

V. EARLY MODERN TIMES: THE CLERGY

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THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE CLERGY IN THE POLISH LUTHERAN PARISH IN KÖNIGSBERG, 16th–18th CENTURIES

1. An outline history of the parish

The Polish Lutheran parish of St. Nicholas was one of many religious communities in former Königsberg, composed of representatives of different confessions and nationalities. Since 1544 the function of the Polish Evangelical preacher in the town on the Pregola was fulfilled by Jan Seklucjan¹. A Polish parish was opened after 1551 and incorporated the church of St. Nicholas in the suburb of Kamienna Grobla (Steindamm); up to 1603, it was accompanied by an adjacent Lithuanian church. Since the Polish inhabitants of Königsberg were scattered, the range of the parish encompassed the entire municipal complex, *i.e.* the Old Town (Altstatdt), Lipnik (Loebenicht), Knipawa (Kneiphof) and the suburbs. At the beginning of the seventeenth century its members included about 15% of the residents of Königsberg (which in 1550 had a population of *circa* 14,000, and in the first half of the seventeenth century — around 25–30,000)².

¹ I. Warmiński, *Andrzej Samuel i Jan Seklucjan (Andrzej Samuel and Jan Seklucjan)*, Poznań 1906, pp. 170–471; J. Seklucjan, *Wybór pism (Selected Writings)*, prep. by S. Rospond, Olsztyn 1979, pp. XV–XL, 29.

² J. Jasiński, *Historia Królewca. Szkice z XII–XX stulecia (History of Königsberg. Sketches from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Century)*, Olsztyn 1994, pp. 56–60; A. Harnoch, *Chronik und Statistik der evangelischen Kirchen in den Provinzen Ost- und Westpreussen*, Neidenburg 1890, pp. 37–38.

The patrons of the parish included both the Duke (and subsequently the King) of Prussia and the councils of the three towns which made up Königsberg (merged into a single whole in 1724). This situation produced competence controversies especially as regards the posts of the pastor and the dean (vicar, preacher). The right to appoint the pastor was enjoyed by the ruler, but the former was granted his office by the councils. The post of the dean was entrusted by the mayors and councils of the three towns, and later on the mayor and council of united Königsberg. Furthermore, the municipal authorities nominated a teacher of the parish school and conducted inspections of the church property, managed by the parish council, composed of 4–6 elders. At the same time, the Polish church was administratively supervised by the Old Town parish, which received part of the revenues, while the Old Town pastors controlled the functioning of the Polish community³.

The middle of the eighteenth century marked the end of the flourishing of the Polish parish. In 1747–1750, it concentrated 1,600–1,700 faithful (4–5% of the residents of Königsberg, which at the time had a population of 40,000), whose number constantly diminished as a result of progressing Germanisation. The post of the dean was liquidated in 1808, and the parish itself was dissolved in 1880⁴.

The Polish Lutheran community in Königsberg played an important role in the religious life of the town, and its ecclesiastical leaders, pastors and deans, exerted a significant impact on Polish religious life in Prussia, mainly as authors, translators and publishers of religious literature in Polish. The post of the pastor in Kamienna Grobla was attractive and sought by the most outstanding Polish clergymen, many of whom spent the major part of their lives in the parish of St. Nicholas, having climbed the consecutive rungs of a Church career⁵. The article presented

³ P. Fijałkowski, *Parafia św. Mikołaja na Kamiennej Grobli w Królewcu jako centrum luteranizmu polskiego w XVIII wieku (The Parish of St. Nicholas in Kamienna Grobla in Königsberg as the Centre of Polish Lutherans during the Eighteenth Century)*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie", 1997, № 1 (215), pp. 23–34; *idem*, *Z dziejów polskiej parafii luterskiej w Królewcu (From the History of the Polish Lutheran Parish in Königsberg)*, "Borussia", 1995, № 10, pp. 243–246.

⁴ W. Chojnacki, *Zbory polsko-ewangelickie w byłych Prusach Wschodnich w XVI–XX w. (Polish-Evangelical Churches in Former Eastern Prussia during the Sixteenth–Twentieth Century)*, "Reformacja w Polsce", vol. 12: 1953–1955, pp. 349–351; P. Fijałkowski, *Parafia*, pp. 31–32.

⁵ P. Fijałkowski, *Z dziejów*, pp. 240–248.

below is an attempted reconstruction of the conditions in which the clergy conducted their pastoral activity and, predominantly, a recreation of the material foundations of the existence of the clergymen and their families.

2. The pastoral duties of the pastors and deans

Starting with 1544 services in Polish were held in two main churches in Königsberg, *i.e.* the cathedral in Knipawa and the parish church of the Old Town. The emergent Polish religious community was deprived of a permanent seat, and its pastor did not have such the status and endowment as the pastors of other parishes. This is the reason why in 1551 Jan Seklucjan addressed a petition to Duke Albrecht Hohenzollern in which he wrote: "May your Ducal Highness establish a certain place in which I would be able to dispense the Holy Sacraments to those who would wish to receive them, so that people would not wander around churches holding pieces of paper [for the purposes of confession — P. F.] as has been the habit up to now, and need not seek those who should administer the Sacrament, which discourages many from receiving it even if they greatly wished to do so"⁶. After the formal creation of the parish and the entrusting to Seklucjan of the function of its pastor, the centre of Polish religious life was the church in Kamienna Grobla. Nonetheless, services in Polish still continued to take place in the cathedral and the Old Town church. Consequently, in 1574 Duke Albrecht Friedrich granted to the aging Jan Seklucjan an assistant (adjunct) — Rev. Leonard Dembowius.

In 1595, Rev. Stefan Wilkow (Wilkau) described his pastoral duties: "I was to give a sermon in three churches: in the Old Town, Knipawa and Kamienna Grobla, and thus with considerable difficulties trail my parishioners after me. I was supposed to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with the Lithuanian pastor *alternatim vocem* on one Sunday, while on another Sunday by myself at St. Nicholas in Kamienna Grobla, and to hear confession in all the towns. After a sermon in Kamienna Grobla I was forced to do the same at noon in Knipawa and the Old Town"⁷.

⁶ A. Grzybowski, *Geschichte der evangelischen Steindammer Kirche zu Königsberg in Preussen aus Anlaß ihres 650 jährigen Jubiläums*, Königsberg 1905, p. 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

The joint use of the church of St. Nicholas by two congregations: Polish and Lithuanian, frequently led to controversies and conflicts. Particularly strong emotions were incited by services held for the Germans living in Kamienna Grobla. During the important Church holidays (Christmas, Easter and Whitsun) a morning service for the Lithuanians was followed by one for the Poles. On the first day of the holidays, the Polish pastor also had an afternoon sermon, which was frequently disturbed since in its course the Germans gathered for vespers. "This is the onset of quarrels and clashes for places in the church" — we read in a petition written by members of the Polish parish in 1602 — "and when the pastor orders or proposes something, the bell is rung. Once again loud cries and quarrels start, leading to brawls, which is a true shame. The pastor does not hear his own words, must interrupt the sermon, and leaves the pulpit, while the poor people are pushed and driven out of the church"⁸. The following service on the same day was vespers in Lithuanian; as late as 3 p.m. the Poles once again reappeared in the church. The pastor spent the whole afternoon and evening hearing confessions (at the time the confessional was not used), and since the number of the faithful frequently totalled 150–200, the confessions lasted until 8 p.m. and even 9 p.m. There was not enough time for all the willing, so that many of the parishioners were forced to go home without having said their confession and receiving absolution.

The second day of the holidays was the time for a service in Polish with the Lord's Supper. Since the pastor alone dispensed Communion, it lasted for a long time, "too long for the poor people, especially the expectant and the sick, as well as those who cared for their ill at home". Frequently, Holy Communion was interrupted by a bell announcing the afternoon sermon. Upon those occasions, the pastor was compelled to hurry to the cathedral or the Old Town church, "without having eaten or drunk anything, and to once again preach and sing". During certain periods of time, e. g. Easter, Polish services were not held, thus depriving the congregation of access to the Sacraments. Meanwhile, the towns were frequently the site of epidemics "and the poor, scattered in the suburbs, find it difficult to call for the clergyman, and thus die sinful". The level of the religious education of a large part of the parishioners was very low. "There are many Polish

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

servants from Mazovia, the Polish border and papacy (*i.e.* Warmia — P. F.), who barely know *Our Father* and *Ave Maria*. When they approach the Lord's table, the priest suffers with them in the confessional and chides them, so that they never come again. They need catechism more than precious bread; there is no separate church in which sermons could be heard before noon and catechism taught in the afternoon" — wrote the enlightened members of the Polish congregation in 1602 to the councils of the three Königsberg towns, asking for support for their petition to the ducal government concerning the handing over of the church in Kamienna Grobla exclusively to the Poles⁹.

In 1603, Lithuanian sermons were transferred to the chapel of St. Elizabeth in the suburb of Sackheim. The church of St. Nicholas became the seat of the Polish parish, but, at the same time, the authorities liquidated sermons in Polish in the parish church in the Old Town and the cathedral in Knipawa¹⁰. Consequently, services in the church in Kamienna Grobla were attended by crowds of the faithful, increasing with time. "A great number of the Polish servants reside in the three towns and the suburbs, and continues to multiply" — wrote the members of a council held in June 1613 in a report addressed to the ducal governors, proposing that Adam Nadrowius, the teacher at the Polish parish school, be appointed the assistant (adjunct) of pastor Wilkow. The Duke agreed, but soon it became necessary to seek a more permanent solution, namely, the establishment of a second post in the parish. The office of the dean (vicar) was set up in March 1620, and duties were divided between both clergymen¹¹.

During the 1620s the number of the faithful attending services in the Polish church was so large that some were forced to stand outside the building. For this reason, in 1632 the old practice of reading sermons in Polish in the main churches in Königsberg was revived. From that time on, they took place in the Old Town church, the cathedral and the church in Lipnik¹². Such sermons were actually services, composed of hymns, prayers,

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*; A. Harnoch, *op. cit.*, p. 38, dates the division of the churches as 1602, a date which is echoed by the majority of authors.

¹¹ A. Grzybowski, *op. cit.*, p. 12, 52, 87–89.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 78; W. Chojnacki, *Zbory*, pp. 349–351.

readings and sermons (and on more significant holidays also Holy Communion). Once again, the pastor and the dean were burdened with more work. Upon the basis of documents from the second half of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century we may conclude that the fulfilment of pastoral duties was very onerous and called for enormous strength as well as excellent physical and mental well being.

On Sundays and during the holidays services in the church of St. Nicholas began at 7 a.m. and ended about 10 a.m., and during the great holidays — at 10.30 a.m. Next, both clergymen hurried on their way: one to the church in the Old Town, and the other — to the cathedral (some 600 metres away), where at 11 a.m. they were to start the Polish sermons. Nevertheless, the main German services in those churches were frequently prolonged — upon such occasions, the sermon in Polish started as late as noon and was said in a great hurry since soon the German faithful started gathering for their next service. About 2 p.m. the dean started lessons for children in the church in Kamienna Grobla, which ended before 4 p.m. The pastor said a sermon in the church in Lipnik (some 700 metres from the church of St. Nicholas). In this manner, regardless of the time of year and the weather, both priests were forced to cross considerable distances within the three towns of Königsberg, and only in the late afternoon were they capable of enjoying a decent meal. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, dean Krystian Pastinatus complained that “on Sundays and during the holidays I can eat something as late as 4 p.m.”¹³

Frequently, overly lengthy sermons prolonged services in the church of St. Nicholas. Sometimes, the parishioners complained to the Church authorities about preachers who presented their arguments for more than two hours. It is not surprising, therefore, that already at the beginning of the seventeenth century the parish purchased an hourglass, which was placed on the pulpit. Quite possibly, the problem was eliminated by an edict issued by the King of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm I on 30 December 1729, forbidding under the threat of a fine, to deliver sermons longer than an hour. Since, however, sermons were also the time for reading the decrees of the ruler, police notices, regulations concerning servants' wages and the principles of renting housing,

¹³ A. Grzybowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–46, 60–61.

etc. the parishioners were frequently simply bored. During the services many moved towards the choir so that in the semidarkness in that part of the church they could stealthily leave the church unnoticed. At times, even the musicians and members of the choir fled before the end of the sermon, although they were strictly forbidden to do so. The bored parishioners did various things in the church, and some even ate. After the service, the stalls were full of refuse, despite the fact that the bell ringer and other church servants were obligated to keep order, and parishioners caught scattering dirt were publicly penalised¹⁴.

As has been mentioned previously, the Polish parish did not have definite boundaries and encompassed Poles in Königsberg living in the three towns and the suburbs (Haberberg, Alten Garten, Rossgarten and Sackheim). The duties of the two clergymen included regular visits at the homes of the parishioners, where they tested knowledge of the catechism. Furthermore, they were expected to visit the ill in hospitals and houses of pestilence and even in the villages around Königsberg. They also performed pastoral services for soldiers stationing in town. The heads of the household belonging to the parish had to have a steady confessor: the pastor or the dean. On the other hand, servants could confess each time to a different priest. In 1680, they too were ascribed to a single confessor (mainly due to the payments made in return for confessions). Persons who for a longer period of time had not gone to confession nor received Holy Communion were reprimanded by the pastor: first in private, and then from the pulpit, although no names were mentioned. If those steps proved ineffective and the parishioner continued to scandalize due to his sinful conduct, the pastor excluded him from the community, in other words, placed him under a curse. The anathemised sinner, wishing to gain absolution, was compelled to stand in front of the altar during the service, "so that the preacher could show him to all people [...] and after the sermon the church servant, or the bell ringer, as he is known, [could — P. F.] order him to leave the church"¹⁵.

¹⁴ P. Fijałkowski, *Ksiądz Jerzy Skrodzki (1635–1682) — duszpasterz i twórca literatury religijnej (Rev. Jerzy Skrodzki 1635–1682 — Pastor and Creator of Religious Literature)*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie", 1998, № 1 (219), p. 113.

¹⁵ A. Grzybowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–45, 55–61; T. Wojak, *Ustawy kościelne w Prusach Książęcych w XVI w. (Church Statutes in Ducal Prussia during the Sixteenth Century)*, Warszawa 1993, p. 80.

Conflicts between the clergymen working in the parish flared up mainly in the second half of the seventeenth century, and were associated with material problems. In about the middle of that century many of parishioners had left the Polish community and joined the German congregations, thus reducing the income of the church treasury as well as the revenues of the pastors and deans received in return for pastoral services (christenings, weddings, funerals, etc. the so-called *iura stolae*). Moreover, wages owed according to the vocational acts were paid irregularly. In such circumstances, at the beginning of the 1660s, pastor Wawrzyniec Rast tried to appropriate one part of the income of the dean, a post held at the time by Rev. Jerzy Skrodzki, simultaneously encumbering him with part of his duties. As a result, the dean complained to the Old Town council and charged the pastor with violating Church discipline. The dispute conducted in 1676–1680 between pastor Jerzy Skrodzki and dean Fryderyk Mortzfeld, to be discussed later on, pertained to a division of revenues from pastoral services¹⁶. A significant crisis took place in 1682, when after the death of Rev. Skrodzki the pastoral office was sought by dean Mortzfeld and Rev. Marcin Małecki (Maletius) from Klus near Elk. The parishioners wished to have the heretofore dean as their pastor. Having become acquainted with Rev. Małecki during a trial sermon, they concluded that he spoke too quietly and unclearly, and that as an old and weak person he would be incapable of providing pastoral service for all members of the scattered parish. Despite the protest of the parishioners, who even threatened that they would abandon the congregation and join other parishes, the ducal governors nominated Małecki. The parish council reacted by boycotting the new pastor, and dean Mortzfeld embarked upon an ideological battle against his superior, accusing him in 1684 and 1685 of proclaiming teachings about christening contrary to the Augsburg Confession (the pastor delayed the baptism of his daughter for many weeks). Pastor Małecki was extremely harsh towards his parishioners; in attacks of sheer fury he called them, sometimes publicly during a service, damned madmen¹⁷.

The onset of the eighteenth century witnessed a decrease in the number of the faithful attending Polish sermons in the

¹⁶ P. Fijałkowski, *Ksiądz Jerzy*, pp. 111–112.

¹⁷ A. Grzybowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–46, 57–58.

churches in Knipawa, the Old Town and Lipnik. Consequently, Krystian Pastinatus, dean in 1711–1721, shouldering numerous tasks, postulated, together with the parish council, that the sermons become liquidated. In about 1740, sermons were delivered in Polish by the dean in the cathedral in Knipawa (one Sunday) and then in the parish church in the Old Town (the following Sunday)¹⁸. The liquidation of Polish sermons in the main churches in Königsberg took place in 1742, although it too was not absolute. The dean was still supposed to read sermons during the three most important Church holidays and four days of repentance. It was also decided that the pastor and the dean interchangeably would celebrate vespers from 1 p.m. to 2 p.m. on every Sunday and during all holidays in the church of St. Nicholas together with a sermon and catechesis¹⁹. Services in German appeared in the church in Kamienna Grobla from the end of the eighteenth century. During the 1790s services were available for the military. This last decision in particular met with protest on the part of the wealthy members of the parish who subsequently left it²⁰. We may only surmise that this demonstration weakened even further the Polish congregation. The post of dean was liquidated in 1808, and in about 1817 the church in Kamienna Grobla held only a single (morning) service in Polish on Sundays and during the holidays)²¹.

3. The endowment of clergymen and the foundation of the subsistence of their families

As late as 1609 the first Polish pastors did not receive any remuneration from the Church offering boxes. Their situation must have been much worse than that of the Lithuanian clergy, paid by the parish (81 marks in 1584) and still suffering from want. In 1554, the Lithuanian preacher Bartłomiej Wilentis complained to Duke Albrecht that his wages barely sufficed for running a home and made it totally impossible to buy theological

¹⁸ J. H. L., *Verbessertes Verzeichniss der preussischen Bischöfe und evangelischen Prediger zu Koenigsberg in Preussen seit der Reformation bis auf diese Zeit, Erleutertes Preussen oder Auserlesene Anmerckungen über verschiedene zur preussischerl Kirchen-, Civil- und Gelehrten Historie gehörige besondere Dinge*, vol. 5, 1742, fasc. II, p. 742, 760.

¹⁹ A. Grzybowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–62.

²⁰ W. Chojnacki, *Zbory*, pp. 349–351; P. Fijałkowski, *Parafia*, p. 34.

²¹ J. U. Niemcewicz, *Podróże historyczne po ziemiach polskich między rokiem 1811 a 1828 odbyte (Historical Journey across Polish Lands between 1811 and 1828)*, Paris–St. Petersburg 1858, p. 276; A. Grzybowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–32.

works²². The payment received by Jan Seklucjan were initially composed of 40 *marks* paid annually by the council of the Old Town, meals at the court of the Duke, and a single vestment. This probably did not meet his needs especially when in 1551 he married Anna Fenig. In 1558 he requested from the Königsberg councilors a rise and free-of-charge fuel. In July 1575 Jan turned to the Duke for additional food, which would save him and his sick wife from hunger. The Duke increased the endowment of the Polish pastor with an allowance of 30 half bushels (*półkorce*) of rye and 30 half bushels of malt annually, while the Bishop of Sambia granted him 10 *marks* on a lifelong basis²³.

The successor of Seklucjan, Rev. Leonard Dembowius, was unable to meet the needs of his family upon the basis of his fundamental pay, and grew indebted. In an undated letter to the Duke he asked for an additional remuneration in the form of 10 half bushels of rye, several fitches of salt bacons, and half a barrel of a beverage (beer?) annually so that: "I could have the basic food for my children"²⁴. Unfortunately, we do not have any data about the size of the Dembowius family, which makes impossible detailed reflections about its living conditions.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century pastors were paid by the above mentioned sources and the parish of St. Nicholas, which undoubtedly improved their material situation. On the other hand, Adam Nadrowius, appointed assistant pastor in 1613, received no more than 24 *marks* annually. Since he was simultaneously a teacher at the parish school, with an annual wage of 35 *marks*, his income totalled 59 *marks*. In 1607, when he was only a teacher, he asked the Duke for some grain, bread and warm clothes for the winter, so that he could provide for his wife and fulfil his duties. In 1614, already as an assistant pastor, he requested that his endowment be increased: "I do not have a single piece of wood to burn in the stove, and apart from that I am expected to visit the sick not only in the ducal estates, but

²² A. Grzybowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–11.

²³ I. Warmiński, *op. cit.*, pp. 173–175, 415–419; one half bushel (*korzec pruski, szefel*) equalled to 54.7–54.9 litre — I. Hnatowicz, *Vademecum do badań nad historią XIX i XX wieku (Vademecum for Historical Studies on the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century)*, Warszawa 1967, vol. 1, p. 45, 76; R. Stein, *Die Umwandlung der Agrarverfassung Ostpreussens durch die Reform des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, Jena 1918, p. 23).

²⁴ A. Grzybowski, *op. cit.*, p.41.

also in the suburbs, stud farms and elsewhere". Most probably, his request remained unsettled since he left the parish²⁵.

Rev. Seklucjan was forced to support himself and his wife for 50 *marks* annually, supplemented with food allowances. The family budget of Rev. Dembowius was composed of 40 *marks* and allowances. Rev. Nadrowius had at his disposal 59 *marks*. To what extent were those sums capable of meeting the daily needs of the clergymen and their families? Research conducted by A. Wyczański shows that at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century the cost of the daily upkeep of a single family was 1–1.5 penny (*groszy, groschen*)²⁶. True, those calculations refer to the manorial servants and thus to the lowest strata of society, but we might accept with a great dose of probability that the annual costs of food for two persons with modest culinary requirements oscillated between 36 and 55 *marks*²⁷. It follows that Jan Seklucjan was capable of feeding and perhaps supplying clothes both for himself and his wife. At this point, it seems worth drawing attention to the allowance of 30 half bushels of rye due to him. In accordance with findings made by A. Klonder, flour obtained from milling 5 half bushels of rye was enough for baking bread sufficient for a single adult for a whole year²⁸. 30 half bushels could, therefore, be used for making bread for at least six persons, and to a considerable degree reduced the costs of food purchases. The complaints made by Rev. Seklucjan and Rev. Dembowius, mentioning their poverty, and requests for support testify that they had numerous children, which Seklucjan did not mention in his petitions. In the case of dean Nadrowius, already the presence of one or two children could have rendered his material situation very difficult.

When the function of a dean was established in 1620, the regents of the Duchy granted him an endowment of 140 *marks*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 52, 68.

²⁶ A. Wyczański, *Studia nad konsumpcją żywności w Polsce w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII w. (Studies in Food Consumption in Poland during the Sixteenth Century and the First Half of the Seventeenth Century)*, Warszawa 1969, pp. 162–163.

²⁷ 1 marka = 20 pennies (I. Ihnatowicz, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 89); R. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 24; M. Toeppen, *Geschichte Mazurens. Ein Beitrag zur preußischen Landes- und Kulturgeschichte*, Danzig 1870, pp. 266–270.

²⁸ A. Klonder, *Wyżywienie w szkołach w Szczecinie, Toruniu i Joachimsthal w początkach XVII wieku (Nutrition in Schools in Szczecin, Toruń and Joachimsthal at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century)*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", vol. 37: 1989, № 2, p. 315.

and an allowance of 20 half bushels of rye, 20 half bushels of malt, a bundle of timber, and one pastoral vestment annually; from the council of the Old Town he received 100 *marks*, and from the hospital — 50 *mark* annually (for pastoral care for the sick)²⁹. Probably already at that time, he was also supposed to receive remuneration from the Polish parish. After 1632, the revenues of the dean grew in connection with the revival of Polish sermons in the main churches in Königsberg.

During the second half of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century the pastor and the dean received, apart from the ducal wages, remuneration from the Old Town church, the cathedral in Knipawa, the church in Lipnik, the municipal treasury and the church in Kamienna Grobla. Not always did they get the whole of those sums, or on time. The ducal officials paid very irregularly, or several years in a row they did not pay any money due to the pastor and the dean; they also delayed providing the allowances, which was the cause of serious financial problems experienced by both clergymen. Consequently, the latter were forced to seek additional occupations and run into debts, which deteriorated their situation even further.

Rev. Wawrzyniec Rast complained to the Duke that immediately after being appointed pastor (1660) he had not received 70 *marks*, 60 *marks* for vestments, 12 barrels of beer, or 30 half bushels of malt, 30 half bushels of rye and 2 bundles of firewood, due to him according to the installation act³⁰. The agreement between Rev. Skrodzki and Rev. Mortzfeld, signed on 1 November 1676 thanks to the mediation of the consistory and the municipal authorities, and signed by the two warring parties and Jerzy Damm, the pastor of the Old Town, as well as Cyriak Heilsberger, the councilor of the Old Town, contains an aside mentioning that for 15 years Skrodzki held the office of dean, “which, God knows, makes for poor upkeep, and additionally was forced to seek means obtained elsewhere”³¹. In about 1680, Skrodzki and Mortzfeld wrote in a letter addressed to the Duke that the remuneration due to them from the councils of the churches of Königsberg was paid with a delay, while the wages and allowances

²⁹ A. Grzybowski, *op. cit.*, p. 12; one bundle of firewood equals to 360 cubic feet (about 11 cubic metres) — R. Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24.

³⁰ A. Grzybowski, *op. cit.*, p. 42; one barrel = 141 litres, and from 1714 — 114.5 litres (R. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 23; I. Ichnatowicz, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 67).

³¹ A. Grzybowski, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

from the Duke were granted either partially or not at all. The pastor called for the payment of 440 *thalers* (1,980 *marks*) due to him for the past three years, two barrels of beer, 10 half bushels of rye and one bundle of firewood. The dean demanded the overdue 60 *thalers* (270 *marks*), 15 half bushels of malt and half a bundle of firewood³².

Whenever the payers fulfilled their duties, the pastor received a total of 713 *marks* and 120 pennies, 30 half bushels of rye, 30 half bushels of malt or 12 barrels of beer and 9 bundles of firewood annually. In addition, he was paid for pastoral services (so-called *iura stolae*), and received free-of charge accommodation and a garden. The dean's income, also obtained from the above mentioned sources, was much smaller: 448 *marks*, 20 half bushels of rye and the same amount of malt, as well as 7 bundles of firewood. His living quarters were not as large and comfortable as those of the pastor, and the revenue received in return for pastoral services was smaller³³.

In 1676 Rev. Jerzy Skrodzki and dean Fryderyk Mortzfeld became embroiled in the above mentioned dispute concerning the division of the *iura stolae*. At the time, Rev. Skrodzki resigned from part of the income guaranteed in the vocational act; as a result, payments for christenings, weddings, funerals and "funeral sermons" (services), confessions, visits to the dying and certificates and registrar acts were to be divided equally between the two clergymen. The pastor reserved for himself all the incomes from the banns and part of the burial payments (2 pennies from each burial in the Polish and Old Town parishes), while the dean received payments for opening the church³⁴.

Now for the housing of the clergy. First information about a vicarage comes from 1609 and mentions the repair conducted at the time. The walls were panelled with wood and wall-papered, using up 11 "books of painted paper"³⁵. In 1613, the vicarage and the tenement house belonging to the parish were in a state of near collapse; consequently, they were pulled down and in the next year replaced with new brick objects. In 1620, the heretofore

³² *Ibid.*, p. 57; 1 *thaler* = 90 *groszy* — Z. Żabiński, *Systemy pieniężne na ziemiach polskich (Monetary Systems in Polish Lands)*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1981, p. 165, 169.

³³ A. Grzybowski, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

³⁴ P. Fijałkowski, *Ksiądz Jerzy*, p. 112.

³⁵ A. Grzybowski, *op. cit.*, p. 10, 17.

rented homes (probably two rooms) were intended for the dean. In 1720, the vicarage was pulled down, and a new was built. In 1737, the parish was the owner of, i. a. the houses of the pastor and the dean³⁶.

Upon the basis of these very modest data it is difficult to establish the size and standard of the accommodation due to clergymen working in the parish. Presumably, from 1620 to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the dean had at his disposal two-room quarters. The size of the accommodation of the pastor remains unknown. We do know that in about 1680 it was larger than that of the dean, and thus could have consisted of three rooms. At least from the 1730s the pastor and the dean had at their disposal independent houses, probably no larger than the parish school, which in 1760 was composed of four rooms (of which two were used as the one-room quarters of the rector and the teacher-cantor)³⁷.

The majority of the clergymen married immediately after obtaining the function of the dean, and their first children were born in successive years. Having assumed the post of the pastor, the family reached its maximum size. The size of the families of the pastors and deans was extremely differentiated. Rev. Krzysztof Liebruder was married twice: first to Katarzyna Vollhahn, then to Gertruda Hagin, and had two daughters. His contemporary, dean Michał Battalowius (who fulfilled this function since 1626 until his death in 1642) was married to Elżbieta Hennig, and had a son and three daughters. Pastor Marcin Małecki married Katarzyna Pelkowska in 1665 and had 11 children: five sons and six daughters. A *sul generis* record was broken by the thrice married Rev. Jan Jakub Graeber. In 1689 he married Maria Elżbieta Kuntzmann, with whom he had 17 children (9 sons and 8 daughters). The second wife was a widow, Maria Kolckin, born Seeger. In 1723, at the end of his life, Rev. Graeber married Joanna Magdalena Heidensguss, with whom he had four children. Rev. Marcin Zygmunt Zieleński was married twice: to Regina Schultz and Barbara Ludert. With his first wife, married in 1723, he had eight children³⁸.

With information about the endowment of the deans and pastors and the size of some of their families at our disposal we

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24, 71–76.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24, 76.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 41–42, 46–49, 52.

may hazard the recreation of the living conditions of the clergy and their families. We shall start reflections on the family of dean Michał Battalowius, composed of six persons. Upon the basis of research by A. Wyczański it is possible to estimate the costs of the daily upkeep of a single person in the first half of the seventeenth century as 2–3 pennies³⁹. The daily upkeep of a whole family, composed mainly of children, would then cost no more than 12–18 pennies, which annually totals 219–328 marks; the most probable seems to be the lower figure. Following the example of A. Wyczański, who estimates the cost of clothes as one-quarter of the cost of food⁴⁰, we may define the sum guaranteeing minimum needs (food and clothes) as 274–410 marks. Naturally, the clothes required by the dean and his family must have been better than those of the peasants, manorial and castle servants, to whom the calculations proposed by A. Wyczański referred. Nonetheless, they can serve the establishment of a certain minimum and make it possible to ascertain that the wages paid to the dean, even those dating from 1620 (290 marks) were probably sufficient for meeting the basic needs of the family. The latter had at its disposal assorted allowances: 20 half bushels of rye, whose market value may be estimated, depending on a year, from 58 to 73 marks⁴¹ and 20 half bushels of malt. It follows from the information about the pastor's endowment several decades later that 30 half bushels of malt were treated as an equivalent of 12 barrels of beer. This must have been beer of superior quality, since a single barrel was obtained from 2,5 half bushels of malt⁴². In this way, 20 half bushels of malt equalled to 8 barrels of beer, *i.e.* 1 128 litres, if we count 141 litres per barrel⁴³. If we divide this amount by the number of days in a year, then we shall receive a daily portion of 3,1 litres. This amount sufficed for the needs of a family and possibly also for the guests.

³⁹ A. Wyczański, *op. cit.*, pp. 162–163.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 178–179.

⁴¹ J. Pełc, *Ceny w Gdańsku w XVI i XVII wieku (Prices in Gdańsk during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century)*, Lwów 1937, pp. 117–119.

⁴² During the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century a barrel of strong beer was brewed from 3 half bushels of malt, and a much weaker beer was obtained from 1.5 half bushel per barrel while the production of a barrel of "thin" beer required only 0.6 half bushel; A. Klondor, *Napoje fermentacyjne w Prusach w XVI–XVII w. (Fermented Beverages in Prussia during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1989, p. 37.

⁴³ R. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 23; I. Ihnatowicz, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 67.

The rye could be milled and used by the dean's wife for baking bread. In accordance with norms established for Gdańsk in the mid-seventeenth century, and still binding in the eighteenth century, one half bushel of rye produced 64 pounds of flour used for baking 82 pounds (35.6 kgs.) of bread⁴⁴. In other words, 20 half bushels could yield 1 640 pounds, *i.e.* about 712 kgs. of bread. The majority of researchers assume that the daily bread consumption of an adult amounted to 0,65 kg⁴⁵; we may assume, therefore, that the above cited amount satisfied the needs of a six-person family for at least 182 days, *i.e.* half a year. Home baking of bread, whose one pound cost 1–2 pennies depending on the time of year, made it possible to save 82–164 *marks*, which could be spent on other needs (e. g. the purchase of household utensils, theological literature, etc.). The garden due to the dean additionally increased the amount and variety of food. The free-of-charge two-room quarters guaranteed modest living conditions, average according to the norm of the time — three persons in a room corresponded to a standard⁴⁶.

Rev. Jan Jakub Graeber had a total of 21 offspring, born in the course of forty years; as a result, when the youngest children were several years old the oldest had long ago left home. We may assume with a great probability that during his first marriage dean (and from 1711 pastor) Graeber had 10–12 children. To what extent did the pastor's revenues meet the needs of such a large family, which periodically included 12–14 persons? The estimates made for Gdańsk by J. B a s z a n o w s k i show that in about the middle of the eighteenth century the cost of daily food

⁴⁴ A. Klonder, *Wyżywienie w szpitalach Elbląga w pierwszej połowie XVII w.* (*Food in Elbląg Hospitals during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century*). "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", vol. 36: 1988, № 3, p. 462; one half bushel of rye was sufficient for obtaining about 74 pounds of superior bread or approximately 92 pounds of rye bread (J. Trzowska, *Gdańskie piekarnictwo w II połowie XVII w. i w XVIII w.* (*Gdańsk Mills and Bakeries in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century and the Eighteenth Century*), Gdańsk 1973, p. 106.

⁴⁵ A. Klonder, *Napoje*, p. 83; M. Bogucka, *Urząd zapasów a konsumpcja Gdańska w pierwszej połowie XVII w.* (*The Board of Supplies and Consumption in Gdańsk during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century*), "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", vol. 18: 1970, fasc. 2, p. 256.

⁴⁶ W. Kalinowski, *Zabudowa i struktura przestrzenna miast polskich od połowy XVII do schyłku XVIII w.* (*The Development and Spatial Structure of Polish Towns from the Middle of the Seventeenth Century to the End of the Eighteenth Century*). In: *Dom i mieszkanie w Polsce. Druga połowa XVII–XIX w.* (*House and Home in Poland. Second Half of the 17th–19th Century*), ed. by Z. Kamińska, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1975, p. 63.

for an adult (without beer and other beverages) amounted to 5 pennies⁴⁷. The daily upkeep of the Graeber family could not have, therefore, exceeded 60–70 pennies, *i.e.* 3 marks — 3 marks and 10 pennies, and the cost of the annual upkeep amounted to no more than 1,095–1,277 marks. These were certainly maximum sizes considering that the major part of the family was composed of children and adolescents. It follows that the basic wages of the pastor — 713 marks and 10 pennies — were not enough to pay for food for such a large family. Fortunately, it was supplemented by the beer and grain allowances as well as the free-of-charge use of a garden. Unfortunately, there are no data for estimating the remaining cash revenues of the pastor provided by the *tura stolae*. We know, for example, that in the second half of the seventeenth century the two pennies paid to the pastor for each funeral provided him with 50 marks annually. During the eighteenth century, the diminishing size of the parish meant that this sum was considerably smaller. As regards the allowances due to the pastor, 30 half bushels of rye had a value market of about 72–97 marks (according to prices from 1721–1750: 96–129 zlotys per last)⁴⁸. The rye could be sold or milled and used by the pastor's wife for baking bread and cooking. 30 half bushels of rye produced flour for baking 2,460 pounds. *i.e.* 1,068 kgs. of bread. This amount met the needs of a 12–14-person family for 117–137 days, and in a situation when the family included predominantly children and adolescents — for more than half a year. If we assume that similarly as in Gdańsk one pound of bread in Königsberg in about the middle of the eighteenth century cost 1.3–2 pennies, then home baking made it possible to save 160–246 marks. This sum had to be spent on food or clothes (for which the Graeber family needed, according to calculations made by A. Wyczański, about 255 marks), but in the second case the family went hungry. The beer allowance amounted to 12 barrels which, assuming that a barrel contained 114.5 litres, gave a total of 1,374 litres. The pastor's family could afford to drink 3.8 litres of beer daily. We may doubt whether this amount was enough for

⁴⁷ J. Baszanowski, *Konsumpcja zbóż, mięsa i masła w Gdańsku w połowie XVIII w.* (*The Consumption of Grain, Meat and Butter in Gdańsk in the Mid-Eighteenth Century*), "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej", vol. 32: 1984, № 4, pp. 518–519.

⁴⁸ T. Furtak, *Ceny w Gdańsku w latach 1701–1815* (*Prices in Gdańsk in the Years 1701–1815*), Lwów 1935, p. 212.

the Graebers. At the time, beer was served even to children. By way of example, at the beginning of the seventeenth century pupils of secondary schools in Szczecin and Toruń, aged 12–20, were served 1–1.25 litres of beer a day⁴⁹. Pastor Graeber and his family could, therefore, enjoy beer probably on Sundays and during the holidays. On other days they had to make do with water, since milk was more expensive than beer, and coffee and tea were luxuries. It is difficult to estimate whether 9 bundles of firewood used for heating the home, baking bread, cooking, and heating water for laundry and washing was sufficient for such a large family. This seems doubtful, since we know that baking bread from 30 half bushels of rye called for at least 1 bundle of fuel⁵⁰. At the time, houses were, as a rule, lightly heated. A fragment from a textbook by F. E. Rochow *Przyjaciel dzieci... (A Children's Friend...)*, translated by Rev. Jerzy Olech (pastor of the Polish church in 1795–1820), claimed: "Consider the question: are well heated rooms healthy in wintertime? or another question: is it necessary to keep the stove hot or just warm? Your response to both questions would be just and correct if you were to maintain that it is unhealthy to stay in very warm interiors since it is impossible to remain there indefinitely, and having left a hot room and found oneself in the cold outdoors the great differences between the heat and the frosty air will exert a harmful impact upon the body. Thus, it is unnecessary to allow much firewood in the stove"⁵¹ This quotation may be supplemented with an explanation that leaving a well heated room was simply dangerous considering that the majority of people did not have enough warm clothes.

Everything seems to indicate that during the period of its maximum size the Graeber family suffered from insufficient means. During his first marriage Rev. Graeber, similarly to the earlier Rev. Małeck, faced enormous problems with feeding and clothing his extremely numerous family; additionally, he was forced to obtain funds for purchasing religious literature indis-

⁴⁹ A. Klonder, *Wyżywienie w szkołach*, pp. 315–316.

⁵⁰ J. Trzoska, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁵¹ F. E. Rochow, *Przyjaciel dzieci to jest księga do czytania i używania dla uczącej się młodzieży [...] teraz na polski przetłumaczona przez ks. Jerzego Olecha (A Children's Friend, or a Book to be Read and Used by Schoolchildren [...]) Now Translated into Polish by Rev. Jerzy Olech*, prep. by M. Pawlak, Olsztyn 1982, pp. 229–230.

pensable for pastoral work. He also had expenses associated with managing his home, the purchase and repair of furniture, the purchase of bed linen and table linen, candles, stationary, cleaners, etc.

Numerous duties of the pastor's wife, such as cooking, baking, cleaning, laundry, perhaps sewing and repairing clothes, care for the children and tending the garden probably kept her busy all day from sunrise till twilight. The Graebers could not afford to pay a servant or a hired hand, but part of the work in the home and garden could have been performed by the oldest children. We have no information about the size of the pastor's house, but even if it had three rooms the family lived in cramped conditions: one room was inhabited by 4–5 persons. Living on the borderline of poverty, at certain times the Graeber family, nevertheless, was capable of saving a certain surplus of means which they could even spend for charity. We know that pastor Graeber founded for the parish two brass containers with gilt ornaments. He did so probably at the end of his life, when the majority of his children had left the family home. By way of comparison, the widow of pastor Liebruder could afford to found a much more valuable object, namely, a silver container for Communion wafers⁵².

In the case of clergymen with less numerous families material problems were not as severe. The family of Rev. Zieleński, smaller than that of Rev. Graeber, was composed at most of 8–9 persons. The cost of their food can be estimated at 730–821 *marks* annually. Such a family could feed itself for the money received by the pastor as basic endowment. The financial conditions of the Zieleński family were also reinforced by grain and beer allowances. A single member of the family drank not quite 0.5 litres of beer daily; the beverage was enjoyed during weekdays and holidays. Undoubtedly, the Zieleńskis also lived in cramped quarters, but not to the same degree as the Graeber family. Incomes from *tura stolae* and savings made thanks to the grain allowances (about 160–246 *marks*) and the cultivation of the garden probably made it possible to meet all costs connected with supplying the family with clothes (approx. 146–164 *marks*). Rev. Zieleński, however, adversely experienced the lack of funds for equipping

⁵² A. Grzybowski, *op. cit.*, p. 21, 23.

and upkeeping the home and meeting needs associated with his professional work.

A certain image of the costs of outfitting a home is provided by an analogy with eighteenth-century Poznań. The value of outfitting the household (tableware, the kitchen and the pantry furnishing, bed linen, towels, etc.) of a medium wealthy burgher amounted to 875 zlotys⁵³. Naturally, the worth of used objects estimated in inventories and testaments, was much lower than the price paid for new purchases. On the other hand, second-hand items were frequently bought. If we assume, therefore, that the pastors lived at a level close to the medium prosperous townspeople, then Rev. Zieleński acquired his home outfitting worth 875 zlotys, *i.e.* 1,213 marks, for at least more than ten years.

Presumably, a clergyman holding the post of a pastor was expected to possess his own Bible, an indispensable hymn book and catechism, and frequently the highly helpful Postil. If he wrote hymns or sermons, or composed his own hymn book or Postil then he had to have at home at least a small library composed of several or up to twenty works of this sort. True, we know that the Polish parish possessed a limited book collection, inherited from the deceased pastors, but its content was probably rather haphazard and included books which were partially damaged⁵⁴. The greatest expenses were indubitably connected with buying the Bible, printed relatively rarely. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Gdańsk Bible, issued in 1632, cost 4–6 or even 7 *thalers*, *i.e.* 18–31,5 marks. At the end of the seventeenth century the Postil by Rev. Samuel Dambrowski from 1620–1621 cost “30 zlotys of good coins”, *i.e.* 45 marks⁵⁵. Nonetheless, during the first half of the eighteenth century, when cheap editions of

⁵³ J. Kruppé, *Ze studiów nad materialnymi warunkami bytu w środowisku mieszczańskim Poznania w XVIII w. (Select Studies on the Material Living Conditions of the Townspeople of Poznań during the Eighteenth Century)*, “Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”, vol. 22: 1974, fasc. 3, pp. 454–456, 461–462.

⁵⁴ J. U. Niemcewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

⁵⁵ J. K. Sembrzycki, *Krótki przegląd literatury ewangelicko-polskiej Mazurów i Szlązaków od roku 1670 (A Brief Survey of Evangelical-Polish Literature of the Mazurians and Silesians since 1670)*, Nawste, no date [after 1888], pp. 36–37, 51; S. W. Ringeltaube [actually: E. Oloff], *Gründliche Nachricht von Polnischen Bibeln von deren mancherley Übersetzungen und Urhebern, nebst einigen darzu gehörigen Merckwürdigkeiten aus den Polnischen Weltlichen-, Kirchen- und Reformations-Geschichten*, Danzig 1744, pp. 313–314.

the Bible started to appear in Halle (1726) and Königsberg (1737) they were available for 1 zloty and 22 pennies — 35 *trojaks*, *i.e.* about 2.5–5.25 *marks*. Hymn books were much more numerous, and 39 were published in Silesia, Royal and Ducal Prussia⁵⁶ in 1600–1700, *i.e.* almost every two and a half years. Rev. Skrodzki and Rev. Mortzfeld, who composed their own hymn book, based themselves on at least 5–6 other hymn books. The prices of hymn books and prayer books varied greatly. A certain insight is offered by the example of Cracow, where during the first half of the seventeenth century religious literature (catechism, small hymn book, prayer book) cost 2–10 pennies⁵⁷. The prices of hymn books issued in eighteenth-century Königsberg varied — they cost 12–13 *gulden*s, but cheap editions cost only a *mark*⁵⁸. The cost of completing a pastor's small book collection in about 1700 can be estimated as 90–100 *marks*, a sum paid in the course of many years.

Obviously, clergymen faced the majority of expenses for outfitting the home and pastoral accessories at a time when they were beginning their activity, in other words, when they held the post of dean and their families were just beginning to expand. The endowment of a dean was more than one-third smaller than that of the pastor.

The above reflections demonstrate that the material situation of the clergymen in the Polish parish was variegated. Undoubtedly, the lack of means and the necessity of seeking additional revenues limited pastoral activity and distracted from duties. An even more destructive role was played by conflicts between the clergymen concerning the division of incomes from pastoral

⁵⁶ W. Chojnacki, *Bibliografia polskich druków ewangelickich ziem zachodnich i północnych 1530–1939* (A Bibliography of Polish Evangelical Prints in Western and Northern Lands 1530–1939), Warszawa 1966, pp. 87–88.

⁵⁷ R. Żurkowska, *Księgarstwo krakowskie w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* (Cracow Book Production during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century), Kraków 1992, p. 40.

⁵⁸ *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII w.* (Old Polish Printers from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century), vol. 4: *Pomorze* (Pomerania), prep. by A. Kawecką-Gryczową and K. Korotajową, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1962, p. 136, 144, 344; W. Chojnacki, *Jerzego Waziańskiego kanconat mazurski i jego poprzednicy* (The Mazurlan Hymn-book by Jerzy Waziański and its Predecessors), in: *Z badań nad dawną ksiązką. Studia ofiarowane Profesor Alodii Kaweckiej-Gryczowej w 85-lecie urodzin* (Select Studies on the Old Book. Studies Offered to Professor Alodia Kawecką-Gryczową upon Her 85th Birthday), vol. 1, Warszawa 1991, p. 244.

service. All those factors certainly weakened the Polish parish and could have been one of the reasons for its downfall.

The office of the Polish pastor in the parish in Kamienna Grobla, starting with Jan Seklucjan to Marcin Gregor (died in 1863), was the crowning of the pastoral career of 13 clergymen for whom it was a lifelong function. Wilkow was appointed pastor at the age 27, and his successor, Krzysztof Liebruder — at the age of 28. The first won a competition when he presented excellent fluency in Polish and oratorical talents, thanks to which he surpassed his rival. The latter assumed the office of pastor in exceptional circumstances, *i.e.* after Rev. Wilkow died during the plague of 1620⁶⁰.

Half of the pastors previously fulfilled the duties of dean of the parish of St. Nicholas. They assumed this office usually at the age of 28–34, although also very young people (e. g. Chrystian Pastinatus was appointed at the age of 21) or much older ones were nominated (e. g. Chrystian Cybulkowius became dean at the age of 39 and Jakub Ebel at the age of 38). It seems worth recalling that this was an attractive position even for those clergymen who held higher offices in small localities. Since 1618 Adam Narowius (the earlier mentioned preacher and adjunct of pastor Wilkow) was pastor in Szmykwałd near Ostróda, from which he returned to Königsberg in 1621 and assumed the duties of the dean. Rev. Fryderyk Mortzfeld received the function of dean in 1676, thus resigning from the post of pastor in Miłki, obtained a year earlier. Those deans who managed to achieve the function of the Polish pastor in Kamienna Grobla formed a minority (40%). The majority kept their post on a life-long basis for two reasons: either they never lived to see the death of the pastor or they lost competition for the vacant stand. Similar attention is due to Rev. Michał Pilchowski, who devoted his whole life to the local parish and climbed all the rungs of the ecclesiastical career: in 1720, having graduated from the university of Königsberg, he received the function of rector of the parish school, in 1729 — the office of the dean, and in 1741 — of the pastor⁶¹.

⁵⁹ J. H. L., *Verbessertes*, pp. 744–745; T. Oracki, *Słownik biograficzny Warmii, Prus Książęcych i Ziemi Malborskiej od połowy XV do końca XVIII wieku (A Biographical Dictionary of Warmia, Ducal Prussia and the Region of Malbork from the Middle of the Fifteenth Century to the End of the Eighteenth Century)*, vol. 1, Olsztyn 1984, p. 74; vol. 2, Olsztyn 1988, pp. 44–45, 65, 78, 146–149, 152, 226.

⁶⁰ T. Oracki, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 146–149.

⁶¹ A. Grzybowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–53.

At this point, it seems worth emphasising the additional activity of the pastors, connected with their pastoral duties. Many of them were authors, translators or editors of such religious works as the Bible, hymn books, Postils, textbooks for religious instruction, etc.

The first pastor of the Polish parish of St. Nicholas, Jan Seklucjan, was simultaneously a pioneer of Polish Lutheran literature. Thanks to the official support of Prince Albrecht Hohenzollern, the Polish Protestant nobility and probably his wife's family, Seklucjan wrote, translated or issued a total of 24 books. His greatest activity coincided with the years 1544–1553, *i.e.* when as many as 16 books were issued. A short-lived revival of the publishing activity by Seklucjan took place in 1558–1449⁶².

In 1642 and 1647, in other words, when he was 50 and 55 years old, Rev. Krzysztof Liebruder published Latin-German-Polish grammar textbooks (frequently reprinted during his lifetime and posthumously)⁶³.

Dean Fryderyk Mortzfeld published in 1683–1684, in other words, when he was 40–41 years old, a hymn book prepared by pastor Jerzy Skrodzki and completed after his death (1682). Dean Jan Jakub Graeber published a corrected version of the same hymn book in 1708, *i.e.* at the age of 44. Probably the necessity of providing for a large number of children deprived this active clergyman of the opportunity for developing his publishing plans and restricted them to a collection of hymns issued in 1727, *i.e.* when he was 63 years old⁶⁴.

Rev. Marcin Zygmunt Zieleński published his first book, a *Passion* with a collection of hymns translated by him in 1729, *i.e.* at the age of 36. The following year he issued another two works. Rev. Marcin Pilchowski was 35 years old when in 1730 he published the first textbook for teaching religion, translated into Polish. The next appeared in 1732 and the last in 1745, when he was already 50 years old⁶⁵. Rev. Jerzy Olech finished a translation of the first school textbook in 1793, *i.e.* at the age of 36, and published it two years later. He issued the successive of

⁶² J. Seklucjan, *op. cit.*, p. LXIII–LXIV.

⁶³ W. Chojnacki, *Bibliografia*, pp. 163–164.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 138–139, 150.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17, 52, 73–74, 107, 148, 209–210.

his numerous works (translations of textbooks, Postils and hymns) in 1798–1803, in other words, while he was 41–46 years old⁶⁶.

The above data reveal a certain regularity, namely, that the clergymen initiated their publishing activity at the age of 33–36 and that the period of this activity ended prior to their fiftieth birthday. We may also surmise that those members of the clergy who published their writings or translations very late, such as Rev. Liebruder, started writing at the same stage in their lives as the other authors. Rev. Jerzy Skrodzki died at the age of 47, and did not manage to complete his work. At any rate, activity in this particular domain coincided with the period when they had already sufficient pastoral experience and, at the same time, energy to enable them to embark upon this additional effort.

4. Conclusions

The Polish parish of St. Nicholas in Königsberg concentrated Poles scattered throughout the whole urban complex and in the suburbs and the close-by villages. Consequently, services in Polish were celebrated not only in the church in Kamienna Grobla, but during the major part of the existence of the parish in the main town churches, *i.e.* the cathedral in Knipawa and the parish churches of the Old Town and Lipnik. Numerous pastoral duties meant that the clergymen of the parish (the pastor and the dean) were busy every Sunday and holiday from 7 in the morning to 4 in the afternoon, apart from the weekday activity.

During the initial period of the existence of the parish (the second half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century) the endowment of the clergymen was low, and sufficed only for meeting the fundamental needs of their families. Already in the second quarter of the seventeenth century the wages and allowances of a dean made it possible to provide for a six-person family. During the second half of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century the wages of the pastors and deans and the allowances due to them were much higher, and together with additional revenues (*tura stolae*) theoretically guaranteed decent living conditions for their families.

During the second half of the seventeenth century the material problems of the majority of the clergymen were the outcome

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40–44, 150–151, 155, 165, 169–170, 179.

not of the low level of the remuneration, but the irregular payment of wages and provision of allowances by particular payers, especially the ducal (royal) government. This situation generated conflicts between the clergymen themselves concerning the division of incomes from pastoral services. Some of the pastors and deans were forced to borrow money or to seek additional sources of subsistence.

In the first half of the eighteenth century financial problems of the pastors were linked with the fall in the actual value of the endowment and with the sizes of their families. In the case of an 8–9–person family the pastor's remuneration sufficed for feeding and clothing it, but did not guarantee the covering of numerous expenses linked with the outfitting of the home and its upkeep, as well as loftier needs: the purchase of religious literature indispensable for pastoral work. In the case of extremely large families, such as the one of Rev. Graeber, composed of 12–14 persons, wages were not enough even for satisfying the elementary requirements, and, for all practical purposes, made it possible to purchase only food.

As a rule, members of the clergy married immediately after being appointed dean, and during the successive years, when their children were born, they spent a large part of the income on outfitting the home and creating their own library. Having attained the function of pastor, which guaranteed larger remuneration and living quarters, the family attained its maximum size, and the majority of the revenues was absorbed by clothing and feeding it.

The material problems of the clergymen restrained their pastoral activity, distracted them from their duties, and weakened the parish, thus contributing to its fall. Nonetheless, in comparison with other Polish churches in Ducal Prussia, the Kamienna Grobla parish in Königsberg was extremely attractive, and the local offices of dean and pastor were sought by the most outstanding and wealthiest clergymen, who for the sake of obtaining the post of dean frequently resigned from their heretofore office of pastor in a small locality, and treated the title of pastor (held on a life-long basis) as an effective crowning of their careers. The function of the dean was, as a rule, entrusted to clergymen aged 28–34, while the office of the pastor was entrusted to men aged 41–48; many decided to become translators, authors or

publishers. They inaugurated this activity, as a rule, at the age of 33–36 and ended it prior to their fiftieth birthday, in other words, at a time when they already had sufficient pastoral experience and family problems had not yet exhausted the majority of their energy.

(Translated by Aleksandra Rodzińska-Chojnowska)