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PANNA BAZYLIANKA AGAINST THE VOLHYNIAN SOCIETY BACKGROUND (18TH–19TH CENTURIES)

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary historical and sociological studies of everyday life show a lot of interest in monasteries and their inhabitants. Now our aim are Uniate nuns or, say sources – *Panna Bazylianka*. This immediately makes necessity to provide an explanation to this definition. Despite they didn't belong to the one and only Basilian Order, nuns were called “Miss Basilian” in the contemporary sources in Uniate monasteries. This was due to both the influence of Latin tradition, where the monks were called according to affiliation to some particular religious order, and the fact that the basis of the Eastern tradition religious life was built on St. Basil the Great Statute. Whatever it was, the studied sources showed “Miss Basilian” and, therefore, we are using this definition in this article.

What was the nun in Uniate monasteries in Volyn at the turn of XVIII–XIX centuries? What are their possessions and geographical origins, education, age, character and role in society? It's not easy to answer those questions because women Uniate monasteries in Volyn remain hardly ever studied. Despite the emergence some researches on this subject¹, I see the only publication that directly related to the subject

¹ S. Senyk, *Women's Monasteries in Ukraine and Byelorussia to the Period of suppressions*, Roma 1983; О. Крайня, *Документи XVII ст. з історії Києво-Печерського Вознесенського жіночого монастиря*, in: *Лаврський альманах. Києво-Печерська Лавра в контексті української історії та культури. Збірник наукових праць*, Т. 5, К. 2001, p. 147–165; К. Герелес, *Гантарська майстерня Києво-Вознесенського монастиря за часів ігуменства Марії Магдалини Мазени*, in: *Могілянські читання. Матеріали щорічної наукової конференції*, Київ 2000, p. 52–55; С. В. Сохань, *Київські Богословський та Йорданський дівочі монастирі XVI–XVIII ст.: сплетіння долі в історичному просторі*, in: *Рукописна та книжкова спадщина України*, Вип. 13, К. 2009, p. 79–98; О. Duch, *Żeńskie monastery eparchii Lwowskiej i przemyskiej w XVII i XVIII wieku*, praca doktorska napisana pod kierunkiem prof. dr. hab. Henryka Gapskiego, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, Lublin 2005.

of research – namely, publication of Dubno monastery visitation made by pre-war Lviv’s historian Jehoshaphat Scruten².

Notably, the Polish church historiography pays much more attention to research daily life of female Roman Catholic monasteries³. Particularly noteworthy works by well-known church historian, nun Małgorzata Borkowska, who studied the daily lives of the nuns of the Roman Catholic monastic orders based on the chronicles, biographies of nuns, and more⁴. However, Uniate monasteries were outside of the scope of her research⁵.

As you can see, the history of women’s monasteries of either Christian denomination in Ukraine is still a subject of further researches.

Analysis of monastic manuscripts of Dubno Basilian sisters’ monastery has been considered in previous publications⁶. Now we will try to portray the image of a Uniate monasteries nun in Volyn at the turn of XVIII–XIX centuries.

Firstly, let’s briefly outline the source’s “coordinate system” and its information capabilities. The most comprehensive information used to create an Basilian nun’s image is “internal” sources of monastic origins – namely, monastic books, records, books foundations, “professionals”, female monasteries registers documents and so on. By today we have found in the Krakow archive a “chronicle” of the only one female Uniate monastery, Dubno. In addition, the manuscript is not a chronicle in the traditional sense of the definition. We know its author (Onufry Lesnevskyy), year (1810) and Mother Superior, who ordered it (Ludwiga Abramovichovna). However, the manuscript is not a classic foundation’s book as containing a lot of mixed data written in chronological order. Note that detailed analyses of Dubno book was made by us in one of the previous posts⁷. The manuscript has lots of valuable materials that reveals the Basilian nuns image in early nineteenth century.

It has sense to study Dubno monastery register of documents⁸, which contains financial documents’ titles and amounts of money tendered to the monastery by

² Й. Скрутень, “Візита” дубенського монастиря СС. Василіанок 1818 р., “Записки чину Святого Василя Великого” 1927, Т. 2, Вип. 3/4, р. 355–361.

³ D. Karczewski, R. Kabaciński, *Katalog prepozytów klasztoru norbertanek w Strzelnie od XII wieku do 1837 r.*, “Nasza przeszłość” (further: NP) 1997, t. 87, p. 5–38; C. Gil, *Życie codzienne karmelitanek bosych w Polsce w XVII–XIX wieku* Kraków 1997, pp. 296.

⁴ M. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne polskich klasztorów żeńskich w XVII–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 376; *eadem*, *Biale i bure*, Kraków 2005; *eadem*, *Księga metrykalna bydgoskiego klasztoru*, NP 1990, t. 73, p. 307–314; *eadem*, *Zapiski kronikarskie norbertanek Plockich*, NP 1995, t. 84, p. 49–79.

⁵ А. Гіль, Уніїтні монастирі Холмсько–Белзької Єпархії (1596–1720), Ковчег–Львів 2007, ч. 5, р. 285–300.

⁶ В. Лось, *Монастирська книга дубенських василіанок та її інформаційні можливості* in: *Архівознавство. Археографія. Джерелознавство*, Вип. 9, Київ 2006, р. 128–145. В. Лось, *Дубенський жіночий монастир в багатоконфесійному суспільстві: конфлікти з ктиторами, стосунки з уніатським та православним духовенством (XVIII–XIX ст.)*, in: *Studia z dziejów i tradycji metro-polii Kijowskiej XII–XIX wieku*, t. 5, Lublin 2008, p. 137–150.

⁷ В. Лось, *Монастирська книга*, р. 128–145.

⁸ Державний архів Житомирської області (further: ДАЖО), Ф. 178, оп. 6, спр. 229.

nuns, to depict the image of Basilian nuns. It's quite interesting to review Polonne monastery nuns' formulary lists⁹ (XIX century), and consistory cases that highlight different aspects of social group life, that, for some reason, were in scope of their review¹⁰. It is also visitation of Dubno, Polonne, Volodymyr and Yasnohrodsk Basilian monasteries (some of them have been published¹¹). "Rules" for Koretsk and Dubno Basilian monasteries established by order of Lutsk Uniate bishops Rudnytsky Sylvester (1750, 1769) and Stephen Lewinski (beg. XIX c.) were found in Vernadsky National Library are quite important for us due to the amount of information they give us¹².

Proper use of diverse sources allows us properly depict the image of the Basilian nuns.

Thus, the object of our study is female nuns of Uniate monasteries in Volyn: Dubno, Polonne, Volodymyr, Koretsk and Yasnohrodsk monasteries. The timeframe is covering the period of the last decades of the XVIII century – the first third of the XIX century; this is a time when Volyn became part of the Russian Empire and all the changes associated with this process. Specific problems we discuss in this investigation are the following: age, educational level, birth origin, nuns, dowry and place that it occupies in society. We emphasize: all the mentioned above problems are considered under the prism of the Latin tradition and the Russian government policy.

Obviously, not all the subjects will be explained with the equal sufficient argumentativeness; however, even an attempt to try, at least a first approximation, in our view, is entirely justified.

VOLYN WOMEN UNIATE MONASTERY: GENERAL INFORMATION

Volyn region has been the focus of monasteries of various Christian denominations since the very beginning. Among women Uniate monasteries in the XVIII century there were: Polonne, Volodymyr, Dubno–Pidboretsk, Yasnohrodsk and Koretsk Monasteries.

Koretsky convent was well known in Volyn; but it ceased operations in 1795 when the Russian government joins Uniate church to the Orthodox Church. Around the same time ceased operations and Yasnohrodsk Monastery (1790s). The nuns of the monastery moved to other monasteries in Volyn, which were functioning until the late 30's of XIX century: Dubno (1832), Volodymyr (1836) and Polonne (1839).

Considering the image on Basilian nuns in Volyn in XVIII – early XIX century we should note the impact of political factors that generally was important for the

⁹ ДАЖО, Ф. 420, оп. 1, спр. 47.

¹⁰ Державний архів Волинської області (further: ДАВО), Ф. 382, оп. 2, спр. 52; Інститут рукопису Національної бібліотеки ім. В.І. Вернадського (further: ІР НБУВ), Ф. 231, № 152.

¹¹ Й. Скрутень, "Візита" дубенського монастиря.

¹² ІРНБУВ, Ф. 231, № 83.

monasteries functioning. Małgorzata Borkowska claims that generally the end of XVIII – beginning of XIX century was the period of liquidation of many of religious congregations of the Commonwealth by the secular power. And accordingly, it was a time of social and mental destabilization, which prevents the influx of candidates to the novitiate¹³.

There was tough times the Basilians in the Russian Empire as well. Since the end of the XVIII century and up to 1839 there was a gradual deliberate elimination of Basilian monasteries by the government. Basilian friaries were able to resist elimination because of their fruitful educational activities; women's congregations, feeling complete lack of help, and besides being in constant threat of liquidation, gradually fell into decay. Bad financial situation of the monasteries contributed to this deterioration; another factor was the loss of its social base – the Uniate nobility – which gradually joined the Orthodox Church. Government laws which forbade joining Roman Catholics to the Basilian monasteries (1828) were one more factor of the degradation; as many of the woman Basilians were representatives of the Western rite. (For example, novitiate of Polonne monastery Alexandra Nenadkevychova and Justin Shutkovska were Roman Catholics. Although they entered the monastery (1827 and 1829 accordingly), they didn't vow (profession) by 1836¹⁴). All this complicated the monasteries economics, and obviously, requires more detailed study. That way the man monasteries were superior to woman monasteries.

However, women Uniate monasteries, despite staying in “czasy najprzyszej-sze” – according to the visitor note¹⁵, trying not only to survive but also to function as a full-grade monastic congregation.

THE MONASTERIES CONTROL SYSTEM

We have no purpose to provide detailed history and internals of the women Basilian monasteries. Our aim here is to do a brief overview of their management.

Women Uniate monasteries, unlike the men ones, that time did not create a single order with a joint management; each monastery existed as a separate unit that had its own unique traditions¹⁶. This system was confirmed at the general Church level. In particular, Zamoyski Synod resolutions (1720), having totaly 19 paragraphs, one (12th) was dedicated entirely to convent. The Synod followed the main principles of the Eastern tradition; especially this was the decentralization of monasteries, power

¹³ M. Borkowska, *Seminarium galicyjskiej prowincji szarytek (1782–1914) w świetle badań nad rekrutacją do polskich zakonów żeńskich*, NP 2001, t. 95, p. 171.

¹⁴ ДАЖО, Ф. 420, оп.1, спр. 47, Арк. 338–339.

¹⁵ Ї. Скрутень, “Візіта” дубенського монастиря, p. 358.

¹⁶ J. M. Giżycki, *Z przeszłości Zakonu Bazylińskiego na Litwie i Rusi*, „Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki” 1904, 32, p. 171.

of bishops, and election abbots among nurses¹⁷. However, there were many innovations taken from Latin tradition.

The inner life of monasteries was based on St. Basil the Great Regulations and the statutes created for Basilian monks by Metropolitan Ruts'kyj¹⁸. However, in real life women Uniate monasteries still subordinated to the diocesan bishop. It was a general management rule that time both in Eastern and Western traditions. As noted by M. Borkowska, the fact that convents were dependent on the diocesan bishops was a common rule of Roman Catholic monasteries in the Commonwealth in XVIII century¹⁹.

Diocesan Bishop of the Uniate Church, was a head and supervisor of monasteries that were located on the territory of his diocese, he provided pastoral management. His primary duties were: conducting visitations, Superior approval, publishing various kinds of regulations, conflict resolution in the monastery, entry and exit allowance, and the appointment of a confessor to the monastic community.

Regulations issued by order of bishops Sylvester Rudnytsky in the second half of the XVIII century shed light on issues of governance and internal regulations monasteries for Koretsky Monastery (2 documents) and rules written by Bishop Stephen Levinsky in early XIX century for Dubno monastery²⁰. Their intended purpose, the so-called "statutes or rules", that govern monastic community life. What unifies them is the fact that they both were based on the Charter St. Basil the Great, stated in the documents multiple times²¹.

However, there are also many differences between the statutes. The older of the documents (probably 1750-ies) focuses on the organization of the spiritual life of the community through detailed regulation of the circadian cycle of monastic life. This is the most appropriate definition manuscript as a "statute". Two following manuscripts are the result of episcopal visitations due to the presence of certain problems in the communities. As a result the rules are focused on the discipline and the details of everyday life. In the second document, which Bishop Sylvester Rudnytsky addressed in 1769 to the Koretsky monastery, most attention is paid to consideration of specific points in the internal life of the monastery. The third manuscript, addressed to Dubno monastery (beginning of XIX century), by nature, the visitor thoughts and speculations on monastic vows. As the "Rules" were drawn up in the form of recommendations, the author tries to bring back love and mutual consent to the community through words of the Gospel.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 73, 75.

¹⁸ С. Мудрий, *ЧСВВ. Замоїський синод і його значення для української Католицької Церкви*, http://174.132.170.94/~itucu/icl.org.ua/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=266&Itemid=41, p. 6. (19.11.2011).

¹⁹ M. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne*, p. 213.

²⁰ ІР НБУВ, Ф. 231, спр. 83, Арк. 1–9, 22–32.

²¹ *Ibidem*, Арк. 2, 32.

Thus, the manuscripts are “rules” differ from each other by form of presentation and content. At the same time they are similar in the sense of having significant Latin influences that can be traced both in the organizational life of the community (having novitiate) and prayer life (having Catholic tradition of meditation, retreats, etc.). The statutes don’t have distinguishable legal consistency, strict subordination regime and external activities that were a feature of the statutes of the Western tradition.

In general, Basilian statutory rules in second half of XVIII – early XIX centuries is a unique combination of East spirituality and West management tradition and this require more thorough investigation. At the same time the statutes show overlay of patristic instructions on religious ascetic life and realities of the Modern society of the Commonwealth; this, sometimes, to some extent, even led to the violation of the Charter St. Basil the Great (the possessions rules for instance).

We note that there were no one and only ordinance for Basilian women monastery. It is likely that such statutes or regulations existed in other dioceses, but we cannot compare them directly. Oleh Dukh claimed that he had not found any statute convents in Diocese of Lviv²².

Thus, women Basilian monastery were using “Rules of St. Basil” that nuns had to read each month together in the refectory²³; also Popes Decrees were used, the rules provided by the bishops, and local traditions were taken into account, which was unique for each monastery.

The direct management carried by monastery prioress; according the sources she had a title “starsza”, or “przełożona”. According to Zamoyski Synod regulations, the Superiors had to chosen by secret ballot nuns of the monastery nuns. However, possible Superior necessarily had to be agreed with the bishop in advance. The term was limited to five years. Metropolitan Volodkevych ordered to the Volodymyr monastery Mother Superiors to step down after five years of governing, and provide a full report²⁴. However, analysis of monastic sources gives us a reason to believe that Mothers Superior took their post more than one term. An example is the abbess of the Dubno monastery Abramovichovna, who was elected in 1803 and is known that in 1818 and then she was still a Mother Superior²⁵ (although in this case we should take into account the following factors: the aging of the monastery inhabitants, and she was youngest nun among others, and was definitely the best person to fulfill these responsibilities).

Any government, even the most honored and influential, didn’t release from religious duties. The “Rules” for monasteries noted that Sister Superior was only “siostra starsza między równymi siostrami”²⁶, and their primary virtues were humility

²² O. Duch, *Żeńskie monasterium eparchii*, p. 66, 67.

²³ ІР НБУВ, Ф. 231, спр. 83, Арк. 2.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, спр. 152, Арк. 486 зв.

²⁵ Й. Скрутень, “Візита” дубенського монастиря, p. 358.

²⁶ ІР НБУВ, Ф. 231, спр. 83, Арк. 32.

and gentleness, they had to serve as an example for the community. But it was not always so.

The Korets monastery rules stated that in when making important decisions, abbess must consult the most respected nuns (“używać rady Dyskretok”²⁷). Unfortunately, we have no data if this really worked and how noticeable was the rules’ impact on the management of the monastery.

In general, Bishop took into account opinion of the nuns. There was only one case recorder when the bishop of Lutsk Levynsky S. Polonsky himself appointed abbess of the monastery. That was Teklya Tyska, who had been a Mothers Superior of Koretsky Monastery monastic community; the monastery was liquidated. He probably wanted to avoid a conflict, so the bishop emphasized in advance that the vicar of the monastery should be only person from the Polonne monastery²⁸.

Thus, the control was in the hands of the monastery Mother Superior, who asked advices from respectable nuns. At the same time the monastery was depending on the diocesan bishop. The monasteries development was highly depended on the bishop’s personal opinion.

THE NUMERICAL AND AGE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MONASTIC COMMUNITY

Right Bank convents in late XVIII – early XIX centuries were mostly under populated. A similar situation was also among Uniate monasteries in Lviv; the number of people in monastic communities there were not more than 10 people²⁹. However, according to Sergii Gorin research, most of monasteries in Volyn in XVI–XVII centuries had 10–12 monks³⁰. Note that in this period Roman Catholic monasteries were somewhat higher populated, there were communities of 40–60 nuns, but the most common are the monastery with about 20 nuns³¹.

According to visits there were about twenty people (including novitiates) in Dubno monastery at the end of the XVIII century³². It was the largest nunnery in Volyn. In the XIX century this number gradually began to decline. So, when in Dubno monastery lived seven nuns in 1810 (see table 1), then they left only four in 1818 (see table 2). The same was happening in Volodymyr and Polonne monasteries (see tables 3 and 4). In 1836 Polonne monasteries, the only still functioning Uniate convent on the Right Bank, lived only five nuns.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, Арк. 8 зв.

²⁸ ДАВО, Ф. 382, оп. 2, спр. 144, Арк. 51.

²⁹ О. Duch, *Żeńskie monasterium eparchii*, p. 114.

³⁰ С. Горін, *Чернецтво східного обряду на українських землях в другій половині XVI–першій половині XVII ст.: ідеал і реалії (наприкладі Волинських монастирів)*, in: *Kościół wschodnie w Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII wieku: Zbiór studiów*, t. 3, Lublin 2005, p. 78–79.

³¹ М. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne*, p. 69.

³² Й. Скрутець, “Візита” дубенського монастиря, p. 359.

**Table 1. Monastic community of Dubno–Pidborec Ascension convent.
1810**

| № | Last name, First name | Job(s) |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Ludwiga Abramovichovna | Mother Superior |
| 2 | Alexandra Dzyentsolovska | Vicar |
| 3 | Elena Dolyanovska | Novitiate teacher |
| 4 | Barbara Kuchevska | Secular girls teacher |
| 5 | Olympiada Shashkevichovna | Gatekeeper |
| 6 | Mokryna Rafalska | Gatekeeper |
| 7 | Bohumila Hzybovska | Novitiate |

Source: Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (further: APK), I oddział, Archiwum Sanguszków (further: A. Sang.), sygn. 1090, Kyiv. 117–121.

**Table 2. Monastic community of Dubno convent.
1818**

| № | Last name, First name | Job(s) | Age | Professional experience | Years, spent in convent |
|---|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | Ludwiga Abramovichovna | Mother Superior | 59 | 36 | 35 |
| 2 | Alexander Dzyentsolovska | Vicar and cashier | 77 | 61 | 61 |
| 3 | Barbara Kuchevska | Office manager (zakristyanka) | 86 | 64 | 64 |
| 4 | Elena Dolyanovska | Teacher | 79 | 63 | 49 |

Source: APK, A. Sang., sygn. 1090, Kyiv. 117–121.

The average age of nuns in Dubno monastery in 1818 was 50–70 years. The youngest nun in the convent was the abbess – she was 59 years old. In four years monastery adopted no single novitiate. That was gradual aging of the monastery inhabitants. This is likely be explained by economic factor – namely the gradual impoverishment of the monastery, which experienced tough times.

Situation in Polonne monastery was somewhat better. Thus, in 1836 the monastery prioress Barbara Rafalska was 38 years old. *Szafarka* (someone responsible for nutrition) and *ryznychna* (chief of sacristy) were middle-aged nuns. Besides this, there were two 22 years old novitiates³³.

³³ ДАЖО, Ф. 420, оп. 1, спр.47, Арк. 338.

**Table 3. Monastic community of Polonne convent.
1821**

| № | Last name, First name | Job(s) | Age | Professional experience | Years, spent in convent |
|---|------------------------|-------------------------------|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | Tekla Tyska | Mother Superior (1810) | 69 | 49 | – |
| 2 | Macrina Czarniecka | Viocr | 81 | 65 | 32 |
| 3 | Anna Lobotska | – | 57 | 35 | 2 (moved from Korets) |
| 4 | Benedicta Korzeniowska | Office manager (zakrystyanka) | 61 | 36 | 6 |
| 5 | Tekla Revo(u)tska | – | 55 | 34 | 6 |
| 6 | Teofila Hzhybovska | – | 26 | 7 | 6 |

Source: Інститут рукопису Національної бібліотеки ім. В.І. Вернадського (further: IP НБУВ), Ф. 231, спр. 152, Арк. 459–459 зв.

**Table 4. Monastic community of Volodymyr convent.
1821**

| № | Last name, First name | Job(s) | Age | Professional experience | Years, spent in convent |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | Elena Chernyakhovska | Mother Superior (1814) | 51 | 35 | 15 |
| 2 | Antonina Harbovska | multiple | 54 | 35 | 10 |
| 3 | Mocrina Rafalska | Housekeeper, gatekeeper | 49 | 15 | 9 |
| 4 | Barbara Rafalska | Secular girls teacher | 23 | 3 | 5 |

Source: IP НБУВ, Ф. 231, спр. 152, Арк. 484.

AGE AND ESTATE FACTORS OF THE MONASTIC COMMUNITY

At what age people went to the monastery in late XVIII – early XIX century? According Zamoyski Synod decrees the monastery had to take people having minimum 15 years old.

Studying known lists of nuns in Dubno, Volodymyr and Polonne and monasteries in early XIX century leads us to conclusion that in real world the age of entry and acceptance profession ranged between 16 and 24 years old. There were occurrences of earlier or late entry. For instance, nuns Alexandra Nenadkevichovna and Julia

Tushkovska entered the monastery respectively at 13 and 15, and Julia Rotovska at 39 years³⁴. Perhaps the latter one was a widow, but we don't have any proofs on that. Superior of Volodymyr monastery, and then Polonne monastery Elena Cherniakhivska entered the monastery when she was 15 years old, and made perpetual vows in 1735.

It is difficult to find out the origins of Uniate nuns as, unfortunately, there is no data on this subject in the sources. Researcher convents Oleh Dukh notes that the majority nuns in Lviv Diocese in mid XVIII century were daughters of priests and townpeople³⁶. There were much less representatives of peasants and noble people.

Our analysis of monastic sources gives us a reason to believe that the situation in the Right Bank Ukraine was somewhat different at the same period of time. Author of Dubno monastery book notes that vast majority of Basilians were local Uniate nobles. Monastic sources, originating from the period, mentioned only Polish nobles³⁷. We assume that Latin influences were responsible for this. According to Małgorzata Borkowska, a representative of noble people was the primary source of replenishment of Roman Catholic monasteries³⁸.

Let us explain why it so. Bear in mind that a considerable number of small Uniate nobility lived in Volyn in XVIII century. Another evidence of noble origin of nuns are their names. According to philological studies, surnames, surnames at -tsky, -tskyy, the vast majorities were representatives of the Polish or polonized nobles, who get their names after the names of their domains³⁹.

Peasants dowry social status (their dependency), and dowry (mandatory to becoming a nun in a monastery) were another reasons why daughters of peasants virtually could not become members of the monastic community. (Dowry and its amount were defined by Zamoyski Synod). In addition, after "accession" to the Orthodox Church Uniate population in Volyn in the end of the XVIII century mass a small percentage of the population represented mainly nobles remained in the Union. Noble origin on nuns in Ostrog and Lutsk monasteries, and also in Diocese of Lutsk is confirming by amounts of money girls granted when joining the monastery (there are documents on this).

As for the nuns of bourgeois origin, according to Dubno Book author, in early XVII century most of the nuns in monastic communities were of bourgeois origin;

³⁴ *Ibidem*, Арк. 337–358.

³⁵ ІР НБУВ, Ф. 231, спр. 152, Арк. 484.

³⁶ О. Дух, *Черниці монастирів Львівської єпархії у 1760–1763 рр.: віковий, становий, освітній зріз (за матеріалами генеральної візитації Львівської єпархії 1758–1765 рр.)*, "Соціум. Альманах соціальної історії" 2005, Вип. 5, р. 62.

³⁷ Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (further: APK), I oddział, Archiwum Sanguszków (further: A. Sang.), sygn. 1090, Kyiv. 99.

³⁸ M. Borkowska, *Karmelitanki dawnej obserwacji w Polsce. Dzieje zapomnianego zakonu*, NP, 1991, t. 75, р. 103–104; *eadem*, *Księga metrykalna bydgoskiego klasztoru*, NP, 1990, t. 73, р. 313.

³⁹ Б. Унбегаун, *Русские фамилии*, М. 1995, р. 20, 245.

but in the XVIII century monastery were noble communities⁴⁰. A smaller number of bourgeois among Basilians on the Right Bank was probably linked with weaker city development comparing to Galicia.

Note that womens' religious communities we have studied there were not only Uniates, but also Roman Catholics. Thus, Miss Olena Cherniakhivska, Superior of Volodymyr (1814–1836) and Polonne (1836–39) monasteries, was a Roman Catholic Basilian⁴¹. Two novitiates of Polonne monastery Alexandra Nenadkevychovna and Justina Shutkovska were Roman Catholics. However, it should be emphasized that this time there were several female Roman Catholic monasteries in Volyn, including two in Lutsk (Brigittae monastery and Sharitki (Vikentiy de Pol) convent), one in Dubno (Carmelite Monastery). However, it was not easy to get in these monasteries. For example, the Carmelite convent in Dubno took only noble people, also required a significant dowry (10,000 Zloty)⁴², which probably motivated Roman Catholics to join the Uniate monasteries. Probably, we should take into account influence of the male order, where this phenomenon gained considerable popularity.

Anyway, we claim that most of the Basilian nuns were Uniates.

We unfortunately failed to determine territorial origin of nuns because of the lack of references in sources. Rather, they came from the nearest lands to the monasteries, in other words they lived somewhere within the Diocese of Lutsk. Local patriotism was a considerable factor of contemporary society: the majority of candidates wished to come to the monastery which was not far from their homes. Significant role in the choice of a particular monastery was the fact of rejoining with other family members. In the studied lists we found many of the nuns with similar names; they were, probably, relatives. For example: Koretskloister – Bryhyda and Teresa Porchynska; Jehoshaphat and Christina Zabyezhevka; Volodymyr monastery – Macrina and Barbara Rafalska; Koretsk monastery – Elżbieta and Vilhofora Byedzhytska. It is likely that this family link was also an important factor when choosing a monastery.

NUNS' DOWRY

An essential attribute of a Basilian nun was her dowry, which she granted to the community. This is interesting to us, as the subject has not yet studied well by modern historians. Dowry acted as a kind of financial support, and accordingly, monasteries absolutely needed it. Note that entry fee, or dowry, existed both in Western and Eastern traditions. Entry fee of Orthodox nuns was arbitrary and dependent on their social status. Unlike Eastern tradition, nuns' dowry in Catholic monasteries was

⁴⁰ APK, A. Sang., sygn. 1090, Kyiv. 24.

⁴¹ ДАЖО, Ф. 420, оп. 1, спр. 47, Арк. 357.

⁴² M. Borkowska, *Karmelitanki dawnej obserwancji w Polsce*, p. 104.

a prerequisite, and, moreover, it was clearly fixed. It was considerable influence of Roman tradition in this subject on Basilian monasteries in XVIII century.

Thus, the bishop 1769 Rudnytsky Rules for Koretsk monastery noted that no girl without dowry can be accepted to the monastery⁴³. According to Zamoyski Synod regulations, dowry was 1,500 Zloty⁴⁴. However, according to sources, the reality and practice do not always coincide.

Dubno monastery registry documents, which was created in 1810, claims that the dowry amounts started be written in the monastery registry books in 1719. However, no doubt that Basilians started providing dowry earlier; it is likely that before they just didn't record this information. As for the first mention, then is stated that in 1719 Mikhail Zvolnytsky gave 1000 Zloty to to-be nun Alexandra Vysotsky and Dubno monastery itself. This provision was officially noted in Lutsk Grodskij books⁴⁵, and thus became known. The author noted that it was the first record about dowry and Grodskij books. The question is: why? Perhaps, as already noted, there was no such practice before. It is equally likely that at the beginning of the XVIII century Roman Catholic tradition of providing mandatory dowry when joining the woman monastery didn't yet widespread among women Uniate monasteries. Moreover, as you know, by the end of the XVII century (1695⁴⁶) the Dubno convent was under the care of Monastery of St. Savior, and the latter, according to the nuns' complaints, often appropriated nuns' dowries.

According to the registry documents, this was one of the reasons that was forcing convents transition from the rule of Male Monastery Archimandrite to the jurisdiction of the bishop⁴⁷. However, the bishops were also "borrowing" Basilian money and not always returned them back.

Note that the nun, who went from one monastery to another (that occurred, however, quite rarely) moved their dowry to the new monastery. For example, in the registry documents noted transition of two nuns, Marian Kuczevska and Pauline Rabchevska, from Dubno to Polonne monastery, led to moving their dowry (each 1.000 Zloty)⁴⁸. Because of bishops negligence quite often money transferred to other monasteries "disappeared". According to the Eastern tradition, the Basilian could use the amounts of profits dowry for individual needs. However, as noted by Borkowska, the nuns of the Roman Catholic monasteries Commonwealth in XVIII century were getting percent profit from her dowry, given that at interest⁴⁹. As you can see, it is difficult to draw the line between Eastern tradition and Western influence.

⁴³ IP НБУВ, Ф. 231, спр. 83, Арк. 7.

⁴⁴ О. Duch, *Żeńskie monasterium eparchii*, p. 74.

⁴⁵ ДАЖО, Ф. 178, оп. 6, спр. 229, Арк. 7.

⁴⁶ АРК, А. Sang., sygn. 1090, Kyiv. 35.

⁴⁷ ДАЖО, Ф. 178, оп.6, спр. 229, Арк. 6 зв.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, Арк. 11 зв.

⁴⁹ М. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne*, p. 159.

Table 5. Monastic community of Korets convent.

1769

| № | Last name, First name | Job(s) |
|----|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | Marina Kuczevska | Mother Superior (Starsza) |
| 2 | Anna Lobotska | – |
| 3 | Anastasia Buderatska | – |
| 4 | Catherine Zuvaska | – |
| 5 | Jehoshaphata Zabyezhevska | – |
| 6 | Barbara Poniatowska | – |
| 7 | Christina Zabyezhevska | – |
| 8 | Teresa Porchynska | – |
| 9 | Tekla Tyska | – |
| 10 | Antonina Karbowska | – |
| 11 | Bryhyda Porchynska | – |
| 12 | Tekla Holvinska | Vicar |
| 13 | Magdalena Novoselskaya | – |

Source: IP НБУВ, Ф. 231, спр. 83, Арк. 9 зб.

So, provisions were economic basis of women's monastery functioning, and dowry served as a considerable, but only additional funding.

We already noted that the officially pronounced amount of nuns' dowry was 1,500 Zloty. However, it was slightly different in the real life. The amount, like it was in Orthodox monasteries, varied and depended on the level of the person's financial capacity. In the second half of the XVIII century the most common amount was 1,000 Zloty, not 1,500. In 1741 Marianne Kuczevska gave his daughter Magdalena a dowry of 1,000 and also paid interest from 2,000 annually.

Ludwiga Abramovichovna, the head of Dubno monastery in 1781 contributed to the monastery a dowry of 6,000 Zloty – a significant amount that time⁵⁰. However, such amounts were highly uncommon. Thus, at the beginning of the XIX century Polonne monastery contributed only 500 Zloty.

There were also cases when the nun contributed no dowry at all. It was typical to the first third of the nineteenth century, the period of gradual impoverishment of the monasteries. Mother Superior Barbara Rafalska reported in 1835 to Lithuanian Consistory that the nuns of the monastery had no dowry at all and didn't contribute money when joining the monastery⁵¹. Since this Rafalska was dazed with this situ-

⁵⁰ Й. Скрутьень, "Візита" дубенського монастиря, р. 358; ДАЖО, Ф.178, оп. 6, спр. 229, Арк.10.

⁵¹ ДАЖО, Ф. 420, оп. 1, спр. 47, Арк. 339.

ation, we can assume that it was an unusual phenomenon. Most likely, this can be explained by deterioration of the Uniate Church in the Russian Empire, when the Union was gradually losing influence. So, wanting to attract novitiates, the monastery began to take onboard even those who could not make dowry.

The monastic dowry gave mainly having in mind interest, of which was used by monastery. Thus, Elżbieta Byedzhytska and Vilhofotry Rudnytska borrowed half of their amount to the Bishop. Superior Abramovichovna gave part of her dowry (1,700 Zloty) placed under Anthony interest in 1783⁵². It is interesting that one of the nun's dowry, belonged to Anna Olesvenska, was under Jewish interest in Dubno kahal⁵³. Quite often nuns' dowry remained under interest in their family, which were not always paid annual revenue. For example, Elena Dolyanovska gave one part of his dowry to construction of the monastery, and another part, 150 Rubles, to her relative Michael Bychkovsky, who did not want to pay and didn't pay interest. As a result, according to the Visitor, "żebre Panna staruszka" (at the time of visitation Elena was 79 year old)⁵⁴. Dowry of Anastasia Buderatska was contributed to build Koretsk convent, where she lived before. Since the monastery during the "accession" Uniate in 1795–1796 was transferred Orthodox Church, she lost her money.

According to calculations of the Dubno books author, the monastery had in Dubno 60,000 Zloty in form of dowries in the second half of the XVIII century, and half of them was lost by the end of the century. The monastery needed annually 1,500 Zloty⁵⁵ of the total 30,000 remaining. Author of the registry provided considerable amount of money lost in the second half of the XVIII–XIX centuries – 36,400 Zloty⁵⁶. He noted that some of that money was still possible to return through lawsuits, but others were lost forever.

There were a quite a lot of the lawsuits for lost dowry. The registry gave us information that sometimes, despite positive courts' decisions, monasteries were losing their money. For instance, the lawsuit for 2,000 Zloty, nuns Bryhydi and Antonini Petro against Porekladovsky, started in 1758 and continued even in 1800.

It is not completely clear the situation with the rules of usage of dowry. After all, one of the three monastic vows was exactly a vow of poverty. According to the Charter, each nun discarded of private property⁵⁷. How modesty coexisted with attitude to money in the community? What was stronger, the influence of society or Charter St. Basil? How private property, dowry, coexisted with collective ownership of his monastery?

Perhaps a partial answer to these questions can be obtained by analyzing the case of a nun Barbara Kucherska in Dubno Basilian monastery. She contributed 2,000

⁵² *Ibidem*, Ф. 178, оп. 6, спр. 229, Арк. 9, 10.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, Арк. 12.

⁵⁴ Й. Скрутець, "Візита" дубенського монастиря, р. 359.

⁵⁵ АРК, А. Sang., sygn. 1090, Kyiv. 100.

⁵⁶ ДАЖО, Ф. 178, оп. 6, спр. 229, Арк. 13.

⁵⁷ ІР НБУВ, Ф. 231, спр. 83, Арк. 28 зв.

Zloty and got an allowance from Bishop Stephen Levinsky to get her interest annually from 1,000 Zloty⁵⁸. Dubno monastery Rules created by order of the same bishop Levinsky was stressed that there nuns were not allowed to get interests; the only way to do this was individual permission given by the spiritual authority⁵⁹. So, as always, there is an exception from any rule. Sometimes those exceptions gradually transformed into unwritten rules. This case, the right to exemption, was approved by Episcopal authority, which revoked “ideal” rules of St. Basil the Great Charter. However, the same was happening in Roman Catholic monasteries in the Commonwealth that time.

So, who was a Basilian nun in late XVIII – early XIX century? The majority of them were lean nobles of Volyn, Greek Uniates, having moderate income. They had a basic educational skills, which was rare that time among women, good managers, was an active participant in economic relations processes and therefore often participated in lawsuits, which, in turn, required to have strong and independent character (Mother Superior needed this much more than an average nun). At the same time the nuns were children of their time, social origin, and this influenced a lot. The nun adopted innovations but defended old traditions of Eastern Liturgy; Romanization (Zamoyski synod legalized Latin influences), and Russification (St. Synod resolutions) didn't affect them as much as men monasteries.

In summary, we have to note that a Basilian nun was an excellent sample of Volyn society of XVIII — beginning of XIX centuries. She adopted Polish Catholic influences that were strong in the in Volyn in XVIII century, and Russian in XIX century. The nun synthesized long-standing traditions of Eastern women monasticism, closely intertwined with influences of the Roman Catholic monasteries of the Commonwealth.

⁵⁸ ДАЖО, Ф. 178, оп. 6, спр. 229, Арк. 11 зб.

⁵⁹ ІР НБУВ, Ф. 231, спр. 83, Арк. 29.

STRESZCZENIE

PANNA BAZYLIANKA NA TLE SPOŁECZEŃSTWA WOŁYŃSKIEGO (XVIII–XIX WIEKU)

Artykuł analizuje zbiorowy wizerunek mniszek wołyńskich klasztorów bazyliańskich w XVIII–XIX wieku. Szczególną uwagę zwrócono na takie kwestie, jak wiek, poziom wykształcenia, pochodzenie społeczne, posag zakonnicy i ich rola w społeczeństwie. Wszystkie te problemy są rozważane na tle epoki: łacińskich wpływów religijnych i polityki rosyjskich władz.

Słowa kluczowe: zakony żeńskie, mniszki z wołyńskich klasztorów bazyliańskich, codzienne życie społeczeństwa.

Keywords: nunneries, nuns of Volynian Basilian monasteries, the daily life of the community.