

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY

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GRODNO – THE CULTURAL CENTRE OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF
LITHUANIA. THE SECOND HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY (1765-1793)

Summary of doctoral dissertation

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VILNIAUS UNIVERSITETAS

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GARDINAS - LIETUVOS DIDŽIOSIOS KUNIGAIKŠTYSTĖS KULTŪROS
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Introduction

Research problem. The distinctiveness of Grodno as of an integrate component of the cultural tradition of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) and the formation of the enlightened consciousness, which influenced both cultural, political and economical fields of the region, has not yet been the main subject to Lithuanian culturologists, literary critics or historiographers. During the reign of Stanislovas Augustas Poniatovskis (1732-1798) Grodno was called *Royal and His Majesty's city*, it was also awarded the title of the second capital of the GDL. Contemporaries compared Grodno with prosperous Western European centers. Quite general overviews of the cultural situation in the second half of the 18th century in Grodno and in the GDL provoke to reconstruct those not questioned artefacts and phenomena. The epoch of Enlightenment and the concept of its ideology also invoke rather textbook formulations. The reception of this historical period is often being based on preconceived preferences or ideas, and is usually introduced as an integral and compact time, having no major internal tensions or contradictions. Thus, aiming to have an apparent and bright view of Grodno cultural life, the doctoral thesis will investigate both the peculiarities of the epoch, which matured the important centre of the GDL, the concepts of the 18th century culture, their formation exposed to antinomic outlooks of the Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment, and the inner regional influences creating specific cultural atmosphere in Grodno in the last decades of the 18th century. Apart from that, cultural and political texts of Grodno will be considered as meaningful records of a multicultural urban palimpsest. Those records create an epic story or even an autobiographical narrative that is characteristic to the analyzed time period. The image of *St. Hubert's City* (the symbol of Grodno, which is depicted in the coat of arms of the city, is St. Huberts's deer jumping over the fence) as of a palimpsest containing various texts has been disseminated and distributed by Belarusian researches. That image obligates a reader not only to look for rewritten or new traces, but also to treat a city space as a place of cultural meaning crystallization. The late 18th century memorialists, poets, and artists also followed the same strategies when reading Grodno texts. In the thesis their reviews and interpretations are equated with the writing initiatives of the second half of the 18th century and are involved into the same analysis.

The **object** of the dissertation is the cultural life in Grodno, which in the second half of the 18th century (1765-1793) was considered to be one of the most prominent center of the GDL. Selected research period is framed by two dates: Antanas Tyzenhauzas' (1733-1785) appointment as the Starosta of Grodno and the year of the last Sejm of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The year 1794, that marks another period of history and is associated with the Uprising of Tadas Kosciuška (1746-1817), is not included in the research.

The **aim** of the research is to analyse and estimate different manifestations of cultural life in Grodno and their coherency with experiences of Western and Central Europe in the second part of the 18th century, as well as with antagonistic ideas of the Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment; also to examine the records, which were left in the text of historical city, revealing both their authors, genesis and the processes of writing and reading. To achieve this goal, the following **research tasks** (corresponding to the structure of the thesis) were set:

- on the basis of scientific research, conducted by foreign and Lithuanian scholars, to determine the first signs of the Enlightenment, their approximate occurrence in the GDL, and characteristic features;

- to ascertain the changes of cultural life in Western and Central Europe in the time of collision of mutually opposed intellectual movements – the Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment;

- to examine cultural and political texts written in the second part of the 18th century in Grodno, actualizing not only the history of writing but also of reading.

Research methodology. After systematizing previous scientific observations, for the research of cultural life in Grodno in the second half of the 18th century the methodology of textual analysis, i.e. the description and comparison of the research sources, is invoked.

The concept of a palimpsest (a medieval parchment which regularly tempts one to scrape the primary text in order to write a new one by oneself) is also applied as a method of presented analysis. It is not used metaphorically, but in the sense of a method analysis. An urban landscape can be conceived as a palimpsest containing identity elements that are specific to an each historical era. A palimpsestic reading involves separation of different layers of a palimpsest, in a sense, destroying it. Such an analysis

allows the records, left in Grodno in 1765-1793, read as new texts, though belonging to the same urban palimpsest. An analogous method is used for the analysis of Grodno suburbs (Horodnica and Lososna), which were built by Tyzenhauzas, and for the records of other authors. In this case the breaks and continuities – characteristic features of a palimpsest – are actualized. Thus, Horodnica and Lososna in the multiple palimpsest of Grodno mark a certain break of tradition, which is recognizable from altered shapes and structures. That could be called the formation of a new palimpsestic layer which, apart from significant innovations, also involves harmonization and continuity. The beginning of this initiative is linked with the efforts of the Starosta of Grodno Tyzenhauzas to write in the old urban palimpsest (apparent in reconstructions of Grodno churches and estates). The latter writing insensibly expanded into then blank sheets and became the gesture of putting the new into the old. The coherence of break and continuity as well as certain historical circumstances prevented new suburbs of Grodno from the transformation into separate palimpsests. From the present outlook both Horodnica and Lososna exist as significantly altered records of the same urban palimpsest.

The present research is also based on the socio-cultural analysis, helping identify the stages of civic-urban consciousness formation and the factors of socio-cultural coexistence and opposition embraced by the space of Grodno city.

Novelty and relevance of the research. The research complements and expands the issue of controversial age, that involved ideologically hostile movements of the Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment. It also presents little studied cultural and political texts of the second capital of the GDL. The thesis actualizes records of the second half of the 18th century, the ones that were left in the multilayer, newly treated palimpsest of Grodno city.

Statements to be defended:

Salon philosophizing and secularization of a society were the first signs of the European Enlightenment, and in the GDL they revealed themselves in the second half of the 18th century;

The Enlightenment opposing ideology was spread both in the regions of Western and Central Europe, including the GDL;

Cultural and political texts of Grodno in the second part of the 18th century could be read as the entries of a multiple urban palimpsest;

Significant records in Grodno palimpsest in the second half of the 18th century were made by the Starosta of Grodno Tyzenhauzas, multinational townsfolk, and by the patriotically minded GDL deputies of the 1793 Grodno Sejm.

Structure of the dissertation. The dissertation is composed of the Introduction, three Parts, which are further divided into sections, Conclusions, Sources, and Bibliography.

Summary of the thesis

Review of earlier research and treatment of the Enlightenment age. This section provides the analysis of scientific studies dedicated to various discourses of the Enlightenment age. Main earlier findings made by Lithuanian researches are introduced there: Bronius Genzelis' *Švietėjai ir jų idėjos Lietuvoje (Enlighteners and their Ideas in Lithuania)* (1972), Leonas Gineitis' *Klasicizmo problema lietuvių literatūroje (The Problem of Classicism in Lithuanian Literature)* (1972), Romanas Plečkaitis' *Feodalizmo laikotarpio filosofija Lietuvoje: filosofija Lietuvos mokyklose XVI-XVIII amžiais (Philosophy of the Feudal Period in Lithuania: Philosophy in Lithuanian Schools in the 16th – 18th Centuries)* (1975), and *Filosofija Vilniaus universitete (Philosophy in Vilnius University)* (1979), Meilė Lukšienė's *Demokratinė ugdymo mintis Lietuvoje: XVIII antroji – XIX a. pirmoji pusė (Democratic Educational Thought in Lithuania: the Second Half of the 18th – the First Half of the 19th Century)* (1985), Jonas Račkauskas' *Švietimo reforma Lenkijoje ir Lietuvoje XVIII a. (Education Reform in Poland and Lithuania in the 18th c.)* (1994), Vincas Maciūnas' *Lituanistinis sąjūdis XIX amžiaus pradžioje (Lithuanistic Movement in the Beginning of the 19th Century)* (1997). The research field of the analysed studies belongs not only to the science of literature, but also to the sciences of history and society. Two main issues are discussed in this section: the determination of new phenomena that marked the beginning of the Enlightenment in Europe and their first manifestations and further development in the GDL. Considering the first issue the conclusion was drawn that noticeable glimmers of the Enlightenment were detected not in France, as widely recognized, but in Protestant lands – Holland and England. Special attention given to philosophy or philosophical culture, i.e. ideas and concepts of philosophy, is regarded as the first significant sign of

the Enlightenment that revealed itself in the late 17th century. Under the influence of philosophy new ideas of law, nation and natural sciences began spreading. In terms of the enlightened philosophy the notion of *popular philosophy* should be used as it was intended more for general, open-minded public than for academia. The most active prophets of such philosophy were the authors of French Encyclopédie. Their critical publications induced different ideas of the Enlightenment to spread not only as scientific and academic texts, but also as comprehensible and relevant social discourses or even as salon philosophizing. In philosophers' articles prejudices and libertinism, dogmatism and sectarianism were criticized, also relevant political, social and cultural issues were debated. Such discussions used to be called philosophizing, though from a contemporary perspective, quite disembodied from the issues of general philosophy. Thus, the Age of Enlightenment legitimated the perception of philosophy as of some entertainment or fashion. Such entertaining philosophy was especially popular in French salons, later it was also practiced in other European regions, including the GDL. The so-called popular philosophy – starting the Enlightenment of Western Europe – reached the Kingdom of Poland and then the GDL a few decades later. In the GDL the beginning of a new age of philosophy is linked with the publication of Kazimieras' Narbutas' (1738-1807) textbook of logic *Logika, arba mąstymo ir daiktų apgalvojimo menas (Logic or the Art of Thinking and Reflecting on Things)*. Narbutas criticized scholastic speculations, he elucidated the coherence between philosophy and other scopes, emphasized practical aspects of philosophy. Narbutas' new treatment of philosophy paradoxically confronted with the reality of the late 18th century in the GDL, where, in accordance with the decision of the Educational Commission, natural sciences were separated from philosophy while philosophy itself was removed from the curricula of the High School. As a consequence of such professional philosophy restriction the philosophy of a new character – so-called *salon philosophy* - appeared. Salon or popular philosophy was related to nonconformist cultural attitudes and in the press or sermons of that time was titled „custom corruption“ or „faith mistakes“. Both in Lithuania and Poland proponents of such attitudes were condemned for the disdain of the traditional Catholic worldview and propagation of libertinism, which in the last decades of the 18th century developed on a global scale.

Naming interest in philosophy the first sign of the early Enlightenment, another portent of the Era of Reason – secularization of a society is presented. It is worth noting that in the Age of Enlightenment faith became possible but not necessary choice. From a secular perspective not God but a man was regarded as the main source of a creative energy. In the GDL more pronounced manifestations of secularism or libertine postures became noticeable after the entrenchment of salon philosophy. In the contemporary witnesses they were attributed to the atheists and immoral people, though, seen from the perspective of the present, they were inspired by the effort to resist the monotony of Catholicism and scholastic authoritarianism. Reading of libertine literature (e.g., works of Voltaire or Rousseau) also had an impact on the spread of secularism. It has to be noted that only few surviving written testimonies of the libertine society in the GDL have been found. Some data could be detected in the preface of the noted public figure of the GDL Pranciškus Ksaveras Mykolas Bogušas (1746-1820). The preface was added to the translated study of Jacob Vernet *Filozof bez religii uważany w towarzystwie* (*Philosopher without Religion is Honored in a Companionship*) (1786). Another important source is Michał Kałdubowski's book *Filozofia nowa* (*New Philosophy*) (1787). The threat of French libertine literature is being discussed in the sermons of Kiprijonas Lukauskas (1757-1815).

After setting early signs of the Age of Reason and their manifestations in the GDL, further features of the Enlightenment and its regional forms are discussed. For that purpose studies of Lithuanian, Polish and other researchers are invoked. Special attention is being paid to Polish investigations, which appeared to be the most numerous and thorough. Cultural and literary heritage of the Enlightenment, its chronology and the development of identity in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is exhaustively examined in the following works: Emanuel Rostworowski's *Legendy i fakty XVIII wieku* (*Legends and Facts of the 18th Century*) (1963), *Ostatni król Rzeczypospolitej. Geneza i upadek Konstytucji 3 maja* (*The Last King of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Genesis and Fall of the 3rd of May Constitution*) (1966), and *Historia powszechna. Wiek XVIII* (*World History. The 18th Century*) (1980); Jerzy Michalski's *Studia nad reformą sądownictwa i prawa sądowego w XVIII wieku* (*Studies on the Reform of the Courts and Judicial Law in the 18th Century*) (1958) and *Rousseau i sarmacki republikanizm* (*Rousseau and Sarmatian Republicanism*) (1977); Teresa Kostkiewiczowa's *Słownik*

literatury polskiego Oświecenia (Dictionary of Polish Enlightenment Literature) (1977), *Klasycyzm, sentymentalizm, rokoko. Szkice o prądach literackich polskiego Oświecenia (Classicism, Sentimentalism, Rococo. Sketches of the Literary Trends of Polish Enlightenment)* (1975), and *Oświecenie: próg naszej współczesności (Enlightenment: the Threshold of our Times)* (1994); Mieczysław Klimowicz's *Oświecenie (Enlightenment)* (1999) and *Literatura oświecenia (Enlightenment Literature)* (2003); Ewa Bem-Wisniewska's *Funkcjonowanie nazwy Polska w języku czasów nowożytnych (The Functioning of the Notion of Poland in the Language of Modern Times)* (1998); Jerzy Snopek's *Oświecenie. Szkic do portretu epoki (Enlightenment. Sketch for the Epoch Portrait)* (1999); Irena Łossowska's „Korespondent Warszawski“ w latach 1792-1796 („Korespondent Waarszawski“ in the Year 1792-1796) (1969) and *Tradycja i nowoczesność dydaktycznej powieści Oświecenia w Polsce (Tradition and Modernity of the Didactic Enlightenment Novel)* (2002); Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz's *Regina libertas. Wolność w polskiej myśli politycznej XVIII wieku (Regina Libertas. Liberty in the 18th Century Polish Political Thought)* (2006) and *Czy rewolucja może być legalna? 3 maja 1791 w oczach współczesnych (Can Revolution be Legal? The 3rd of May 1791 in the Eyes of Contemporaries)* (2012); Zofia Zielińska's *O sukcesji tronu w Polsce 1787-1790 (On the Throne Succession in Poland 1787-1790)* (1991) and *Studia z dziejów stosunków polsko-rosyjskich w XVIII wieku (Study on the History of Polish-Russian Relations in the 18th Century)* (2001); Jerzy Łukowski's *The European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century* (2003) and *Disorderly Liberty: the Political Culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Eighteenth Century* (2010).

While examining Lithuanian studies dedicated to the issues of the Age of Enlightenment the most relevant works appeared to be Eligijus Raila's monograph *Ignotus Ignotas. Vilniaus vyskupas Ignotas Jokūbas Masalskis (Ignotus Ignotas. Bishop of Vilnius Ignotas Jokūbas Masalskis)* (2010), Gytis Vaitkūnas' study *Lietuvos estetikos istorija: Apšvietos epocha (History of Lithuanian Aesthetics: The Age of Enlightenment)* (2011), Kristina Mačiulytė's book *Kad Tėvynė gyvuotų...: XVIII amžiaus antrosios pusės Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos proginiai pamokslai (So that the Homeland Prospers... Occasional Sermons of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Second Half of the 18th Century)* (2005), Darius Kuolys' article „Kovos dėl Respublikos: Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės saulėlydžio patirtis“ („Fights for the Republic: Experience of

the Sunset of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania“) (2007, published in *Old Lithuanian Literature*, nr. 24), Artūras Tereškinas‘ article „Stiliaus ir žanro problemos M. Alšausko ir K. Lukausko pamoksluose“ („Problems of Style and Genre in the Sermons of M. Alšauskas and K. Lukauskas“) (1992, published in *Old Lithuanian Literature*, nr. 1). All those scientific investigations significantly expand research field of the Age of Reason. However, one important issue is left out there - were the ideas of Western Enlightenment adapted to the specific needs of the GDL? In other words, what characteristic features had the Enlightenment in Lithuania. In search for an answer to the raised question, the conclusion was reached that the most distinctive feature of the Enlightenment in the GDL was *common sense*. According to the comprehension of that time, a man of great common sense had to be responsible for prosperity, morality and cultural education of a society. Furthermore, common sense in the GDL was linked with reliable standards and methods and opposed to the protracted anarchy of the Commonwealth. Thus, in the present doctoral thesis common sense is regarded as a characteristic peculiarity of the GDL Enlightenment revealing itself not under Western influence, but responding to the expectations and demands of local population.

Literature that presents Grodno in the second half of the 18th century. In comparison with the studies devoted to the diverse issues of the Enlightenment, literature presenting Grodno in the Age of Reason is very sparse. No analyzes that would comprehensively discuss one or the other aspects of the 18th century life in Grodno exist in Lithuanian research bars. Much more investigations in that field were done by Belorussian and Polish researchers. In their studies Grodno is named as the westernmost city in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Having no precedent 15-year period of prosperity is highlighted and linked with the activities of Grodno Starosta and notorious reformer Tyzenhauzas. In the works of Belorussian researchers Tyzenhauzas has very positive assessments: he is titled „Ruler of Grodno“ or „Peter the Great“. Two-volume study *Antoni Tyzenhauz, podskarbi nadworny litewski (Antoni Tyzenhauz – the Treasurer of Lithuanian Chamber)* (1970-1971) was written by Stanisław Kościałkowski (1881–1960). Some data of Tyzenhauzas‘ activities is presented in Stanisław Windakiewicz‘ s (1863-1943) monograph *Teatr polski przed powstaniem sceny narodowej (Polish Theater before the Establishment of the National Drama Theatre)* (1921) and in Czesław Jankowski‘ s (1857-1929) four-volume treatise *Powiat osmiański:*

materjały do dziejów ziemi i ludzi (Oszmiana County: Material of the Land and People History) (1896-1900).

There are very few Lithuanian texts discussing cultural life in the 18th century in Grodno. Some facts could be found in *Lietuvių enciklopedija (Lithuanian Encyclopedia)* (1991, vol. 31, published in Boston), and in the collection *Tyzenhauzai Lietuvoje ir kaimyninėse valstybėse (Tyzenhauzai in Lithuania and in the Neighboring States)* (2007).

Significant sources of the doctoral thesis are Tyzenhauzas' letters addressed to his secretary Bogušas, to the king Stanislovas Augustas, to the Italian architect Giuseppe de Sacco (1735-1798), and to the most influential thinker of the Enlightenment Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). Travel notes of the foreign authors, who visited Grodno in the late 18th century, are also relevant to the dissertation. It is worth to note that in Lithuanian historiography such narratives are rarely included into the analysis of old culture. The following travelers memories were examined in the thesis: William Coxe's (1748-1828) *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark* (1784), Johann Bernoulli's (1744-1807) *Sammlung Kurzer Reisebeschreibungen (Brief Collection of the Travelogues)* (1783), Friedrich Schulz's (1762-1798) *Reise eines Livlanders durch Polen (Livonians Trip Through Poland)* (1793), Ludwik Kondratowicz's (1823-1862), who used the pseudonym of Władysław Syrokomla, two-volume treatise *Wycieczki po Litwie w promieniach od Wilna (Travels in Lithuania from Vilnius)* (vol. 1 – 1857, vol. 2 – 1860), Teodor Tripplin's (1813-1881) *Dziennik podróży po Litwie i Żmudzi (Diary of the Trip in Lithuania and Žemaitija)* (1858). These travel memories are informative, they witness foreign people attitude towards culture, economy and social situation of the visited land.

Informative and intriguing material about the prosperous city of sejms is presented in Piarist occasional poetry anthology *Zebranie rymów z różnych okoliczności pisanych mianowicie imieniem Konwiktu Szlacheckiego (Collection of Poetry Written in a Variety of Occasions on Behalf of Nobleman Konvikt)*, which was published in Vilnius in 1779. The glory of Grodno and its patron Tyzenhauzas is sung in the anonymous *Ekloga na Odgłos Wjelkiego Dzieła w Kraju, Około Grodna Słyszana (Eclogue Responding to the Great Deeds in the Country, Heard Near Grodno)*. In addition to the eclogue, mostly anonymous text collection includes *Wiersz w Dzień Dorocznej Pamiątki Imienin Najjasniejszego Pana Stanisława Augusta (Poem on the Celebrated Annually Name-day*

of the *Glorious Lord Stanisław August*), which magnifies not only the king but also the splendour of the royal city.

Political testimonies of the deputies, who represented different districts of the GDL in the 1793 Grodno Sejm, are also included in the study. In the background of so-called *Mute* or *Disgraceful Sejm* those statements exist as meaningful and open to new analyzes entries in the manifold palimpsest of Grodno.

Culture between the Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment tensions. The second part of the doctoral thesis provides the analysis of culture, its concepts, its coherence with the changes of a society, and its functioning under the influence of opponent movements - Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment. It is admitted that *culture* is a complex concept, and no single definition of it has achieved consensus in scientific literature. Though, any reflections on culture are inseparable from the efforts to perceive and define the significance of a society. Culture covers a wide range of social activities: thinking, faith, cognition – all that has been accumulated over a long period of human existence and been passed from generation to generation. In the 18th century a society gained quite exact meanings, i.e. *reading society*, *theatre society*, *salon society*. Everybody could freely choose what society, group, community or organization to join. In general, all public activities as well as the breakthrough of critical thoughts helped to form a public space. Thus, in the late 18th century the reaction came out, which a philosopher and intellectual historian Isaiah Berlin called Counter-Enlightenment. According to Berlin, first manifestations of Counter-Enlightenment could be seen in the second half of the 18th century Germany, especially in the works and speeches of three philosophers Johann Georg Hamann (1730-1788), Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) and Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743-1819). The criticism of those thinkers was directed against the overestimated rationality of the Enlightenment, it also promoted liberal ideas. Hamann, Herder and Jacobi asserted that the Enlightenment confidence on the power of reason actually ignored tolerance and freedom of religion or belief, it restricted the rights of ethnic minorities either. The standpoints of German philosophers were influenced by pietistic ideas (pietism was a reform movement in the German Lutheran Church during the 17th and 18th centuries, which endeavored to renew the devotional ideal in the Protestant religion.).

Regions of Western Christian Civilization: England, France and Germany.

The European Enlightenment popularized the concept of culture which was based on science and distinct from religion. However, from a current perspective, the notion of culture embraced both science and religion. The nature of the 18th century literature could support such an attitude: together with secular books, where main attention was paid to natural sciences, history, and basics of psychology or sociology, a lot of religious books were printed. Moreover, in the 18th century religious literature made up the biggest part of the European print production. Despite the intensified doubts on the Church, faith, and significance of God, people could not distance themselves from religion. In the smaller regions of Western Europe a church or a chapel remained the main centres of a society. Both in the 18th century England, France, Germany and even in other lands of Western Europe people were religious and attached to the former superstitions. In the Age of Reason mysticism and miracles were explained using not only imagination and flair, but also intellectual capacity and scientific sources. A closer look to the Enlightenment texts force to question the certitude that in the 18th century the foundations of secularism (which earlier was distinguished as the first sign of the Enlightenment) were strengthen. Even famous Enlightenment apologists believed in existence of God, recognized the truth of Holy Scripture and admired biblical prophecies. Thus, the Enlightenment denying the traditions of religion and art was itself some kind of secular religion or gnostic heresy, which initiated the sacralization of man's economic, political and cultural activities. Enlightenment empiricism, strict logic, pragmatic approach to all things and treatment of God as a wise Watchmaker in the end of the 18th century provoked the spread of religious skepticism and the emergence of esoteric-theosophical tradition. The latter was popularized by Freemasonry movement. Freemasons took over the ideas from Hermetic and Kabbalistic traditions. In Masonic lodges the issues of mystical experience and esoteric transmission were discussed. The Catholic Church was hostile against Masons and other esoteric movements. For instance, in France the leaders of Catholic Church trying to forestall religious upheaval, launched strong criticism on new religious movements and the ideas of Enlighteners and Encyclopedists. Representatives of French Counter-Enlightenment declared that new reformers, mind-worshipping philosophers just managed to question everything (even the truth of Holy Scripture), and that their attitudes and religious views only confused

people, caused chaos, and led to the disastrous disbelief. It has to be said that in the second half of the 18th century various processes of the Counter-Enlightenment were in progress almost in all regions of Western and Eastern Europe. However, only in France the movement of Counter-Enlightenment was so thoughtfully organized and such purposeful.

Central Europe: Austria, Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. There was a popular approach in the 20th century research that the Enlightenment program most successfully was implemented by French, English and German Enlighteners. Subsequent studies revealed different position, mainly supporting the idea that the Enlightenment in other European regions was as much mature and powerful as in Western Europe. As regards the Enlightenment in Central Europe, it is generally related with the monarchs who ruled at the time: representatives of Habsburg dynasty Maria Theresa (1717-1780) and her eldest son Joseph II (1741-1790), also the last King and Grand Duke of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Stanislovas Augustas. During the reign of Maria Theresa and Joseph II governance, tax collection system was reformed and compulsory primary education instituted. The latter reform had close tie with the enlightened absolutism (also known as enlightened despotism). Maria Theresa's reforms - later taken over by her son Joseph II – caused the resistance of the Counter-Enlightenment supporters. First to declare criticism were German philosophers Hamann, Herder and Jacobi. They spoke out against the absolutism which was directly linked to the reforms of Austrian monarch and Prussian king Friedrich II (1712-1786).

According to some studies, in the beginning of the 18th century the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth belonged to the historic area of Europe, but a bigger part of its society did not live in Western European tradition. But even so, in the second half of the 18th century the situation began to change. By the middle of the 18th century, the Enlightenment came to Poland and the GDL, bringing new hopes. It was believed that educational reform, based on the needs of local people, would become the main factor capable of stopping political and economic decline of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was thought that new education would help to bring up a different society, such that would not fear radical changes. As an opposition to the rational Enlightenment Jewish mystical movement was launched in the GDL and Poland Kingdom. It revolted against dogmatic rationalism and modernity. The founder of this

movement was Israel ben Eliezer (1698-1760). He came to be known as the Baal Shem Tov (Master of the Good Name), which was frequently abbreviated Besht. Besht taught his followers that God was to be worshipped with great joy – enthusiastic singing and dancing – and that the mystical approach to God was superior to the dry, legalistic scholarship of the Talmudic interpreters.

Summarising the disclosures of Western and Central Europe experiences in the 18th century, the conclusion was drawn that behaviors under the same circumstances in separate regions were different, determined by the needs of multicultural society. The intellectual movements of Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment were accepted differently either. The examples of Western Europe life show that both Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment ideology was initiated and promoted by the known academics, whereas in the regions of Central Europe enlightened ideas used to be adapted by the local intellectuals, but the criticism came from little-known public organizations or individuals. Thus, namely the in-depth analysis of the Counter-Enlightenment movement could reveal unique experiences of the 18th century Central Europe. Scientific study, which would analyze the GDL case, has not been published yet.

Cultural and political texts of Grodno: writing and reading. The third part, which is considered the main body of the dissertation, provides a comprehensive analysis of Grodno cultural life, it is also concerned with the initiatives of active Grodno citizens. In this discussion the concept of *citizen* challenges a more detailed explanation. In the 18th century the notion of *citizenship* was equivalent to the republican model of citizenship derived from Aristotle's political philosophy and ethics. The latter model in contrast to liberal one, which mainly emphasized universal characteristics: race, gender and social status, placed great significance on the citizens' responsibility, civic virtue and active work. In the 18th century the name of *true citizen* could be given only to those who prioritized interests of community and diligently performed public duties. Active participation in cultural and political life was also regarded as public duty. In the sections of the third part the republican model of citizenship is being illustrated by the works of most prominent Grodno residents (permanent or temporary).

Antanas Tyzenhauzas' writings in the palimpsest of Grodno. The palimpsest concept is frequently used in various scientific fields: urbanism, palaeontology, psychology. It is also invoked for the implementation of the set research goals. Before

reading the records left in Grodno palimpsest in the second half of the 18th century, previous *urban texture* is evaluated. It is stressed that until the mid-18th century Grodno was considered a medium-sized city. However, since 1765, when Tyzenhauzas was appointed as the Starosta of Grodno, the situation had changed. According to the literature presenting Grodno in the Age of Reason, Tyzenhauzas turned the city of sejms into the most densely populated area of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The old urban face also had changed, its new features began to emerge after building Grodno suburbs Horodnica and Lososna. Thus, Tyzenhauzas decided to insert entirely new pages, written by himself, into the old palimpsest of Grodno. Those were not typical entries. They were written in the blank pages, which belonged to the same palimpsest of Grodno.

For a better comprehension of Tyzenhauzas' ambitions and intentions the biographical data is presented. According to Kościalkowski's study, Tyzenhauzas was born in 1733 in Żaludkai (now part of Belorussia). He studied at the Jesuit College of Vilnius. As a talented student he was supported by the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania and leader of the political party „Familia“ Mykolas Čartoriskis (1696-1775). At that time Tyzenhauzas befriended future king Stanislovas Augustas. After the election of Stanislovas Augustas to the throne of Poland-Lithuania, Tyzenhauzas became the Court Treasurer of the GDL, the Starosta of Grodno, and the administrator of royal estates. From the very beginning of their acquaintance Tyzenhauzas and Stanislovas Augustas had friendly relations. They both loathed anarchy in the Republic and dreamed of turning their country into a thriving center of industry, culture and science.

Classicistic city vision. In Horodnica, the suburb of Grodno, Tyzenhauzas built a huge residence, he also made significant efforts that the Supreme Tribunal and Treasury Committee of the GDL would have been moved from Vilnius to Grodno. Horodnica was famous for its architecture and very often used to be compared to the cities of Western Europe. Naturally, qualified architects and trained workers contributed to this. According to the sources, Tyzenhauzas' right-hand man was a famed Italian architect, pioneer of the classicist style in the GDL Giuseppe de Sacco (1735-1798). The Starosta of Grodno called the young architect from Warsaw to Grodno. In the letter addressed to Sacco Tyzenhauzas requested that there would be no chaotic forms in the urban design – the city had to be bright, spacious and with a regular network of streets. Influenced by the

ever more popular classicism, the Starosta of Grodno required to take a clear symmetry, harmony, rigour and simplicity. He wished that new buildings would be economical and comfortable. Public constructions: trade house, schools, theatre, concert hall, courthouse, chemist's shop, bathhouse, post stations, workers' dwellings were to take the most significant place in Horodnica plan. New buildings had to be consistent not only to the old buildings, but also to the nature.

Despite the fact that the city was designed by the Italian architect, the greatest impact on architectural decisions did the French school of classicism. As evidenced by Tyzenhauzas' letters, the Starosta loved French style, which validated rational structural system, proportion to the whole, and symmetrical layout.

Establishment of an open to the world industrial center. In the performance of starosta's duties, Tyzenhauzas built number of manufactories. More than 20 factories that employed about 3,000 people were established in Grodno city and in its suburbs. Nearly one-third of the employees were from foreign countries. Tyzenhauzas strove that local craftsmen would have replaced foreigners. Namely for the latter reason craftsmen invited from abroad had to train for at least two apprentices, mainly from the families of local peasants.

In the second half of the 18th century Grodno manufactories produced both everyday consumer goods and luxury items: paper, tobacco, oil, wax, furniture, mirrors, porcelain, carriages, weapons, Persian rugs, hats, pins, maps, playing cards. Most of the products stood out for their high quality and had great demand in Western Europe. Tyzenhauzas ambitiously tried to turn Grodno into the thriving industrial center and for this purpose he built metallurgy factories, wind and water mills, breweries, leather and fabric dye-houses. Different activities, which the Starosta of Grodno enthusiastically took, were brand new and skeptically assessed both in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in other European lands. Innovative and risky decisions satisfied the king but revolted his relatives. The Starosta was criticized for the wasting of king's money, embezzlement of private lands, children separation from parents when forcibly sending them to the craft schools or factories. Stanislovas Augustas' sister countess Izabela Elżbieta Poniatowska Branicka (1730-1808) showed the greatest dissatisfaction with Tyzenhauzas. She formed a coalition against the Starosta of Grodno. Ultimately, the manufactories, which had been built and looked after by Tyzenhauzas for more than 15

years, were closed within a few days. In 1780 Marshal of the Crown Estate Franciszek Rzewuski (1730-1800) was appointed the administrator of Grodno economies. In less than two years he plundered almost all assets accumulated by Tyzenhauzas and fled abroad.

Dissemination forms of science and culture. A long list of Tyzenhauzas' activities included both the support of book publishing, initiation of scientific research, and the spread of culture through theatre, ballet and music. He invited known artists, composers and theatre groups to Grodno. Tyzenhauzas founded the first botanical garden, established a printing house, academy of medicine, trade school and cadet corps, he also brought orchestra from Italy and ballet from Paris. One of the most significant ambition that Grodno Starosta realized was the establishment of the **Grodno Royal School of Medicine**. In the last decades of the 18th century medicine was considered probably the most secular science. During the period between 1781-1803 medicine, biology and chemistry were the fastest progressing sciences in Vilnius University. The dramatic growth and popularity of those subjects was determined by the lack of medical professionals. In the 18th century Poland or Lithuania so-called shavers-surgeons most often provided medical services. Notwithstanding that graduates of medical universities criticized their methods of treatment, shavers-surgeons usually were the only helpers in the event of illness. Sometimes pharmacists, nurses and midwives could act as medics, however, their knowledge and experience was very limited. Thus, the issue of medical professionals become particularly acute. Tyzenhauzas also took care of the matter and in 1775 decided to build the Grodno Royal School of Medicine. The Starosta of Grodno invited the prominent French professor of medicine Jean Emmanuel Gilibert (1741-1814) to lead the School. Tyzenhauzas gave a huge plot of land for the School construction. Following the examples of medical schools in Western Europe, the Grodno Royal School of Medicine had rooms for lectures, student activities, dormitory and hospital. About 12-15 students (most of them from the nobility and townsfolk families, some from royal estates peasants) studied in the Grodno Royal School of Medicine.

The establishment of the **Grodno Printing House** was another intention realized by the Starosta. In 1774 Tyzenhauzas received a royal privilege to set up a printing house and when a year passed opened it. Received privilege allowed to print only Polish primers and religion literature, yet the Grodno Printing House printed all kinds of texts:

official legal documents, speeches said in the Grodno Sejm, various brochures, repertoires of Tyzenhauzas' theater and ballet. Books of different thematic had been published either, e.g., Jan Borzęcki's (dates of birth and death are unknown) *Zbiór historyi Egipskiej i Kartagińskiej (Collection of Egypt and Carthage History)* (1776), anonymous *Prezent dla żon z przydatkiem niectomych reflexyi (A Gift for Wives with the Appendix of Some Reflections)* (1776), George Berkeley's (1685-1753) *Informacya a cnotach y skutkach wody żywicznejey (Information Concerning the Virtues and Benefits of Tar-water)* (1781), Gilibert's *Flora lituanica (Flora of Lithuania)* (1781). The Printing House published a number of fiction translations from French to Polish as well as original Polish works. Thus, the requirement to print only primers and religious texts was ignored. Releases of the Grodno Printing House could be divided into three groups: books (Polish originals and translations), speeches with sermons, and periodicals.

According to the bibliographic research, the Grodno Printing House printed more translations than original books. From the latter the most popular were *Monachomachia albo wojna mnichów (Monachomachia or War of the Monks)* (1778) and *Satyry (Satires)* (1779) by Ignacy Krasicki (1735-1801), *Pieśni sobie śpiewane (Songs Sung for Yourself)* (1778, in 1776 was published in Vilnius) by Konstancja Benisławska (1747-1806), poems written by the students of Grodno schools, anonymous literature.

Multiple editions (1776, 1778, 1780) of authorless *Prezent dla żon* proves popularity of the book and enables its detailed analysis. *Prezent dla żon* is one of the most characteristic text of the 18th century, which reveals the world outlook, beliefs and values of the time. The narrator of the story is a man who demonstrates excellent knowledge of woman's duties and obligations. The ideas and attitudes of French philosophers echo in this instruction booklet for wives. Paraphrasing Rousseau, the statement is made that women in all respects are weaker than men. Some formulations of *Prezent dla żon* has similarities with John Locke's (1632-1704) reasonings about the position of women in a family and society. Locke argued that the rights of mothers should have been taken as seriously as the rights of fathers. *Prezent dla żon* also brings out the importance of motherhood.

From the translations published in the Grodno Printing House the most popular were Berkeley's *Informacya a cnotach y skutkach wody żywicznejey* (translated from the English original *Siris: Philosophical Reflexions and Inquiries Concerning the Virtues of*

Tar-water, and Divers Other Subjects Connected Together and Arising from One Another) and Nicolas Bergier's (1715-1790) *Traktat dziejowego i dogmatycznego prawdziwej religii* (*Historical and Dogmatic Treatise on the True Religion*, translated from French *Traité historique et dogmatique de la vraie religion*) (1795).

The Grodno Printing House also printed speeches and reports of the Sejm deputies, marshals, preachers. The sermon of Mykolas Pranciškus Karpavičius (1744-1803) was one of the first releases (issued in 1775) of the Grodno Printing House. A year later, in 1776, the speech of Mikalojus Tadas Lopacinskis (1715–1778) was printed. In the same 1776 the considerations of Grodno judge Jonas Kžyvkovskis (~1752-1814) and Kazimieras Koščialkovskis (dates of birth and death are unknown) appeared.

There were even more noteworthy texts printed in the Grodno Printing House. The themes of the published literature witnesses changing needs of a society that is closely related with modernization processes.

The third group of Grodno releases consists of periodicals. As soon as the Grodno Printing House was set up, Tyzenhauzas organized the publishing of *Gazeta Grodzieńska* (*Grodno Newspaper*). This newspaper was published weekly till 1783. In comparison to *Kuryer Litewski* (*Lithuanian Courier*), which was published in Vilnius, *Gazeta Grodzieńska* distinguished itself by presenting more diverse publications (e.g., articles on theatre, ballet, politics, history, culture). At that time considerable attention was devoted to the calendar publishing. First political, genealogical calendars appeared in Western Europe in the early 17th century. A few decades later a Jesuit and writer Jonas Pašakauskis (1684-1757) started publishing political calendars in the Vilnius Academy Printing House.

In the last decades of the 18th century in the Grodno Printing House *Kalendarz Grodzieński* (*Grodno Calendar*) was published (till 1781). The structure and content of *Kalendarz Grodzieński* resembled *Kalendarz Wileński* (*Vilnius Calendar*), thus, due to this resemblance both releases are being discussed in the thesis. The compiler of *Kalendarz Grodzieński* was a Jesuit and schoolmaster Karol Malonowski (1741-?). *Kalendarz Wileński* was prepared and published by Pašakauskis. When comparing those calendars to at that time printed household calendars, the conclusion was drawn that *Kalendarz Grodzieński* and *Kalendarz Wileński* had more similarities with prayer-books

than with any periodicals. In the second half of the 18th century prayer-books were still the most popular readings in the GDL.

It can be argued that Vilnius and Grodno calendars were some part of urban culture. Simplified information of the state structure and management published in the calendars was intended namely for the city residents.

Marginal fragments. Horodnica, the suburb of Grodno, built by Tyzenhauzas was undoubtedly the main part of the manifold Grodno palimpsest. However, there were left other records, not so vivid but equally important. Those records mainly belonged to the residents of Grodno of different nationalities and to the deputies of the GDL in the 1793 Grodno Sejm.

Colour of multinational townsfolk. The concept of *ethnic group* was chosen to talk about the residents of different nationalities and confessions, which live and act in Grodno. Apart from that, the concepts of *city dweller*, *citizen* or *city resident* were verified. It should be noted that the Jewish people, who significantly influenced the cultural and economical life in Grodno, did not belong to the caste of citizens. They lived in a social and cultural exclusion and had the status of city residents. Unlike Jews, other residents of Grodno - the Russian Orthodox Old Believers, who fled Russia because of religious persecution, had the right to join the caste of citizens. The shortage of trusts did not allow to find out how many of them exercised the right. Questions concerning other peculiarities of the Old Believers' lifestyle also arose. However, no doubt emerged that the Old Believers' writings were of high importance and value.

Political testimonies of the deputies of the GDL in the 1793 Grodno Sejm. The statements against the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth made by Lithuanian representatives Juozapas Kimbaras (1750-1800), Liudvikas Chodžko (1769-1843), Juozapas Kulvietis (dates of birth and death are unknown) at the 1793 Grodno Sejm are considered to be serious manifestoes of patriotism and citizenship.

During the sittings of the Grodno Sejm, also known as *Mute* or *Disgraceful Sejm*, patriotic deputies spoke directly about the current situation in the nation. Their solitary statements sounded strongly and categorically in the background of silent majority. The representatives of the GDL compared tragic present with once glorious past. Kimbaras, Chodžko, and Kulvietis proclaimed the responsibility for their (as nation elected) words and works. It was clear from their speeches that patriotism associated with the sense of

community and differed from the personal needs. Thus, almost always the deputies identified themselves with the nation. Such position was focused on the emerging of a national consciousness, which encouraged to defend not the monarch (the one who abandoned the national interests), but the nation and its values.

The parliamentarians, who represented different districts of the GDL, tried to defend the freedom of the Commonwealth. Even after partition, they stayed true to their beliefs. When the sittings of the *Mute Sejm* were terminated the deputies, who patriotically spoke out against the partition, joined the 1794 Uprising led by Kosciuszka.

Conclusions

The research of the cultural life of Grodno in the second half of the 18th century revealed that the ideas of the Enlightenment reached the GDL a few decades later than Western Europe. The first sign of the early Enlightenment was the public interest in philosophy. In the GDL this tendency was pronounced around the year 1769, the time when Narbutas published his textbook of logic. New ideas proposed by Narbutas, the removal of professional philosophy from the curricula, and the influences of Western Europe led to the rise of the so-called *salon* or *popular* philosophy. Both in Poland and Lithuania salon philosophy was antagonistic to the traditional catholic worldview and was linked with libertinism, which involved not only intellectuals, but also city dwellers and women.

Another portent of the Era of Reason was secularization of a society. In the Age of Enlightenment faith became possible but not necessary choice. In the GDL more pronounced manifestations of secularism became noticeable after the entrenchment of salon philosophy and were linked to libertine postures and nonconformist cultural attitudes. Only few surviving written testimonies of the libertine society in the GDL have been found. It could mean that either the phenomenon of libertinism in the GDL was short-lived and shallow or banned by the catholic censorship (it is likely that libertine writings were destroyed or spread as manuscripts). The latter assumption seemed to be more reliable.

The inquiry of foreign and Lithuanian scientific investigations proved that one important issue was not thoroughly discussed - that is what characteristic features had the Enlightenment in Lithuania. In search for an answer to the raised question, the conclusion was reached that the most distinctive feature of the Enlightenment in the GDL was *common sense*. It was linked with morality, prosperity and opposed to the protracted anarchy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Comparing scientific studies, which were devoted to the diverse issues of the Enlightenment, with the ones investigating cultural situation in the 18th century in Grodno, the latter seemed to be quite sparse and shallow. More investigations in that field were made by Belorussian and Polish researches. For the most part Lithuanian authors treat Grodno as an outlandish, not homey region, whereas Belorussian and Polish researchers accept it as their own city, which evokes glorious past of the GDL.

Tyzenhauzas' letters as well as various travel notes of foreign authors and memories of contemporaries, who resided in the GDL, became major sources of the research.

The analysis of cultural forms in the 18th century Europe revealed the outbreak of cultural and critical thought that stimulated the formation of a public space. Thus, in the late 18th century the reaction, which Berlin called Counter-Enlightenment, came out. First manifestations of the Counter-Enlightenment could be seen in the second half of the 18th century Germany, especially in the works and speeches of Hamann, Herder and Jacobi. The criticism of those thinkers was directed against the overestimated rationality of the Enlightenment, which ignored tolerance and freedom of religion or belief. The investigation of the 18th century culture, which evolved between the antagonistic movements of Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment, showed that the concept of culture at the time included both the aspects of science and religion.

In the second half of the 18th century various processes of the Counter-Enlightenment were in progress almost in all regions of Western and Eastern Europe. However, only in France the movement of Counter-Enlightenment was so thoughtfully organized and such purposeful. Representatives of French Counter-Enlightenment showed exceptional intelligence, knowledge and had the most supporters in other lands (including the GDL).

In Western Europe the ideology of Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment was initiated and promoted by the known academics. In the regions of Central Europe enlightened ideas used to be adapted by the local intellectuals, but the criticism came from little-known public organizations or individuals. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth a brighter flash of the Counter-Enlightenment was Jewish mystical movement. It revolted against dogmatic rationalism and modernity, propagated piety, love of God and belief in miracles. Several written testimonies, which were found during the inquiry, suggested that in the GDL the phenomenon of Counter-Enlightenment had its specific features and forms of expression.

The analysis of a city as a multilayer palimpsest allowed us to view Grodno as the unique cultural centre, which accumulated different texts. The interpretation of those heterogeneous texts (or scripts) embraced both writing and reading processes.

The examination of cultural and political texts of Grodno disclosed intentions, attitudes, and social status of the authors. This stage of the research required to define the concepts of *citizen* and *city dweller* or *resident of a city*. Making reference to the speeches and sermons, which were written in the 18th century in the GDL, the conclusion was drawn that terms *citizen* and *city dweller* were often used synonymously.

In the second half of the 18th century the most significant records, which belonged to the palimpsest of Grodno, were made by the Starosta of Grodno Tyzenhauzas, the Russian Orthodox Old Believers and non-Christians Jews, and by Lithuanian deputies patriotically acting in the 1793 Grodno Sejm.

In the urban palimpsest of Grodno establishment of a classicistic city, building of manufactories, and various educational institutions function as historically important entries made by Tyzenhauzas. He was the first to initiate the production of consumer goods that served both to the needs of local nobility, clergy and big profits promising foreign lands. Tyzenhauzas' ambitions, which were implemented within a relatively short period of time, had earned him the names of restless innovator and destroyer of an old system. The Starosta of Grodno had as many supporters as enemies. Criticism that was addressed to him influenced contemporaries' texts. In the memoirs and poetry written by the authors of the GDL, Tyzenhauzas' name used to be intentionally omitted, and all his merits attributed to the king Stanislovas Augustas.

Tyzenhauzas was interested in and cared for a variety of areas. The priority of public interest and the ideas of Counter-Enlightenment, which actualized tolerance of all confessions, forced him to establish Grodno cemetery and Protestant Church. Those initiatives showed a unique ambition – to apply ideas of the opponent Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment for personal and social needs.

Some issues of the 18th century medicine and the establishment of the Grodno Royal School of Medicine appeared to be significant and relevant to the dissertation. The shortage of medical professionals was an important reason to open the School. Tyzenhauzas invited French professor of medicine Gilibert to lead the institution.

The cultural life of the second half of the 18th century in Grodno was directly influenced by the activities of the Printing House set up by Tyzenhauzas. In the thesis releases of the Grodno Printing House were divided into three groups: books (Polish originals and translations), speeches with sermons, and periodicals. The analysis of those publications disclosed that the requirement of the royal privilege to print only Polish primers and religion literature was ignored.

Multiple editions of authorless *Prezent dla żon* proved popularity of the book and enabled its detailed analysis. *Prezent dla żon* was one of the most characteristic text of the 18th century that revealed the world outlook, beliefs and values of the time. In the context of European literature of the 18th century it existed as a didactic text of a male authorship. The ideas of French philosophers echoed in this book either.

From the translations published in the Grodno Printing House the most popular were Berkeley's *Informacya a cnotach y skutkach wody żywicznejey* and Nicolas Bergier's *Traktat dziejowego i dogmatycznego prawdziwej religii*.

Apart from books, the Grodno Printing House issued speeches and reports of the Sejm deputies, marshals and preachers. The variety of published literature showed changing needs of a society, and this was closely related with modernization processes.

Periodicals *Gazeta Grodzieńska* and *Kalendarz Grodzieński* belong to the third group of Grodno releases. The comparative analysis of Grodno periodicals and the ones, which were published in Vilnius at the same time, revealed that Grodno editions were more original, diverse and more interesting than Vilnius analogues. As for the calendars, an incentive was detected to familiarize readers with the most recent achievements in the fields of medicine and science, as well as to initiate their activities in raising social,

political, and cultural issues. The readers of Grodno calendars also were identified: they were city residents of different nationalities and confessions.

Finding that Tyzenhauzas' records were the most significant in the palimpsest of Grodno in the second half of the 18th century, some other cultural and political texts of Grodno were investigated either. Those texts mainly belonged to Grodno citizens of different nationalities and to the representatives of the GDL in the 1793 Grodno Sejm.

The concept of *ethnic group* was chosen to talk about the residents of different nationalities and confessions. Apart from that, the concepts of *city dweller*, *citizen* or *city resident* were verified. It was noted that the Jewish people, who significantly influenced the cultural and economical life in Grodno, did not belong to the caste of citizens. They lived in the social and cultural exclusion and had the status of city residents.

Unlike Jews, other residents of Grodno - the Russian Orthodox Old Believers, who fled Russia because of religious persecution, had the right to join the caste of citizens. The shortage of trusts did not allow to find out how many of them exercised the right. Questions also arose on some other aspects of the Old Believers lifestyle, e.g. coexistence with the natives and people of different nationalities and confessions. Unquestionable is the relevance of the Old Believers religious literature, which was printed in Grodno, and its significance both for the Orthodox tradition and the GDL heritage.

The statements of Lithuanian deputies in the 1793 Grodno Sejm are regarded as meaningful records of Grodno multiple palimpsest. In the background of the so-called *Mute or Disgraceful Sejm* they function as exclusive, open to new analysis, patriotic, and civic manifestoes of the 18th century.

GARDINAS - LIETUVOS DIDŽIOSIOS KUNIGAİKŠTYSTĖS KULTŪROS CENTRAS. XVIII A. ANTROJI PUSĖ (1765-1793 M.)

Reziუმė

Tiriamosios problemos pagrindimas. XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino, kaip sudėtinio bendros Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kultūrinės tradicijos sando, specifika ir čia vykęs švietėjiškos sąmonės formavimosi procesas, įtakojęs ne tik kultūrinę, bet ir politinę bei ekonominę sferas, Lietuvos kultūrologų, literatūrologų, istoriografų tebėra menkai tyrinėtas. Stanislovo Augusto Poniatovskio (1732-1798) laikais Gardinas, vadintas *karališkuoju*, *Jo Didenybės* miestu, tituluotas antrąja LDK sostine, amžininkų buvo lyginamas su klestinčiais Vakarų Europos centrais. Išvelgtus bendrumus sąlygojo ir tuo metu sklidusios Apšvietos idėjos. Dera pastebėti, kad disertacijai aktuali Apšvietos recepcija tiek plačiame Europos, tiek palyginti siaurame Lietuvos tyrimų lauke neretai yra grindžiama išankstinėmis nuostatomis, pristatant tiriamą periodą kaip vientisą, be didesnių vidinių įtampų ir prieštarų metą. Be išsamesnės XVIII a. tiriamųjų vertinimų, interpretacijų apžvalgos, atliktų ir pastaruoju metu vis naujai pateikiamų Apšvietos epochos analizių, iš pagrindų išjudinančių per kelis dešimtmečius nusistovėjusių tiesų masyvus, pasirinkto disertacijos objekto tebutų regimas vien blankus paviršius. Tad norint kuo aiškiau išvysti ir kartu padaryti matomą XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino kultūrinį gyvenimą, disertacijoje bus aptarti tiek epochos, įgalinusios subręsti iki tol Vakarų Europai mažai žinomam LDK ūkio ir kultūros centrai, ypatumai, to meto kultūros konceptai, jų formavimasis tarp antinominių Apšvietos ir Kontrapšvietos inicijuotų pasaulėžiūrų, tiek krašto vidinių įtakų sąlygoti XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino kultūrinio, politinio gyvenimo artefaktai. Į pastaruosius bus mėginama žvelgti kaip į daugiakultūrio miesto *palimpseste* paliktus įrašus, kuriančius tik tai laiko atkarpai būdingą epinį pasakojimą ar net autobiografinį naratyvą. Baltarusių tyrėjų skleidžiamas ir tvirtinamas Šv. Huberto miesto, kaip daugybę tekstų talpinančio palimpsesto, vaizdinys skaitantįjį įpareigoja ne tik ieškoti per pastaruosius šimtmečius trinamų, perrašomų ar naujai išspaudžiamų praeities pėdsakų, bet ir traktuoti miesto erdvę kaip kultūrinių prasmų išsikristalizavimo vietą. Panašiomis skaitymo strategijomis vadovavosi ir naujai perrašytą Gardino tekstą skaitę XVIII – XIX a. memuaristai, poetai,

dailininkai. Jų vertinimai, meninės interpretacijos disertacijoje prilyginami XVIII a. antros pusės rašymo iniciatyvoms ir yra įtraukiami į tos pačios analizės lauką.

Disertacijos objektas. Mokslinio darbo tyrimo objektas – Gardinas, kaip vienas svarbiausių LDK kultūros centrų XVIII a. antroje pusėje (1765-1793 m.). Pasirinktą tyrimo laikotarpį rėmina dvi svarbios datos: Antano Tyzenhauzo (1733-1785) paskyrimas Gardino seniūnu ir paskutiniojo Abiejų Tautų Respublikos Seimo metai, simboliškai užbaigę nepilnus tris dešimtmečius trukusį Gardino šlovės periodą. Kitą Gardino istorijos laiko atkarpą žymintys 1794-ieji ir su jais susiję Tado Kosciuškos (1746-1817) sukilimo įvykiai, formuojantys naujos problematikos lauką, į šį tyrimą neįtraukiami.

Disertacijos tikslas ir uždaviniai. Disertacijos tikslas – ištirti ir įvertinti kultūrinio gyvenimo apraiškas Gardine, jų sąsajas su XVIII a. antros pusės Vakarų ir Vidurio Europos patirtimis bei jas išryškinusį *foną* – Apšvietos ir Kontrapšvietos propaguotų idėjų sandūras; išanalizuoti istorinio miesto tekste paliktus įrašus, fiksuojant ne tik jų genezę, autorius, išliekamąją vertę, bet ir juos įprasminusius rašymo bei skaitymo procesus. Tiriamojo darbo tikslui įgyvendinti išsikelti šie disertacijos struktūrą (jos pagrindines tris dalis) atitinkantys uždaviniai:

- remiantis užsienio ir lietuvių mokslininkų atliktais tyrimais, nustatyti: kokie ženklai rodė Apšvietos pradžią, kada juos įmanu pastebėti LDK, ir kas jiems buvo charakteringa;

- įvertinti Vakarų ir Vidurio Europos (ir jai priskiriamos LDK) kultūrinio gyvenimo pokyčius, veikiant priešiškiems Apšvietos ir Kontrapšvietos intelektualiniams judėjimams;

- ištirti XVIII a. antroje pusėje Gardine rašytus kultūrinius ir politinius tekstus, aktualizuojant ne tik jų rašymo, bet ir skaitymo istoriją.

Tyrimo metodai. Susisteminus ankstesnių tyrinėtojų pastabas, XVIII a. antros pusės Gardine vykusio kultūrinio gyvenimo tyrimui pasitelkiama numatytų tekstų analizės - šaltinių aprašymo ir lyginimo - metodika.

Darbe plėtojamas ir miesto, kaip nuolat perrašomo palimpsesto, susidedančio iš heterogeniškų įrašų, vaizdinys. Palimpsestas traktuojamas ne kaip tam tikra metafora, bet kaip tiriamojo darbo metodas, padedantis naujai atrasti ir įvertinti pasirinkto laikotarpio specifiką. Remiamasi palimpsesto - daugiasluoksnio, skirtingus istorinius periodus

įtraukusio teksto - skaitymo principais. Būtent palimpsestiškas miesto skaitymas, grįstas sumišusių sluoksnių diferenciacija (tam tikra prasme suardančia visuminę palimpsesto struktūrą), leidžia 1765-1793 m. Gardine paliktus įrašus analizuoti kaip naujus, tačiau tam pačiam miesto palimpsestui priklausančius tekstus. Tokia analizė taikoma ir Tyzenhauzo statytiems Gardino priemiesčiams (Horodnicai ir Lososnai) bei kitų XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino tekstą pildžiusių autorių įrašams tyrinėti. Šiuo atveju itin svarbus palimpsestui charakteringas lūžių ir tęstinumų aktualizavimas. Pavyzdžiui, Horodnica ir Lososna daugybiniame Gardino palimpseste ženklina tam tikrą tradicijos lūžį, pirmiausia atpažįstamą iš pakitusių formų ir struktūrų. Tai – naujo palimpsestinio sluoksnio ar santalkos formavimas, be reikšmingų inovacijų, įtraukiantis ir derinimo bei tęstinumo gestus. Šios iniciatyvos pradžia sietina su Gardino seniūno pastangomis rašyti senajame miesto palimpseste (bažnyčių, dvarų rekonstrukcijos). Toks rašymas nejučia išsiplėtė į tuolaik tuščius lapus, tapo komponavimo, įterpimo naujo į sena judesiu. Lūžio ir tęstinumo sąryšis, taip pat ir istorinės aplinkybės neleido Gardino naujamiesčiams transformuotis į savarankiškus palimpsestus – Horodnica ir Lososna, žvelgiant iš dabarties perspektyvų, funkcionuoja kaip ženkliai pakitę, vėlesnių sluoksnių uždengti (ar net ištrinti) XVIII a. antros pusės karališkojo miesto įrašai.

Disertacijoje taikoma ir sociokultūrinė analizė, paranki identifikuojant pilietinės - miestietiškos savimonės formavimosi etapus, Gardino miesto erdvės apjungtus sociokultūrinių vertybių koegzistavimo ir priešpriešos veiksnius.

Darbo mokslinis naujumas / aktualumas. Tyrimas papildoma ir praplečia kontroversinio amžiaus, apėmusio ideologiškai priešiškus Apšvietos ir Kontrapšvietos sąjūdžius, Lietuvoje problematiką, pristato mažai žinomus ir beveik netyrinėtus antros LDK sostinės kultūrinius ir politinius tekstus, aktualizuoja XVIII a. antros pusės įrašus, paliktus daugiaženkliaime, naujai traktuojamame Gardino miesto palimpseste.

Ginamos tezės:

Saloninis filosofavimas ir visuomenės sekuliarizacija buvo pirmieji europinės Apšvietos ženklai, LDK išryškėję XVIII a. antroje pusėje;

Apšvietai oponuojanti Kontrapšvietos ideologija sklido tiek Vakarų, tiek Vidurio Europos regionuose, tarp jų ir LDK;

XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino kultūriniai ir politiniai tekstai gali būti skaitomi kaip daugiaženklis palimpsesto įrašai;

Reikšmingiausių XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino tekstų autoriais laikytini: Gardino seniūnas Tyzenhauzas, įvairiatautė miestietija, patriotinėmis kalbomis 1793 m. Gardino Seime išsiskyre LDK pasiuntiniai.

Disertacijos struktūra. Disertaciją sudaro įvadas, trys dalys, išvados ir literatūros sąrašas.

Pirmoje darbo dalyje apžvelgiama tiriamą Apšvietos epochą analizuojanti Lietuvos ir užsienio mokslinė literatūra. Pristatant ir vertinant skirtingus požiūrius bei svarstymus, siekiama atsakyti į klausimus, kokie pirmieji ženklai rodė europinės Apšvietos pradžia, kada jie tampa pastebimi LDK, kaip kito ir kokius charakteringus bruožus įgijo baigiantis XVIII a.

Išskirtinis dėmesys filosofijai ar tiksliau filosofinei kultūrai (filosofinėms idėjoms, koncepcijoms, ryškėjančioms pačiuose įvairiausių tekstuose, socialiniuose projektuose, laikysenose) įvardijamas pirmuoju XVII a. pabaigoje Vakarų Europoje prasidėjusios Apšvietos ženklu. Matematikos genijaus Jeano d'Alemberto filosofijos amžiumi tituluota Apšvietos epocha įteisino filosofavimo, kaip specifinės pramogos ar mados, reikšmę. Toks *pramoginis filosofavimas* ypač populiarus buvo prancūziškuose salonuose, kiek vėliau jis imtas praktikuoti ir kituose Europos regionuose, tarp jų ir LDK.

Vakarų Europos Apšvietą pradėjusi švietėjiška (populiarioji) filosofija Lenkijos Karalystę, o po to ir LDK pasiekė keliais dešimtmečiais vėliau. LDK naujo filosofijos amžiaus pradžia sietina su 1769 m. lenkų kalba išleistu Vilniaus pijorų Kilmingųjų kolegijos profesoriaus, visuomenės veikėjo Kazimiero Narbuto (1738-1807) logikos vadovėliu *Logika, arba mąstymo ir daiktų apgalvojimo menas*. Narbutas kritikavo scholastinį spekuliatyvumą, aiškino filosofijos ir kitų veiklos sričių sąsajas, akcentavo praktinius filosofijos aspektus. Pramoginės filosofijos plitimas Lenkijoje, o kiek vėliau ir Lietuvoje sietas ir su vakarietiškais kraštais (ypač Prancūzija) ir čia išpopuliarėjusiu libertinų intelektualiniu judėjimu.

Kitas ankstyvosios Apšvietos žymuo, iš dalies susijęs su saloninės filosofijos populiarumu, – visuomenės sekuliarizacija. LDK ryškesnės sekuliarizmo apraiškos ar libertiniškos laikysenos taip pat pastebimos išpopuliarėjus saloniniam filosofavimui.

Kalbant apie LDK sklidusios šviečiamosios ideologijos specifika, atkreipiamas dėmesys į tai, kad LDK ir Lenkijos Karalystėje švietėjiškas sąjūdis, priešingai nei

daugelyje šalių, nevyko už akademinės ir edukacinės sistemos ribų. 1773 m. ATR Seimo sprendimu įkurta Edukacinė komisija puoselėjo tuo laiku modernią bendraeuropinio pobūdžio švietimo sistemą (mokyklų programos buvo rengiamos remiantis anglų filosofų Davido Hume'o ir Johno Locke'o suformuluotais gamtamokslio principais, Prancūzijos fiziokratų idėjomis, Jeano Jacqueso Rousseau prigimtinės pedagogikos metmenimis), atvirą naujovėms, reformoms (turėjusioms sustiprinti ne tik Respublikos ekonominę padėtį, bet ir jos gynybinį pajėgumą), mokslo pažangai. Veikiant tokioms įtakoms, savitu LDK Apšvietos bruožu tapo *sveika logika*, traktuota kaip patikimų normų, dėsnių bei metodų sistema ir priešinta užsitęsusiai Respublikos anarchijai.

Pirmoje disertacijos dalyje pristatomos ir XVIII a. antros pusės Gardinui skirtos studijos, atkreipiant dėmesį ne tik į jų stoką, bet ir į skirtingas lietuvių, baltarusių, lenkų tyrėjų laikysenas. Pagrindžiama tyrimui pasitelktų šaltinių – Gardino seniūno Tyzenhauzo laiškų, po LDK keliavusių ir savo keliones užrašiusių XVIII a. Vakarų Europos autorių pasakojimų, LDK veikėjų memuaristinių ir poetinių tekstų – svarba.

Antroji tyrimo dalis skirta kultūros, jos konceptų, sąsajų su visuomene ir funkcionavimo, veikiant priešiškiems Apšvietos ir Kontrapšvietos judėjimams, aptarčiai. Šioje dalyje analizuojami tiek XVIII a. antros pusės Vakarų, tiek Vidurio Europos regionuose vykę procesai. Pasitelkus šviečiamojo amžiaus daugiabalsiškumą iliustruojančius pavyzdžius, pažymima, kad racionalizuodama pasaulį Apšvieta jį „atkerėjo“, be didelių skrupulų paneigdama religijos ir meno tradicijas, tačiau kartu ji tapo ir tam tikra sekuliaria religijos forma, nauja gnostine erezija, ėmusia sakralizuoti žmogaus ūkinę, politinę, meninę veiklas. Apšvietos empirizmas, kraštutinumų nepripažįstanti logika, pragmatiškas požiūris į daiktus, tikėjimas Dievu nelyg išmintingu laikrodininku, abejingai stebinčiu savo sukonstruotą mechanizmą, XVIII a. pabaigoje paskatino religinio skepticizmo ir ezoterinės-teosofinės tradicijos plitimą.

Tiriant XVIII a. Vakarų ir Vidurio Europos patirtis, prieita prie išvados, kad tų pačių aplinkybių sąlygotos elgsenos atskiruose regionuose buvo skirtingos, dažniausiai nulemtos daugiakultūrės visuomenės (sudarytos iš religinių, etninių ir kultūrinių mažumų) poreikių. Nevienodai priimti ir tarpusavyje konfrontavę Apšvietos ir Kontrapšvietos intelektualiniai judėjimai. Vakarų Europos pavyzdžiai rodo, kad tiek Apšvietos, tiek jai oponavusios Kontrapšvietos ideologija buvo inicijuota ir palaikoma visuomenei gerai žinomų akademinio sluoksnio atstovų. Vidurio Europos kraštuose

situacija buvo kiek kita: Vakaruose subrandintas švietėjiškas idėjas čia dažniausiai adaptuodavo vietos intelektualai, o Apšvietos ideologinės programos kritiką reiškė mažai kam žinomi visuomeniniai sambūriai ar pavieniai asmenys.

Disertacijos branduoliu laikytinoje trečioje dalyje nagrinėjami XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino kultūriniai ir politiniai tekstai, analizuojama ne tik jų rašymo, bet ir tuo pat metu vykusi skaitymo bei interpretavimo eiga. Analizė grindžiama nuostata, kad kiekvienas miestas gali būti skaitomas kaip palimpsestas. Miesto aplinka yra pagrindinė arena, kur skirtingų tautinių, konfesinių, socialinių, politinių grupių atstovai palieka savo veiklos ir požiūrių giliau ar sekiau įmintą pėdsaką. Keisdami miesto erdvę, kiekvieno šimtmečio ar net dešimtmečio įspaudai ilgainiui prilygsta daugybei persidengiančių tekstų, kuriuos skaitantys perrašo, modifikuoja ar tiesiog ištrina. Atradus vienus įrašus, ima ryškėti užuominos, nuorodos į kitus, dar ankstesniais amžiais paliktus liudijimus. Tad vienas architektūrinis elementas, “kalbėdamas” apie savo epochos materialinę ir dvasinę kultūrą, nurodo prieigas prie kitų kultūrų paliktų įrašų. Toks *akmeninių istorijos lapų* skaitymas iš esmės yra tapatus seno pergamento inskripcijų analizei, skirtai retušuoti tai, kas buvo išskusta, nuplauta, kas paliko bespalvius, tačiau iš po vėlesnių užrašų regimus įbrėžimus. Šiam skaitymui ne tiek svarbios tikslios istorinės datos, kiek gebėjimas išvysti visą miesto veidą su visais jo patraukliais ir nepataukliais bruožais, raukšlėmis bei randais.

Teigiant, kad Gardino miesto tekstas, kaip ir bet kuris kitas žodinis ar vaizdinis diskursas, yra neatsiejamas nuo autoriaus ar autorių, pristatomi reikšmingus įrašus Gardino miesto palimpseste palikę asmenys: Gardino seniūnas Tyzenhauzas, savitas kultūros formas brandinusi įvairiatautė miestietija, pilietinę ir patriotinę savimonę budinę LDK atstovai 1793 m. Gardino Seime. Tyrinėjami ir šių autorių tekstus skaičiusiųjų atsiliepimai: po Lietuvos ir Lenkijos žemes keliavusių svetimšalių memuarai, LDK veikėjų, poetų vertinimai. Skirtingų Gardino tekstų analizė leidžia į antrąją LDK sostinę pažvelgti kaip į ypatingą aurą ir mitologiją turintį miestą, savyje telkiantį ne tik Apšvietos epochai būdingus bruožus, bet ir vietinio kolorito atspalvius.

Kultūrinių ir politinių XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino tekstų skaitymas pradėdamas nuo ankstesnės miesto tekstūros įvertinimo. Iki XVIII a. vidurio Gardinas buvo laikomas vidutinio dydžio LDK miestu. Nuo XVII a. antros pusės čia rinkdavosi seimai. Visgi nei pastarasis faktas, nei tai, kad čia stovėjo karališkųjų statinių kompleksas ar greta

tekančiu Nemunu ėjo žinomas prekybos kelias, nesuteikė Gardinui tokio statuso, kokį turėjo svarbiausias LDK centras Vilnius. Tačiau nuo 1765 m., Tyzenhauzui tapus Gardino seniūnu, situacija iš esmės pasikeičia. Ne vienas Tyzenhauzo veiklą analizavęs tyrėjas pripažino, kad veik iš seimų išsilaikiusį miestą ir jo apylinkes naujasis seniūnas pavertė vienu iš svarbiausių ir tankiausiai apgyvendintų vietų ne tik LDK, bet ir visoje Lenkijos Karalystėje. Keitėsi ir senasis miesto veidas, nauji jo bruožai ėmė ryškėti pradėjus statyti Gardino priemiestį Horodnicą, o kiek vėliau ir Lososną. Be kita ko, sekdamas karališkojo dvaro pavyzdžiu, Tyzenhauzas rėmė knygų leidybą, mokslo tyrimus, jo iniciatyva į Gardiną buvo pakviesti ir čia kūrė žinomi to meto menininkai, kompozitoriai, teatro trupės. Prie reikšmingų Tyzenhauzo įrašų Gardino palimpseste priskiriamos ir Gardino karališkoji medicinos mokykla bei spaustuvė.

Daugialypio XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino teksto įžanga, taip pat ir svarbiausia jo dalimi laikytina Tyzenhauzo kurta Horodnica. Tačiau be jos, tiriamuoju laikotarpiu paliekami ir kiti, ne tokie ryškūs ir ne taip entuziastingai smalsių stebėtojų skaityti, bet esmingai miesto tekstūrą pildę įrašai. Reikšmingiausi iš jų – įvairiatautė miestietija, jos palikimas ir savotiška XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino kultūrinio gyvenimo reziumė tapę LDK atstovų 1793 m. Gardino Seime politiniai liudijimai.

Išvados

Tiriant XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino kultūrinį gyvenimą ir jį įtakojusią Apšvietos epochą, nustatyta, kad Europos Apšvietą pradėjusi švietėjiška filosofija LDK pasiekė keliais dešimtmečiais vėliau. Pirmuoju europinės Apšvietos ženklu įvardijus susidomėjimą filosofija (ypač *populiariąja*, *salonine*, daugeliu požiūrių nutolusia nuo bendrafilosofinės problematikos), LDK šis reiškinys datuotinas apie 1769 m., Narbutui išleidus scholastinį spekuliatyvumą kritikavusį, naują filosofijos traktuotę (aktualizuojančią filosofijos reikšmę ir praktinę naudą kasdieniame gyvenime) teikusį logikos vadovėlį. Tiek tuo metu naujos Narbuto idėjos, tiek profesionalios filosofijos, kaip disciplinos, pašalinimas iš mokymo programų, taip pat ir vakarietišku kraštu įtakos prisidėjo prie saloninės-pramoginės filosofijos išpopuliarėjimo Lenkijoje ir LDK.

Saloninis filosofavimas priešintas tradicinei katalikiškai pasaulėjautai ir sietas su laisvamanybe bei libertinizmu, įtraukusiu ne tik intelektualius švietėjus, bet ir iki tol tylėjusius miestelėnus bei moteris.

Antruoju Apšvietos pradžių žyminčiu ženklu įvardinta visuomenės sekuliarizacija buvo inspiruota pasikeitusios kultūrinės savimonės, akcentuoto rūpesčio šiapusiniu gyvenimu ir suvokimo, kad Dievo ir tikėjimo būtinybė lengvai pakeičiama galimybe, t.y. galimu pasirinkimu. LDK ryškesnės sekuliarizmo apraiškos pastebimos išpopuliarėjus saloniniam filosofavimui ir yra sietinos su libertiniškos visuomenės veiksmis bei nonkonformistine laikysena. Faktas, jog rašytinių liudijimų apie LDK libertinų veiklą, jų propaguotas idėjas išliko vos vienas kitas, leidžia daryti dvi prielaidas: pirma - libertinizmo fenomenas buvo paviršutinis ir trumpalaikis, todėl ir neįrašytas į daugialypį LDK kultūros tekstą, antra - katalikiškos cenzūros drausti libertiniški raštai buvo arba sunaikinti, arba platinti rankraščiais. Kliaunantis „atsakomosios“ teistinės literatūros gausa, įtikinamesnė atrodytų antroji prielaida.

Peržvelgus užsienio ir lietuvių mokslininkų studijas, gana skirtingai traktuojančias Apšvietos epochos problematiką, pasigesta aiškesnių atsakymų į šiame tyrime aktualizuojamą klausimą – kas buvo charakteringa švietėjiškam sąjūdžiui LDK. Tiriamo laikotarpio politinės bei ekonominės situacijos ir jos inspiruotų lūkesčių įvertinimas leidžia daryti išvadą, kad išskirtinis LDK Apšvietos bruožas buvo *sveika logika*, sieta su moralinių ir visuomeninių idealų įgyvendinimu ir priešinta Respublikos anarchijai. Skirtingai nei kitos, dažniausiai Vakarų Europos mokyklų išugdytos laikysenos, vadovavimasis sveiku protu buvo sąlygotas konkretaus krašto gyventojų poreikių.

Nuo gausios ir nuomonių atžvilgiu kontrastingos tiriamą epochą analizuojančios literatūros perėjus prie XVIII a. antros pusės Gardinui skirtų tyrimų, daroma išvada, kad lietuvių moksliniuose vertinimuose į Gardiną žvelgiama kaip į svetimą istorinių įvykių areną, o baltarusių ir lenkų traktuotėse LDK didybę menantis miestas be jokių išlygų pripažįstamas savu, atviru skirtingoms interpretacijoms. Atviri interpretacijoms yra ir beveik netyrinėti Gardino seniūno Tyzenhauzo laišakai, po LDK keliavusių ir savo įspūdžius užrašiusių XVIII a. Vakarų Europos autorių memuarai, taip pat LDK veikėjų atsiminimai, poetiniai tekstai, politinės kalbos.

XVIII a. europinės kultūros formų analizė fiksuoja kultūrinės ir kritinės minties proveržį, inspiravusį viešosios erdvės susiformavimą. Viešojoje XVIII a. antros pusės

erdvėje subrendo reakcija Berlino pavadinta Kontrapšvieta, kurios pradininkais laikytini trys vokiečių filosofai: Hamannas, Herderis ir Jacobis. Kontrapšvietos atstovai kritikavo Apšvietos sureikšmintą proto galią, ignoravusią religijos laisvę, toleranciją, leidusią atsirasti naujoms nepakantos, absoliutizmo ir utopizmo formoms. Tiriant XVIII a. antros pusės kultūrą, veikiama priešišku Apšvietos ir Kontrapšvietos įtampų, prieita prie išvados, kad dviejų opozicijų audrinama epocha įteisino kultūros kaip mokslo ir religijos sintezės sampratą.

Vertinant Apšvietos ir Kontrapšvietos judėjimus įvairiuose Vakarų ir Vidurio Europos regionuose, pastebėta, kad nei vienoje šalyje jie nebuvo taip apgalvotai organizuoti ir tokie kryptingi, kaip Prancūzijoje. Savo pasisakymais, publikacijomis prancūzai demonstravo išskirtinį intelektą, žinias ir savo pasekėjų kituose kraštuose (tarp jų ir LDK) buvo minimi ir cituojami dažniausiai.

Vakarų Europos Apšvietos ir Kontrapšvietos ideologija daugiausia buvo kurta ir populiarinta akademinio sluoksnio atstovų, o Vidurio Europoje panašias iniciatyvas rodė įvairias socialinius grupes atstovavę asmenys. LDK ir Lenkijos Karalystėje ryškesniu Kontrapšvietos blyksniu tampa chasidų judėjimas, savo idėjomis kėlęs maištą prieš kategorišką racionalizmą ir modernybę, propagavęs pamaldumą, Dievo meilę, tikėjimą stebuklais. Rasti rašto liudijimai leidžia daryti prielaidą, kad beveik netirtas Kontrapšvietos fenomenas LDK turėjo savitus raiškos ir poveikio visuomenei bruožus.

Aktualizuotas miesto, prilygstančio daugybiniam palimpsestui, vaizdinys į Gardiną leido pažvelgti kaip į skirtingus tekstus akumuliuvusį LDK centrą. Šių heterogeniškų tekstų analizė įtraukė ne tik jų rašymo, bet ir veik vienalaikio skaitymo procesus.

Tiriant kultūrinius ir politinius Gardino tekstus, analizuotos juos rašiusių autorių intencijos, laikysenos, taip pat jų statusas visuomenėje. Ši tyrimo kryptis reikalavo tikslesnės *piliečio* ir *miestiečio* sąvokų apibrėžties. Pasitelkus XVIII a. LDK rašytas kalbas, pamokslus, kitokio pobūdžio raštus, nustatyta, kad žodžiai *pilietis* ir *miestietis* dažnai vartoti sinonimiškai.

Prie reikšmingiausių įrašus XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino mieste palikusią autorių priskiriami: Gardino seniūnas Tyzenhauzas, LDK pasiuntiniai 1793 m. Gardino Seime, miesto kultūrinį veidą savitai formavę kitų tautybių ir konfesijų atstovai. Iš jų atskirai aptarti sentikiai ir nekrikščioniškas bendruomenės atstovavę žydai. Pastarieji sudarė gana didelę Gardino miestietijos dalį, tačiau tiriamuoju laikotarpiu (t.y. XVIII a. antroje

pusėje) miestiečių luomui nepriklausė (į jį integruoti tik carinės Rusijos valdžios XIX a. pradžioje).

Klasicistinio stiliaus miesto statyba, manufaktūrų ir fabrikų steigimas, pramonės plėtra, įvairios mokyklos, spaustuvė Gardino miesto palimpseste funkcionuoja kaip istoriškai svarbūs Tyzenhauzo palikti įrašai, XVIII a. antros pusės Gardiną pavertę moderniu ir pasauliui atviru miestu. Per stebėtinai trumpą laiką įgyvendinami užmojai Gardino seniūnui pelnė nepailstančio novatoriaus ir senos sistemos griovėjo vardą, kartu plėtė bičiulių, gerbėjų ir kritikuojančių priešininkų gretas. Tyzenhauzui adresuota kritika ir skleidžiamas šmeižtas įtakojo ir amžininkų rašomus tekstus. LDK veikėjų memuaruose, poetiniuose kūrinuose, skirtuose klestinčiam Gardinui aprašyti, Tyzenhauzo nuopelnai dažnai būdavo priskiriami karaliui Stanislovui Augustui. Tuose raštuose tiesiogiai neįvardintą, bet numanomą Gardino seniūno autorystę liudijo tik tam tikros nuorodos į jo atliktus darbus.

Platus Tyzenhauzo interesų ir veiklos laukas leidžia kalbėti apie jo domėjimąsi ir rūpestį pačiomis įvairiausiomis sritimis. Visuotinio intereso prioritetas, taip pat ir Kontrapšvietos programa, aktualizavusi tolerancijos įvairioms tikyboms klausimą, įtakojo seniūno sprendimą steigti miesto kapines ir protestantų bažnyčią.

Atskiro dėmesio verta, tyrimui reikšminga XVIII a. antros pusės medicinos tema bei su ja susijęs Gardino karališkosios medicinos mokyklos įkūrimas. Mokykla steigta siekiant papildyti anuomet itin negausias medikų gretas, taip mažinant sunkiai gydomomis ligomis sergančių ir nuo jų mirstančių žmonių skaičių. Iš Prancūzijos Tyzenhauzo pakviestas garsus medicinos profesorius Gilibertas ne tik ėmėsi vadovauti Gardino karališkajai medicinos mokyklai, bet ir įkūrė vieną gražiausių Europoje botanikos sodą, vykdė medicininius tyrimus visoje LDK, rengė ir publikavo mokslinius straipsnius, dirbo vyriausiuoju gydytoju Gardino ligoninėje. Tyzenhauzo ir prancūzų mokslininko interesai sutapo – jiedu bendradarbiavo iki pat Gardino seniūno karjeros pabaigos.

Tiesiogią įtaką XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino kultūriniam gyvenimui darė ir Tyzenhauzo įsteigtos spaustuvės veikla. Ištyrus joje spausdintų leidinių pobūdį, jie suskirstyti į tris stambesnes grupes: knygas (originalus lenkų kalba ir vertimus), kalbas ir pamokslus, periodinius leidinius. Gardino spaustuvės leidinių analizė rodo, kad į

karališką privilegiją įtrauktas reikalavimas spausdinti vien lenkiškus elementorius ir religinę literatūrą buvo ignoruojamas.

Tiriant Gardino spaustuvėje leistas knygas, išskirtas kelių leidimų sulaukęs anoniminio autoriaus veikalas *Prezent dla żon*, XVIII a. europinės literatūros kontekste funkcionuojantis kaip vienas iš charakteringiausių vyriškos autorystės didaktinių tekstų, savitai perteikęs to meto populiarių filosofų Voltaire'o, Locke'o, Rousseau švietėjiškas mintis.

Iš verstinių knygų (jų, remiantis bibliografiniais tyrimais, Gardino spaustuvė išleido daugiau nei originalų) analizuotos Berkeley'aus *Informacya a cnotach y skutkach wody żywicznejey* ir Bergierio *Traktat dziejowego i dogmatycznego prawdziwej religii*. Fiksuojant pakartotinius šių veikalų leidimus, teigtina, kad XVIII a. antros pusės skaitančioji (raštinga) LDK visuomenė praktikavo *intensyvų* (tų pačių knygų daugkartinį) skaitymą ir mieliau rinkosi ne švietėjų-enciklopedistų veikalus, bet Kontrapšvietos ideologijai antrinančius tekstus. Šis gebėjimas rinktis laikytinas svarbiu demokratiškos visuomenės bruožu.

Gardino spaustuvės leista skirtingo turinio ir formos literatūra - ne tik knygos, bet ir LDK Vyriausiojo Tribunolo maršalkų, Seimo deputatų, pamokslininkų pranešimai bei kalbos - leidžia kalbėti apie kintančius visuomenės poreikius, glaudžiai susijusius su XVIII a. antroje pusėje prasidėjusiais modernizacijos procesais, skatinusiais iš naujo įvertinti ne tik savo prievoles ir įsipareigojimus, bet ir teises.

Trečiajai Gardino spaustuvės leidinių grupei – periodikai priskirtini savaitraštis *Gazietą Grodzieńską* ir kalendorius *Kalendarz Grodzieński*. Lyginant šiuos leidinius su Vilniuje leistais *Kuryer Litewski* ir *Kalendarz Wileński*, akivaizdus pastarųjų teikiamos informacijos vienodumas ir blankumas. Gardine spausdinta periodika išsiskiria įvairesnėmis, kartu ir originalesnėmis publikacijomis. Tiriant kalendorius, išvelgta švietėjiška paskata pažindinti skaitytojus su naujausiais pasiekimais medicinos, tikslųjų mokslų srityse, inicijuoti jų aktyvumą, keliant ir sprendžiant to meto visuomenei aktualius klausimus. Savo forma ir medžiagos išdėstymu kalendoriai buvo panašūs į tradicines maldaknyges, tad raštingos daugumos noriai pirkti ir skaityti. Nuodugni kalendorių publikacijų analizė leido identifikuoti ir jų skaitytoją – įvairiatautį, skirtingas religijas išpažįstantį miesto gyventoją.

Konstatuojant, kad Tyzenhauzo įrašai yra svarbiausi XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino palimpseste, tirti ir kiti šio miesto kultūriniai bei politiniai tekstai, priklausę įvairiatautei miestietijai ir LDK pasiuntiniams 1793 m. Gardino Seime.

Kitataučiams ir kitatikiams vadinti pasirinktas *etninės grupės* terminas, kaip neutralus ir priimtinas akademiniam diskurse. Tikslintos ir kitos sąvokos: *miestietis*, *miesto pilietis* ir *miesto gyventojas*. Pažymėta, kad reikšmingai XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino veidą, jo kultūrinį ir ekonominį gyvenimą keitę žydai miestiečių luomui nepriklausė. Jie gyveno socialinėje ir kultūrinėje atskirtyje ir turėjo ne miestiečių ar miesto piliečių, bet miesto gyventojų statusą.

Kita itin savita Gardino miestietijos dalis – iš Rusijos dėl religinių persekiojimų pabėgę sentikiai, skirtingai nei nekrikščioniškų bendruomenių atstovai, miesto piliečiais tapti galėjo. Stokojant patikimų šaltinių, nėra aišku, kiek sentikių ta galimybe pasinaudojo. Klausimai keltini ir dėl kitų sentikių gyvenimosios ypatumų LDK (pvz., dėl sambūvio su čiabuviais, skirtingų tautybių, konfesijų žmonėmis). Neabejojama dėl Gardine spausdintos religinės sentikių literatūros svarbos, jos reikšmės senosios stačiatikybės tradicijoms bei LDK paveldui.

LDK pasiuntinių 1793 m. Gardino Seime pasisakymai vertintini kaip reikšmingi įrašai daugiaženkliame XVIII a. antros pusės Gardino palimpseste. *Nebylaus, gėdingojo* Seimo fone jie funkcionuoja kaip išskirtiniai, naujoms analizėms atviri XVIII a. pilietiškumo ir patriotizmo liudijimai.

List of publications on the subject of dissertation

1. „Lietuviškos sąmonės neidentifikuotas LDK miestas: Antano Tyzenhauzo laikų Gardinas“, in: *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, 29 kn., Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2010, p. 143-163.
2. „XVIII amžiaus antrosios pusės LDK universalieji laikmačiai: Vilniaus ir Gardino kalendoriai“, in: *Literatūra*, nr. 52, Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2010, p. 7-19.
3. „Išiviško gyvenimo patirtys XVIII a. pabaigos – XIX a. Lietuvoje: kitataučių įvaizdis keliautojų po Lietuvą atsiminimuose“, in: *Oikos: lietuvių migracijos ir diasporos studijos*, nr. 2 (12), Vilnius: Versus aureus, 2011, p. 52-58.

Conference presentations on the subject of dissertation

1. *Egzilinė tapatybė literatūroje*, Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas Išivijos studijų centras, 2011 04 08, pranešimas „Išiviško gyvenimo patirtys XVIII a. pabaigos – XIX a. Lietuvoje: kitataučių įvaizdis keliautojų po Lietuvą atsiminimuose“.
2. *LOMONOSOV 2011*, Maskvos valstybinis M. V. Lomonosovo universitetas, 2011 04 14, pranešimas „The Reflection of Two Cultural Epochs in Lithuanian Religious Texts in the Second Half of the 18th Century“.

Apie autoreę

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