper. The number of those letters also demonstrates the desperate need to reach the audience and secure financial support. This material side of the documents, together with frequent requests to send him the earned pension and, later, to pay a new debt, may indicate an unsatisfactory financial situation experienced by R. Kossakowski.

The length and amount of R. Kossakowski's letters might also have been related to his own psychological needs: loneliness and nostalgia. In the following fragment, R. Kossakowski agreed that writing brought him joy, while combining this idea with a lament about the ban of Jesuits, which in GDL happened in 1773:

*[It is a pleasure indeed for me to speak with you, even if only through letters. I feel it is a kind of solace among my sorrow, that we are scattered so far apart. Neither Poland nor Paris is pleasant to me, as I am deported from my beloved homeland, the Society of Jesus.]*³⁵

Here, R. Kossakowski addresses the recipients of his letters in the plural, suggesting that the letters could be read aloud, perhaps to a group of friends. Often, R. Kossakowski finished letters by sending greetings to some of the professors, while also explicitly mentioning their names, or wrote about some other potential readers:

*[However, I also admit to abusing Milord's patience. Pardon this silent quill pen, as you long ago have pardoned the living tongue, which, like the tongue of the bell, cannot keep still long after the ringing. Because it is not to Milord I am now speaking, but to the one who, by hearing or reading this letter, may benefit from it. I now return to our business.]*³⁶

35 Pol.: *A w samej rzeczy miło mi z wami choć przez listy pogadać. Mam nieiakąs ulgę w troskach, że nas tak rozproszono. Niemila mi ni Polska ni Paryż kiedy mię z kochanney oyczyzny moiej z Towarzystwa Jezusowego wygnano.* R. Kossakowski to M. POCZOBUT. *Niedrzwicie tam z moiej algebry...* Paris, 1778-10-19. VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-22.

36 Pol. *Ale iuz tez wyznaię że abutor patientia Pana Mego. Wybacz piorowi niememu, kiedys przedtym wybaczal iezykowi żywemu, y długo po dzwonieniu kiwaiącemu się. Nie dla WMCi Pana to gadam, ale dla tego ktory moze słyszac lub czytaiac ten list iaki pozytek wezmie.* *Powracam do interesu.* R. Kossakowski to M. POCZOBUT. *Wielmożny Mci Xięże Astronomie...* Paris, 1778-07-30. VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-14.

This mention of an expected broader audience may raise doubt whether R. Kossakowski's letters are private enough to qualify as egodocuments. However, some egodocuments, such as a *livre de raison*, could be created by many individuals and for many. How public may an egodocument be is an open question: "a point of current interest is the question to what extent egodocuments were of a private nature, and whether the authors had a particular audience in mind"³⁷. According to Jacques Presser (1899–1970), who introduced the term, egodocuments are "those historical sources in which the user is confronted with an 'I', or occasionally (Caesar, Henry Adams) a 'he', continuously present in the text as the writing and describing subject"³⁸. R. Kossakowski wrote about himself only fragmentarily, but consistently expressed his emotions, longings, and judgments. Therefore, R. Kossakowski's letters are indeed egodocuments also in the narrower sense: "Presser used the word egodocument for all texts in which an author wrote about his or her own feelings, thoughts and actions"³⁹.

Most of the cases, when R. Kossakowski's personality is exposed, relate to his reactions to the phenomena of the external world; this may be interpreted as a typical trait of the Early Modern autobiographies:

*Inwardness is but one dimension of the self, and in autobiographical writing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was the exception rather than the rule. The vast majority of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century autobiographical publications – and there are legions of them – are preoccupied with detailing the author's position in relation to various external factors (prominently reputation), not in revealing a coherent narrative of an unfolding interior identity...*⁴⁰

In the following two sections, we shall see how R. Kossakowski reacted to the question of book production and use, and to another related question, that of the popularity of the French language.

37 DEKKER, Rudolf. Introduction. Introduction. In: *Egodocuments and History: autobiographical writing in its social context since the Middle Ages*. Ed. Rudolf Dekker. Hilversum, 2002, p. 15.

38 Ibid, p 7.

39 Ibid, p. 7.

40 FARR, James; and RUGGIERO, Guido. Introduction. In: *Historicizing Life-Writing and Egodocuments in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. James R. Farr, Guido Ruggiero. Cham, 2022, p. 11.

BOOKS AND BOOK PRODUCTION

In his letters, R. Kossakowski frequently mentioned books and texts which he would send to Vilnius (astronomical observations⁴¹ and a treatise⁴², prepared by Josip Ruger Bosovich (1711–1787), copies of academic periodicals *Journal des Savants*⁴³, and *Connaissance des Temps*⁴⁴, as well as the books he would like to receive: *Tarcza Królów y Królestw Pobożność...* and *Diabeł w swojej postaci*⁴⁵. Poczubut also ordered the history of astronomy by Jean Sylvain de Bailly (1736–1793)⁴⁶. R. Kossakowski himself also worked by translating grammar books from French⁴⁷.

Along with this factual data, one can see many opinions about book publishing and usage in R. Kossakowski's letters. In the late 18th century, as the dominance of the Latin language ebbed, French became ubiquitous. Due to the advances in printing technology, producing knowledge and publishing became less elitist⁴⁸, and the commercial literary market began to be established. Not approving with such changes, R. Kossakowski mocked and questioned the education and abilities of the 'new' writers who came from a humbler background, for example, a former tailor who, according to R. Kossakowski, must have used his needle instead of the quill pen⁴⁹ and bound his books by using recycled old trousers⁵⁰. In another instance, R. Kossakowski wrote:

41 R. Kossakowski to M. POCZOBUT. *Wielmożny Mci Xięże Astronomie...* Paris, 1778-08-07. VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-15.

42 R. Kossakowski to M. POCZOBUT. *Niedrwicie tam z mojej algebry...* Paris, 1778-10-19. VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-22.

43 Earliest academic journal in Europe, issued since 1665. Mentioned in VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-23.

44 VUB RS, F16-9l; annual with data for the astronomical observations, issued since 1679.

45 LMAVB RS, F151-883, p.1; mentioned are BOHOMOLEC, Jan Chrzczciel. *Diabeł w swojej postaci z okazji pytania: jesli są upiory*. Warszawa, 1775; ŻABICKI, Ignacy. *Tarcza Królów y Królestw Pobożność...* Warszawa, 1773.

46 LMAVB RS, f 151-636, l. 1.

47 RABOWICZ, Edmund. Kossakowski Remigian (Remigiusz), p. 285.

48 This process was also described by DARNTON, Robert. *Didžiosios kačių skerdynės ir kiti Prancūzijos kultūros istorijos epizodai*. Vilnius, 2002, p. 171.

49 R. Kossakowski to M. POCZOBUT. *Wielmożny Mci Xięże Astronomie...* Paris, 1778-08-13. VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-16. Book mentioned: BAILLY, Jean Sylvain de. *Histoire de l'astronomie*. Paris, 1775.

50 R. Kossakowski to M. POCZOBUT, *Wielmożny Mci Xięże Astronomie...* Paris, 1778-08-07. VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-15.

[Here, tailors, blacksmiths, and wigmakers also write books; recently, one wigmaker was published. Because it is enough if the book is in French, and the blacksmith likes his profit. The whole world knows French and believes that if a book is in French, it is good, so these books are exported to all the countries in boats of various kinds and sizes, and now the blacksmiths can profit not only from works made of iron or copper but also from paper. They collect money for books and secretly laugh at the stupid world that buys books, not knowing if they are good or bad. Moreover, I made a mistake writing that this is still a rare occurrence in your place, because I am sure that in Poland you also have plenty of those French books produced by the blacksmith's anvil. Then, our young lads exclaim *chef d'oeuvre*. Look, simpleton, smell; you will feel that it stinks of ashes.]⁵¹

The phrase about shipping French books, bought for the language rather than their contents or quality, may seem like an exaggeration. As Jeffrey Freedman notes, this phenomenon did indeed happen at the time, for example, in German lands, where French books became a symbol of status, a matter of representation, and were valued more for language than for content. It was found that, in the German states, Voltaire and Rousseau were among the most sought-after contemporary authors⁵², and the *Encyclopedia*, especially its cheaper editions, also became a bestseller⁵³.

R. Kossakowski was critical of the new ideas spreading from Paris, at times drawing a dramatic opposition between the hopeful homeland and the vicious city of Paris (and united it with a flatter for the addressee):

[Not everyone publishing books here is wise; many of them are seen as clowns, though they may boast a dozen books. Those read here should be better burned or not published at all. Many of

51 Pol.: *Bo tu wolno y szewcom y krawcom y kowalom y perukazom iak niedawno perukarz wydał. Gdyż dość iest po francusku wydać, a pewny y kowal profitu; cały świat po francusku umie, a przewencya iest, że co po francusku to dobrze, więc do kazdego kraiu wicinami strugami, okrętami z tąd księgi wywoże y kowalom a slosarzom nietyko za cacki z żelaza z mosiędzu, ale y z papieru płacą, a oni pieniązki pobrawszy za swoje xiązki smieią się w kącie że świat głupi, nieuważając czy dobra, czy zła księga, kupuie. Ale darmom napisał że u was rarytas, bo pewny iestem, że pełno w Polszcze książek francuskich na Kowadle kowalskim robionych. A nasze panowie młodzik, krzyczą chef-d'œuvre. Obacz, durniu, powąchaj, a postrzeżesz, że zyndrą smierdzi.* The same letter.

52 BURROWS, Simon. Cicero, Voltaire and the Bible: French Best-Sellers in the Age of Enlightenment? *Knygotyra*, 2022, vol. 78, p. 46–79.

53 DARNTON, Robert. *The business of Enlightenment: a publishing history of the Encyclopédie, 1775–1800*. Cambridge, Mass, 1979, p. 539; FREEDMAN, Jeffrie. *Books without borders in Enlightenment Europe: French cosmopolitanism and German literary markets*. Philadelphia, 2012, p. 141.

*those who published little or nothing are rightfully respected as wise, though Paris may not know them. I want Poczobut to come and shame those considered the wisest here.]*⁵⁴

Kossakowski mentioned his disdain for contemporary French intellectuals. The (not-so-powerful) opposition to the Enlightenment philosophers existed in France, too⁵⁵, but here we hear this sentiment from a guest from the GDL. However, sometimes in R. Kossakowski's text, the Parisian readers serve as examples of good, pious people. R. Kossakowski wrote about the famous preacher, Jean Nicolas Beauregard, and the power of his words:

*[This year, after listening to the Lent sermon of the ex-Jesuit Beauregard, the King would order the search for the spoiling and anti-religious books in Versailles and burn them. That priest is not like some other fashionable preachers, who are afraid to tell the truth, so he said that even in the King's dwelling, there are such nasty books. He did not accuse the King, as it was not the King who brought them and had them, but others, who brought and read the books there. After the sermon, the King would order a search everywhere and the burning of them. The same priest last year managed to give such a powerful speech against those books that there were about a million of those brought to him and other priests for burning. Moreover, there were claims for a refund of a sum around a million, which the last year's documents show.]*⁵⁶

At the same time, R. Kossakowski laments the indecisiveness and hesitance of compatriots who could write something worthy in Polish but were discouraged by the seeming superiority of French books.

54 VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-12.

55 MCMAHON, Darrin M. *Enemies of the Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity*. Oxford; New York, 2001, p. 31.

56 Pol. *tego roku Krol po kazaniu w poscie x. exiezuity Beauregard kazal szukac wszedzie po palacu w Wersalu y xiazki gorszace y przeciw religi szukać y popalic. Bo ten xiaźdz pocziwy nietak czasem iak niekórtzy na swiecie kaznodzieie, co prawdę polykają y mowić gdzie licet et expedit niech ten xiaźdz mówiąc o xiegach zakazanych, gorszących, y przeciw Religii dodał że nawet w dom k KMci są wniesione. Nieobwiniat Krola, bo Krol onych niesprowadzał y niemiat, ale tych kórtzy w dom krolewski one wniesli y czytali. Krol po kazaniu wszedzie kazal rewidować y popalić. Ten sam przeszłego roku w kościele iednym kazaniem swym przeciw tym xiegom to wskural że kolo miliona xiağ zakazanych liczono które do niego y innych xięży do spalenia zniesiono. O restytucji za także na milion rachowano co pokazaniach iego przeszłego roku poaddawano. R. Kossakowski to M. POCHOBUT, *Wielmożny Mci Xięże Astronomie...* Paris, 1778-08-13. VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-16. Jean Nicolas Beauregard (1733–1804), and his address to the King was mentioned also in: MCMAHON, Darrin M. *Enemies of the Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity*, p. 17.*

*[They think that great minds are born only abroad, and therefore become discouraged and do not begin great things, because they imagine that they will not succeed, that they do not have enough power for that. However, if they would only start, without a doubt, they would succeed. Moreover, maybe they would do even better than the Frenchmen, who start quickly without delay, but either leave work unfinished or finish poorly. Our minds are not as quick to start, and we take time to think before we do. If they began to and persevered, they would surely achieve great success. Moreover, great projects here are done by several, or more than ten, people together, and in our homeland, even two people are not willing to gather.]*⁵⁷

R. Kossakowski repeats the thought about the popularity of the French books and reflects on the difference between the markets for books in French and in Polish, while also referring to the fact that his addressee used to work in the printing house of Vilnius Academy:

[Here we have some wise people, but some are in Poland too. Here, they publish more volumes and boast about them. However, many local writers are bad, as they have no bread and use the volumes to "work the land", and in our country, there are not many people as hungry, as to become paper ploughmen. However, the main reason is that not only is France double the size of Poland, but that the whole world is really France, as they learn French everywhere, and books printed in French would be bought not only by Frenchmen, but also by English and Dutch people, Italians, and Poles, etc. So everyone can publish and hope the books sell out a little everywhere. And so far it goes that even shoemakers and tailors publish. [...] Our Polish gentlemen do not publish, saying they do not have time for writing well, and they do not want to do it poorly, as the Frenchmen here often do, and others see that the book will sell only in Poland, but Italian, Frenchmen, and others will not buy a Polish book. And after selling a few books, the rest will rot in Reverend Pilichowski's printing house, which earlier belonged to Poczobut. That good fellow would not only feed the employees but also take care of the animals, because the books on the shelves became a good nourishment for clothes moths. The third category, those

57 Pol.: *Rozumieią że za granicą się tylko rozumy rodzą, a przeto na umysle upadają, wielkich rzeczy niezaczynają, bo w głowie sobie malują że się im nieuda, że nie mają dość sił na to. Ale żeby zaczęli, bez wątpienia by dobrze zakończyli. Y lepiej czasem od francuza, który częstokrać prętko, prętko, co mu przyszło zacząć, y albo nieskończy, albo źle skończy. Nasze zaś rozumy co nieprętko rzeczy zaczynają, co długo czy zacząć, myślą; żeby zaczęli y na umysle nieupadali, bez wątpienia by wielkich rzeczy dokazowali. Do tego, tu wielkie rzeczy kilku, kilkunastu zebrawszy się, robią a u nas y dwóch się zebrać ma jedno się rzecz niechce. Czy rozum że temu winien, nie, ale wola, bo niechcą, albo rozumieją że niedokazą. Wyłóczam ja jednak z tych robot kilkunastu ludziów [w]ych [?] albo mężówy tutejszych Encyklopedyą. Niezłamali głowy y wiele rzeczy nieopisali dobrze, y co gorza przeciwko Religii y dobrym obyczajom tak tam popisali iak ostatnie Szelmy. VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-13.*

who have bread and brain, are eating bread and hiding the brain away, being too lazy to write, though they could. But here [in France] we have a lot of those with a sword and boots with red embellishments, but no bread nor soup, so they must write, good or poor quality, to earn their soup. And our young reader reads it and exclaims, "Oh, what a beautiful style! Oh, what a book! This is the author; this is the chef d'œuvre. No one in Poland could do anything like that". Oh, you fool, they will write when they want to, and when they refuse the false timidity of thinking that they weren't able. And I would like to knock away that weakness from the minds of those who can do it but are just too afraid to start.]⁵⁸

This impression of the global ubiquity of French books, stressed by R. Kossakowski, might have risen from additional illegal book production. Even the *Encyclopedia* itself was in danger of publishing piracy⁵⁹; as French books became a fashionable and desired product, the market soon was filled with unofficial copies: "the second half of the eighteenth century, over fifty percent of French books were in fact printed abroad"⁶⁰. There was also a flourishing illegal book market: books banned in France could be printed elsewhere. These counterfeit copies on the market pose a serious problem for today's researchers, as the same edition may appear in different shapes⁶¹.

58 Pol. *Są tu mądrzy, ale są y w Polsce. Że tu częściej wiele tomow na głowie niosą, bo wielu ztych pisarzow iest takich co chleba niemaią y tomami chleb orzą, u nas mniej tych co chleba niemaią y mniej pługow papierowych. Ale naystuszniej za ta przyczyna że nietylko wdubelt ludzie więcey we francyi, ale cały świat pra[w]ie iest francyą, bo wszędzie po francusku umieią, owoz xiążki wydane po francusku nietylko francuzi ale y anglicy y holendrowie y włosi y polacy etc etc kupuią. Przeto iaki taki ciś niesie xiążki wydawać, dobra czynie, a nacały świat choc po niewiele kupuiąc rozprzedasie. [...] Nasi zas Panowie polacy iedni niewydaiać, bo czasu niemaią dobrze napisać a zle niechcą iak często francuzi, drudzy widzą że tylko w Polsce kupować będą a wloch francuz etc polskiej książki niekupi a tak kilka xiążeczek zprzedawszy resztę u WJMc X. Pilichowskiego w drukarni będzie plesniało, tak iak przedtym u WJMc X. Po[c] zobuta, który nietylko ludzi karmił ale y o sobaczki miał staranie, kiedy pozostatemi w szafach książkami mol karmił. Trzeci są co chleb maiąc y rozum, chleb iedzą a rozum w pochwath chowaią, lenią się co napisac luboby mogli: a tu pełno z espadką y z kreczkami u trzewikow czerwonomi, ale bez chlebka bez supki, owoz potym piszą czy zle czy dobrze zeby na supkę zarobić. A potym nasze młodziaki czytaią ich, y, okrzykiwaią, o co za styl piękny! O co za książka! to, to mi autor, to chef-euvre. U nas tak w Polsce nie napiszą. Durniu, napiszą kiedy zachcą, y kiedy złożą pucillanimitatem w ktorey mniemaią że nienapiszą. I tę to ia pusillanimitatem chciałbym wybic z głowy tych ktozy by mogli co dobrego napisać, ale rozumieią że im się nieuda. VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-14.*

59 DARNTON, Robert. *The business of Enlightenment*, p. 131.

60 TURNER, Sophie. *A Guide to the Historic French Collections, 1584–1900*. [Tallinn], 2024, p. 27.

61 *Ibid.*

R. Kossakowski was not alone in his perception that French printed books are the vehicles of Frenchification of the world; nor was he the only example of patriotism ignited by resistance to the French influence. Jeffrey Freedman gives the example of the national revival of the *Sturm und Drang* ideology, born in Gottingen in 1770⁶². The struggle against the French influence was expressed in Lithuanian sermons and in Polish literature of the time, as the following examples will show.

R. KOSSAKOWSKI'S LANGUAGE ATTITUDES: GALLOPHOBIA OR PATRIOTISM?

Thoughts on book producing and use in the R. Kossakowski's letters frequently coincide with the evaluation of the French language itself. Judgments about a language are called *language attitudes* (further referred to as LA). They may be defined as "evaluative reactions to language [...] which can be divided into two main types: beliefs about different language varieties and beliefs about speakers of different language varieties"⁶³. LA usually are an uncritically accepted bias. LA "reflect, at least in part, two sequential cognitive processes: social categorization and stereotyping"⁶⁴ and are related to language ideologies. The difference lays in level of phenomena: LA are experienced and expressed individually, and ideologies are broader societal trends of thinking. In historical sociolinguistics, this differentiation is usually inapplicable because the data are too scarce⁶⁵. LA and language ideologies are never about language alone⁶⁶, because attitudes involve the evaluation of language variety's users and reflect evaluations of the variety's speakers. R. Kossakowski saw language as – also – the means of spreading the unwanted ideology. In the following quote, R. Kossakowski claimed that two sides were complicit in the production of low-quality books and the spread of dangerous ideas in his native country: the

62 FREEDMAN, Jeffrie. *Books without borders in Enlightenment Europe*, p. 269.

63 DRAGOJEVIĆ, Marko et al. Toward a Century of Language Attitudes Research: Looking Back and Moving Forward, *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 2021, vol. 40(I), p. 61.

64 DRAGOJEVIĆ, Marko. Language Attitudes. In: *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of Communication*. New York, 2017.

65 HAVINGA, Anna; and KROGULL, Andreas. Researching Language Attitudes Based on Historical Data. In: *Research Methods in Language Attitudes*. Cambridge, 2022, p. 301.

66 KIRCHER, Ruth; and ZIPP, Lena. An Introduction to Language Attitude Research. In: *An Introduction to Language Attitudes*. Eds. Ruth Kircher, Lena Zipp. Cambridge, 2022, p. 6.

profit-seeking, unprofessional French people, and the foolish young readers in Poland and Lithuania. He also commented on the language:

[And our stupid people, who smeared a bit their tongues with French, as with some ferment⁶⁷, will adore the French books, written by tailors and wig-makers and put them above our best Polish and Latin authors. They do not care if the French book is good or poorly written because if it is in French, it looks good enough to them.]⁶⁸

Freedman also mentions a German concept of the time: untutored reading, 'reading addiction'⁶⁹, similar to R. Kossakowski's critique. The metaphor of a foreign language as something one may lick, drink, and get poisoned by is also found in other texts of the time. The philosopher and political activist Franciszek Ksawery Bohusz (1747–1820), in the book he loosely translated, also compared the thirst of naïve young people for French books to a poisonous drink they were eager to consume⁷⁰. One of the authors, whose sermons in the Lithuanian language have survived, Rev. Kiprijonas Lukauskas (1757–1815), would write:

[In this way, they smear their tongue with the French language, and upon returning to the homeland, they avoid their native language, despise it, and become disgusted by it, and behave like those ill birds, which befoul their own nest.]⁷¹

In his sermons, Lukauskas also mentioned the specific sin of copying the forbidden books⁷². In the Polish didactic literature of the time, there was a si-

67 In the original text, *Raugialą* or *Raugelė* – derivative from Lithuanian word 'raugas' yeast (leaven), ferment.

68 Pol. *A nasi panowie blaźny co ięzyk iak raugialą trochę francuszczyzną pomazali, te krawieccie y perukarskie xiggi ze po francusku pisane przenoszą nad naszych naylepszych polskich y łacińskich autorow. Nieuwazaią czy dobra czy zła książka francuska, dość że francuska i iuz im dobra.* VUB RS, F2-DC42_33-16.

69 FREEDMAN, Jeffrie. *Books without borders in Enlightenment Europe*, p. 273, 276.

70 Ibid.; original quote in VERNET, Jacob, transl. by Xawery Michał BOHUSZ, *Filozof bez Religii uważany w towarzystwie*, t. 1. Wilno: Drukarnia Królewska przy Akademii, 1786.

71 Lith.: *Szitary patepusis su Pruncisciznu liezuvi, kada ing Tiewyszkys sugriszta, Tiewiszku sawa liezuviu baydos, piktina sau, nekinčia biauřinas yr kaypo anie biauřy paukscey, sawa prigimta lizda biauřina.* Quoted in: LEBEDYS, Jurgis. *Lietuvių kalba XVII–XVIII a. viešajame gyvenime*, p. 44. I thank Dr. Dalius Viliūnas for pointing out this example. Quote in context: LUKAUSKAS, Kiprijonas. *Pamokslai*. Ed. Juozas Karaciejus. Vilnius, 1996, p. 143.

72 VILIŪNAS, Dalius, Barono d'Holbacho pėdsakai XVIII a. Lietuvoje. Libertiniški LDK pabaigos kontekstai. *Logos*, 2013, vol. 74, p. 13–14.

milar concern of contrast between the privilege, experienced by the texts in foreign languages and the poor situation of the Polish language. Rev. Franciszek Salezy Jezierski (1740–1791) wrote the following:

[We used our national language only for private purposes in our society's life, never showing it in social life of the society, therefore we had Latin for the chancellery, German for the military training, speeches in the Seim half Latin and half Polish, Italian or French for the theatre, so that a Pole would judge in Latin, rule in a mixed language, fight in German, be entertained in Italian or French, and there was no room left for the native language, only a chat and church sermon.]⁷³

The Warsaw periodical *Monitor*, edited by Rev. Franciszek Bohomolec (1720–1784), also discussed language and public education. As early as in 1752, it wrote about an unsatisfying linguistic situation: the native language was neglected and forgotten, while French was adored, and this language in Poland was often taught by unqualified and random people, mere butlers, who happened to speak French. This periodical also published satires mocking the idleness and shallowness of young nobles, who despised their own Polish language and culture⁷⁴. The same idea that 'fashionable' mixing of French and Polish languages resulted in neglect of one's own valuable culture, was expressed by some other famous writers, such as Franciszek Bohomolec⁷⁵, Adam Naruszewicz (1733–1796), and Ignacy Krasicki (1735–1801)⁷⁶. Reacting to these publications, the National Education Commission even issued a law stating that Polish should be the only language of instruction at all educational levels⁷⁷.

73 *My języka narodowego tylko zażywali na wewnętrzne potrzeby w życiu społeczne, nigdy go nie pokazując w potrzebach powszechnych towarzystwa i dla tego Kancellarye Łacińskie, musztry Reymentów Niemieckie, mowy w obradach Seymowych na pół Łacińskie i Polskie, Teatra po Włosku lub po Francuzku, a zatym gdy Polak po Łacinie się sądził, srokatym językiem radził, po niemiecku wołował, po Włosku lub po Francusku się bawił więc dla Oczystego języka nie zostało się nic więcej, jak tylko rozmowa jednego z drugim i Kazanie w Kościele.* See: JEZIERSKI, Franciszek Salezy. *Niektóre wyrazy porządkiem alfabetu zebrane*. Warszawa, 1792, p. 102.

74 OFFMAŃSKI, Mieczysław. *Monitor: czasopismo polskie z XVIII wieku*. Lwów, 1895, p. 14–15.

75 Especially in: BOHOMOLEC, Franciszek. *Rozmowa o języku polskim*. Translated from Latin to Polish by Xawery Leski. Warszawa: Drukarnia Mitzlerowska, 1758.

76 MIKULSKI, Tadeusz. *Walka o język polski w czasach Oświecenia. Pamiętnik literacki*, 1951, vol. 42(3–4), p. 804.

77 KURDYBACHA, Łukasz; and MITERA-DOBROWOLSKA, Mieczysława. *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*. Warszawa, 1973, p. 245.

In a broader European context, Willem Frijhoff examined the same process of opposing *francophilia* and defending one's own language, which had started somewhat earlier in the Netherlands⁷⁸. The researcher called this sentiment *gallophobia*, or an opposition to *Frenchification*. Similar hostile reactions to the French language were salient in the Russian literature⁷⁹; the Russian statesman and writer Denis Fonvizin famously expressed his disdain for the French way of life in his travel notes⁸⁰.

Many of these texts against the French language were combined with the urge to cherish one's own native language and one's nation's talents. This, in a way, relates to the ideas formulated by Johann Herder at around the same time, in 1776, with the publication of *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*⁸¹. R. Kossakowski's thoughts partly echo the notion that every nation is unique, that every nation should cherish its own language and culture, and find its own path of development.

RESULTS OF RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION

The letters of R. Kossakowski, a skilled and experienced eloquence lecturer and preacher, provide a valuable source for researching mentalities and stereotypes from the last decades of the 18th century. These letters were intended to be informative business letters conveying the latest events and developments in Paris. They did not quite serve their purpose, as the author exploited the opportunity to be listened to, and turned them into his virtual 'pulpit', which annoyed the addressee. R. Kossakowski's letters may be interpreted as an egodocument because they convey personal information about their author, who is, at the same time, the protagonist of the narration. Some fragments convey biographical information; R. Kossakowski also freely expresses his strong

78 FRIJHOFF, Willem. Multilingualism and plurilingualism: language use and education, teaching and proficiency as social and cultural assets in the Dutch Golden Age. *Historia de la Education*, 2020, vol. 39(1), p. 203.

79 Described in detail by: OFFORD, Derek; RJEOUTSKY, Vladislav; and ARGENT, Gesine. *The French Language in Russia: A Social, Political, Cultural, and Literary History*. Amsterdam, 2019.

80 NIEDZIELA, Rafał. Oto miasto nieustępujące w niczym Sodomie i Gomorze. Obras Paryża w korespondencji Denisa Fonwizina z 1778 Roku. *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne*, 2013, vol 140, no. 4, p. 321–332.

81 BEDNARCZYK, Andrzej. Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) i jego koncepcje biologiczne. W dwuserną rocznicę śmierci. *Kwartalnik historii nauki i techniki* 2003, vol. 48, no. 1–2, p. 37. I am thankful to Prof. Donald N. Tuten, who mentioned this resemblance

opinions on various topics. The biographical content shows intentionally and unintentionally, on the one hand, by the way R. Kossakowski writes, whereas, on the other hand, by the materiality of the letters (cheap paper and ink, writing on the margins to save paper).

The quotes show that these letters are a valuable source for understanding the use of books and linguistic attitudes at the time. R. Kossakowski expressed his hostility towards authors who did not share the ideals of the Roman Catholic faith, and also mocked unprofessional, undereducated authors. His LA towards the French language can be summarized in a cognitive metaphor: “foreign language is something comparable to a poisonous drink, yeast, or fermentation”. Other contemporary authors shared this metaphor; so, perhaps, these were not individual opinions but part of the broader linguistic ideology of the time in Poland and GDL.

The sceptical attitudes toward the French language, books, and people were consistent with R. Kossakowski’s disgust at the unfairness of the modern world. R. Kossakowski kept repeating the idea of an unfair distribution of authority when ‘large’ and popular language became a token of the author’s value. He mocked the incompetence of contemporary authors, who seemed valuable only for their fluency in French, a language understood everywhere, and questioned the value of the ideas of the French Enlightenment. R. Kossakowski lamented the passive, unpatriotic attitudes of the young Poles who idolized Paris as the ultimate center of knowledge while lacking the courage to write in their mother tongue. The iterated opinion would let us call Kossakowski a proto-nationalist, but, even though his opposition to the dominance of French publications is clear, his sense of the homeland and his own language are less distinct: the homeland’s name, *Polszcza*, goes together with names of the GDL locations (Lioliai, Kuktiškis, Varniai).

As those are letters addressed to a single addressee of a higher status, it would be just to question the sincerity of the speaker. Are these really his thoughts, or is this his courteous adjustment to the values of the addressee? In our case, this question is not essential. Either way, we observe the explication of specific language-situation evaluation, part of language ideologies, which were valid at the time.

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