



Lietuvos Didžiosios
Kunigaikštystės
**moterų
vienuolijos:**

istorija
ir paveldas

VYTAUTO DIDŽIOJO
UNIVERSITETAS

VERSUS AUREUS

LIETUVOS DIDŽIOSIOS
KUNIGAIKŠTYSTĖS
MOTERŲ
VIENUOLIJOS:
ISTORIJA IR PAVELDAS

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Mokslo straipsnių rinkinys

VYTAUTO DIDŽIOJO
UNIVERSITETAS

VERSUS AUREUS

2014

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Mokslo straipsnių rinkinys apsvarstytas ir rekomenduotas leidybai Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto Humanitarinių mokslų fakulteto Istorijos katedros posėdyje 2014 m. rugpjūčio 29 d. (protokolo nr. 1) ir Humanitarinių mokslų fakulteto tarybos posėdyje 2014 m. rugsėjo 10 d. (protokolo nr. 2).

Knygos leidimą parėmė

Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto Mokslo fondas, VŠĮ „Aurelijos ir Aurelijaus Rusteikų fondas“

ISBN 978-609-467-074-9 (Print)

ISBN 978-9955-34-513-8 (Print)

ISBN 978-609-467-075-6 (Online)

ISBN 978-9955-34-512-1 (Online)

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PRATARMĖ

Vienuolijos yra aktualus objektas Lietuvoje – leidžiamos įvairius laikotarpius ir aspektus gvildenančios monografijos, straipsnių rinkiniai, žinynai (pavyzdžiui, Reginos Laukaitytės *Lietuvos vienuolijos: XX a. istorijos bruožai* (1997), *Lietuvos vienuolynai. Vadovas* (1998), Tojanos Račiūnaitės *Vizijos ir atvaizdai. Basųjų karmelitų palikimas* (2003), Liudo Jovaišos sudarytas leidinys *Benediktiniškoji tradicija Lietuvoje* (2008), Rūtos Janonienės *Bernardinų bažnyčia ir konventas Vilniuje* (2010) ir kt.). Šiame kontekste moterų vienuolijos taip pat turi savo vietą, bet išsamesnė jų istorija ir sąsajos su dabartimi – iki šiol nedaug tyrinėta tema. Irena Vaišvilaitė 2003 m. paskelbtame straipsnyje *Moterys vienuolės XVII a. Lietuvoje* (publikuotas knygoje *Istorinė tikrovė ir iliuzija: Lietuvos dvasinės kultūros šaltinių tyrimai*) rašė, kad labai stinga tyrimų šia linkme. Lietuvoje šiandien veikia apie keturiasdešimt moterų vienuolijų, daugelis jų turi turtingą istoriją ir meninį paveldą, laukiantį atidesnio tyrėjo žvilgsnio, teologijos mokslo požiūriu svarbūs dvasingumo, pastoracijos ir kitų aspektų tyrimai. Savo istorija domisi, jos laukia pačios bendruomenės.

Šiame leidinyje siekiama šiek tiek užpildyti šią spragą ir pakviesti toliau tęsti pradėtą darbą. Knygoje publikuojama devyniolika Lietuvos, Lenkijos, Baltarusijos, Airijos istorikų, menotyrininkų, teologų straipsnių, parengtų 2014 m. gegužės 8–9 d. Kauno Vytauto Didžiojo universitete organizuotos konferencijos „Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės moterų vienuolijos: istorija ir dabartis“, skirtos Kauno benediktinių vienuolyno 390-čiui, pagrindu. Kaip liudija pats pavadinimas, publikacijos apima ilgą laikotarpį ir platų aspektų lauką. Leidinio akcentas yra Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės laikais įsikūrę konventai, jų istorija ir paveldas kūrimosi, klestėjimo ir negandų laikotarpiais, sąsajos su šiandiena.

Turinio struktūra suskirstyta atsižvelgiant į pagrindines tyrimų kryptis. Pirmos dalies straipsniuose „Istoriniai lūžiai“ analizuojama vienuolijų plėtra, gilinamasi į Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės laikotarpio, sunkaus XIX a. ir ne ką mažiau sudėtingo XX a. problematiką. Šie straipsniai padeda geriau suvokti ne tik vienuolijų, bet ir Lietuvos visuomenės raidos problemas apskritai. Antra dalis „Mikrobendruomenės gyvenimas“ skirta įvairiems atskirų vienuolijų, daugiausia XVII–XVIII a., istorijos, kasdienio gyvenimo aspektams. Trečioje dalyje „Kultūra ir menas“ analizuojami tam tikri klausimai ir objektai kultūrologiniu bei menotyros mokslo požiūriu.

Knygos leidybą inicijavo Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto mokslo tyrimų klasterio „Bažnyčios santykių su valstybe ir visuomene Lietuvoje“ mokslininkės Vaida Kamuntavičienė, Ilona Strumickienė, sesuo Gabrielė Aušra Vasiliauskaitė OSB, šio leidinio sudarytoja. Prie projekto dirbo, pagelbėjo daugelis

kolegų, kuriems organizatorės yra labai dėkingos, ypač Moreno Bondai, Ingai Puidokienei, Danutei Stakeliūnaitei, Antoni'ui Kazimierzui Urmański'ui. Labai svarbu, kad šiame procese taip pat dalyvavo Kauno seserys benediktinės, kurių pagalba bei parama ypač svarbi ir prasminga. Sudarytoja taip pat dėkoja leidyklos darbuotojams už malonų bendradarbiavimą ir kantrybę.

Tai pirmas leidinys Lietuvoje, skirtas tik moterų vienuolijoms, jų istorijai, paveldui, probleminiams aspektams. Tikimės, kad knyga bus naudinga ne tik mokslininkams, bet pirmiausia pačioms bendruomenėms ir visiems, besidomintiems Lietuvos istorija, dvasiniu gyvenimu ir kultūra.

Aušra Vasiliauskienė

FOREWORD

Monasteries are a current topic of interest in Lithuania – monographs are being published covering various periods and aspects, as well as article collections, reference books (for example, Regina Laukaitytė's "Monastic Institutions of Lithuania: 20th-century Historical Features" (1997) and "Lithuania's Monasteries. A Guide" (1998), Tojana Račiūnaitė's "Visions and Impressions. The Legacy of the Barefoot Carmelites" (2003), the publication compiled by Liudas Jovaiša "The Benedictine Tradition in Lithuania" (2008), and Rūta Janonienė's "The Bernardine Church and Convent in Vilnius" (2010), and others). In this context, women's convents also have their place, though a more comprehensive focus on their history and associations with the present remains a scarcely researched topic. In the article by Irena Vaišvilaitė published in 2003 titled "Nuns in 17th-century Lithuania" (published in the book "Historical Reality and Illusion: Research of Lithuania's Spiritual Culture Sources") she wrote that there was a distinct shortage of research being conducted in this direction. Today in Lithuania there are around 40 functioning convents, and many of them have a rich history and artistic heritage awaiting closer attention from researchers, and that from a theological aspect are important centres of spirituality and pastoral care, among other aspects that also deserve more in-depth research. The communities themselves are interested in and eagerly await the history of their centres.

This publication seeks to go towards filling this gap, offering encouragement to continue with the work already started. The book contains 19 articles by historians, art researchers and theologians from Lithuania, Poland, Belarus and Ireland, prepared based on the conference organized at Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas on May 8–9, 2014 titled "Women's Convents in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: History and the Present" which was dedicated to mark the 390th anniversary of the Kaunas Benedictine Sisters' Convent. As the title suggests, the publications span a long period and broad spectrum of aspects. The focus lies predominantly on the convents which were founded during the period of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's existence, their history and establishment of their legacy, their times of flourishing and hardship, and links to the present day.

The structure of the contents is divided according to the main fields of research. The articles in the first part of the book, "Historical Turning-points", analyze the development of convents, taking a deeper look at the period of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the difficult 19th century, and the no less complicated 20th century. These articles help readers gain a better understanding not just of the problematic evolution of convents but of Lithuanian society in general. The second part, "Life in

the Micro-community”, takes in the aspects of everyday life in various convents and their history predominantly from the 17th–18th centuries. The third part, “Culture and Art” presents an analysis of certain issues and objects in terms of a culturalogical and art research approach.

The book’s release was initiated by scientists from Vytautas Magnus University’s scientific research cluster “The Church’s Relations with the Government and Society in Lithuania” – Vaida Kamuntavičienė, Ilona Strumickienė, Sister Gabrielė Aušra Vasiliauskaitė OSB, and Aušra Vasiliauskienė. Numerous colleagues collaborated on and assisted in this project, to whom the organizers are very grateful, especially Moreno Bonda, Inga Puidokienė, Danutė Stakeliūnaitė, and Antoni Kazimierz Urmański. It is very important the the Kaunas Benedictine Sisters also participated in this process, whose help and support was particularly important and meaningful. The compiler also thanks the publishing staff for their pleasant cooperation and patience.

This is the first publication in Lithuania dedicated solely to women’s convents, their history, heritage and problematic matters. We trust that the book will be useful not just to scientists, but first of all to the communities themselves, as well as everyone else interested in Lithuania’s history, spiritual life and culture.

Aušra Vasiliauskienė

ISTORINIAI LŪŽIAI /
HISTORICAL TURNING-POINTS

Fáinche Ryan

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Liturgical Roles for Women: The Latin Tradition in the Middle Ages

After her solemn profession or perpetual donation, the nun can, if she wishes, receive the Consecration of Virgins. This is a special rite where the Bishop gives the nun not only the veil and ring, external signs of an indissoluble union with the divine Spouse, but also the stole. This confers on the recipient certain liturgical privileges the most significant of them being the proclaiming of the Gospel on certain occasions¹.

Many years ago I came across a picture of a Carthusian nun, vested with a stole, a garment normally associated in the Latin tradition, with diaconal ordination. The picture immediately attracted my attention, and led me to the website of the Carthusian order, where I found the quote which I have just cited. While the quote does give some insight as to where this practice originated, I think the practice demands deeper study, and hence this essay.

The essay will begin with a study of this quite unique feature of liturgical life in the Latin rite which has been enacted by Carthusian nuns from 1145 onwards². Particular attention shall be given to the symbols used in the ceremony. From there we shall seek to discover the roots of this tradition in Church practice. This shall lead us to an exploration not only of the ministry of women deacons, or deaconesses, but also to a study of the liturgical role of abbesses in the early Church. We will conclude with a brief look at the implications that this study of the liturgical participation of women in Church life in the past might have, or could have, for today.

Carthusian Nuns: Consecration

Carthusian nuns can wear a stole, a liturgical garment. According to the Romano Germanic Pontifical (10th century) which contains a complete liturgy, for the ordination of deacons as well as for the ordination of deaconesses, our concern, the bishop blesses the deaconess and places an orarium (another name for a stole) on her neck. This vesting indicates that she partakes in an official teaching and preaching ecclesial function³.

The Carthusian nun similarly can wear a stole. The unique feature has its roots in a two-fold consecration that lies at the core of the identity of Carthusian nuns. After their solemn profession, or consecration to religious life, where they take their religious vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, they may also receive the privilege of the consecration of virgins. This consecration of virgins is closely

¹ *The Carthusian Nuns*, [interactive, accessed 05 05 2014]. Access: <<http://www.chartreux.org/en/nuns/index.php>>.

² The date when this practice originated amongst the Carthusian nuns is disputed, as shall be discussed.

³ MACY, Gary. *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West*. OUP USA; Reprint edition, 2012, p. 71. The Council of Toledo (633) speaks of giving an orarium, a form of stole, to bishops, deacons and priests, to indicate their preaching function.

linked to female diaconal consecration. In fact in the early days of the Church, the two were often synonymous. According to Yves Gourdel in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* this practice is a continuation from the religious traditions of the Césarine community, specifically those of a community in Prébayon, in the diocese of Vaison, near Orange. This community traces its origins to the year 610⁴. The nuns here followed the rule of St Césaire. In 1145 the abbess of that monastery requested that they be permitted to adopt new constitutions inspired by the rule of Chartreuse. From this point Prébayon became the first house of nuns living the rule of Chartreuse, and at the same time they continued their practice of the twofold consecration.

It is important to note that Aime G. Martimort, in his work *Deaconesses: An Historical Study*⁵, disputes this early presence of the two fold consecration. He claims that no details of it are to be found in the earliest known Carthusian *Ordo* (from the diocese of Bertrand in the diocese of Gap, a sister house to Prébayon). Martimort himself asserts that the first evidence of such a practice dates to the 15th century.

Even if Mortimort is correct, we are still left seeking an origin for this very interesting ecclesial liturgical practice. The existence of a tradition of diaconal-like consecration had found a new home amongst Carthusian nuns, a tradition which has continued to this day. We need an explanation of how this came to be.

Liturgical Ritual

Martimort clearly shows that the liturgical ritual involved the conferring on the nuns of the maniple, the stole and the cross by the bishop of the diocese. In further evidence he shows how Cardinal le Camus, the bishop of Grenoble, visited the Charterhouse of Prémol for the ritual of the consecration of virgins, but refused to confer these liturgical symbols on the nuns. This part of the ritual the bishop considered to be an innovation. Dom Innocent le Masson⁶ brought this issue to Rome. There le Masson received approbation for the ritual and so we learn that in 1686 le Camus returned to the Charterhouse and conferred the signs of their new status on the nuns.

This was in 1686, the seventeenth century: that this practice was not a seventeenth century innovation is confirmed by practice in Flanders. In Bruges this practice is attested in a collection of manuals from 1480, while rituals found in manuals from Gosnay (15th and mid 16th c) provide fascinating insights as to the disputed nature of the practice. In the Bruges collection we read that, the antiphon (*Dexteram Meam*) being complete the bishop *takes back* the cross, maniple and stole. However in a mid-16th century correction in the manual at Gosnay we are informed that ‘this antiphon (*Dexteram Meam*) having been completed, the bishop must *remove* the cross but *leave* the stole and the maniple.’⁷ The importance of these liturgical symbols is evident.

⁴ GOURDEL, Yves. Chartreux. In *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*. Beauchesne Editeur, 1953, Vol. 2, col. 721: 705–776.

⁵ MARTIMORT, Aime G.. *Deaconesses: An Historical Study*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1986, p. 236. Originally published in French, *Les Diaconesses: Essai historique*, 1982.

⁶ Dom Innocent LeMasson (1627–1703) was the 51st Prior General of the Carthusians (1675–1703).

⁷ MARTIMORT, *op. cit.*, 237.

It is important to note that while a bishop is essential to the ritual, among the Carthusians the rite at this time did not comprise any imposition of hands from a bishop, and the privileges conferred with these liturgical symbols were very restricted in their practice. Nonetheless these privileges are important and continue to exist to this day. Principal among these are the following: at Conventual masses a consecrated Carthusian religious sings the epistle but without wearing the maniple. This is the only liturgical expression of this form of a diaconate-like consecration in the liturgy of the Eucharist. According to the memorandum of 1687 (Charterhouse of St Barbara in Cologne), this happens, ‘according to immemorial usage, even when the bishop is present.’⁸ At Matins if there is not a male religious to preside at the office a religious woman with this consecration sings the gospel. For this she wears a stole. This custom obtains also on Holy Thursday for the singing of the gospel at the *mandatum* (washing of feet).

According to Guordel there is a ceremony of double consecration in the profession ceremony of Carthusian women⁹. The symbols of their consecration for the vowed life are the veil, the ring and the crown. The symbols for the virginal consecration [which this essay refers to as ‘diaconal-like’ consecration] are the maniple, the stole, and the cross. It is further interesting that these religious only wear the full ornaments of their profession on three occasions: the day of consecration, the day of their diaconal like initiation on the jubilee of their 50th year, and on the day of their funeral.

Liturgical Symbolism

The rich symbolism of these vestments, the stole, the maniple and the cross, needs careful consideration. Firstly, the stole: The most likely origin of the stole lies with the Imperial officials in Rome. They wore something similar, a type of scarf, as a sign of office. As members of the clergy became members of the Roman administration, after the era of Constantine, the clergy also wore this scarf of office. In this way that which initially indicated that a person was a member of a particular organisation wherein they had a particular role/rank, this same item became an ecclesial garment restricted to a particular class of people based on their occupation, signifying membership of a particular class. The stole was not a normal piece of attire. Since these early days, the stole has been recognised in the Roman Catholic Tradition as that which marks entrance into Holy Orders. It is interesting to note, for the purposes of this essay, that a man being ordained to the diaconate in the Latin Church receives a stole, but places it over his left shoulder and ties it cross-wise at his right side, similar to a sash, while a priest or bishop wears it hanging straight down, as is the practice amongst the Carthusian nuns.

All this serves to recall the fact that investiture with the liturgical stole was highly significant and had rich symbolism, indicating a change of status in the community. This remains true today. In any discussion of Carthusian women their investiture cannot be considered as a once off event which is then laid aside as if nothing of significance had happened. The strong echo of this permanent alteration

⁸ MARTIMORT, *op. cit.*, 239.

⁹ It seems that not all nuns take the virginal consecration.

of role within the community, the recollection of the permanency of the alteration, is kept alive in the tradition of the Carthusians by the fact that it is worn again on the occasions of the 50th jubilee of profession, and in the funeral rites, as already mentioned. Of course, in parallel, one is led to ask why the stole is not worn more regularly.

The second liturgical vestment of interest is the maniple. This is an embroidered band of silk or other fabric, worn hanging from the left arm in such manner that it falls in equal length on both sides of the arm. It has been described as a liturgical handkerchief bound about the wrist, only used during mass. The colour of the maniple varies in accordance with the liturgical rules. It is ornamented with small crosses. It is worn only during Mass, not at the administration of the sacraments, during processions, nor at Benediction, etc.

The maniple was worn by the subdeacon, deacon, priest, and bishop, but not by those who had only received minor orders. It was thus a liturgical sign of rank, placed on the left arm of the subdeacon by the bishop himself during ordination. In the rite for the Carthusian nuns the maniple is worn on the right arm. While the maniple fell into disuse during the years of the post Vatican II conciliar reform, nonetheless it is important in our context to remember its symbolic weight in the context of the Carthusian liturgy with which we are dealing. The understanding reflected in the vesting prayer, said while putting on the maniple before mass, indicated that it is an emblem of the tears of penance, the burden of sin, and the fatigue of those who undertake liturgical office for the people. *‘Merear, Domine, portare manipulum fletus et doloris; ut cum exsultatione recipiam mercedem laboris.’* – May I merit O Lord to carry the maniple of weeping and sorrow that with rejoicing, I may receive the reward of [my] labour¹⁰.

The third liturgical emblem was the wearing of the cross. The cross, in this context, is also a kind of vestment. The wearing of a formal liturgical cross became a sign that the person wearing it is a member of the clergy. In the Roman Catholic tradition the pectoral cross (hanging from neck onto chest or breast), is only worn by bishops, abbots, abbesses, and canons. This episcopal privilege, which originally pertained to bishops uniquely, was extended to abbots, abbesses and canons by various popes. It is along the lines of the tradition of this liturgical cross that we should interpret the handing over of the symbols of stole, maniple and cross to the Carthusian nuns in their diaconal-like consecration. At the same time we must remember, with some interest, that it was the cross, according to Martimort, that the bishop took back according to the evidence we have for this ritual from the 16th century.

As our concern is liturgical it is important to note that the nuns themselves placed great weight on the imposition of these three items. In the marginal notes of the *Ordo* for the Consecration of Virgins for the Charterhouse of St Barbara in Colgne, we find, opposite the rubric for the imposition of the maniple: *‘Hic datur potestas legendi epistolam’*; and for the imposition of the stole: *‘Hic datur potestas legendi evangelium in omelia matutinali.’* There is no explanation noted for the presentation of the cross.

¹⁰ *Sancta Missa, Prayers for the Clergy: Vesting Prayers* [interactive, accessed 26 05 2014]. Access: <<http://www.sanctamissa.org/en/resources/prayers/vesting-prayers-in-latin-and-english.pdf>>.

Points of Interest

There are three points of interest. The first is that while officially we are speaking of a consecration of virgins we clearly find here a witness to a liturgical diaconal-like rite of these Carthusian nuns. This rite is carried by the Carthusian tradition which some surmise is in continuity with the Cesarene tradition, which itself goes back to ca. 610.

The second point of interest is that the exercise of the powers communicated by this liturgical rite are limited in a truly extraordinary way. Thus you have diaconate-like consecration, with investiture of important liturgical symbols, yet a usage so limited that it begs for some explanation. I would argue that the most plausible explanation has to be that there were pressures in the tradition forcing the exercise of the powers communicated in this rite to be so limited as to cause it to become an almost empty formal arrangement. This is evidenced by the struggles of Dom le Masson, noted above. Yet the success of his appeal, together with the correction noted in the manual at Gosnay, reinforce the idea that this practice has approbation and is liturgically significant. The symbols confer power, *potestas*, role. Thus I suggest that it is precisely those pressures that we have to revisit today, if we are engaged in a serious reappraisal of this most important ecclesial reality which, with beginnings in the very early Church, still has vestiges of continuity in contemporary practice, though only at the margins.

The third point of interest is precisely that despite the strong pressures to restrict all significant liturgical roles to men, including the proclamation of gospel and epistle, the prestige of the Carthusian nuns allowed a continuation of a different memory to live and flourish, even to our times.

Liturgical Roles for Women in the early Church: The Abbess

This essay has been considering the phenomenon of a diaconate-like ceremony as part of the core identity of Carthusian nuns and the liturgical symbolism of the emblems employed in the initiating ceremony. Some claim that this phenomenon can be traced back to circa 620 AD via the traditions and practice of the Césaire nuns. This leads us to enquire about the presence of diaconate practice and identity as well as the use of liturgical symbolic vestments by women at that period, the 7th century, or even earlier. Information is of course fragmentary and certainly one must refrain from drawing conclusions to contemporary questions using such evidence. Nonetheless there is a significant body of evidence of diaconate-like practice and identity, and use of liturgical symbolic vestments in and around that period.

In the West (c.720) the ministerial order that had been termed 'diaconess' was in decline. One of the major reasons attributed by Henri Leclercq in *Dictionnaire Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, is the virtual disappearance of adult baptism – women were no longer required to baptise as naked adult women were no longer seeking baptism¹¹.

However there is also continuity to be noted. An important trace of continuity is that the title and identity of deaconess becomes part of the title and identity of the abbess. As Gary Macy notes: 'A group of ninth and tenth centuries commentators on canon law presumed that abbesses were deacons, simply stating 'A female deacon is an abbess'. Similarly, Atto, bishop of Verceli (ca.924–ca.960),

¹¹ LECLERQ, Henri. Diaconesse. In *Dictionnaire Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*. Paris,1920, Vol. 4, col. 725–733.

spoke of writers who claimed that women called deacons in the past were now named abbesses¹². This is remarkable as it seems that abbesses came to be understood as the living continuation of the ancient ministry of women deacons. According to J.-M. Besse the abbess had a similar role to the abbot in the community, and in particular he accords to them a liturgical function.¹³ In some places they exercised quasi sacramental powers when it came to penance, and in England they attended many councils. In Rome it is noted that they took their place in the solemn processions along with the monks. The blessing, or *ordinatio*, or consecration, by a bishop (delegate of Rome) was similar to that of the Abbot. It is important to establish what liturgical symbolism was carried over into the core identity of abbesses in this regard. While there is uncertainty regarding the imposition of the bishop's hands, as a rule the Abbess, like the Abbot, bears the crosier as a symbol of her office and of her rank; she has also a right to the ring. There is also evidence from some of the Ordos that she received the mitre, which according to St Isodore amongst others, is a distinctive sign of virgins consecrated to God¹⁴. It is evident that the induction of an Abbess into office assumed a liturgical character from its earliest days.

Another strong indication of continuity is the practice that developed in the more Eastern churches in this epoch, both Syrian and Nestorian. Again following Henri Leclercq we learn that in these churches a deaconess presented communion to women, both the consecrated bread and the chalice, when a deacon wasn't present. They could undertake the ministry of reading in an assembly of women but outside of a liturgical service. In the sixth century, according to legislation from Severus of Antioch and John of Tella, the abbesses were deaconesses. They enjoyed rights to enter the sanctuary, to lead public prayer, distribute communion to nuns and in their own monastery to administer the reserved sacred species. John of Tella goes further and allows them to administer communion to young boys older than 5, while Leclercq notices a tendency to replace deacons to the point where presiding at an assembly of women they undertake the public reading of the epistle, and of the gospel. Interestingly he notes that in the absence of priests and deacons they are to be given the right to offer incense but not to recite the prayers¹⁵. Furthermore, he notes, the bishop can allow the deaconesses to mix the wine and the water in the chalice. This seems to have infuriated John of Edessy who reacts with scorn and scolds those supporting these developments saying that deaconesses are not deaconesses of the altar

¹² MACY, Gary. Women Deacons: History. In MACY, Gary; DITEWIG, William T.; ZAGANO, Phyliss. *Women Deacons. Past, Present, Future*. New York/Mahway: Paulist Press, 2011, p. 28, 29.

¹³ BESSE, J.-M. Abbess. In *Dictionnaire Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*. Paris 1924, Vol. 1, p. 42.

¹⁴ BAUSCH, William J.; CANNON, Carol Ann; OBACH, Robert E. *Pilgrim Church: A Popular History of Catholic Christianity*. Twenty-Third Publications, 1989 p. 218. This work also indicates that abbesses were invested with a pallium, another episcopal sign. Elsewhere we read: 'Like an abbot, an abbess is solemnly admitted to her office by formal blessing, conferred by the bishop in whose territory the monastery is located, or by an abbot or another bishop with appropriate permission. Unlike the abbot, the abbess receives only the ring and a copy of the rule of the order. She does not receive a mitre nor is given a crosier as part of the ceremony; however, by ancient tradition, she may carry a crosier when leading her community. The abbess also traditionally adds a pectoral cross to her habit as a symbol of office. See *Abbess* [interactive, accessed 26 05 2014]. Access: <<https://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/Abbess.html>>.

¹⁵ Incense has long been associated with rituals related to the priestly office of sacrifice and offerings. See Leviticus 6:15, Exodus 30 and 1 Chronicles 9: 29.

but of the sick. Here of course is a serious contested element in the whole story of deaconess – is there a liturgical role or only a charitable role? That point of contestation runs right through the history of deaconate up to today, and perhaps it is not fully resolved, even in the contemporary theology of the deaconate.

Before we leave our consideration of the identity and authority of abbesses, it is important to note the extraordinary range of ecclesial authority that was exercised by these women, in particular in regard to those termed the mitred Abbess¹⁶.

Women Reformers

Finally it is of relevance to recall another startling intervention of women's voices in the late medieval period. Denis Martin in his essay "Carthusians as Advocates of Women Visionary Reformers"¹⁷, notes the example of influential Carthusians employing and advocating the contribution of women visionary reformers in the cause of Church renewal in the 1450s. At this period Islam was conquering Constantinople and Byzantium, awakening a desire for sweeping Church reform. Martin writes, 'Carthusians routinely adduced the visions granted to Hildegard of Bingen, Elizabeth of Schönau, Gertrude the Great and Mechtild of Hackeborn of the Cistercian community at Helfa, Doroteha of Montau, Catherine of Siena, Birgitta of Sweden, and other women as God-given heralds of church reform in light of the bankruptcy of male leadership of the Church. The fathers having failed to provide for the Church entrusted to them, God has granted in this *kairos* moment a certain kind of prophetic leadership to women'¹⁸. Prophetic leadership to women is therefore part of the gifts of the Spirit to the Church in that epoch. The seriousness of these developments is that Church leadership requires more than the ordained leadership, which at this period is of course exclusively male (and almost exclusively celibate).

Conclusion

Many recent studies of women deacons in the Church have been exercised to argue for or against the continued presence of women's deaconate as part of the order of deaconate. The usual conclusion of these studies is either that women have been ordained deacon before, and thus should be again, or these women were not really 'deacons' in the liturgical sense, but were simply women married to

¹⁶ One abbess who must be mentioned, is the Abbess of the Cistercian Monastery of Santa Maria la Real de las Huelgas, near Burgos, in Spain, who exercised a most extraordinary power of jurisdiction. Known as mitred abbess she exercised unlimited secular authority over more than 60 lordships and villages. Like the Bishops, she held her own courts, in civil and criminal cases, granted letters dismissorial for ordination, and issued licenses authorizing priests, within the limits of her abbatial jurisdiction, to hear confessions, to preach, and to engage in the cure of souls. She was privileged also to confirm Abbesses, to impose censures, and to convoke synods. (Florez, "España sagrada", XXVII, Madrid 1772, col. 581.) She was made Abbess General of the Order for the Kingdom of Leon and Castile, and thus had the privilege of convoking annually a general chapter at Burgos. Her quasi-Episcopal powers lasted until 1873. For more on the power of Abbesses see *Abbess* [interactive, accessed 05 05 2014]. Access: <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01007e.htm>>.

¹⁷ MARTIN, Dennis D. Carthusians as Advocates of Women Visionary Reformers. In *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages*. Medieval Church Studies 14. Ed. J. M. Luxford. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008, p. 127–153.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 127–153: 127

deacons, or doing charitable works. These studies have often been drawn to the conclusion of the International Theological Commission entitled '*Le Diaconat: Évolution et perspectives*' (2002) officially published only in French. This document, while it questions the historical record, concludes, officially, that the matter is not settled. In the words of the document itself:

Regarding the ordination of women to the diaconate, it should be noted that two important points emerge from what has been set forth here: 1) the deaconesses mentioned in the ancient tradition of the Church – as suggested by their rite of institution and the functions they exercised – are not purely and simply the same as deacons; 2) the unity of the sacrament of order, in the clear distinction between the ministries of the bishop and the priest on the one hand and the ministry of the deacon on the other, is strongly underscored by ecclesial tradition, above all in the doctrine of Vatican Council II and the postconciliar teaching of the Magisterium. In the light of these elements, supported by the evidence of the present historical-theological research, it will be up to the ministry of discernment, which the Lord has established in his Church, to speak authoritatively on this question¹⁹.

Following from this Cardinal Ratzinger concluded that '1) the history of deaconesses does not support a historical argument for women deacons, and 2) the sacrament of orders clearly distinguishes between the ministries of the bishop and priest and those of the deacon.'²⁰

Most studies have concerned themselves with arguments for or against these conclusions. This paper has not been directly engaged in that enterprise. Its purpose has been to retrieve the evidence of liturgical roles for women especially in the Medieval period and in particular in the case of the Carthusian nuns whose double consecration, whether this appeared firstly in 1262 (with roots in the Césarine community as Leclercq asserts), or in the fifteenth century (Martimort's argument, and if Martimort is correct, one must ask from whence this practice arose), included a diaconal like role with heavy liturgical symbolism, a tradition that has remained active even to these times. The larger argument in the paper has been that despite the strong pressure to restrict all liturgical roles to men evidence has remained of a contrary practice, both in the case of Carthusian nuns and of medieval Abbesses.

¹⁹ *Commission Théologique Internationale, Le Diaconat: Evolution et Perspectives*. Translation by Phyliss Zagano [interactive, accessed 06 05 2014]. Access: <http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/cti_documents/diaconate-documents/conclusion.html>.

²⁰ ZAGANO, Phyliss. Women Deacons: Future. In MACY, Gary; DITEWIG, William T.; ZAGANO, Phyliss. *Women Deacons. Past, Present, Future*. New York/Mahway: Paulist Press, 2011, p. 69–104: 73.

Fáinche Ryan

Moterų vaidmuo liturgijoje: lotyniškoji tradicija viduramžiais

Santrauka

Šis darbas skirtas liturgines funkcijas atliekančių moterų vaidmens lotynų apeigų Bažnyčioje analizei. Straipsnyje telkiamasi į viduramžius, tačiau nagrinėjamos medžiagos turinys aktualus ir šiandieniam pasauliui, ir būsimiems Bažnyčios pokyčiams. Analizuojama problema daugiausia susijusi su moterimi, dėvinčia stulą, liturginių drabužių elementą lotyniškojoje tradicijoje, dažniausiai siejamą su kunigo šventimais. Stulą dėvintis asmuo paprastai dalyvauja oficialioje Bažnyčios tarnystėje. Tačiau pagal dabartinę lotyniškųjų apeigų praktiką formalios liturginės funkcijos moterims patikimos tik itin išskirtinėmis aplinkybėmis.

Pirma darbo dalis skirta vienuolėms kartūzėms ir jų praktikai priimti mergelių konsekraciją po to, kai duodami iškilmingi įžadai. Siekiama parodyti, kad gilesnės šios tradicijos šaknys yra moterų diakonų tarnystė ankstyvosios Bažnyčios tradicijoje. Toliau kreipiamas dėmesys į abačių, ypač dėvinčių mitrą (vad. „mitrotų“), liturgines funkcijas ankstyvojoje Bažnyčioje. Tai taip pat yra moterų ir jų liturginių vaidmenų istorijos dalis.

Analizuojant šias problemas, kyla daug klausimų. Nors pagal tradiciją visos liturginės funkcijos lotynų apeigų Bažnyčioje patikimos vien tik vyrams, atskleisti priešingos praktikos pavyzdžiai nuosekliai veda prie klausimo, ką visa tai gali reikšti moterų dalyvavimui Bažnyčios liturgijoje šiandien.

Iš anglų k. vertė Antoni's Kazimierz Urmański's

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Algimantas Katilius

Lietuvos istorijos institutas

Moterų vienuolynų tinklas buvusios Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės žemėse XVIII a. pabaigoje–XX a. pradžioje

Iš buvusios Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės (toliau – LDK) teritorijos mūsų tyrimo objektas apima tik Vilniaus ir Žemaičių vyskupijas, nuo XIX a. vidurio pastaroji vadinosi Žemaičių (Telšių). Kalbant apie vyrų ir moterų katalikų vienuolynų tinklą Vilniaus ir Žemaičių vyskupijose, reikia pabrėžti vieną bendrą bruožą – vienuolynų skaičius nuolat mažėjo. Ši tendencija buvo nulemta ne natūralaus vienuolynų plėtros procesų ar sekuliarizacijos įtakos. Tai Rusijos imperijos vykdytos politikos, kurios tikslas buvo mažinti vienuolynų vaidmenį visuomenės gyvenime, rezultatas¹. Dar reikia pasakyti, kad keitėsi Vilniaus ir Žemaičių vyskupijų teritorija. Po Lenkijos–Lietuvos valstybės padalijimų Vilniaus vyskupijos teritorija buvo atiduota kelioms vyskupijoms². 1848 m. aštuoni Vilniaus vyskupijos dekanatai prijungti prie Žemaičių vyskupijos, tarp jų ir Kaunas, o prie Minsko vyskupijos prijungtas Naugarduko dekanatas. Prie Vilniaus vyskupijos tais pačiais metais prijungtas Balstogės arkidiakonatas. 1869 m. imperatoriaus dekretu į Vilniaus vyskupiją įtraukta Minsko vyskupija jos sudėtyje išbuvo iki 1883 m.

Katalikų moterų vienuolynų tinklas Vilniaus ir Žemaičių vyskupijoje XVIII a. pabaigoje–XX a. pradžioje nėra specialiai aptartas istorinėje literatūroje.

Šio straipsnio tikslas – apžvelgti katalikų moterų vienuolynų tinklo kitimą Vilniaus ir Žemaičių vyskupijose. Remiantis archyviniais šaltiniais siekiama pateikti statistinių duomenų apie vienuolių skaičių vienuolynuose tam tikrais metais, vienuolynų uždarymą, vienuolių socialinę ir geografinę kilmę, valdytus turtus, bibliotekas, mokyklas.

Stanislovo Litako duomenimis, XVIII a. Vilniaus vyskupijoje buvo 38 moterų vienuolynai, Žemaičių – 3: Kražiuose veikė benediktinių ir marijavičių vienuolynai, Krakėse – kotryniečių vienuolynas. Abiejose vyskupijose funkcionavo dešimties vienuolių vienuolynai: basųjų karmeličių, benediktinių,

¹ Apie Rusijos politiką vienuolynų atžvilgiu yra nemažai rašyta istoriografijoje: ROSIAK, Stefan. *Prowincja Litewska siostr miłosierdzia: Szkic z dziejów martyrologii Kościoła Katolickiego pod zaborem Rosyjskim*. Wilno: Skład główny: księgarnia Św. Wojciecha, 1933; GACH, Piotr Paweł. *Kasaty zakonów na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej i Śląska 1773–1914*. Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1984; GACH, Piotr Paweł. *Struktury i działalność duszpasterska zakonów męskich na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej i Śląska w latach 1773–1914*. Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1999; LAUKAITYTĖ, Regina. *Lietuvos vienuolijos. XX a. istorijos bruožai*. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 1997; OBORSKA, Galina. *Kasata klasztorów siostr bernardynek w Wilnie po powstaniu stycznowym. Studia Franciszkańskie*, Poznań, 2007, t. 17, s. 353–450; KATILIUS, Algimantas. *Vilniaus miesto vienuolynai ir Rusijos imperijos vykdoma politika XIX amžiuje* (mašiništas). 2013. Asmeninis autoriaus archyvas.

² 1782 m. įsteigtai Mogiliavo arkivyskupijai atiteko Vilniaus vyskupijos Vitebsko ir Oršos dekanatai. 1798 m. Knišino, Augustavo, Alytaus ir Simno dekanatai priskirti Vygrių vyskupijai. 1798 m. įsteigtai Minsko vyskupijai priskirti Radoškovičių, Bobruisko dekanatai ir dalis Polocko dekanato. Žr. RABIKAUSKAS, Paulius. *Krikščioniškoji Lietuva. Istorija, hagiografija, šaltiniotyra*. Sudarė L. Jovaiša. Vilnius: Aidai, 2002, p. 80.

bernardinų, brigitečių, cistersių, dominikonų, kotryniečių, marijavičių, šaričių (galestingųjų seserų) ir vizitiečių. Daugiausia buvo marijavičių – abiejose vyskupijose veikė 16 jų vienuolynų; benediktinės turėjo septynis, bernardinės – šešis. Kitų vienuolijų buvo nuo vieno iki keturių vienuolynų. Iš miestų daugiausia vienuolynų (net devyni) veikė Vilniuje, keturi – Slanime. Kaune buvo benediktinių, bernardinų ir marijavičių vienuolynai³.

XIX a. pradžioje neliko Vilniaus dominikonų ir brigitečių vienuolynų, Krakių ir Kauno marijavičių vienuolynų ir S. Litako minimo Marijampolės šaričių vienuolyno. Dalis Vilniaus vyskupijos vienuolynų atiteko 1798 m. iš Vilniaus vyskupijos dalies teritorijos įkurtai Minsko vyskupijai.

Moterų vienuolynų tinklo apžvalgą XIX a.–XX a. pradžioje pradėsime nuo naujai įsikūrusių vienuolynų mūsų aptariamose vyskupijose. Plėtra apėmė galestingųjų seserų (šaričių) vienuolynus. Vilniuje įsikūrė trys nauji vienuolynai: 1786 m. prie Kūdikėlio Jėzaus vaikų prieglaudos⁴, 1809 m. prie Šv. Jokūbo ligoninės⁵, 1840 m. prie Vilniaus labdarybės draugijos⁶. 1824 m. Kaune galestingosios seserys įsikūrė prie Šv. Gertrūdos bažnyčios ir ligoninės⁷.

1798–1915 m. Vilniaus ir Žemaičių vyskupijose iš viso buvo 29 vienuolynai. Į tą skaičių patenka prie Vilniaus vyskupijos 1848 m. prijungtas Balstogės arkidiakonas ir į Vilniaus vyskupiją trumpai priimta Minsko vyskupija. Visų vienuolynų sąrašas pateikiamas straipsnio priede.

1798–1915 m. iš viso Vilniaus vyskupijoje, įskaitant ir prie Žemaičių bei Minsko vyskupijų prijungtus dekanatus, prie Vilniaus vyskupijos prijungtą Balstogės arkidiakoną ir į Vilniaus vyskupiją trumpai įjungtą Minsko vyskupiją, buvo 27 moterų vienuolynai. Galestingosios seserys jų turėjo daugiausia – net aštuonis, iš jų keturi veikė Vilniuje. Dėl to, kad vienuolynai buvo uždaromi, ir dėl vyskupijos administracinių pertvarkų vienuolynų skaičius tam tikrais laikotarpiais skyrėsi ir turėjo tendenciją mažėti. 1798 m. buvo 19 vienuolynų⁸. 1830 m. Vilniaus vyskupijoje veikė 21 moterų vienuolynas. 1850 m. iš viso vyskupijoje buvo 19 moterų vienuolynų⁹. 1856 m. jau liko 15 vienuolynų¹⁰ ir tiek jų išsilaikė iki 1863 m. sukilimo.

³ LITAK, Stanisław. *Atlas Kościoła łacinskiego w Rzeczypospolitej Obojgu Narodów w XVIII wieku*. Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II, 2006, s. 421–425.

⁴ ROSIAK, *op. cit.*, s. 227–228.

⁵ *Ibid.*, s. 253–255.

⁶ *Ibid.*, s. 275–276.

⁷ *Ibid.*, s. 134–135.

⁸ *Pranešimai apie Vilniaus vyskupijos moterų vienuolynus*. 1798. Rusijos valstybinis istorijos archyvas Sankt Peterburge (toliau – RVIA), f. 822-12-2945; mikrofilmas, Lietuvos istorijos instituto bibliotekos rankraštynas (toliau – LIIR), f. 50–P61, l. 503v–597.

⁹ *Duomenys apie Vilniaus vyskupijos vienuolynų vienuolius*. 1850. Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (toliau – LVIA), f. 694-1-1903, l. 63–116.

¹⁰ *Duomenys apie Vilniaus vyskupijos vienuolynų vienuolius*. 1856. LVIA, f. 694-1-2056, l. 55–92.

Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės moterų vienuolijos: istorija ir paveldas. Mokslo straipsnių rinkinys / sudarytoja Aušra Vasiliauskienė. – Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas; Vilnius: Versus aureus, 2014. – 264 p.: iliustr., lent., bibliogr.

ISBN 978-609-467-074-9 (Print)

ISBN 978-9955-34-513-8 (Print)

ISBN 978-609-467-075-6 (Online)

ISBN 978-9955-34-512-1 (Online)

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Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės moterų vienuolijos: istorija ir paveldas

Mokslo straipsnių rinkinys

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Lietuvių kalbos redaktorė *Ilona Čiužauskaitė*

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Dailininkas maketuotojas *Saulius Bajorinas*

Viršelyje: S. Čechavičiaus mokykla. Šv. *Skolastika*. XVIII a. II p. Drobė, aliejus.

Kauno Šv. Mikalojaus bažnyčia. Arūno Baltėno nuotrauka, 2014

2014 08 07. Tiražas 100 egz. Užsakymo Nr. K14-064

Išleido:

Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas

K. Donelaičio g. 58, LT-44248 Kaunas

www.vdu.lt | bibl@vdu.lt

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Rūdninkų g. 10, LT-01135 Vilnius

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