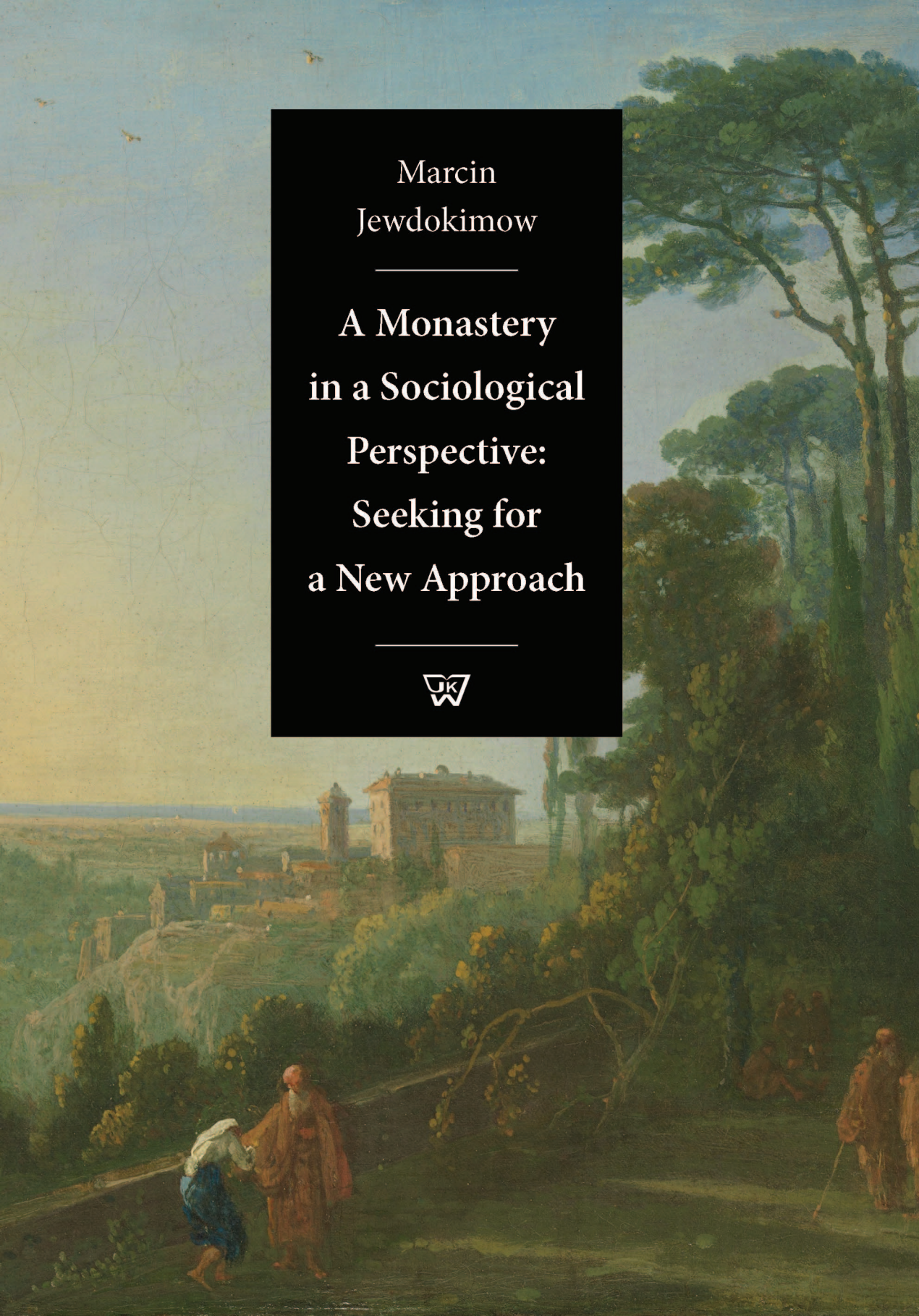

Marcin Jewdokimow

A Monastery in a Sociological Perspective: Seeking for a New Approach

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In memory of
Rev. Professor Witold Zdaniewicz
and Professor Jerzy Kłoczowski

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Introduction to the English edition

This book was originally published in Polish in 2018. The English translation differs from the Polish version in one significant respect. I have since departed from treating monasticism as a generic term functioning as the source of all other forms of consecrated life. In this edition it is used as a specialist term referring solely to *ordo monasticus*. Consequently, this change involves returning to a well-established terminological framework, which I attempted to circumvent or even undermine in the Polish edition. However, after two further years of research on the question of consecrated life, which abounded in discussions with monks and nuns, I have arrived at the conclusion that the preservation of widespread and recognizable terminology can better contribute to fostering the reception of this work, and might facilitate advancements in developing a sociological perspective on consecrated life. These goals would be more difficult to achieve were I to enforce a point of view deemed controversial by some of those leading a consecrated life, as well as theologians and historians. This does not change the fact that I still subscribe to the claims – developed in accordance with my understanding of Max Weber's intentions – that the monastic spirit should be sought in other Catholic institutionalized forms of religious life (or ones undergoing institutionalization), which strive towards God by using diverse techniques of retreating from the world (which does not necessarily mean advocating "the Benedict option"). In other words, this change is strategic insofar as I believe it allows me to outline a specific approach to consecrated life – an approach taken by me as well as by other sociologists and anthropologists – which is not at all threatening, subversive, or "inappropriate" to all concerned, but instead creates space where it would be possible to meet and discuss.

Technically speaking, in this edition I have departed from using the concept of monasticism as a synonym of consecrated and religious life, and use it solely in reference to orders from the family of *ordo monasticus*.

Wherever it was possible (due to the availability of certain publications), quotations and bibliographical references have been changed from Polish translations to original editions. Also, some minor errors found in the Polish edition have been corrected as well as one major mistake concerning the number of women religious in South America, which dropped by almost 20% (and not increased by almost 160%) between 1974 and 2015.

Warsaw, 23 April 2019

Introduction

Monasteries, which constitute an expression of the idea of monastic life, have received little attention in sociological literature since the times of Max Weber. This situation does not seem very surprising because his analyses of the significance of this form of life for economic ethics and its development come across – in my view – as hermetic to the extent that, without deeper historical knowledge, they discourage potential continuators and critics.[1] Similarly to Michel Foucault (1975), Weber identified rationalizing tendencies in Christian monasticism as a vital source of modernity, at the same time discerning instrumentalized aspects of monastic life in the everyday life of contemporary people, although they may not be fully aware of this. Comparisons of contemporary sociological research on Catholic monasticism with Weber's texts reveal that today's approach appears narrow and order-centred on the background of a much broader perspective assumed by the author of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (2005), who regarded monasticism not just as an independent subject of study, but also as a gateway to reflection on the construction of the contemporary world. Sociologists began returning to this social phenomenon around fifty years after Weber's death, already before the Second Vatican Council, which revolutionized the understanding of this form of life, at the same time initiating its "revival" and "modernization." It is difficult to agree with the thesis that this Council led to a crisis of this form of life, although some claim so (cf. Dialanni 1993; Finke 1997; Finke, Stark 1992; Wittberg 1994). It rather constituted one of the many factors that have contributed to the current "crisis" (cf. Ebaugh 1977, 1993; Greeley 1972; Ebaugh, Lorence, Chafetz 1996; Finke, Stark 2000), which manifests in the falling number of women religious (nuns and sisters),

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[1] Criticism of parallels between Protestant and Catholic asceticism was marginal in comparison to the broader discussion of his ideas. It was only in the 1990s that Ilana Friedrich Silber (1995) engaged more deeply with his theses on monasticism. Before her, Weber's claims inspired few sociologists to take up the subject of monasticism.

religious priests, and religious brothers, a tendency observable since the late 1960s. In the years 1974-2015 there was a general decline in the number of women religious by 32% (in Europe – 55%, in North America – 66%), religious brothers by 23% (in Europe – 53%, in North America – 55%), and religious priests by 9% (in Europe – 26%, in North America – 44%). These changes have proven to be a powerful attractor for sociologists, who have been since undertaking the subject of consecrated life and researching its contemporary transformations. It needs to emphasized, however, that there are actually few sociological texts that address Catholic religious life, which constitutes the main area of reflections contained in this book. Excluding important studies devoted to priestly vocations (e.g. Baniak 1984, 1986, 1997, 2000, 2010; Taras 1969; Zdaniewicz 1968a), only a handful of Polish academic texts are devoted to this question. After 1945, around fifty specifically sociological texts on the subject of consecrated life have been published in Poland (or have focused on this country). Key texts in this group include ones written by Reverend Professor Witold Zdaniewicz (e.g. 1961, 1968b, 1974, 1987, 1991, 2009). This does not mean that this question is entirely disregarded in Polish publications – there are in fact many theological and historical texts devoted to this topic (e.g. Bar 1997; Derwich 1995, 1996, 2012; Derwich, Pobóg-Lenartowicz 2010a, 2010b; Guillaumont 1979/2006; Kanior 1993, 2002, 2012; Kłoczowski 1964, 1987, 2010; Leclercq 1985, 1964/2009; Marecki 1997).

This monograph aims to discuss the state of sociological research on Catholic religious life by presenting its history, current form, and new research on the subject based on an original approach developed here. The first chapter discusses the fundamental concepts and the history of the phenomenon in question, from its beginnings early in the Common Era until the 1970s. A conceptual discussion is indispensable insofar as this religious phenomenon is accounted for with the use of theological terms. The broadest term that covers various forms of religious life, in which people willingly separate themselves from the world in order to seek God, is "consecrated life" or "religious life": a life devoted to God. According to the definition from the 1983 Code of Canon Law (*Codex iuris canonici*), it is a form of life in which all practices follow evangelical counsels (chastity, obedience, poverty) in an attempt to imitate Christ and achieve a state of perfection. At the same time, the idea of this form of life is contained in the concept of monasticism. In Greek, *monachos* means "one," "the same," "indivisible," "separated" and "carefree," i.e. "angelic" (Guillaumont 1979/2006). In the Polish edition of this book I treat monasticism as a concept that accounts for the entirety of the studied phenomenon, not just

as a term referring to monastic orders like the Benedictines or the Cistercians, as is the custom in many historical and theological accounts. This choice was an allusion to Weber, who would use the term "monasticism" to refer to many manifestations of consecrated life in Catholicism, Christianity in general, and in other religions, e.g. Buddhism. In doing so he would not commit a mistake. He rather focused on the core of this phenomenon, namely the act of renouncing the world, along with its social framework and consequences. In the present translation I depart from this approach to monasticism for reasons explained in the introduction to the English edition. Returning to an established terminology does not change the fact that Weber's findings remain an important source of inspiration. One of the directions of the "modernization" of religious life after the Second Vatican Council involved acknowledging that its idea can be realized also in this world. Naturally, "non-monastic" orders would already deliberately focus on activities anchored in this world by engaging in missionary work (e.g. mendicant orders: the Dominicans and the Franciscans), or in education by laying down the foundations for a system of education and being active in the Inquisition. On the other hand, "monastic" orders would focus on rationalizing their activities, as a result of which they would both separate themselves from the world and inadvertently become local economic powers or creators of culture (Kłoczowski 1987). Nevertheless, the Council indicated that this direction of development is desired. Historical analyses reveal further transformations that this form of organizing social life would undergo – transformations driven by both internal factors (among other things, subsequent reforms leading to the formation of new orders criticizing the current state of religious life and declaring a return to the origins, i.e. revival) and external ones (among other things, dissolutions during the Reformation, then the political and ideological factors at work in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and finally the revival of religious life in the nineteenth and twentieth century) (Kanior 1993, 2002; Kłoczowski 1964, 1987, 2010; Leclercq 2009). One section in the first chapter is devoted to the development of religious life in Poland. A historical analysis of consecrated life – one that distinguishes internal and external factors that affected its development – reveals the social dimension of its functioning, which makes this form of life an object that can be analysed with the help of tools developed in social sciences, especially sociology. This may not appear obvious if we take into account that sociological study of this form of life is still being criticised; specifically, it is accused of simplifying or secularizing the phenomenon (cf. e.g. Zdaniewicz 1974).

The second chapter analyses the transformations of religious life in the period stretching from the 1970s to 2015. Basing primarily on church statistics (*Annuarium Statisticum Ecclesiae*), it demonstrates that what we have come to call a crisis is in fact a geographically-determined phenomenon. In fact, Catholic religious life has been developing in Africa and Asia. Reasons for the crisis in Europe and North America are usually diagnosed to consist in the growing divergence between this form of life and the changing attitudes and needs of young Catholics (Greeley 1972). Social transformations have contributed to the secularization of society, making consecrated life less attractive to young Catholics, at the same time creating many opportunities for them, especially in economically developed countries (Ebaugh 1977, 1993; Ebaugh, Lorence, Chafetz 1996; Finke, Stark 2000). Finally, the Second Vatican Council is often quoted as the reason behind these changes (Dialanni 1993; Finke 1997; Finke, Stark 1992; Wittberg 1994). Its significance is considered in sociological texts primarily in the context of lowering the unique value of religious life in comparison to secular life. This is laid down in three documents: *Lumen gentium* (Vatican Council II 1964), *Gaudium et spes* (Vatican Council II 1965a), and *Perfectae caritatis* (Vatican Council II 1965b). First, as indicated in *Lumen gentium*, all Christians (not only the consecrated) are supposed to strive towards holiness:

> Therefore, all the faithful of Christ are invited to strive for the holiness and perfection of their own proper state. Indeed they have an obligation to so strive. Let all then have care that they guide aright their own deepest sentiments of soul. Let neither the use of the things of this world nor attachment to riches, which is against the spirit of evangelical poverty, hinder them in their quest for perfect love. Let them heed the admonition of the Apostle to those who use this world; let them not come to terms with this world; for this world, as we see it, is passing away. (*Lumen gentium*; Vatican Council II 1964, 42)

Second, as stated in *Perfectae caritatis,* religious life is now meant to orient itself towards the world and not to turn away from it, hiding in enclosure:

> 2. The adaptation and renewal of the religious life includes both the constant return to the sources of all Christian life and to the original spirit of the institutes and their adaptation to the changed conditions of our time. […]

> 16. Papal cloister should be maintained in the case of nuns engaged exclusively in the contemplative life. However, it must be adjusted to conditions of time and place and obsolete practices suppressed. (*Perfectae caritatis*; Vatican Council II 1965b, 2, 16)

These losses – as they are called in the spirit of rational choice theory used in analyses of monasteries as organizations – were not compensated with either the lowering of costs in this demanding form of life, or with awards in the secular sphere (no increase in prestige, or even its slight decrease) (Finke, Stark 2000; Wittberg 1994). Some also point towards the organizational changes caused by the Council, which limited collective activities in favour of individual ones, causing further decrease in the stability of these communities (Finke, Stark 2000) and leading to a crisis of identity in the communities (Sammon 2001). In the period up to 2015, Poland appears to be an exception on this background. Although the number of women religious and religious brothers fell, there has been an unparalleled rise in the number of religious priests in comparison to other European countries. Nevertheless, detailed studies of vocations show that their number will probably fall due to the ageing of the population and the decreasing number of vocations (cf. e.g. Tutak 2014). The specificity of the Polish situation is also connected with communism and the pontificate of John Paul II. Though they would contribute in different ways, both of these factors have affected the social significance of this form of life in Poland (characteristically, Polish women religious would distance themselves from reforms introduced by the Council) (Baniak 2010). Statistical research does not paint a full picture in this respect, because it covers only legitimized forms of consecrated life. Meanwhile, new forms of consecrated life have developed since the Council, including secular institutions and new monastic communities as well as other forms, e.g. new religious movements that can be regarded as competing with historical forms of religious life (cf. e.g. Palmisano 2015). Finally, it is crucial to indicate that the fall in the number of the religious can also have positive consequences, including the consolidation of communities, change of motivation for entering monasteries, and the transformation of socio-demographic characteristics of new members in these communities (age, education, social origin, etc.). Still, these intriguing contexts remain unexamined.[2] Therefore,

[2] I address this question in my original, qualitative research on the transformations of religious life in Poland.

instead of discussing the crisis of religious life, it might be more accurate to address its transformations in terms of geography, the forms it takes, and – as can be predicted – its modes of organization.

The third chapter analyses the state of sociological research on Catholic consecrated life around the world. Just like in the previous chapters, the discussion does not remain fully faithful to the scope assumed before and, in places, touches upon religious life in Orthodox Christianity (with St. Basil as the originator) as well as in non-Christian traditions. However, this expansion of the scope is not detrimental insofar as it does not blur the object of study but rather allows us to make comparisons and broaden reflection. Still, this chapter focuses on presenting directions in research on Catholic consecrated life around the world. Weber is the key figure here. Current sociological research on religious life focuses on its various aspects: historical development (e.g. Zdaniewicz 1961; Silber 1991, 1995, 2001), concepts (e.g. Cyman 1987a; Ebaugh 1993; Francis 1950; Goffman 1961; Hill 1971; Séguy 1984; Troeltsch 1923; Turcotte 2001a; Zdaniewicz 1974, 2009), economy (e.g. Séguy 1992; Jonveaux 2011, 2013), or organization (e.g. Ebaugh 1997). These works include monographs (e.g. Talin 1997; Weigert 1971) as well as quantitative (e.g. Stoop 1971) and qualitative studies (e.g. Weigert 1971). Many theories are employed in these analyses, among which special prominence could be ascribed to the organizational approach (e.g. Ebaugh 1991), developed since the 1950s mostly by American scholars, including women religious as well as religious brothers and religious priests (e.g. Sr Wittberg) as well as lay people (e.g. Stark, Finke).

One important platform for scholars working on monasteries is the journal *Social Compass* whose two theoretical issues (1971; 2001) are devoted to this phenomenon. Still, research of this kind is scarce, both in Poland and elsewhere, remaining on the margins of the sociology of religion. In Poland, apart from studies on vocations it is possible to name only three scholars working in this area (excluding the author of this book), who have carried out empirical research among women religious: Rev. Witold Zdaniewicz, Sr Jadwiga Cyman (1983, 1987a, 1987b, 1988, 1990, 1995), and Marta Trzebiatowska (2006, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2013). Basing on substantive analysis of available sociological texts, the third chapter proposes an original, relational account of religious life: a relational sociology of religious life. At its core lies the aim to overcome widespread, order-centric perspectives, i.e. ones that naturally make religious orders and monasteries the object of their analyses. This kind of a substantializing approach limits reflection on the social functioning

of consecrated life insofar as it disregards the understanding and "use" of religious life by social actors different than the religious. In my view, in order to grasp the transformations of this form of life it is necessary to study this missing dimension by focusing precisely on those aspects (the understanding and "use" of religious life by social actors other than the religious, which entails studying the discourse on religious orders or monasteries, and the relations in which they function). This does not mean, however, that sociological research on religious life should neglect how religious orders and monasteries have been changing. My aim consists in indicating a vital complementary facet, expanding the available "programme" of research so as to grasp a crucial yet disregarded aspect.

The final, fourth chapter of this monograph presents the results of my original research on the relations in which selected Cistercian monasteries function in Poland, and on the local discourse about monasteries. In the historical perspective, monasteries in Poland are mostly institutions that re-emerged in the local context from scratch after dissolutions. My research shows that monasteries operate in relation to tourism, economy, and collective memory. On the one hand, these relations are meant to anchor the monasteries in local communities, which can be regarded as an adaptive strategy. On the other hand, these relations constitute a means of adapting local communities to the social and economic challenges they face. Monasteries are treated locally as monuments and resources, which opens new possibilities of development before them, at the same time contributing to the transformations of the way they operate. From a relational perspective we can see that – just like in the Middle Ages – monasteries are still performing many extra-religious tasks. What allows us to consider monasteries in contexts beyond religion is the discourse about them, which redefines these institutions locally through secular terms related to history, historicity, patriotism, identity, tourism, development, and culture. Monasteries are contextualized historically and become part of narratives on historic monuments, which occurs both for purposes of developing local settlements and shaping local identity. Thus, the analysed material demonstrates that monasteries are treated not only as a religious object but also as historic monuments or resources that make it possible to realize goals defined by local authorities, not just by the monastery itself. The proposed relational approach attempts to go beyond an order-centric approach. This is supposed, first, to establish a broader approach to the phenomenon, as introduced by Weber, and second – to facilitate a fuller understanding of the studied phenomenon. After all,

a local approach allows us to note that the crisis of monasteries defined in terms of the number of women religious, religious priests and religious brothers is not synonymous with the crisis of monasteries defined in terms of their vital role in local communities, where they function in many relations, not only religious ones.

In this light, this book is not strictly speaking a study in the sociology of religion, which guides analyses towards the problem of the "condition" of monasteries, but rather attempts to analyse a strictly religious phenomenon by employing perspectives characteristic for studies of culture. I am convinced that this approach to the phenomenon in question can help to grasp its socially multidimensional character.

* * *

This book is largely comprised of new material, although it relies in places on findings I have already published. It needs to be emphasized that three previous texts – on monasticism in Weber (Jewdokimow 2016) and Foucault (Jewdokimow 2012), and on the monastery in Wąchock (Jewdokimow, Markowska 2013a) – are used extensively here. This monograph also features more loosely adapted excerpts and findings from other texts I published (Jewdokimow 2014, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c; Jewdokimow, Markowska 2013b, 2015), which is natural in the sense that this book constitutes the culmination of my research on the issue, which I started in 2012. In this period, I published a dozen or so texts discussing partial results of my research. Empirical research as well as the aforementioned academic texts are based on two research grants awarded by NCN[3] and NPRH[4] (on Wąchock). Analyses of materials gathered as part of empirical research – presented in the fourth chapter – partially base on results published earlier but are discussed using the relational approach, which differs from the one employed back then.

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3 *Znaczenie i funkcjonowanie kompleksów klasztornych w społecznościach lokalnych* (NCN Sonata UMO-2013/09/D/HS6/03019).

4 *Dziedzictwo kulturowe po klasztorach skasowanych na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej oraz na Śląsku w XVIII i XIX w.: losy, znaczenie, inwentaryzacja* (11H 11 021280) – project realized as part of the National Programme for the Development of Humanities [NPRH], facilitated by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education in the years 2012-2016.

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Chapter One.
Transformations of religious life.
Historical perspective and basic definitions

In the context of Western Christianity, *consecrated life* is the broadest term defining the totality of various forms of life in which striving towards God consists in renouncing the world in many ways, among others by turning to asceticism and contemplation. From a contemporary perspective, it includes both eremitic forms developed at the beginning of the Common Era and cenobitic ones (monastic life in a community), as well as religious life in total, understood historically, including *inter alia* non-monastic orders developing since the twelfth century and secular institutes created in the last decades, which gather non-monastic individuals living in accordance with evangelical counsels. Other cultures and civilizations have also developed similar forms of life, including ones originating in Orthodox Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam. Despite being crucially based on renouncing the world and retreating from it (*fuga mundi*), they would often develop – especially in the initial stages – under the influence of both internal and external social factors. All of these factors make it possible to study transformations of consecrated life as a social phenomenon. Any discussion of the history of these transformations – crucial for understanding the contemporary shape of this form of life – requires that we define some of its basic concepts.

Theological accounts of consecrated life

"Consecrated life" and "religious life" are the overarching terms in the theological perspective. Historically speaking, all forms of this life are rooted in monasticism. Monasticism constitutes a specific form of life that has emerged in various epochs and cultural contexts and is realized in various shapes, constantly evolving. In his

definition of monasticism, Fr Marian Kanior OSB draws attention to the fact that it is not a "theoretical system," i.e. it does not include "principles and abstract assumptions. Nor does it have any single originator who would realize any specific ideas" (1993, 9). In the book *Aux Origines du Monachisme Chretien* (1979/2006) Antoine Guillaumont attempts to define the essence of this phenomenon regardless of any historical or cultural variables, focusing on the Christian tradition. He regards monasticism as a "desire to introduce unity into life and avoid any dilemmas" (2006, 329) by "dedicating oneself entirely to serving God" (314). Striving to achieve this state is possible only by renouncing "everything save God himself" (320), i.e. by renouncing the "world." As he emphasises, in Christian texts from the first centuries of the Common Era the "world" is not an evil place, but simply one that makes it difficult to live a life which aspires to perfection, as is the ambition of the religious.

> Monks do not renounce the world because they regard it as evil. They do so because they feel a certain mental necessity. They claim that one cannot serve two masters at the same time – the world and God. They wish to avoid divisions, and desire to bring unity to their actions and life, directing them towards a single goal. (321-322)

This unity can be introduced only by way of renouncing everything that endangers it, i.e. the entire world, which "becomes an obstacle on the road to perfection" (303). Becoming engaged with both world and God introduces a "cleavage" that makes it difficult or even impossible to strive towards God. The Greek term *monachos* (*monachus* in Latin) is related to the word *monos* ("alone"). Being a monk means being alone, which refers to the anachoritic, eremitic form of monasticism that constitutes a source of later forms of consecrated life in Christianity. As Guillaumont argues in his linguistic analyses of the term in other languages (Syrian and Hebrew), *monachos* can be also understood as "being one," which means avoiding "separation" or "double-heartedness" (299): "service to God forbids any divisions" (300). Thus, a monk is someone who "does not wish to be divided, and desires to introduce unity into his life" (303). In order to attain this state, he renounces the world, which is "the source of worries and dilemmas" (303). Jean Gribomont, in turn, proposes to translate *monachos* not only as "lone" but also as "single" and "separated" (1985, 88). The unity that the religious aspire to by relinquishing the world is also a state

of "serenity" or "carefreeness" – an "angelic life" that allows one to be "fully ready to serve God" (Guillaumont 2006, 304).

Renouncing the world by turning to God assumed many historical forms: abstaining from sexual contacts in marriage or rejecting marriage in general (celibacy), resigning from any worldly possessions, or – more generally – from any desires directed towards the world, separating oneself physically from others (living in monasteries), practicing asceticism (from the Greek *askesis* meaning "exercise") understood as a specific internal attitude or a set of physical and spiritual practices aiming to unite one with God (ascetic practices vary to a great degree and include renouncing sleep or food, flagellating oneself, or otherwise interfering with one's body), and meditating (praying), which can assume both individual or collective forms. As Jerzy Kłoczowski emphasises (1987), meditation takes a collective character in Christian monastic life:

> The liturgy of monastic communities [consists of] primarily joint singing of Biblical Psalms at several predefined times of the day. This kind of a choir comprised by disciplined monks who follow given frameworks, texts, and movements was not supposed to be only a kind of special ballet demanding (as we should remember) tremendous effort and discipline in cooperation among actors. Liturgical singing demanded the ability to read and understand texts – the ability to contemplate. (Kłoczowski 1987, 25)

The basic forms of separating oneself from the world are anachoritic (eremitic life), based on *xeniteia* (travelling monasticism), or cenobitic (communal monastic life), the last one being currently the most widespread form in both Western and Eastern cultures.

St. Benedict, whose *Rule* constituted the basic text defining the development of monasticism in the sixth century CE (and continues to play this role for some religious orders today), distinguished four types of monks, indicating that coenobites – living in a group, in a monastery, under an abbot – assume the most appropriate form of religious life:

> It is clear that there are four kinds of monks. The first is that of the Cœnobites, that is the monastic kind, who serve under a rule and an abbot.

> Then the second kind is that of the Anchorites, that is the Eremites; and these are they who are not any longer in the novice-like fervour of the life of conversion, but by the daily discipline of the monastery have learnt to fight against the devil and are thoroughly experienced in the solace that being one of many affords; and who, as being well established for the lonely battle of the desert, beyond the fighting line of their brethren and already brave apart from the consolation of companionship, are competent to fight single-handed, God helping them, against the vices of flesh and mind.
>
> And the third kind of monks is that very disgraceful kind of the Sarabites, who have not been brought under discipline by any rule dictated by experience so as to become as gold refined by the heat of the furnace, but who, as soft as lead, while still by their works keeping faith with the world, are known by their tonsure to be lying to God. These are they who being by twos or threes, or indeed singly and without a pastor, enclosed not in the Lord's but in their own sheepfolds, take for law their own whims, since whatever they think and choose they say is holy and whatever they dislike they esteem unlawful.
>
> And the fourth kind is that of the monks called Girovagi, who are all their lives guests for three or four days at a time in the different groups of cells through the various provinces. Always wanderers and never settled, they are slaves to their own pleasures and the snares of gluttony and in every respect worse than the Sarabites. Concerning the most miserable manner of life of all these, it is better to be silent than to speak. Leaving these out of our calculations therefore, let us come to arranging by the Lord's help for this most stable kind, the Cœnobites. (*The Rule of St. Benedict*, Chapter I)

As is emphasised by Guillaumont (1979/2006) and Kłoczowski (1987)[5], such an understanding of the idea of monastic life is also characteristic for other religions, e.g. Hinduism or Buddhism. One could also add Islam to this list, though the above authors do not mention it. Others discern certain distinctive features in Christian monasticism (the concept of grace, the messianism of Christ), which

[5] This book does not discuss the specificity of non-Christian monasticism. Those interested in this subject may consult the study by Kłoczowski (1987), which synthetically outlines this phenomenon and contains a thorough bibliography on the subject.

would not allow – in their view – to identify Christian monasticism with other forms (cf. Kanior 1993, 11ff). Kanior identifies three characteristics of monasticism: solitude, asceticism, and contemplation (10).

Since the twelfth century, non-monastic religious orders began to emerge in the West besides monastic ones. They would both draw on monastic ideals and redefine them. For example, mendicant orders (e.g. the Franciscans and the Dominicans) realize the principles of poverty and asceticism alongside priestly duties. Still, historical and theological texts do not call them monks, but mendicants or – more broadly – the religious.

Currently, religious life constitutes a rich and varied panorama developed in the course of historical changes and theological disputes. A simple division into monks living alone, collectively, or travelling has replaced a dense palimpsest in which historical terms interweave with theological settlements and canon law. Comparison of three modern documents that define the basic concepts in this area shows that slightly different aspects are emphasised in these texts: first, the Code of Canon Law; second, the 1965 decree on the adaptation and renewal of religious life titled *Perfectae caritatis* (Vatican Council II 1965b); and third, the 1996 post-synodal apostolic exhortation *Vita consecrata* by John Paul II. These documents also employ slightly different definitions and terminologies.[6]

The 1983 Code of Canon Law defines consecrated life as follows:

> The life consecrated through the profession of the evangelical counsels is a stable form of living by which the faithful, following Christ more closely under the action of the Holy Spirit, are totally dedicated to God who is loved most of all, so that, having been dedicated by a new and special title to His honor, to the building up of the Church, and to the salvation of the world, they strive for the perfection of charity in the service of the kingdom of God and, having been made an outstanding sign in the Church, foretell the heavenly glory. (*Codex iuris canonici* 1983; Can. 573 §1)

[6] The following reconstruction is primarily based on: Fr Józef Marecki (1997), Fr Joachim Bar (1997), and Rev. Witold Zdaniewicz (2009). Zdaniewicz also cites other Church documents that can be taken into account when defining monasteries in a theological perspective (cf. 2009, 402).

Religious life can be defined as consecrated life institutionalized in the form of a religious order:

> As a consecration of the whole person, religious life manifests in the Church a wonderful marriage brought about by God, a sign of the future age. Thus the religious brings to perfection a total self-giving as a sacrifice offered to God, through which his or her whole existence becomes a continuous worship of God in charity. (*Codex iuris canonici* 1983; Can. 607 §1)

Thus, consecrated virgins or widows are examples of forms of consecrated life that are not religious life; logically, every form of religious life is also a form of consecrated life but not the other way round. Religious life is identified in Church with the "state of perfection" (Zdaniewicz 2009, 403). Fr Joachim Roman Bar OFMConv characterizes religious life by listing four features that arise from the Code of Canon Law: stability, communality, adherence to evangelical counsels (chastity, obedience, poverty), and vows. Stability refers to abiding by religious life, which is legitimized, among other things, by temporary or perpetual vows: public obligations to adhere to evangelical counsels. Communal life means "belonging to a certain community [and] living with it in a single house, which means shared living with other members of the community, partaking in shared food, etc." (1977, 12). Rev. Zdaniewicz points out that the fundamental principle of religious life lies precisely in belonging to a religious community, which also means "shared inhabiting, and sharing one's life throughout the day" (2009, 403). Adhering to evangelical counsels (chastity, obedience, poverty) helps to "achieve perfection, or imitate Christ better" (Bar 1977, 12). Fr Józef Marecki OFMCap draws on the 1917 Code of Canon Law to offer the following summary of religious life:

> The main goal of religious life consists in being religiously active on the spiritual plane. Religious communities are primarily a place where its members are sanctified in their striving towards perfection. They are also places of pastoral, apostolic, and missionary activities. Every religious community is supposed to praise God, serve the Church, and lead its members to perfection. (Marecki 1997, 10)

The 1965 decree on the adaptation and renewal of religious life *Perfectae caritatis* defines religious life similarly, additionally emphasising that religious life is a "sign" in three meanings:

> […] it calls on people to fulfil their Christian duties by renouncing worldly possessions and subordinating themselves entirely to God's love […] it is a sign of, and recreation of Christ's way of life on earth, in obedience to the will of the Father who sent Him, in complete chastity, poverty, and renouncement, focusing on contemplation and performing many deeds of love to help the needful […] it is also an eschatological sign: [religious life] testifies that eternal values can be attained already on earth, which emphasises the value of the new life offered to people by Christ's redemptive sacrifice, heralding and imagining a life devoted solely to eternal praising of God, which thus introduces an eternal hierarchy of values into earthly life. (Bar 1977, 39)

As Rev. Witold Zdaniewicz underlines, religious life is related to vocation: "accepting this vocation introduces us to religious life. Already at this point we encounter the organizational sphere of the religious order" (2009, 403).

The division into male and female forms of consecrated life is different. On the basis of divisions outlined in the Code of Canon Law and historical categories, "male institutes" are divided into several categories and subcategories.

Table 1. Division of male institutes

<table>
<tr><th colspan="6">Male institutes</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">Institutes of consecrated life</td><td>Societies of apostolic life (e.g. Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Congregation of the Mission, Pallottines)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Religious institutes</td><td>Secular institutes (e.g. the institute “Voluntas Dei,” The Apostolic Movement of Schoenstatt)</td><td rowspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Orders</td><td>Associations of clerics (e.g. Society of Christ Fathers, Claretians, Congregation of Saint Michael the Archangel, Sons of Divine Providence, Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, Society of the Divine Word, Resurrectionist Congregation)</td><td>Associations of laymen (e.g. Albertine Brothers, Congregatio Filiorum Matris Dei Dolorosae, Congregatio Fratrum Cordis Iesu)</td><td rowspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>canons regular (e.g. Canons Regular of the Lateran, Premonstratensians)</td><td>monks (e.g. Basilians, Benedictines, Cistercians, Paulines)</td><td>mendicant orders (e.g. Augustinians, Knights Hospitallers, Friars Minor, Dominicans)</td><td>clerics regular (e.g. Barnabites, Jesuits, Camillians, Piarists, Theatines)</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
</table>

After: Marecki 1997, 11-12.

The division of female institutions is slightly different.

Table 2. Division of female institutes

<table>
<tr><td colspan="5">Female institutes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Institutes of consecrated life</td><td>Societies of apostolic life (e.g. Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Religious institutes</td><td>Secular institutes (e.g. Auxiliatrices Apostolicae, Institute of the Immaculate Mother of Church, Institute of Transfiguration)</td><td>Other institutes of consecrated life</td><td rowspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Orders and congregations with autonomous houses (e.g. Benedictines, Capuchins, Beatae Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo, Poor Clares, Premonstratensians)</td><td>Congregations of centralised structure e.g. Augustinian nuns, Congregatio Sororum Canonissarum Spiritus Sancti de Saxia, Felician Sisters, Congregatio Parvarum Sororum Immaculati Cordis Mariae, Missionary Sisters of St. Peter Claver, Congregatio Virginum a Praesentatione Beatae Mariae Virginis, Congregation of the Sisters “Unity” of St. Teresa of the Child Jesus, Congregation of the Sisters of Saint Therese of the Child Jesus, Unio Romana Ordinis Sanctae Ursulae)</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

After: Marecki 1997, 11-12.

The first division of male institutes regards the difference between institutes of consecrated life and societies of apostolic life. The 1983 Code of Canon Law defines religious institute as “a society in which members, according to proper law, pronounce public vows, either perpetual or temporary which are to be renewed, however, when the period of time has elapsed, and lead a life of brothers or sisters in common” (*Codex iuris canonici*; Can. 607 §2). Apart from communal life, religious institutes are characterized by “separation from the world”: “The public witness to be rendered by religious to Christ and the Church entails a separation from the world proper to the character and purpose of each institute” (*Codex iuris canonici*; Can. 607 §3). As Marecki indicates, the fundamental difference between institutes of consecrated life and societies of apostolic life regards vows (of poverty, obedience, and chastity), which are not made in societies (unlike commitments or pledges), but constitute the foundation of institutes of consecrated life, i.e. those where one commits his or her life to God (1997, 9). In turn, the division into religious and secular institutes is related to the category of shared living:

> Secular institutes are organizations whose members (both secular and religious) basically do not live together but are devoted to professional activities and actively participate in the life of the secular society. They make commitments (oaths or pledges) that imitate religious vows. They conduct their apostolic work in their circles and workplaces. (Marecki 1997, 9)[7]

Religious institutes are divided into religious orders (probably the most widespread term among the ones invoked here) as well as associations of clerics and associations of laymen. This division "has only a historical significance as it has survived practically in names only" (Marecki 1997, 9). According to the already obsolete 1917 Code of Canon Law (*Codex iuris canonici* 1917), an order would be defined as

> […] a congregation of faithful approved by Church authorities, whose members would make so-called solemn vows, obliging themselves usually to adhere to the counsels of obedience, poverty, and chastity. […] Religious congregations, on the other hand, are communities whose members would make so-called simple vows, which would not entail the above-mentioned legal consequences. (Marecki 1997, 9)

As Marecki states, the religious, or members of orders, can be divided into four categories differing in terms of rules regulating communal and individual life as well as norms and principles they have to obey. It needs to be emphasised, however, that the division into different types of religious orders is not the only possible one because there are also other, historical divisions. The four main categories are: canons regular (e.g. the Rule of St. Augustine), monks (e.g. the Rule of St. Benedict), mendicants or members of mendicant orders (e.g. the Rule of St. Francis), and clerics regular (e.g. the Rule of St. Augustine). It needs to be underlined that this is a historical division that is not reflected in the 1983 Code of Canon Law. Also, religious orders are not categories that introduce fundamental differences. For example, not all mendicant orders follow the Rule of St. Francis (the Augustinians

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[7] The 1983 Code of Canon Law speaks of "the sanctification of the world, especially from within": a "secular institute is an institute of consecrated life in which the Christian faithful, living in the world, strive for the perfection of charity and seek to contribute to the sanctification of the world, especially from within" (*Codex iuris canonici*; Can. 710).

and the Dominicans follow the Rule of St. Augustine). Further divisions, e.g. ones marking the difference between the Benedictines and the Cistercians, or between the Cistercians and the Cistercians of the Strict Observance, are related to the interpretation of rule and internal constitutions. The superior term used in the Code of Canon Law to denote the place where order members live is not monastery but the "house" of the religious institute.

Becoming a religious requires formation, which is a process of preparation. Formation is divided into basic, which aims to prepare one to lead a religious life, and perpetual, which lasts throughout one's life. Basic formation has several stages: postulancy (verifying the vocation and preparing for a new form of life, lasting around six months or more), novitiate (preparation for life in accordance with evangelical counsels and for life in a given religious order, lasting from one to two years, after which one makes simple vows, simple profession), and juniorate (deepening of knowledge about the new form of life and preparing for it, lasting around five years and ending with solemn vows, which nevertheless do not end the lifelong formation process) (Dębowska 2002; Tutak 2014). Men can then pursue a clerical path. After a period of learning as alumni they can become religious priests. They may also not pursue this path, in which case they become religious brothers. The division of female institutes is partially different, as demonstrated by the table above. Women religious include both nuns (living a contemplative life in a cloistered monastery) and sisters (who live an active, apostolic life "within the world").

The presented division – determined on the higher level (institute of consecrated life and society of apostolic life, both male and female) by canon law, and on the lower level (monks, mendicants as well as canons and clerics regular) by historically established terminology – currently has a large significance. For example, it is used in the Statistical Yearbook of the Catholic Church in Poland.

John Paul II proposed a different division in *Vita consecrata* (1996), where he distinguishes institutes devoted to contemplation, apostolic institutes, secular institutes, societies of apostolic life, the consecrated state of virginity or widowhood as well as religious life in the East and in the West, and new expressions of consecrated life that appeared after the Second Vatican Council. It is an inseparable division that has certain historical features because the categories of monasticism and contemplative institutes overlap, though not fully. As for this division, which is not recalled here in detail since its terms basically coincide with those provided by canon law, it is important to draw attention to the division into contemplative institutes and

apostolic institutes. In the former category, which includes the Benedictines, the Cistercians, or the Camaldolites, the practice of devoting one's life to God – consecration – occurs, among other ways, through "solitude and silence, by listening to the word of God, participating in divine worship, personal asceticism, prayer, mortification and the communion of fraternal love, [as they] direct the whole of their lives and all their activities to the contemplation of God" (point 8). Devoting one's life to God in apostolic institutes, on the other hand, consists of "public profession of the evangelical counsels in accordance with a specific charism and in a stable form of common life" (point 9). John Paul II includes in this category the following: canons regular, mendicant orders, clerics regular, and other religious orders focusing on apostolic and missionary activities. Following this division, contemplative orders would include, among others, the Benedictines, the Cistercians, the Cistercians of the Strict Observance, Beatae Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo, or the Dominican Sisters, while apostolic orders would include the Franciscans, the Jesuits, and the Dominicans.

John Paul II also indicated other forms of consecrated life that do not form communal life: consecrated virgins, widows, and widowers, who make vows of chastity and become subordinated to the bishop.

Perfectae caritatis, on the other hand, "does not follow former legal divisions" (Bar 1977, 40) and introduces the following division: orders devoted solely to contemplative life, monastic orders, apostolic orders, secular institutes, and societies of apostolic life (40). Although this division differentiates between contemplative orders and monastic ones, the difference would be very subtle as monastic orders not only lead a contemplative life but their members are also active outside the monastery or convent, "participating actively in the apostolic tasks of the Church" (41). This multiplicity of religious life is summarized in *Perfectae caritatis* in the following way: "in accordance with the Divine Plan a wonderful[8] variety of religious communities has grown up" (Vatican Council II 1965b, 1).

The next section explores this "wonderful variety of religious communities" within the Catholic Church in a historical perspective as it has emerged in the course of almost two thousand years of intense changes in this form of life.

[8] This word should be understood in this context as "miraculous" (*mirabilis* in Latin).

The history of religious life from the fourth century to the 1970s

Fr Marian Kanior OSB underlines that "monasticism is the first form of religious life in Church and, till this day, the only one in Eastern Christianity" (1993, 9). In mediaeval Catholic Church monasticism evolved and diversified, which continues today: "ever new forms of this [consecrated] life would emerge, as a result of which monasticism in Western Christianity lost its originality in terms of life devoted solely to serving God" (9). In the period since the twelfth century, non-monastic orders began to appear in the West. As Kanior notes, they would incorporate organizational and spiritual elements of monastic life, at the same time going beyond it. The monastic ideal became the driving force in the development of non-monastic orders, which partially absorbed and partially rejected it. Monastic and non-monastic forms of consecrated life differed within orders, which would set different goals before themselves. As Marecki shows, the main goal of life in a religious order, whether monastic or non-monastic, consists of "religious activity on the spiritual plane. Religious communities are primarily the place where their members, who aspire to perfection, are sanctified. They are also the centre of pastoral, apostolic, and missionary activities. Each religious community is supposed to praise God, serve the Church, and guide its members towards perfection" (1997, 10).

As Guillaumont has demonstrated, Christian monasticism "emerged, more or less at the same time, independently in many parts of the Christian world" (2006, 295): in the fourth century in Egypt, which was the crucial place in this respect, as well as in Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Byzantium. It is from the East that monastic forms arrived in the West. As Franz Borkenau notes, "the monastic movement, with its basic ideals and characteristic methods, was imported into the West from the East, more particularly from Egypt; and Egyptian customs, or what Westerners believed to be Egyptian monastic customs, were copied in the West down to very small details such as the choice of garments that were natural in Egypt but very strange in the Western surroundings" (1981, 329). Borkenau argues that early Western monasticism "was a mere modification of hermit life, which had sprung from the most profound impulses of the East. The absence of the impulses in the West meant, in the first place, that the West had no coherent conception of monasticism at all, that its attempts were weak copies of the creations of the East" (336). Fr Jean Leclercq OSB emphasises that such a transfer of ideas was possible thanks to the

mobility of people and the circulation of texts in the Roman Empire. Thanks to these channels of communication, monasticism could blossom in the fourth century CE "both in the East and in the West" (1985, 113), replacing earlier forms of asceticism.

Certain "strong currents of asceticism" (296) were present already beforehand and monasticism evolved from them. These include the Jewish sect of the Essenes (the Qumran community), which was formed in the second century BC, or philosophical stoicism (Kanior 1993, Guillaumont 1979/2006). Gribomont notes that already at the beginning of the fourth century Eusebius of Caesarea observed Christian anchorites settling "in almost the same locations as had the Jewish ascetical communities earlier" (1985, 91), i.e. around Wadi El Natrun and on the Judaean Desert. It is pointed out that although there is no trace of this in sources, the similarity of forms makes it difficult to exclude possible inspiration coming from Buddhist monks and Manichean "perfect ones" (91).

In the pre-monastic period – from the first to the third century, according to Guillaumont – Christian asceticism already began to develop, basing on celibacy (relinquishing marriage or sexual life in marriage) and willing poverty, which was meant to help one achieve "union with God through work on oneself" (Kanior 1993, 20) and provide an example to others. As Kanior underlines, there were no ascetic organizations in this period, but the number of people following asceticism was rising (20-21). Centres of ascetics, who were still unorganized and lived next to each other rather than together, began to appear already in the third century CE. In the same century, the presence of consecrated virgins was noted in Palestine and Syria, i.e. women who pledged chastity (virgins would gather in the *partheon*). Ascetics and consecrated virgins would appear in the West, too: already in the second and third century in Italia, and in the third century in the Iberian Peninsula (Leclercq 1985, 115-116). Towards the end of the third century, monks (a term used in the pre-monastic period, though rarely) began to move to the desert in order to realize their form of life there through asceticism and prayer, thus combating evil and striving towards perfection. This is how the first form of monasticism was born – anchoretism. What were the reasons for moving to the desert? Guillaumont cites economic and political factors: Christians fleeing persecution, and peasants evading taxes or military service.[9]

[9] Guillaumont also points to the internal logic of the way in which this form of life evolved. This religious theme is not pursued here, with focus remaining on the historical dimension.

Kanior adds that fleeing to the desert could be regarded as a sign of the radicalization of religious attitudes due to general uncertainty of life in the period (Kanior 1993, 29).

The development of Christian monasticism intensified in fourth-century Egypt, which was related to the development of the Church as well as the fact that Christians would be no longer persecuted and religious tolerance was introduced in the Roman Empire. This was a turnaround for the Christians, whose number began to rise. Not only were they treated better but also won some privileges. These changes affected religious attitudes, decreasing religious engagement and fostering opportunism. This led to opposition among the more religious Christians, who protested against the changes by making specific life choices (e.g. fasting, leaving public life, or not entering marriage) and organizing themselves in small communities of ascetics and virgins (Kanior 1993).

Franz Borkenau also emphasises the significance that the end of persecutions and the legalization of Christianity had for monasticism, along with the universal popularization of this religion. In his view, within small, persecuted Christian communities, "there was no reason for a group of inspired ascetics to segregate from their brethren living in the world, for all were inspired with the same fervent spirit" (1981, 330). It was only the popularization and partial "secularization" of goals that brought the need to live separately in order to express criticism. "The monastic movement implied a criticism, not only of the world in general and of the large and ill-assorted Christian communities more particularly, but also of the secular clergy who were now deeply identified with the world and whose spiritual ministrations were no longer felt to be sufficient" (1981, 330).[10]

The major figure that shaped the anchoritic approach in this period was the father of all monks, Saint Anthony the Great (ca 250-356), who left his family and moved to the desert to become a Christian ascetic. His contacts with numerous visiting disciples convinced many to imitate his lifestyle, which led to the creation of eremitic colonies near Alexandria, e.g. the Nitria centre where supposedly around 3,500 monks would live (Kanior 1993).

At the turn of the fourth and fifth century, a new form of monasticism developed in Egypt: coenobitism, i.e. a communal monastic form of life organized around specific principles. In contrast to eremitic centres, where anchorites

[10] For a broader discussion of the history of monasticism see also: Dunn 2003.

would live next to each other and practice asceticism individually, in the case of coenobitism we already deal with a monastery where a community would live in accordance with a written "rule." Saint Pachomius (287-346) was the originator of this form. After trying anchoritic life for several years, around 323-325 he began to live with approximately a dozen others in an abandoned town of Tabennesi at the shore of the Nile, developing new principles of collective life. Along with the popularization of this form, he founded several monasteries. "Collective life was organized by a set of directions regarding everyday life: prayer, work, discipline, eating, novitiate, and guests. It is often emphasised that monks would aspire to perfection through individual ascetic formation" (Marecki 1997, 5). Individual asceticism, however, was practiced in the institutionalized, hierarchical form of a monastery. In comparison to anchoretism, Pachomian coenobitism was not as strict:

> The Rule of Saint Pachomius did not define strict fasting or long prayer, but sagaciously provided general norms within which everyone could choose a more or less strict path. A monk would be able to warm himself by the fire when working. He could even skip prayer if his work was particularly onerous. Differentiated tasks were supposed to be adapted to the individual strength and ability of every community member. (Kanior 1993, 64-65)

Monks were supposed to live in chastity, poverty, and obedience, which were vital elements of Pachomius's system that was quite unlike anachoritic individualism (65) (some recall in this context that Pachomius was a soldier earlier). Apart from prayer, work was crucial and every monk had to contribute.

Saint Pachomius created the first monastery and religious order. The building would be separated with a wall with a gate. As Kanior notes, the entire structure would resemble a large village surrounded with a wall:

> Church was located in the centre of the settlement. It was the place where the entire community would come together in the kitchen, refectory, library, infirmary, magazines, and workshops. Around it stood houses, where around thirty monks would live. Every house would feature a common meeting room and individual cells. According to Saint Hieronymus, one monastery could be surrounded with 30-40 houses. Several houses would form a unit

> (*tribus*) with its own superior and an economist, because division of work would lie at the foundation of the monastic organization. A superior and a deputy would lead every house specializing in a certain craft: agriculture, weaving, sewing, baking, etc. A separate group of monks would focus on trade. […] The overall, larger structure would be guided by a prior, called the father. (Kanior 1993, 70)

Monasteries organized around the Rule of Saint Pachomius were quite large, e.g. the one in Tabennisi housed 1,300 monks (79). As Gribomont points out, Pachomius gathered around himself, in the different monasteries he founded, as many as nine thousand monks (1985, 96). Even more monks – some 2,200 – would live in the White Monastery of Atripe founded by Shenoute (ca 350-466), an important monk from the perspective of the development of Egyptian coenobitism.

Monasteries organized in this way would appear in the West as late as in the tenth century, along with the development of Cluny, although some monastic communities would be established earlier, e.g. in England in the fourth century, and in Italy in the sixth (Leclercq 1985). It needs to be emphasised that in the same period female monasteries would be founded on the basis of Pachomius's Rule. On the other hand, Egyptian cenobitic monasticism would reach Ethiopia, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Armenia. In Europe it emerged first in the middle of the fourth century, thanks to Saint Athanasius (295-373) (Kanior 1993, 73). Another important figure who promoted monasticism in the West was Saint Hieronymus (ca 347-418).

Another monk important from the perspective of the development of cenobitic monasticism in Asia Minor was Saint Basil (329-379), chief originator of monasticism in the Eastern Church. His version of monasticism raised the status of work, at the same time rejecting strict asceticism (Kanior 1993, 87). Saint Basil founded many monasteries and wrote many rules. He would criticize Pachomius's "great production companies" (91), indicating that this form of organization distorts the sense of religious life. In his view, relations among monks should be family-like. To achieve this, the monastery should not count more than several dozen monks.

According to Kanior, until the times of Saint Benedict (480-547), monasticism developed with difficulty due to the resistance of the clergy and the faithful (1993, 160):

> Western monasticism was not born of itself as a mass grassroots movement – as in the East – but developed gradually, instilled top-down with words and examples coming from the few Christian intellectuals, especially the Roman aristocracy. (Kanior 1993, 161)

The major figure in the development of monasticism in the West was Saint Benedict of Nursia, who wrote his famous Rule. After studying in Rome, which can be detected in the Rule through his knowledge of the Bible, monastic literature as well as writings by Church Fathers and Roman classics, Saint Benedict led a hermit's life and then founded the monastery in Monte Cassino. It was there that the Rule was composed. Presenting the organization of communal life, it bases on earlier rules, displaying knowledge of ones written by Pachomius, Basil, Macarius, Augustine, Caesarius, and the Rule of the Master (Kanior 1993). The significance of Benedict's Rule for the development of Western monasticism stems from its popularization in various countries, which Kanior sees as arising from its potential to be flexibly adapted to the needs and possibilities of the Westerners. "Nothing hard, nothing difficult," Kanior writes, "is the principle of Benedict's work" (175). He departed from Eastern asceticism, valuing inner discipline – humility and obedience – over bodily practices of flagellation or wearing hair shirts:

> Eastern monks adopted the principle of limiting food to a minimum that guarantees not starving; sleeping just enough not to fall; working so as not to interfere with nightly and daily prayers. […] According to Saint Benedict, the soul is not sanctified through extraordinary, strict self-mortification, but through fervent obedience and love, which should enliven all actions performed by monks, even the simplest ones. (Kanior 1993, 197, 181)

Saint Benedict only preserved the pre-existing principle of obedience as the means of organizing communal life. Overall, the Rule lays down both the ideal of monastic life, and the shape of its spirituality. Further, it formulates general principles of monastic organization, which regulate not only interpersonal relations, but also relations with one's mind and body (through exercise, chiefly by renouncing "desires" and "whims" as part of asceticism and discipline). Benedict's Rule provides additional instructions in this regard, describing for example how to say nightly prayers during summer, how to celebrate Christmas Eve or matins

on a Sunday, and how to sing Psalms. It also regulates matters of private property[11], illness, meal times, or monks' clothes and shoes. As Kanior underlines, Benedict's Rule is Christocentric: "the monk is supposed to live in accordance with the Gospels and to imitate Christ" (181). Three Benedictine guidelines defining the order's goal are: *Ut in omnibus glorificetur Deus* ("So that in all things God may be glorified"), *Ora et labora* ("Pray and work"), and *Pax* ("Peace") (Marecki 1997, 5).

In the seventh century, Benedict's Rule was already known in England, France, Germany, and Gaul, where it functioned alongside other rules as a means of organizing monastic life (Kanior 1993). In these areas, the monastic movement also developed thanks to other rules and key figures like Saint Martin of Tours, Saint John Cassian, and Saint Patrick. In the period between the seventh and ninth century, the monastic movement in the West developed and differentiated. In the ninth century, there were 600 monasteries in Charlemagne's empire (excluding Italia), which operated on the basis of different rules (Leclercq 1985). Since the ninth century, Benedict's Rule was the most important monastic text: "all monks would turn to it for guidance and treat it is as an organizational norm" (Leclercq 2009, 39). However, this did not entail homogenizing monastic life because Benedict provided for the possibility to adapt his Rule to local needs. Politics also greatly contributed to the success of the Rule. In the ninth century, Charlemagne and then his son, Louis the Pious, used the directions in which monastic life developed after a revival led by Saint Benedict of Aniane (ca 750-821) to impose Saint Benedict's Rule on monks (Aachen synods in the years 816-817), thus standardizing monastic life throughout the empire. At that time, a difference was introduced between monks (who were supposed to follow Benedict's Rule) and canons regular, who were meant to adhere to Saint Augustine's Rule. The aim of this homogenization was to counter demoralization and abuse in monastic life, which was related to the increasing wealth of the orders (Leclercq 1985; Kanior 2002).

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11 "[…] and let not anyone presume to give or accept anything without the abbot's orders, nor to have anything as his own, not anything whatsoever, neither book, nor writing-tablet, nor pen; no, nothing at all, since indeed it is not allowed them to keep either body or will in their own power, but to look to receive everything necessary from their monastic father; and let not any be allowed to have what the abbot has not either given or permitted" (*The Rule of Saint Benedict* XXXIII).

At that time, orders were already important institutions in their world: "often powerful organisms, small states even, characterized by a large degree of independence and possessing thousands of hectares of land, thousands of subjects, hundreds of their own hired knights" (Kłoczowski 1987, 128). An important position in the period's monastic landscape was occupied by the Burgundy abbey at Cluny, founded in 909, which had an enormous impact in spiritual, cultural, political, and economic terms. It also needs to be mentioned that Cluny was designed as an important element in the revival of monastic life in that period. In the tenth and eleventh century, it was the "centre of a certain ideal of Christian life. It was the spiritual centre of Western Christianity" (Kanior 2002, 54). At its peak, Cluny supervised over 2,000 institutions with around 50,000 monks. "In the context of weak feudal states, this order constituted a kind of an independent state wielding real power, which would be often greater than that of the French king or Emperors" (Kłoczowski 1987, 138). It was Cluny that could – as the only institution at that time – help force out the Saracens from the Alps:

> The monastic centre at Cluny was transforming from a modest monastery in the tenth century into the capital of a large state, boasting fortifications, craftsmanship districts, and numerous traders. (Kłoczowski 1987, 138)

To compare, Ludo J. R. Milis reports that in the ninth century the abbey at St.-Germain-des-Prés possessed – though this was not its entire wealth – twenty-two estates totalling an area of 32,700 hectares (1999, 19). Donations to the monasteries would be ample: "not only the land was given, but also moveable property belonging to it: serfs and animals and equipment" (22), while their income included tithes, seignorial rights, parochial churches (22), as well as public and feudal rights such as tolls and mills (23).

Early Western monasteries[12] were – as Milis claims – wealthy institutions with incredible assets at their disposal (1999, 18-19). "Their foundation and endowment was usually through royalty, as the kings held themselves responsible for the transition of their people from paganism to Christianity" (19). This would reaffirm the

[12] As Megan Cassidy-Welch underscores (2001), mediaeval texts would refer to monasteries as paradise, holy land, or divine garden (65-66); these phrases underline the other-worldly character of these spaces.

social position of the founding party. Since the tenth century, however, founding became less lavish. The unique affluence of Cluny at the time stemmed – as Milis argues – not from foundation but from its own operations (21-22). Cluny retained its position until the beginning of the twelfth century when its decline began, resulting – among other reasons – from its wealth. Monasteries would develop the period's intellectual culture, for example by transcribing books, and even cultivating the monastic tradition[13], which was the culture of the intellectual elites at the time (Kłoczowski 1987).

In the eleventh and twelfth century, the Benedictine version of monasticism came under criticism. This turned into a crisis of monasticism, leading not only to various attempts at reviving monastic life, but also to the emergence of non-monastic orders: mendicants, canons regular, knightly orders, as well as new Benedictine orders such as the Cistercians, who declared in their early founding documents that they "would never become owners of goods which would not be the fruit of their own labour" (Leclercq 2009, 225). In one of his statements, Saint Bernard would thus criticise the "black" monks, or the Benedictines:

> In a strange and wonderful way […] [m]oney is scattered about in such a way that it will multiply. It is spent so that it will increase. Pouring it out produces more of it. Faced with expensive but marvellous vanities, people are inspired to contribute rather than to pray. (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apology*, par. 2)[14]

In other words, new institutional forms of ascetic life emerge at the time, calling for the revival and reintroduction of the "lost" ideal of poverty, simplicity, and isolation. Canons regular are "deacons and priests who live in a religious community governed by a rule that requires personal poverty," and who are organized by Saint Augustine's Rule (Zinn 1985, 218). As Grover A. Zinn emphasises, in the Middle Ages the spirituality of canons regular did not differ from that of the Benedictines (219). Milis suggests, in turn, that one should differentiate monastic orders from others:

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13 For a discussion of this term and the features of this culture see: Leclercq (1964/2009).

14 "Tali quadam arte spargitur aes, ut multiplicetur. Expenditur ut augeatur, et e usio copiam parit. Ipso quippe visu sumptuosarum, sed mirandarum vanitatum, accenduntur homines magis ad o erendum quam ad orandum" (English translation by David Burr).

> Many of these other movements were the result of reformers' dissatisfaction with the social or religious meaning of monks, or towards what was considered to be their functional inadequacy. The canons were to a certain extent active in the cure of souls, because monks were not (or at least not on a sufficient scale for them), and because the training of the lower secular clergy was notoriously inadequate. Their choice of the Rule of St Augustine over that of St Benedict was a manifestation of a conception of religious life more open to the world. Their "Augustinian tradition" broke the monopoly which Benedictine monasticism had represented for several centuries. The Mendicants, in turn, developed forms of socio-religious commitment, once again because monks were not sufficiently involved. […] In both cases […] the rejection of the Benedictine ideal was a conscious decision. (Milis 1999, xi)

Canons regular formed thanks to Gregorian reform and the introduction of the division into secular and regular clergy. The difference between the two would consist in the question of ownership. Secular clergy could own assets as their property, while canons regular could not. Canons regular constituted a diverse group bound by the flexible Rule of St. Augustine. As a result of monastic reforms in the eleventh and twelfth century and the development of canons regular, other religious orders came to existence as well, including ones specializing in health services or charity work, e.g. crusaders, Hospital Brothers of Saint Anthony, Order of the Holy Ghost, or knightly orders like the Order of Malta (which also focused on healing), Knights Templar or "Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ," and the Teutonic Order (Kłoczowski 1987).

In the period of reforming monasticism in the eleventh and twelfth century, strong eremitic orders were created, seeking possibilities of reforming monasticism through strict asceticism: the Camaldolese, the Vallombrosians, and the Carthusians. The Camaldolese are the only order that is institutionally reclusive as its members live in complete isolation, not leaving their cells or houses as well as not communicating with others, effectively remaining silent (Kanior 2002). The Carthusians, on the other hand, an order founded by Bruno of Cologne (ca 1030-1101) in France, have similarly oriented themselves towards eremitic life in a group of brothers, realizing ideals of ascetic life in a Carthusian monastery comprising church and hermitages. As Kanior notes, "complete separation from active life gave the Carthusians the possibility to develop various contemplative forms to a degree

unseen among other orders" (2002, 180). This order is known for the strictness of its monastic life (i.e. spending most time in cells, observing a strict diet, remaining silent) and the fact that it has never been reformed in its entire history.

Orders created at the time also had female variants. As Kłoczowski emphasises, in the period between the eleventh and thirteenth century women were gaining significance within the monastic movement, which is confirmed, among other things, "by a large increase in the number of women participating in all aspects of life in religious communities, brotherhoods, or monasteries" (1987, 156), which was accompanied by an insufficient number of convents where they could live a life in enclosure. Importantly, unlike men women could neither perform pastoral duties, nor function outside the monastery. Apart from educational and upbringing tasks realized outside the monastery they would be left with enclosure defined by liturgy and work inside. Mixed-sex orders would be also founded. This form has existed since antiquity, bringing monks and nuns into a single community. Their development stemmed from problems with pastoral and liturgical service. In the fourteenth and fifteenth century, enclosure tendencies intensified among women, but soon, in the sixteenth century, a contrary tendency emerged, making women religious engaged in social life beyond the convent (e.g. the Ursulines, or the Daughters of Charity), who were active for example in educating girls (Kłoczowski 1987).

In the twelfth century, mendicant orders became a vital movement developed in protest against mainstream monasticism. They included the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Augustinians, and were mainly associated with Saint Francis of Assisi (ca 1181-1226) and Saint Dominic (ca 1170-1221). Their rise was also related to broader social changes in the thirteenth century, which included – according to Kłoczowski – the decrease in the prestige of Catholic clergy and a corresponding increase among heretics, which stemmed from the poor education of the clergy. In contrast to previous monastic orders and the canons, mendicants focused on preaching and pastoral work, which led them to become engaged with academic work and the Inquisition (until the sixteenth century).

Every Dominican monastery would also perform the function of a school for the religious and secular clergy. In the thirteenth century, the Dominicans gained two departments at the University of Paris, and also lectured in Oxford or Bologna, just like the Franciscans. In contrast to orders based on the Benedictine rule, mendicant orders would operate in cities, focusing strongly on poverty and asceticism, as well as preaching to the socially excluded (Kłoczowski 1987).

Mendicant orders would develop dynamically at the time. In the second decade of the thirteenth century, the Dominicans already had around seventy houses with hundreds of brothers, while in the early fourteenth – around six hundred with almost ten thousand brothers in the entire area of Western Christianity. To compare, in the same period of the fourteenth century there were over 1,400 Franciscan monasteries with around 30-40,000 brothers. Along with the rise in the significance and number of their members, the functioning of the orders changed as they began to construct large complexes with churches, akin to ones built by the Benedictines. Combined with ideas and practices, these numbers translated into an educational impact on the population, manifesting primarily in mass Christianization and spreading of culture (Kłoczowski 1987).

Despite the founding of non-monastic orders, the Benedictine ones would keep evolving, although their significance did not return to past levels. Benedictine orders suffered a crisis in the fourteenth century as a result of internal transformations and relations with outside parties:

> Abbeys would become fiefdoms, and the monastery's remuneration – a benefice. Due to the former, the abbey would become the object of ambition and envy. Late mediaeval history of monasteries showcases battles fought against vassals, neighbours, and cities for overtaking assets, robberies, etc. […] Various monastic positions would in turn become benefices that people would strive for. Noble families would reserve such spots for their sons. In these conditions, vocation would not be guided by grace but by personal interest and career perspectives. […] Is it possible to speak in this context of keeping regular monastic discipline? (Kanior 2002, 589)

Beginning from the fourteenth and fifteenth century, religiousness would also undergo transformations among ordinary people, owing to the Renaissance, bubonic plague, and large-scale preaching by mendicant orders, as a result of which individual confession was promoted. It completely changed self-understanding among individuals and altered their attitude to religion:

> It instilled a sense of personal responsibility for the general shape of one's life, sins, and omissions. Individual life, attitude, meditation and prayer began to carry a huge importance for Christians, diminishing external acts, gestures, and practices. (Kłoczowski 1987, 187)

Another example of individualizing religious practices is *devotio moderna*, developing since the fourteenth century, which would foreground individual prayer and meditation instead of widespread joint liturgical prayer. Along with the individualization of religious practices, orders and the clergy came under criticism. First ideas of dissolving monasteries were formed, guided by the observation that – once again in history – they would depart from source ideas and Christian values as a result of their transformations. Already in the fifteenth century the first dissolutions would occur, first by the Hussites in Bohemia (almost all monasteries were dissolved at the time), and later during the Reformation in the sixteenth century. Reforms introduced by Fr Martin Luther, an Augustinian, were partially rooted in the individualization of religious practices, a process in which the institutionalization of faith would be regarded as an obstacle on the path towards "personal, engaged, and complete faith in Jesus Christ" (Kłoczowski 1987, 190). In 1521 Luther published *De Votis Monasticis*, in which he questions the Christian roots of monastic life, assessing that it as immoral and pointless. Dissolutions occurred already in the 1530s and 1540s in England under Henry VIII, as well as in Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland, as well as later in relation to the 1648 Peace of Westphalia. In the seventeenth century, secularization reached Portugal (the Jesuits), France, Russia, Spain, Munster, Mainz, and Bavaria. In the eighteenth century, Joseph II dissolved monasteries under his rule, and more dissolutions were to follow in the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Jujeczka 2014). As is discussed below, Max Weber sought the sources of Protestant asceticism in monastic asceticism.

Transformations of religiosity in the fourteenth and fifteenth century also bred Catholic reforms, which would respond to these changes not by negating former religious institutions but by strengthening them, including the development of religious life, which was institutionally well prepared for performing priestly functions. "Old" monasteries would reform, returning to their sources, which simultaneously diversified them. This led to the rise of new orders, among whom the most important and the strongest were the Jesuits, a clerics regular institute founded by the Basque-born Saint Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556). The Jesuits were closely connected to papacy, realizing its goals by focusing on combating Protestantism and launching missions around the world (e.g. in India and China). They would also realize a broad educational programme among the elites. In the seventeenth century, they already had 500 colleges in Europe with 150,000 students. In the eighteenth century there were already 550 foundations with around 15,000 Jesuits, and in the

middle of that century – over 22,500 with 670 colleges. The Jesuits focused on the organizational aspect, distinguishing themselves with high centralization and the division into the executive and the legislative. As Kłoczowski underlines, the Jesuits impacted "all areas of life and culture in the Catholic world between the sixteenth and eighteenth century" (193).

Other orders were also founded in this period, developing in the direction similar to that of the Jesuits and adopting elements of their organizational system, e.g. Brothers Hospitallers founded in the sixteenth century and specializing in medicine, or the Piarists founded in the seventeenth century and focusing on educating the youth. Parallel to this, a new form of consecrated life developed in the sixteenth century – one based on organizing secular priests who would not be members of religious orders, e.g. the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, which was far less centralized than the Jesuits and focused on contemplation and prayer instead of social activities. In the same period, missionary activities were on the rise, leading to the establishing of monasteries on continents other than Europe (Kłoczowski 1987).

Secularization of monasteries

The period of the eighteenth and nineteenth century is primarily marked by a huge crisis of religious life, stemming from attempts to eliminate it from social life. As mentioned above, criticism of religious orders is a permanent element of this form of life. New orders would be established by criticising older ones and seeking revival by returning to the source. However, already in the fifteenth and sixteenth century – due to Hussitism and Protestantism – monasteries were being physically dissolved as a result of religious reforms. The period of the eighteenth and nineteenth century brought a critical impulse to liquidate, not only in the narrow sphere of religion (religious institutions, or individuals and groups seeking religious reform), though it is worth to note the critical approach of secular clergy to orders as well as feuds among orders, but also in secular institutions of the state and among the elites, intensely developing at that time (one key factor being the rise of absolutism, in which religion was regarded as a matter of state). Obviously, faith in progress and the Enlightenment would also contribute to eliminating religion from public life, which posed a huge challenge for religious orders, which comprised a key element of Christianity-based Western civilization and later its Catholic part. They began

to be regarded as centres of "backwardness" and actively combated. Enlightenment-rooted practical reason contradicted the contemplative and ascetic character of religious life. This ideological argument justified dissolutions, which were also often carried out due to pragmatic reasons, e.g. to obtain material means. At the same time, the crisis of religious life would be also rooted – as in the past – in routine and demoralization, making it easier to criticise religious orders.

Reasons for the secularization of monasteries and their dissolution in the eighteenth and nineteenth century vary from one state to another.[15] According to Immo Eberl, these processes were influenced by the intellectual and political atmosphere of the Enlightenment, in which criticism of religion would be connected with assigning pedagogical and educational functions to religious institutions subordinated to the state (2011, 399-410). Thus, "due to decreasing usefulness, contemplative and ascetic life was decreed to be unworthy of existence by the Enlightenment and its supporters" (399). These changes were implemented, on the one hand, through the Habsburg model of Joseph II, and on the other – through the French model crucially shaped by the Revolution. Wars waged in Europe at the time also contributed to this, and in the Polish context – the partitions.

The dissolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, which involved the physical destruction of orders and monasteries, began with the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal in 1759, four years later from France, and then from Spain. Finally, in 1773 Pope Clement XIII dissolved the order, testifying to the general change of attitude towards orders. In the 1780s, Emperor Joseph II dissolved 600 monasteries, mostly contemplative ones. His modern vision of the state was based on centralized bureaucracy, new administrative division, eliminating privileges of the nobility, and standardizing legislation (Jujeczka 2014, 65).

> Religious tolerance was to be the new standard, along with a mercantilist economic policy and universal educational based on state schools […]. The Emperor strove to regulate the relationship between the two authorities, eliminate church privileges, limit the number of monasteries, reform monastic schools and – importantly – fund these reforms with money from the Church. (Jujeczka 2014, 65)

[15] The word "secularization" was first used in 1648 by the French prince Longueville, during negotiations that led to the Peace of Westphalia, in reference to the confiscation of religious assets by the state and the religious becoming laity (Dobbelaere 2002, 22).

Church would thus become dependent on state power, which was additionally confirmed by the establishing of church fund and the dominance of state over religious institutions (e.g. through the introduction of obligatory exams for former religious before allowing them to perform pastoral work) (Jujeczka 2014, 69), which clearly shows how religion would be moved into a sphere specially devised for it. One of the means of achieving this was dissolving, i.e. secularizing monasteries, e.g. through the secularizing decree of 1782, which occurred in waves, beginning in that year: "mass dissolutions began in May 1782 and ended the next year. A commission would enter every monastery, announcing the will of the Emperor to the gathered religious priests, religious monks, and women religious" (69). Among others, two events are pointed out as specially related to the dissolutions. Pope Pius VI, who travelled to Vienna in person, asked the Emperor to stop secularization. He bid farewell to Joseph II "in the Mariabrunn monastery, where they last met and stayed, which was dissolved by order of chancellor Kaunitz the very next day after the guests departed as the first monastery in the Habsburg monarchy" (68). A similarly symbolic dissolution occurred in the arch-abbey of Saint George at the Prague Castle, where Benedictine nuns from the oldest Czech monastery "had the right to co-crown Czech kings" (71).

In the eighteenth century the situation of monasteries in France was also crucial. In the years 1766-1781, the French Religious Commission dissolved several hundred monasteries out of a total of 2,850 existing in 1777 (Kłoczowski 1987). Next, following the French Revolution, all other monasteries were dissolved alongside all religious orders. This was accompanied by the nationalization of church assets. Unlike Kłoczowski, Jujeczka argues (2014) that not all monasteries were dissolved in revolutionary France: "The Revolution destroyed many monasteries, but some – especially those more aware of their calling – were reborn under Napoleon or in the period of Bourbon restoration. The overall scale of losses is difficult to assess, but estimates show that female orders lost 40-60% of all houses and 15-20% women religious. Male orders probably shared similar fate" (Jujeczka 2014, 73).

While Joseph II – Gregor Ploch observes – realized Enlightenment ideals through dissolutions (2014, 308), the Prussian king did so for financial reasons, i.e. in order to pay war tributes to Napoleon (308). Napoleon would also dissolve monasteries in conquered states. In this context, survival was possible only for those orders that were considered useful, i.e. non-contemplative ones or those contemplative ones that could adapt to the new situation by developing some aspects considered useful, e.g. by taking up priestly activities.

As Kłoczowski sums up, dissolutions in different Western states reduced the number of members in religious orders from 300,000 in 1770 to 80,000 in the nineteenth century (Kłoczowski 1987).

Roger Finke and Sr Patricia Wittberg (2000) provide more accurate figures. In France, the number of Benedictine monasteries dropped from 2,000 in 1789 to 20 in 1815; the number of Franciscans in Europe dropped from 133,000 in 1775 to 39,000 in 1850, while the number of Dominicans – from 30-40,000 in 1780 to 5,000 in 1844.

Revival of monasteries in the nineteenth and twentieth century

After a wave of secularization, a revival of religious life began in Europe and beyond (mostly in North America), starting already in the nineteenth and then continuing in the twentieth century, a process called the "spring of monasticism" by Franz Metzger and Karin Feuerstein-Prasser (2006/2008). These processes intensified primarily in France and Italy. Kłoczowski argues that it was related to the "vitality of Christianity in the broadest social circles in Europe and America" (218), which translated into many grassroots religious initiatives in that period. In other words, he claims that dissolutions were carried out by the elites of the period, partially against lower social classes, where faith was still strong. However, a big change would also occur at the level of religious institutions. In 1814, Pope Pius VII restored the Jesuits, who had already 2,000 members around 1820 (Metzger, Feuerstein-Prasser 2006/2008), 15,000 in 1900, and 36,000 in 1965. In the 1960s, the Jesuits would run 53 universities and 45 colleges as well as publish 1,400 journals (Kłoczowski 1987). Metzger and Feuerstein-Prasser also draw attention to the fact that during the "spring of monasticism" there was a great increase in interest in female orders focusing on charitable work, which stems – in their view – from insufficient action taken in this area by the state. Until the end of the nineteenth century as many as one hundred charity-focusing congregations were formed (including the Pallottines, the Salvatorians, School Sisters of Notre Dame, or the Salesians of Don Bosco, who had over 22,000 members in 1965, not much less than the number of Jesuits; Kłoczowski 1987). The importance of female orders also rose as part of a revival of religious life. Their members outnumber male orders (in the 1960s there were around one million Catholic women religious all over the world, gathered in over a thousand religious orders).

The entire process of revival should be regarded from many perspectives because specific contexts would depend on individual states or religious orders, with other factors also having an impact. This is discussed in greater detail in the Polish context described below.

Kłoczowski underlines that the one special feature of the revival movement was its incredible differentiation, which led to the re-establishment of old orders and the foundation of new ones, all of which was carried out – once more – in accordance with the formula of returning to the sources. This process is well illustrated by data quoted by historians in relation to male orders holding papal rights, i.e. ones recognized by the Vatican:

> Towards the end of the eighteenth century there were 71 such orders, but throughout the nineteenth century 91 new ones were founded, while in the first half of the twentieth – 33. Disregarding smaller groups that ceased to exist in the nineteenth century – there were as many as 16, and two in the twentieth century! – it is estimated that in 1900 there were 146 religious orders, and 177 in 1950 (and in 1965). Paradoxically, then, never before in history were so many new orders founded than in the most difficult century of religious history – the nineteenth. (Kłoczowski 1987, 218)

The above does not include a large number of religious orders that failed to obtain papal rights. Also, the rise of the number of orders was accompanied by the rise in the number of their members.

In the 1960s most religious were found in Europe (220,000). 50,000 lived in North America, 30,000 in South America, 10,000 in Asia, 7,000 in Africa, and 3,000 in Australia and Oceania. These were mostly white Europeans. In the twentieth century, the profile of religious activities changed. A dominant position was taken by religious orders focusing on particular actions, mostly pastoral, managing parishes and forming congregations of priests. As Kłoczowski emphasises, the revival movement involved not just the male and female Catholic religious orders, but also the Orthodox Church, contributing at the same time to the development of similar groups in Protestantism (already since the nineteenth century) (Kłoczowski 1987). One important element of changes in consecrated life was the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), which decreed to reform this form of life, making it part of the general acknowledging of the need to adapt

the Church to the epoch's socio-cultural context. The process of revival would be referred to with the term *accomodata renovatio*, or "up-to-date renewal," which was supposed to occur through *aggiornamento*, or the turning towards the contemporary times. As Fr Joachim Roman Bar argues, commenting on decisions taken by the Council, "the world is now different, so if orders are to have an impact on it, they need to alter their structure, habits, ways of working" (1997, 45) as well as lifestyle and scope of activities. "Revival must be 'adaptive' in the sense of taking into account the past, the present, and the future in an effort to help the order exist in changed circumstances" (1997, 46). Apart from opening towards the changing world and engaging in related contexts, the revival was meant to reorganize the religious orders institutionally by: first, reforming legislation and religious practices so as to adapt them better to the needs of the community as well as to the "psychical needs" of individuals (47) after taking into account the context in which religious orders function, ways of inhabiting, hygiene, medicine, food, clothing, etc.; second, "revising management modes" (48), which is related, among other things, to the relation between subordinates and superiors: "to draw attention to the relation between subordinates and superiors, taking into account individual dignity as well as the physical and mental requirements of the subordinates" (48); and third, "inviting all members of the religious order to cooperate in the revival" (49). One could thus speak here – perhaps slightly exaggerating in the context of a highly hierarchic institution – about a certain democratization of religious life, which has accompanied its opening. In relation to nuns a different procedure was established "due to their specific organization" (51), but the goals of revival were the same. Transforming and opening monasteries has therefore been an intended process indicative of changes in the functioning of monasteries in the post-Council sociocultural context of "adapting" to modern times. The significance of the Second Vatican Council is also discussed further in this book.

The beginning of the 1960s, when the Second Vatican Council was held, was also a time when religious life entered a new period of crisis. The next chapter investigates in greater detail the changes that have been taking place since the 1970s till today.

The history of religious orders in Poland

Religious orders that developed in Western countries since the sixth century CE appeared in Poland much later, i.e. as late as in the eleventh century, along with Christian missionaries. The key figure in early church foundations was Peter Wlast (d. 1151), who made as many as seventy of them. In the eleventh century the first Benedictine abbeys were founded (e.g. in Tyniec, Mogilno, or Lubiń, and in Łysiec or Święty Krzyż in the twelfth century). In the twelfth century, the Cistercians expanded their reach in Poland along with canons regular such as the Order of the Holy Sepulchre and the Premonstratensians (e.g. in Wrocław, Trzemeszyn, or Kraków), who ran numerous hospitals, among other activities. The religious movement developed in Poland with tremendous support from the rulers.

> Founding a monastery with a community that never ceases to pray properly was a very big investment, but one of incredible efficiency as part of the policy to secure God's help for oneself, the closest, and the state. (Kłoczowski 2010, 24)

Apart from religious motives one could also point to matters of prestige and the support of the Church won in this way.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century a different religious order appeared in Poland – the Paulines, who settled in the Jasna Góra Monastery in Częstochowa. Mendicant orders began developing in the thirteenth century[16]: first, the Dominicans, then the Franciscans, and the Carmelites since the fourteenth century. These orders would flourish in the fifteenth century, in contrast to monastic orders and canons (Kłoczowski 1986). Mendicants would establish monasteries in urban locations and, in the thirteenth century, they would operate in almost all major cities in Poland. In the thirteenth century, around eighty mendicant monasteries were established on the current territory of Poland, forming a particularly dense network in Silesia (Kłoczowski 2007). They had a tremendous impact on the Polish mediaeval society thanks to their pastoral and educational activities. The thirteenth century is also marked by the end of great foundations in Poland, ones "based in scores of villages, with an important role played by […] the nobility's resistance to the transferring of land into the hands of the Church" (Kłoczowski 2010, 213), and by a crisis

[16] For more information on this topic see: Kłoczowski 1982a and 1982b.

of monasteries, followed by a decrease in the number of monks in the fifteenth and sixteenth century stemming from economic problems and lower numbers of admissions into monasteries. Since the fourteenth and fifteenth century, canons regular and mendicants would fare much better. In the sixteenth century, in turn, urban areas became clearly the place where members of orders would work, mendicants being particularly specialized in this. In the period between the thirteenth and fifteenth century mendicant orders played a pivotal role in Poland and abroad through intense pastoral efforts among the lower classes, and missionary activities. These orders – the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Observants, the Augustinians, and the Carmelites – had a greater impact on the Polish society in that period than monastic orders and canons. Kłoczowski characterizes this influence by pointing to the westernization of the nobility, apart from the aforementioned aspects of pastoral care and education.

Knightly orders appeared in Poland in the twelfth century, first the Order of Malta, then the Knights Templar in the twelfth century (both orders had few houses), and finally the Teutonic Order, which even established its own state (Kłoczowski 1987).

Since the middle of the twelfth century, female orders began to function in Poland. Until the end of the thirteenth century there were forty major houses based on different rules (Benedictine, Augustine, Franciscan) as well as many minor groups like the Beguines. In 1772 there were 152 convents gathering 3,200 women religious (Kłoczowski 1987).

In 1300 there were altogether 123 monasteries on the territory of Poland and Lithuania (abbeys and larger houses), including 77 mendicant ones, 32 monastic ones, and 14 others ran by canons regular, whereas in 1520: 213, 40, and 30, respectively. This demonstrates the dominance of mendicant orders, which had around 1,600 members in 1300, and 4,000 in 1520, while the number of religious in the same period dwindled from 1,500 to 600, and that of canons regular rose only by 200 (from 800 to 1,000) (Kłoczowski 1987, 254). In the following centuries – sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth – the number of houses (monasteries) and religious (cf. table 3) rose to a total of 14,500 in 1772. Most of them belonged to the mendicants (559), despite sixteenth-century dissolutions. Canons regular had 111, and monks – 38. The number of male orders would also rise: from 15 in 1600 to 27 in 1772, while the number of female ones rose from 10 to 17 (Kłoczowski 1987).

Table 3. The number of religious and monasteries on the territory of Poland

Year	Number of male houses (monasteries)	Number of religious[b]	Number of female houses (monasteries)	Number of women religious
1300	132[a] (190)[d]	3,900	43[c]	–
1520	283[a]	5,600	–	–
1600	227	3,600	31	840
1650	410	7,500	93	2,760
1700	674	10,000	111	2,865
1772	884	14,500	152	3,211

[a] abbeys and large houses
[b] estimate
[c] does not include certain groups like the Beguines
[d] after Kłoczowski 2010, not counting over a hundred knightly orders

Source: Kłoczowski 1987 and 2010.

In comparison to Western countries – Kłoczowski notes – in the seventeenth century religious orders focused on pastoral activities; there were fewer eremitic and contemplative monasteries. "Large libraries, assembled in many monasteries at great cost, were primarily to serve those religious who preach, hear confessions, teach at schools, and on other occasions" (2007, 170). Another example of the pastoral focus was the running of missions in the local population: "with a rich, varied programme, they meant to shake the conscience of people and lead them to a breakthrough by teaching catechism" (171); the religious would hear confessions as part of such projects. The Jesuits first launched such missions in the sixteenth century, with other orders also leading their own in the eighteenth century. Most missions were carried out in the period between the 1730s and 1760s: up to one thousand a year, involving "practically the entire Roman Catholic population in the country" (171).

The Protestant movement and related dissolutions of monasteries reached Poland as well, but mainly in the northern and western parts of the Kingdom, which were incorporated in the fourteenth century. In the sixteenth century, most Silesian monasteries, especially the highly developed network of mendicants, were dissolved (Kłoczowski 1987, 2010).

In 1564 the Jesuits began to operate in Poland and established a strong base already towards the end of that century. In the seventeenth century, there was a decisive growth in the number of religious orders, also including newly formed ones: the Camaldolese, the Discalced Carmelites, and later the reformed Franciscans, the

Capuchins, the Trinitarians, the Brothers Hospitallers, the Piarists, the Theatines, or the Marians (the only order established in Poland in the eighteenth century) as well as female orders such as the Discalced Carmelites, the Benedictine Nuns of the Blessed Sacrament, the Daughters of Charity, the Visitation Sisters, Congregatio Virginum a Praesentatione Beatae Mariae Virginis, and Congregatio Sororum S. Catharinae V. et M. (the two last ones established in Poland, the latter already in the sixteenth century). Female orders would develop in this period, although their number was significantly smaller than that of male orders (cf. fig. 3) (Kłoczowski 1987, 2010).

In the sixteenth century, the biggest orders included the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Jesuits. This determined the social significance of religious orders in Poland due to their focus on educational and pastoral duties, carried out among all social strata, primarily in cities. Churches run by religious orders became the destination of mass pilgrimages already in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, e.g. Jasna Góra and Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, which were already important cult sites at the time. Schools run by the Jesuits and the Piarists dominated in youth education from the late sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. Before the first partition of Poland, there were over one hundred religious colleges (and only a dozen or so others), which would teach ca 30-35,000 young people. The religious would also greatly contribute to the spreading of the Enlightenment in Poland, including fostering reforms of education. Religious orders also played an important role in educating diocesan clergy and running seminars. Another field in which they would excel was printing – orders were basically monopolists in this field since the end of the seventeenth century. At the same time, however, the impact of the Enlightenment caused religious life to come under criticism, especially for its "uselessness" (contemplation, asceticism) and connections to the feudal system (education and other forms of social engagement were regarded as "useful") (Kłoczowski 1987, 2007). As Bishop Ignacy Krasicki would write in *Monachomachia* [The War of the Monks]:

> W mieście, którego nazwiska nie powiem, / In a city whose name I cannot [disclose
> Nic to albowiem do rzeczy nie przyda, / For this would not contribute [to anything
> W mieście, ponieważ zbiór pustek tak zowiem, / In a city, or an assembly [of ruins

W godnem siedlisku i chłopa, i Żyda, / A worthy settlement of peasants and [Jews
W mieście (gród, ziemstwo trzymało albowiem / In a city (the castle and [the lands
Stare zamczysko, pustoty ohyda) / In the hands of the old castle, a hideous ruin)
Były trzy karczmy, bram cztery ułomki, / There were three inns, four ruined [gates,
Klasztorów dziewięć i gdzieniegdzie domki, / Nine monasteries and scattered [houses,

W tej zawołanej ziemiańskiej stolicy / In this splendid seat of the gentry
Wielebne głupstwo od wieków siedziało; / Reverend idiots reside since [centuries
Pod starożytnem schronieniem świątnicy / Under the ancient protection [of the temple
Prawych czcicielów swoich utuczało. / They would feed up the righteous [faithful.
Zbiegał się wierny lud, a w okolic, / The pious folk would arrive from the vicinity,
Wszystko odgłosem uwielbienia brzmiało. / Resounding with high praise.
Święta prostoto! Ach, któż cię wychwali! / O holy simplicity! Who will [appreciate you!
Wieku szczęśliwie!… Ale mówmy daléj! / O the lucky age!… But let us continue!

(Krasicki 1954)

Secularization of monasteries in Poland

As Marek Derwich assesses,

> around 1772, when the partitioning of Poland began, on its territory there were around 990 male monasteries with 14,540 religious, and 150 female ones with 2,723 women religious. In Silesia, ruled by Prussia, with a small part ruled by the Austrian Empire (Śląsk Cieszyński), there were 73 male monasteries with 1,334 religious and 19 monasteries with an unknown number of women religious. In 1914 there were only 188 male monasteries with 2,252 religious,

> i.e. 20% of the original number, with as many as 133 monasteries (with 1,830 religious) surviving on territories under Austrian rule. Unfortunately, there is no corresponding data on female monasteries. However, it is known that their situation was much better, firstly because they were more frequently deemed "useful" in society and thus dissolved less often, and secondly due to the flourishing of the female religious movement in the nineteenth century. (Derwich 2012, 357)

The above "usefulness" can be understood as the engagement of the religious in pastoral activities, education, or pilgrimages (cf. Kłoczowski 2007, 168-172).

It is worth underlining that religious orders were dissolved not only by the partitioners but also by the authorities of the Kingdom of Poland:

> They led to the dissolution of the richest monasteries and caused the number of religious to drop. In 1819, dissolutions were organized by the Government Commission for Religion and Public Enlightenment, i.e. the period's ministry of religion. This was also possible thanks to special rights obtained by the Polish primate Franciszek Skarbek-Malczewski from Pope Pius VII in 1818. (Gach 1999, 97)[17]

The decree secularized 29 of the richest male monasteries and 6 female ones (Gach 1999, 97). Underlining this fact is crucial insofar as dissolutions of monasteries in Poland during the period of partitions are usually ascribed to the partitioners. For example, Kłoczowski argues that "on the historical territory of the Polish and Lithuanian state, dissolutions were almost solely the work of the partitioners; after the dissolution of monasteries in the Polish Kingdom in 1864 there were only a handful of them remaining in Galicia" (1987, 217). Earlier, in the eighteenth century, in connection with the dissolution of the Jesuit order, 104 houses were annexed in Poland. In the years 1781-1788, seven orders were liquidated following an order issued by Bishop Michał Jerzy Poniatowski. Then came the aforementioned dissolutions of 1819. As a result of the clergy's engagement in the January Uprising,

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[17] The bull titled *Ex imposita nobis* and issued in 1818 by Pius VII was negotiated with the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Polish Kingdom's authorities (Gach 1993, 94), giving rights to dissolve monasteries to the executor, namely primate Malczewski.

Tsar Alexander II ordered in 1864 that 114 out of all 177 monasteries (both male and female) be resolved. On the so-called "captured territories," beginning from the 1830s, over 200 were dissolved. As Cezary Jastrzębski recaps, "as a result of these actions, only 40 religious were left when the Tsar's act of tolerance became law in 1905, out of a total of 1,600-1,700 ones recorded in 1864" (2014, 354).

It is also worth emphasizing that, whereas under Russian and Prussian rule the number of monasteries dropped in the years 1773-1914, it rose under Austrian rule, as demonstrated in table 4. The end of the Josephine era in the 1860s caused the "intensification of their [monasteries'] actions in all areas, which gave them new possibilities and freedoms in performing their tasks. It also meant freedom of action for new congregations. In the second half of the nineteenth century, new monasteries and religious orders were founded in Galicia. Up to the First World War, twelve new female congregations and eight male ones were created in that region" (Gach 1999, 122). Also, since 1908 the Salesians would "organize vocational schools and boarding houses for poor youth, thus quickly becoming one of the most popular orders" (Skarbek 1968, 280). Finally, there were the Salvatorians, the Albertine Brothers, and the Michaelite Fathers. Jan Skarbek points out that the tolerance act of 1905 and earlier secret operations helped "move religious families from Galicia to Poland" (280).

Table 4. Number of monasteries and convents in partitioned parts of Poland in the years 1825, 1864, and 1914 (excluding the Basilian monks)

Area	Number of religious orders in a given year			Houses in a given year		
	1825	1864	1914	1825	1864	1914
Russia (captured territories)	20	12	4[a]	329	41	13
Kingdom of Poland	20	17	7[a]	167	157	40[b]
Austrian partition with the Kraków Republic (Galicia)	17	14	27[c]	110	74	133[d]
Prussian partition (without Silesia)	10	5	2	50	10	2

[a] including two non-habit-wearing ones
[b] including 34 houses of non-habit-wearing congregations
[c] including one non-habit-wearing
[d] including 29 houses of new-type congregations and one house of the Dolorists (non-habit-wearing)

After: Gach 1999, 131.

Piotr Paweł Gach offers a following summary of changes related to monasteries in the period 1773-1914 on the territories of the former Republic of Poland:

> Huge changes would occur both in qualitative and quantitative terms as far as male religious communities are concerned, along with provinces, novitiates, formation houses, monasteries, and their personnel. As a result of many organized anti-religious actions and the application of various legal and administrative limits by the partitioners, the number of male religious communities kept falling, along with provinces, monasteries, and the religious. […] In 1914, there were 188 male monasteries on the former territory of the Republic of Poland, most of them (133) in Galicia (including 29 houses of new-type orders and one of non-habit-wearing Dolorists), 40 in the Kingdom of Poland (including 34 houses of male non-habit-wearing congregations), 13 in Russian Empire, and 2 under Prussian control. (Gach 1999, 325-326)

It needs to be mentioned that the religious would be also engaged in the national independence movement as well as pilgrimages and sanctuary activities, which also had both religious and national character. As Gach notes, reasons for creating Catholic cult sites and sanctuaries in churches run by religious orders should be traced "in the diverse circumstances of the Middle Ages" (254). The religious would perform "pastoral duties among the pilgrims" (254). This phenomenon is not limited to religious life, because only 33% (354 centres), functioning around 1825 on the former territories of the Republic of Poland, including the Prussian Silesia, were managed by religious orders (254; after Witkowska 1995, 110-112). Gach also argues that Marian sanctuaries played "a significant role in the religious and national life of Poland" (257) at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and then in the nineteenth. Important national centres included Jasna Góra (the Paulines) and Ostra Brama (the Discalced Carmelites). In the years 1833-1836, over 20,000 people visited Jasna Góra as part of around 180 pilgrimages, in 1862 – over 80,000, and on the five-hundredth anniversary of the holy icon (1882) – around 400,000 (262). "The process of religious and national integration would occur at Jasna Góra in the face of intensifying Germanization and Russification by the partitioners, who combated Polish culture, clergy, and the Catholic Church" (263). In other words, orders participated in defending faith and national integration, striving for Polish independence and marrying the national cause to religion.

In the years 1773-1914, Gach claims, "as a result of the steadfast attitude of the Poles, neither Prussia nor Russia could eliminate the Catholic Church. What they were able to achieve, however, was to destroy religious structures and almost all male orders" (324). In this period, the social significance of religious orders would be associated with the national-religious structure: "religious orders turned out to be an important socio-religious factor uniting people despite national borders as well as political and administrative obstacles. They were clearly preoccupied with guarding the cultural identity not only of Poles but also of Lithuanians, Latvians, and Ukrainians" (334). In the middle of the nineteenth century it was also crucial that the religious would be engaged in patriotic activities aiming to regain independence (Jabłońska-Deptuła 1972).

The question of the consequences of dissolutions remains unexamined in Poland. Large-scale historical research was done on the topic in the first decades of the twenty-first century by Professor Marek Derwich, who focused on the material consequences of dissolutions:

> Following the dissolutions, a huge transfer of cultural goods would occur, mainly by way of annexing them by state institutions of culture and science, as well as those of archival character […]. Parts of these goods would be scattered, especially the less expensive, through sales, donations, endowments, and plain theft. (Derwich 2012, 358)

The social consequences of dissolutions are not well researched and call for more detailed studies. Although he underlines the provisional character of his claims, Gregor Ploch (2014, 311) indicates, for example, the following consequences of dissolutions in Silesia (they can be naturally treated as pertaining to other areas as well). First, "they would not lead to the breakdown of religious life and pastoral care in Silesia" (312). Second, they would cause changes in education as well as care over the sick and the poor since most of these tasks would be overtaken by non-religious institutions.

The revival of monasteries in the nineteenth and twentieth century

Despite the post-dissolution crisis, the new order of the Resurrectionists was formed in 1842 by Bohdan Jański. Various female congregations would also emerge at the time (e.g. the Marian Servants, who would work with children in the countryside, the Felician Sisters, or the non-habit-wearing Honoratian congregations), focusing mainly on education, upbringing, and work with excluded groups. Along with the regaining of independence, religious life flourished in Poland. In 1914 there were 2,000-2,500 religious, while in 1937 – already 7,100 male and 22,000 women religious. There were 44 male congregations in 1939 and 84 female ones (including new ones: seven male and thirteen female, which were created after regaining independence). The religious would start publishing papers, e.g. *Przegląd Powszechny* edited by the Jesuits. One thing that boosted development was the signing of the concordat in 1925, which guaranteed the right to buy assets and manage them, helping the religious orders to develop economically (Kłoczowski 1987; Jabłońska-Deptuła 1965). During the Second World War, the religious suffered great personal and material losses. Kłoczowski indicates that over five hundred religious and two hundred and fifty women religious were killed. Other religious would engage in many-dimensional social and religious activities (e.g. Fr Maksymilian Kolbe), which translated – as Kłoczowski argues – into the rise of their prestige in the post-war era (Kłoczowski 1987).

After the Second World War, 43 male orders began to operate, including the Benedictines and the Cistercians (Zamiatała 2012, 18). In the post-war period they would "become stronger in organizational terms […]. Religious life was being restored swiftly, both in personal and material terms […]. New institutions were opened: tutelary centres, schools, hospitals, and publishing houses" (19). The situation of monasteries after 1945 differed from that of other countries under the influence of the USSR, where religious activities were curbed. In Poland, on the contrary, the state would even support them, e.g. by returning the Cistercian monastery in Jędrzejów to the order in September 1945, although it was dissolved in 1819. However, restoration did not include all assets from before the dissolution, including 15 manors, tithes from founding areas, etc. (Gach 1990, 103). Whereas all monasteries were dissolved in 1950 in Czechoslovakia and Hungary (though only three operated legally in the latter, many others working in secret; Révay 2003, after Börge 2010), in Poland some monasteries were actually rebuilt. As Dominik Zamiatała notes

(2012), after 1945 due to political reasons Polish authorities closed religious cult sites and institutions ran by religious orders, including schools, children's homes, hospitals, and charity organizations (338-339). Zamiatała argues that this enforced modifications in pastoral activity. Lack of possibility to realize some of the original goals (apostolates, i.e. pastoral care, education, publishing, missionary activities) meant shifting to work in parishes (Zamiatała 2011).

Religious orders that lost their possessions in the Eastern Borderlands would be granted some in newly gained western and northern parts: "as compensation for resettlement [they would be granted] […] churches, buildings, fixed properties, and monasteries […] often post-Evangelical, as abandoned property. This was caused, among other things, by pressure from people resettled from eastern parts, who would not settle in places without a Catholic priest" (Zamiatała 2011, 20). Authorities would also fund religious orders, e.g. to rebuild the monastery in Tyniec in 1948 (3 million złoty) (23). In 1947 there were 295 male monasteries in Poland, five Cistercian and two Benedictine. After 1949 the authorities "tolerated the creation of new houses" (25), helping to build 250 ones until 1962, despite various restrictions and repressions discussed by Zamiatała (25). In 1949 there were already 431 houses. In the 1970s, their number rose from 504 (1971) to 547 (1976) (Zamiatała 2011, 26), while at the turn of the seventies and the eighties – to 626. The number of male orders and congregations thus rose to 45 (29). In 1955 there were 7,958 religious in Poland (religious priests, religious brothers, clerics, novitiates and postulants) (32), and 8,044 in 1963 (32), as compared to 6,562 in 1936. After the war, the number of religious priests rose, while that of religious brothers went down, indicating the internal reorganization of religious orders, which refocused on pastoral work. At the turn of the 1960s and 1970s there was a slight dip in the number of religious (there were 7,707 in 1977, including 4,242 religious priests) (36). In the 1970s and 1980s the rise of the number of religious priests continued, with 9,277 in 1981 and 12,117 in 1988 (40).

As Czesław Stryjewski shows, until 1950 religious orders would support themselves mainly through economic activity (1961). He estimates that religious orders used to hold ca 75,000 hectares of land. The 1950 legal act annexing so-called "dead-hand lands," i.e. ones that would not be sold, left them with 2,000 hectares for 458 male houses, and 7,500 hectares for 2,321 female houses, stemming from the fact that "houses would be left with an average of 5 hectares of land and religious structures" (155).

Female orders were in a different situation. In 1954, action codename "X-2" commenced on order from state authorities, leading to the "creation of eight work camps in areas of Kraków and Poznań for women religious from Lower and Upper Silesia" (Mirek 2014, 424). These work camps were created in monasteries from which the religious were removed. Overall, more than a thousand women religious ended up in these camps. In 1956, the Church and the government reached agreement, allowing them to return. Limiting their social activities made sisters refocus on parish work. Although in 1949 they would run 680 kindergartens, 73 day-care rooms, and 46 nursing homes, in 1967 they ran none. In this period there was also a radical drop in the number of schools with boarding houses (from 87 to 7), various dormitories (from 95 to 2), and children's homes (from 263 to 20) (Kłoczowski 1987).[18]

Religious orders and the development of civilization

From the very beginning of its existence, the monastic movement has been one of the major forces in civilizational development despite its repeated attempts to separate itself from the world. "In the tenth century, in the Latin Church and its entire civilizational circle, monasteries occupied a special place. It is possible to speak of monastic culture as the first, great European cultural elite created and crystallized already in the Carolingian period" (Kłoczowski 2010, 21). As Kłoczowski emphasises, monks and monasteries have constituted a vital, central component of the Western world since early on. In the Church itself they formed the intellectual and religious elite, while their institutions – the monasteries – grew in power (Kłoczowski 1987). Mediaeval monastic culture was the culture of social elites. This was rooted in the respect they enjoyed and the economic power that various religious orders would wield at their peak. From its beginnings, Western monasticism focused not only on contemplation, but also on missionary activities as well as scientific and didactic ones, involving research and transcribing. Jean Leclercq underlines that, for example, Cluny "was a place where culture developed,

[18] For a more detailed discussion of repressions introduced by communist authorities against female orders see: Mirek 2015.

a place where visual arts would be appreciated along with architecture, historical studies, and books" (2009, 137).

Albertus Demyttenaere (1996) has formulated a thesis about the "claustralization" of the mediaeval world, a process parallel to Christianization but occurring especially in the early Middle Ages. The claustralization of the West, he argues, means becoming akin to the monastery, i.e. becoming "cloister-like" (23). In his view it was rooted in the "implantation and dissemination of more or less closely tied religious communities. They created the conditions for the claustralization and Christianization of the outside world" (41). This process intensified with the growth of monasteries as "the rise in the number of religious communities was accompanied by their increasing pressure on the outside world, whether deliberate or not" (41). This led primarily to the overtaking of seclusion as technique by other social institutions, along with "related means of educating, organized hierarchically" (40). Thus, other social institutions copied the use of cell, e.g. seminars or universities "were patterned on monastic models" (39). These institutions borrowed pedagogical rules, institutional frameworks of teaching, and the idea of isolation from the outside world. Another technique copied from monasteries was confession, transformed from "a spiritual technique developed in monasteries into a sacrament, a sanctified mode of controlling human conscience, widely used by the bureaucratically and hierarchically organized Church" (41). As Marek Derwich observes, Demyttenaere indicates that "forms of monastic life developed to achieve the 'ideal' goal of personal and collective salvation were adapted for purposes of entirely worldly character" (Derwich 1996, 45).

The Middle Ages were a monastic epoch also because monasticism permeated into and influenced vital dimensions and institutions of religious, political, social, and cultural character. This was possible thanks to its unification (via the Benedictine Rule) and subordination to the power of the Bishop and the state, which led to the integration of monasticism with both Church and state authorities, shaping the social and cultural dimensions (including the liturgy, spiritual and intellectual life, art, administration, economy, and thus social advancement) (Kanior 2002).

Along with the creation of non-monastic orders, the influence of religious life on civilizational development changed its character. Through preaching and pastoral work, mendicant orders penetrated into other, non-elite social strata (mostly in cities, which held 10% of the population at the time; Kłoczowski 1964), expanding the reach of Christianization in these societies. It needs to be underlined that

preaching had the character of public teaching not only on the subject of Christian faith but also about related traditions, thus achieving a culture-shaping function. This entailed – as demonstrated above – changes in attitudes and worldviews as well as in the level of individual self-understanding. An important role was played in this by confession, which became obligatory for adult Christians since the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

Spreading of educational activities and thus building a foundation for general education was first connected with the mendicant orders, then the Jesuits. Various forms of education and upbringing (schools, sermons) would come to involve all social strata, both men and women (the Ursulines). The religious would also educate diocesan priests. This was intensified by the development of print, which facilitated transcending direct contact through oral communication, thus going beyond the sermon. In the twelfth century, new monasteries emerged specializing in social care, including running hospitals, e.g. by the Hospital Brothers of St. Anthony or the Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit. Through their activities in Europe and then beyond it, the religious contributed to the development of Christian culture. Kanior underlines that monastic culture would end with the rise of mendicants in the twelfth and thirteenth century. Mendicants established centres in cities with universities (e.g. Oxford, Paris, Bologna), taking over some departments. The meaning of science for mendicants (and vice versa) is best illustrated by the fact that Aquinas was a Dominican, while Duns Scotus and Roger Bacon were Franciscans. Mendicants would decidedly dominate at universities, occupying a central position in intellectual and spiritual development (2002).

In monastic culture – Kłoczowski notes (1964) – science was supposed to prepare one better for liturgy and help with personal growth. The change introduced by mendicants consisted in treating science as a way of "gaining culture [and finding] a springboard for personal career" (327), thus serving educational purposes. Scholastic culture developed not only at universities but also within a network of philosophical and theological education centres. Thus, monasteries would hold not only libraries and scriptoriums, but also schools. It was the mendicants who

> created the first Christian educational system, unified and centrally directed in line with deliberate assumptions […] not limited to internal schools for young religious, but including theological studies open to all interested. (Kłoczowski 1964, 332)

The system of education was developed by the Dominicans, who adopted the model of French university. An identical programme, featuring Aristotle, would be realized in all monasteries. All religious were obliged to study and each monastery would constitute "a school of perpetual theological education" (Kłoczowski 2010, 319). This system already functioned at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth century in the Polish Dominican province; towards the end of the fourteenth century, or at the beginning of the fifteenth, a general study for Dominicans was established in Kraków, effectively a higher school of theology. Kłoczowski argues that thanks to the educational activities as well as preaching and pastoral care – so dear to the mendicants – they played a huge role in Poland "in the field of religion and culture" (2010, 420), consisting in Christianization, or more broadly speaking, in developing the religious culture of the period's society, and contributing to the rise of Polish literary language.

Léo Moulin (1978) points out that the charitable work of the religious during the Middle Ages could be called "social care." However, in relation to monasteries their significance was not large. As Milis claims, referring to the Benedictines, "the practice of charity was a marginal phenomenon" in the late Middle Ages (1999, 57):

> one needs to correct the exaggerated and often uncritical image so widely held of their charity, that of vast crowds of poor people swarming daily about the gate, while father porter generously distributes bread. What did the thirty-six pounds of bread distributed daily by the Cluniacs mean in terms of structural relief, considering that, due to the benevolence of rich donors, these monks built three consecutive huge churches in a span of two centuries. (Milis 1999, 58)

The same pertains to hospitals, which the Cistercians and the Benedictines organized only for themselves, although there are examples of hospitals owned by the religious. Care was rather the focus of the Augustinians only, for example, who were not monks but religious.

As Kłoczowski sums it up in reference to the situation existing since the sixteenth century:

> Religious orders were firmly planted in the elites and the masses of Catholics, not just in Europe but around the world. Without them it is impossible to grasp the deeper changes occurring especially in European Catholic societies in the

> historically important period of the worldly expansion of this civilization. […] Today, from the perspective of a general history of whole societies, we speak of their acculturation, which occurred in the face of Catholic and Protestant reforms in the period between the sixteenth and eighteenth century. It entailed changes of the cultural foundation of masses of people, primarily due to deepened Christianization. In Catholic societies this acculturation has to be regarded in close connection with religious orders. (Kłoczowski 1987, 208-209)

The situation changed in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, a period in which religious orders suffered a crisis due to waves of dissolutions. It is not only the case that religious orders lost their economic and social position – their entire social context was transformed as absolutism made religion, unlike in former times, not just a matter of state but one subordinated to the state. At the same time, due to the development of modern states, tasks realized previously by religious orders – such as education or social care – began to be overtaken by state institutions. Generally speaking, monasteries that were not dissolved simply could find their place in the new world by adapting to it through increasing their engagement in social matters. Meanwhile, new religious orders would appear (as discussed above), orienting themselves towards charitable work, the kind that the state would not realize sufficiently. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, dissolutions decreased the religious orders' economic potential and changed their social position. The revival of religious orders, which began in the nineteenth century, could not restore these institutions' previous place in society due to shifts in their economic potential. Thus, up to the 1970s, the revival of religious life can be regarded as a process of transforming their social meaning and function. This subject has still not been properly researched. The next chapter offers a quantitative analysis of changes in religious life in the period between the 1970s and 2015. As these analyses show, Europe saw a sharp decrease in the number of women religious, religious brothers, and religious priests (to a lesser extent); this process is also visible in North America as well as in Australia and Oceania, and also on other continents – to a different degree – except for Asia and Africa, where increases have been recorded. Therefore, the question of today's significance of religious orders in the context of the civilizational process remains open.

Chapter Two. Changes in religious life since the 1970s in quantitative terms

The aim of this chapter is to analyse changes in the number of women religious, religious priests, and religious brothers since the 1970s. The analysis regards changes in the perspective of both entire continents and selected countries, primarily in Europe. The second part of the chapter discusses hypotheses explaining the described tendencies (primarily the downward trends).

Global perspective

Data presented in table 5 show that the post-dissolution revival of religious life ended at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s, at which point the number of women religious, religious priests, and religious brothers began to fall.[19] Closer analysis of this tendency makes it possible to conclude that it does not affect all continents, or all countries in Europe. Nevertheless, this tendency is clear, especially in the context of the rising number of Catholics around the world.

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[19] This chapter bases on data from *Annuarium Statisticum Ecclesiae* (hereinafter referred to as ASE) since 1974. Information about the number of women religious in selected countries can be found in: Stark, Finke 2000. This source and Kłoczowski (1987) constitute the basis of this conclusion.

Table 5. Number of members in male and female Catholic orders in Poland

Year	Number of Catholic religious priests and religious brothers around the world*	Religious priests	Religious brothers	Number of Catholic women religious around the world
1850	83,000	n/a	n/a	n/a
1875	88,000	n/a	n/a	n/a
1900	135,700	n/a	n/a	n/a
1930	211,000	n/a	n/a	n/a
1950	275,000	n/a	n/a	n/a
1965	335,000	n/a	n/a	n/a
1970	228,212	148,804	79,408	1,004,304
1975	215,840	145,452	70,388	968,526
1980	229,281	156,191	73,090	960,991
1985	215,369	150,161	65,208	917,432
1990	208,003	145,477	62,526	882,111
1995	201,847	142,332	59,515	837,961
2000	194,454	139,397	55,057	801,185
2005	191,357	136,649	54,708	760,529
2010	189,892	135,227	54,665	721,935
2015	188,371	134,142	54,229	670,330

* Kłoczowski does not provide the source of this data, nor does he precisely define what categories he joined on this list. Numbers after 1965 are the sum of two categories: religious priests and religious brothers.

Source: Kłoczowski (1987, 220) and personal calculations (since 1970 on the basis of *Annuarium Statisticum Ecclesiae*).

In the period between the 1970s and 2015 there was a fall in the number of women religious, religious priests, and religious brothers. In 1974[20] there were over 982,500 women religious and in 2015 – almost 32% less (670,000). The number of religious brothers fell by 23.2%. The smallest downturn affected religious priests – 8.7% (from almost 147,000 to 134,000). It needs to be taken into account that in this period world population increased by 87% and the Catholic population – by 82%. Consequently, the downturn presented in terms of the number of women religious, religious priests, and religious brothers per 10,000 citizens and per 10,000 Catholics is even greater. In 1974, there was an average of 2.5 women religious per 10,000

[20] *Annuarium Statisticum Ecclesiae* is the Vatican statistical yearbook published only in paper format and difficult to obtain. Access issues determine the fact that analyses begin in 1974.

around the world and in 2015 – just below 1. Referring this change to the number of Catholics around the world, the number of women religious per 10,000 Catholics dropped from 14 (1974) to over 5 (2015)[21] (cf. table 6).

Table 6. Change in the number of women religious, religious priests, and religious brothers in 1974-2015

	1974	2015	Change – absolute value (1974-2015)	Change – percentage (1974-2015)
world population	3,873,733,000	7,248,941,000	3,375,208,000	87.1%
number of Catholics	705,028,000	1,284,810,000	579,782,000	82.2%
Catholics – percentage in population	18.20%	17.70%	–	–0,5 %
number of women religious	982,627	670,330	–312,297	–31.8%
number of religious priests	146,887	134,142	–12,745	–8.7%
number of religious brothers	70,587	54,229	–16,358	–23.2%
women religious per 10,000 citizens	2.54	0.92	–1.62	–63.5%
women religious per 10,000 Catholics	13.94	5.22	–8.72	–62.6%
religious priests and religious brothers per 10,000 citizens	0.56	0.26	–0.3	–53.7%
religious priests and religious brothers per 10,000 Catholics	3.08	1.47	–1.61	–52.5%

Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

[21] It needs to be emphasised that the proportion of the number of women religious, religious priests and religious brothers to Catholic populations is rather imprecise for several reasons. First, the definition of a Catholic is problematic. ASE regards a Catholic to be a baptised person. However, the population of Catholics is diversified, e.g. in Poland the number of "orthodox Catholics" (i.e. ones accepting ethical rules and dogmas of faith developed by the Church) amounts to around one third of all Catholics (cf. e.g. Piwowarski 1984, Mandes 2012). Second, due to age differences, the actual number of Catholics who can enter a religious order differs depending on the country (Finke, Stark 2000). These analyses use this proportion only to describe changes in the phenomenon in question, as a result of which the above reservations do not apply here.

Adopting a geographical perspective[22] to examine this period allows one to notice that the downturn did not affect all continents equally. As far as the number of women religious is concerned – one of the three key categories to suffer greatest percentage falls – although the general fall around the world amounted to almost 32% (from 983,000 in 1974 to 670,000 in 2015), there was a rise in absolute values in South-East Asia, Africa, Central America (continent) and Central America (the Antilles) by 120.9%, 109.5%, 43.6%, and 24.9%, respectively. The greatest falls were recorded in North America (66.4%), Europe (55.1%) as well as in Australia and Oceania (54.4%) and in South America (19.6%) (see table 7).

Table 7. Change in the number of women religious in the years 1974-2015

Number of women religious – continents			
	1974	**2015**	**Change – percentage**
Africa	34,157	71,567	109.5%
North America	178,410	59,902	–66.4%
Central America (continent)	27,121	33,874	24.9%
Central America (the Antilles)	5,124	7,357	43.6%
South America	88,119	70,082	–19.6%
Americas – total	298,774	171,953	–42.4%
Asia – Middle East*	5,429	4,510	–16.9%
Asia – South East	75,491	166,786	120.9%
Asia – total	80,920	171,296	111.7%
Europe	551,752	247,743	–55.1%
Australia and Oceania	17,024	7,771	–54.4%
TOTAL	982,627	670,330	–31.8%

* Whenever South East Asia is mentioned, it is meant to include both South East and the Far East.

Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

Taking into account changes in both the entire population and the population of Catholics, the shift becomes even clearer. As it turns out, in Africa the number of women religious may have increased in absolute terms but there has been a fall in their number per 10,000 citizens as well as per 10,000 Catholics. In the years

[22] This analysis employs geographical categories used by ASE.

1974-2015, this proportion fell by 0.25 women religious per 10,000 citizens. As for the population of Catholics, in the very same period there was a fall from over 7 women religious per 10,000 Catholics to over 3. In South East Asia, on the other hand, there was a slight increase in the number of women religious in the general population (by 0.05 per 1,000 citizens), but their number in the Catholic population fell by almost 2.5. After taking into account the change in the number of women religious in the context of population changes, an increase was noted only in South East Asia) (see table 8).

Table 8. Change in the number of women religious per 10,000 citizens and 10,000 Catholics in the years 1974-2015

Region	Number of women religious per:	1974	2015	Change
Africa	10,000 citizens	0.87	0.63	–0.25
	10,000 Catholics	7.38	3.22	–4.16
North America	10,000 citizens	7.61	1.68	–5.93
	10,000 Catholics	31.74	6.79	–24.95
Central America (continent)	10,000 citizens	3.56	2.02	–1.54
	10,000 Catholics	3.84	2.27	–1.57
Central America (the Antilles)	10,000 citizens	1.95	1.74	–0.21
	10,000 Catholics	3.04	2.59	–0.45
South America	10,000 citizens	4.2	1.7	–2.5
	10,000 Catholics	4.57	1.97	–2.6
Americas – total	10,000 citizens	0.47	0.17	–0.3
	10,000 Catholics	8.88	2.75	–6.13
Asia – Middle East	10,000 citizens	0.47	0.18	–0.3
	10,000 Catholics	31.96	13.056	–18.88
Asia – South East	10,000 citizens	0.35	0.41	0.05
	10,000 Catholics	14.5	12.09	–2.41
Asia – total	10,000 citizens	0.36	0.39	0.03
	10,000 Catholics	15.06	12.11	–2.94
Europe	10,000 citizens	8.43	3.46	–4.88
	10,000 Catholics	20.94	8.67	–12.27
Australia and Oceania	10,000 citizens	8.22	2	–6.22
	10,000 Catholics	33.16	7.61	–25.55
TOTAL	10,000 citizens	2.54	0.92	–1.61
	10,000 Catholics	13.94	5.21	–8.72

Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

In the years 1974-2015 there was also a general fall in the category of men, greater among religious brothers than religious priests. The general fall in the number of religious priests amounted in the period 1974-2015 to 8.68% (to over 134,000), and in the number of religious brothers – to 23.17% (to over 54,000). Altogether, the number fell from around 1 religious priest and religious brother per 20,000 citizens to 1 religious priest and religious brother per 40,000 citizens, and in the Catholic population – from 3 religious priests and religious brothers per 10,000 people to over 1.5 per 10,000 Catholics. Just like in the case of women religious, the drop was not observed on all continents. The biggest rise, however, did not occur in Africa or South America, but in South East Asia (by 130% in terms of religious priests: to almost 26,500; and by 95% in terms of religious brothers: to almost 12,400). There was also a rise in the number of religious priests in South East Asia (by 43% to 1,324 religious priests), alongside a drop in the population of religious brothers (by 37% to 306). The biggest fall was noted on continents with the greatest number of religious priests and religious brothers, i.e. in North America (by 45.5% in terms of religious priests, to 14,600, and by 54.5% in terms of religious brothers, to 5,800) and in Europe (by 26% to almost 52,600, and by 53% to 16,000, respectively). One also needs to take into account that, in the studied period, North America and Europe saw a rise in the overall population, including that of Catholics (in Europe the proportion did not change and amounts to almost 40%, while in North America it rose slightly from 26% to 26.4%). After comparing the change in the number of religious priests and religious brothers, the number dropped from over a total of 1.5 religious priests and religious brothers (taken together) per 10,000 citizens in 1974 to almost 1 in 2015, and from almost 4 religious priests and religious brothers (taken together) in 1974 to almost 2.5 in 2015. In the area with the biggest rise in the number of religious priests and religious brothers – South East Asia – the total number of religious priests and religious brothers per 10,000 citizens slightly rose (from 0.08 to 0.09), while their number per 10,000 slightly dropped from almost 3.4 do 2.8, which means that the number of Catholics rose more than the number of religious (see table 9).

Table 9. Change in the number of religious priests and religious brothers in the years 1974-2015

Continent/area	Category	1974	2015	Difference	
				N	%
Africa	number of religious priests	11,477	13,510	2,033	17.71%
	number of religious brothers	5,441	8,781	3,340	61.39%
North America	number of religious priests	25,863	14,600	–11,263	–43.55%
	number of religious brothers	12,871	5,833	–7,038	–54.68%
Central America (continental)	number of religious priests	3,981	5,498	1,517	38.11%
	number of religious brothers	1,400	2,090	690	49.29%
Central America (the Antilles)	number of religious priests	1,606	1,528	–78	–4.86%
	number of religious brothers	670	991	321	47.91%
South America	number of religious priests	18,021	16,761	–1,260	–7%
	number of religious brothers	6,322	6,407	85	1.34%
Americas – total	number of religious priests	49,471	38,387	–11,084	–22.40%
	number of religious brothers	21,263	15,321	–5,942	–27.95%
Asia – Middle East	number of religious priests	925	1,324	399	43.13%
	number of religious brothers	499	306	–193	–38.68%
Asia – South East	number of religious priests	11,493	26,412	14,919	129.81%
	number of religious brothers	6,353	12,387	6,034	94.98%
Asia – total	number of religious priests	12,418	27,736	15,318	123.35%
	number of religious brothers	6,852	12,693	5,841	85.25%
Europe	number of religious priests	71,008	52,581	–18,427	–25.95%
	number of religious brothers	33,995	16,004	–17,991	–52.92%
Australia and Oceania	number of religious priests	2,513	1,928	–585	–23.28%
	number of religious brothers	3,036	1,430	–1,606	–52.9%
TOTAL	number of religious priests	146,887	134,142	–12,745	–8.68%
	number of religious brothers	70,587	54,229	–16,358	–23.17%

Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

Geo-temporal analysis of changes in the number of women religious, religious priests and religious brothers demonstrates falls in Europe, North America as well as in Australia and Oceania, and rises in Asia, Africa and Central America. In 1974, most women religious were in Europe (551,000) and North America (178,000) – places where biggest drops were noted, i.e. to 248,000 and 60,000, respectively.

In 2015, on the other hand, most women religious were in Europe (despite falls), and in South East Asia (167,000). Whereas in 1974 more women religious were in Europe (551,000) than beyond it (431,000), in 2015 more were outside Europe (422,500) rather than in it (248,000).

As table 9 shows, in 1974 most religious priests were in Europe (70,000) and North America (26,000). However, falls were recorded on both continents: to 52,500 and 14,600, respectively. In 2015, most religious priests – despite falls – were still in Europe (52,500) and in Asia, due to a huge rise noted in the latter: to 27,700.

Data showing general drops in three categories (women religious, religious priests, religious brothers) does not allow one to draw conclusions about a general crisis of religious life. Additionally, the situation in all three studied categories is different. As far as women religious are concerned, progressive falls were noted in Europe, North and South America as well as in Australia and Oceania, while on other continents rises in their numbers have been observed, which led to the following situation: in 2015 there were more women religious outside Europe than in it (which is opposite to the situation in 1974). Thus, two conclusions can be drawn: 1) a crisis of female religious life occurs in Europe and North and South America; 2) in regions other than Europe and North and South America female religious life has been developing.

As far as religious priests and religious brothers are concerned, the following conclusions can be drawn: 1) falls regard religious brothers more than religious priests; 2) a crisis of male religious life occurs primarily in Europe and North America, and – in relation to smaller populations – in Australia and Oceania, Central America (the Antilles), and South America; in relation to religious brothers, falls were not observed in the following areas, on the scale of the continent (though it needs to be emphasised that these are small populations): Central America (the Antilles) and South America; unlike religious priests, the fall in the number of religious brothers occurred also in South East Asia, but this is a very small population; 3) male religious life has developed mainly in Asia, and to a lesser extent in Africa and Central America; 4) also, in the case of religious priests and religious brothers it is possible to observe the process of "moving" religious life outside Europe. Whereas in 1974 there were 71,000 religious priests in Europe and almost 76,000 outside it, in 2015 there were 52,500 religious priests in Europe and 81,500 outside it. If we count religious priests and religious brothers together, the process becomes clearer: in 1974 there were altogether 105,000 religious priests and religious brothers

in Europe and 112,500 outside it, while in 2015: 68,500 in Europe and almost twice as many outside it – 120,000.

Further analyses focus on Europe, which provides the background for analysing the case of Poland, a country that distinguishes itself in Europe – aside from Central and Eastern Europe[23] – by a rise in the number of religious priests. Close analysis of the situation in Europe also allows to nuance the image of the crisis of religious life in Europe, which emerges from global data. Thus, further analyses begin with selected European countries and then separately examine selected countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

European perspective

At the beginning of the 1970s, Europe was home to the greatest number of women religious, religious brothers, and religious priests. In 1974, 56% of all women religious as well as 48% of all religious priests and religious brothers lived in Europe, while in 2015 – already just 37% of all women religious, 39% religious priests, and 29% religious brothers. Catholic forms of religious life, created in Egypt around the fourth century CE and developed in Europe since the sixth, in the twenty-first century became much more widespread outside Europe. From a quantitative

[23] The term "Central and Eastern Europe" calls for further specification because – like every region name – it is the product of processes in which various boundaries overlap: geographical, historical, political, economic, ethnic, cultural, and religious ones (Bański 2008). This study follows the definition coined by the geographer Jerzy Bański, who claims that "today, the concept of Central and Eastern Europe refers mainly to countries created as a result of the breakdown of the Soviet bloc. After the Second World War, this term referred also to all countries located between Scandinavia, Germany, Italy, and USSR, including Austria and GDR. […] Central and Eastern Europe thus includes Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, the Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia), former Yugoslavia (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina) as well as Romania, Bulgaria and Albania. Historically speaking, Central and Eastern Europe includes also western parts of Belarus and Ukraine. After possibly joining European structures such as NATO or the European Union they will probably be included in this category. Currently, they are rather treated as the western outskirts of Eastern Europe" (Bański 2008, 131). Despite doubts about including Ukraine in Central and Eastern Europe I have decided to do so in my own analyses due to the importance of processes in which Catholic consecrated life is developing there.

perspective it becomes clear that there has been a fall in the number of European religious priests, religious brothers, and women religious, which is accompanied by a rise in all of their numbers elsewhere. Falls recorded in Europe occurred in all three categories in all countries accounted for in the analysis (except Poland and Portugal), in which there were more than 10,000 women religious in the 1970s (only these countries have been included in the analysis).

Table 10. Changes in the number of women religious, religious priests, and religious brothers in the years 1974-2015

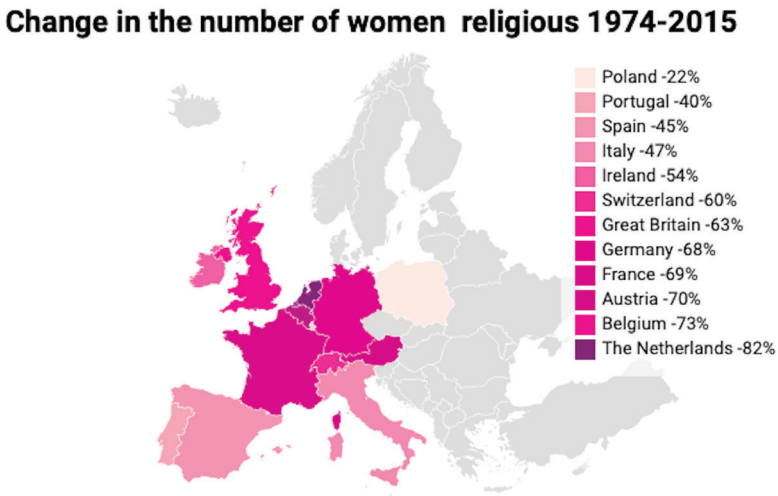
European countries with the greatest number of women religious, religious brothers, and religious priests		**1974**	**2015**	**Change**	
		N	**N**	**%**	
Austria	number of women religious	13,014	3,946	–9,068	–70%
	number of religious priests	2,588	1,579	–1,009	–39%
	number of religious brothers	764	472	–292	–38%
Belgium	number of women religious	29,205	7,816	–21,389	–73%
	number of religious priests	4,826	2,264	–2,562	–53%
	number of religious brothers	2,262	733	–1,529	–68%
France	number of women religious	91,538	28,548	–62,990	–69%
	number of religious priests	7,318	4,267	–3,051	–42%
	number of religious brothers	5,394	2,774	–2,620	–49%
Germany	number of women religious	69,665	22,182	–47,483	–68%
	number of religious priests	6,205	4,040	–2,165	–35%
	number of religious brothers	3,288	1,560	–1,728	–53%
Great Britain	number of women religious	13,905	5,110	–8,795	–63%
	number of religious priests	2,735	1,504	–1,231	–45%
	number of religious brothers	811	284	–527	–65%
Ireland	number of women religious	13,608	6,197	–7,411	–54%
	number of religious priests	1,938	1,810	–128	–7%
	number of religious brothers	2006	545	–1,461	–73%
Italy	number of women religious	150,179	80,208	–69,971	–47%
	number of religious priests	21,069	14,792	–6,277	–30%
	number of religious brothers	5,843	3,133	–2,710	–46%
The Netherlands	number of women religious	24,196	4,417	–19,779	–82%
	number of religious priests	4,136	1,270	–2,866	–69%
	number of religious brothers	3,179	657	–2,522	–79%

European countries with the greatest number of women religious, religious brothers, and religious priests		1974	2015	Change	
		N	N	%	
Poland	number of women religious	25,873	20,159	–5,714	–22%
	number of religious priests	3,895	6,704	2,809	+72%
	number of religious brothers	1,266	1,073	–193	–15%
Portugal	number of women religious	7,735	4,603	–3,132	–40%
	number of religious priests	853	907	54	+6%
	number of religious brothers	534	237	–297	–56%
Spain	number of women religious	81,643	45,139	–36,504	–45%
	number of religious priests	10,544	7,370	–3,174	–30%
	number of religious brothers	7,564	3,341	–4,223	–56%
Switzerland	number of women religious	11,029	4,465	–6,564	–60%
	number of religious priests	1,699	874	–825	–49%
	number of religious brothers	381	223	–158	–41%

Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

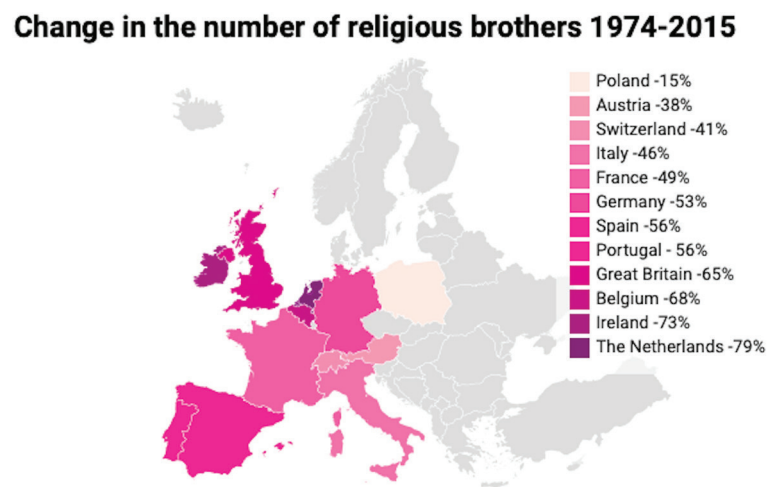
As is clear from data presented in table 10 and figure 1, proportionally the greatest fall in the number of women religious (in percentage terms) occurred in: The Netherlands (82%), Belgium (73%), Austria (70%), France (69%), and Germany (68%). Among countries chosen for analysis in the studied period there are none in which the number of women religious would rise. As shown in table 10 and figure 2, the number of religious brothers also fell in all of these countries, with biggest drops (in percentage terms) recorded in the Netherlands (79%), Ireland (73%), and Belgium (68%). As is clear from table 10 and figure 3, the decrease in the number of religious priests occurred in all countries except Poland and Portugal. In Poland, a huge rise was noted among religious priests (from 3,895 in 1974 to 6,704 in 2015 – a 72% rise), and a small one in Portugal (from 853 in 1974 to 907 in 2015 – a 6% rise). The greatest decrease in the number of religious priests was noted (in percentage terms) in The Netherlands (69%), Belgium (53%), and Switzerland (39%).

Figure 1. Change in the number of women religious in selected European countries (in percentage terms) in the years 1974-2015



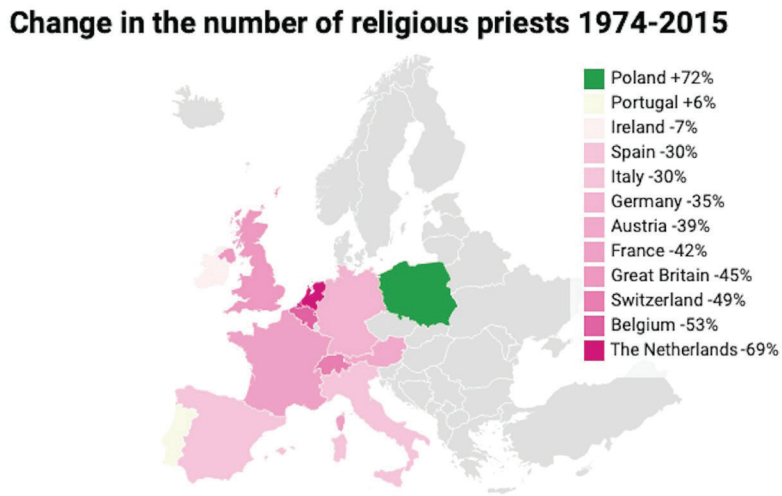
Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

Figure 2. Change in the number of religious brothers in selected European countries (in percentage terms) in the years 1974-2015



Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

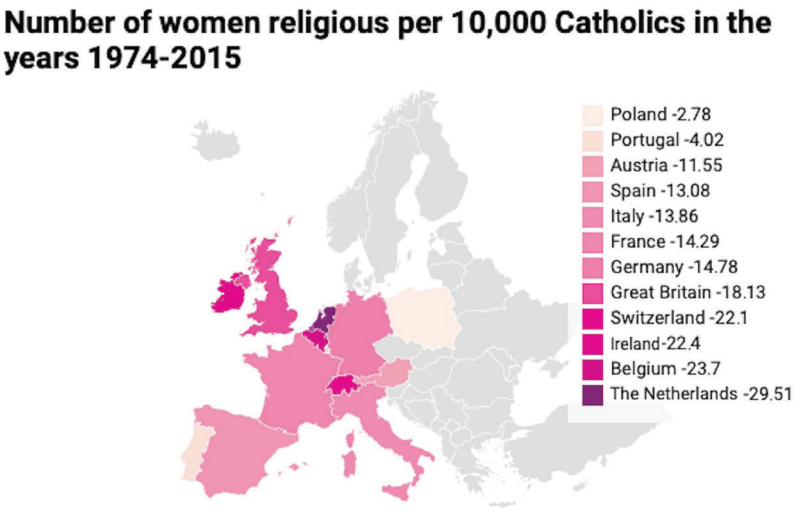
Figure 3. Change in the number of religious priests in selected European countries (in percentage terms) in the years 1974-2015



Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

Referring the number of women religious, religious priests, and religious brothers to the entire population can yield misleading results, because this does not take into account the changes in the Catholic subpopulation. This is why further analyses aim to indicate the scale of change on the background of the Catholic subpopulation. After taking into account the changes in the number of Catholics in these countries (in all of them, except Poland, the percentage of Catholics in the general population decreased), it clearly emerges what scale of decrease we are dealing with. As figure 4 shows, the difference in the number of women religious per 10,000 Catholics in the years 1974-2015 was smallest in Poland (almost –3, with change from 8.2 women religious per 10,000 Catholics in 1974 to 5.4 in 2015). The greatest decrease of this index occurred in The Netherlands (by –29.5), Belgium (by almost –24), Switzerland and Ireland (by over –22), Great Britain (by –18), as well as in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain (by around –14). Whereas in The Netherlands there were 39 women religious per 10,000 Catholics in 1974, in 2015 there were over 9, while in Ireland this number fell from 39 to 16.5, and in Switzerland – from 35 to 13.

Figure 4. Number of women religious per 10,000 Catholics in the years 1974-2015

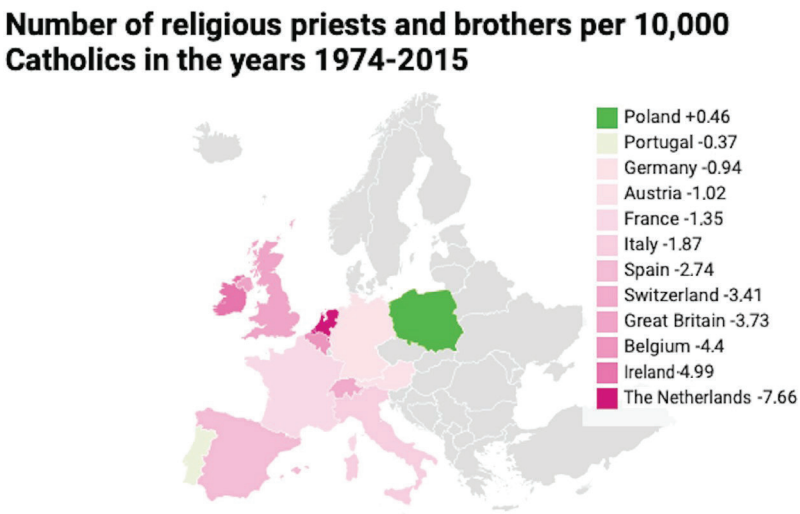


Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

The decrease in the number of religious priests and religious brothers per 10,000 Catholics in the years 1974-2015 was smaller than that regarding women religious. As figure 5 demonstrates, the greatest decrease was noted in The Netherlands (by –7.7) and Ireland (by –5), followed by Great Britain (by –3.7) and Switzerland (by –3.4), which translates into a decrease from 11.7 in 1974 to 4 in 2015 (The Netherlands), and from 11.3 to 6.3 in the analogous period in Ireland.

Let us now consider countries with the greatest Catholic population in Europe: Italy, France, Spain, Poland, and Germany. As figure 4 shows, in these countries the decrease in the number of women religious per 10,000 Catholics was as follows: by –14.8 in Germany, by –14.3 in France, by –13.9 in Italy, by –13.1 in Spain, and by –2.8 in Poland. As for the index measuring the ratio of the sum of religious priests and religious brothers to Catholics in the population of a given country, its fall – as is clear from figure 5 – is distributed as follows: –2.7 in Spain, –1.9 in Italy, –1.4 in France, and almost –1 in Germany. Only Poland noted a rise by 0.5.

Figure 5. Number of religious priests and religious brothers per 10,000 Catholics in the years 1974-2015



Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

Changes in the value of both indices have been noted both in traditionally Catholic countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Spain), and in Protestant ones (Germany, The Netherlands[24], Great Britain, Switzerland). Greatest decreases in relation to the same index of women religious were noted both in traditionally Protestant countries (The Netherlands: –29.5; Switzerland: –22.1; Great Britain: –18.1; except for Germany: –14.8), and in some Catholic ones like Belgium and Ireland. Among traditionally Catholic countries the decreases were smaller: from –11.5 (Austria) to –14.3 (France), except for Belgium (–23.7) and Ireland (–22.4).

As for the number of religious priests and religious brothers per 10,000 Catholics, the tendency is identical to the one regarding the index of women religious. As is clear from figure 5, this index was highest in three traditionally Protestant countries (The Netherlands: –7.7; Great Britain: –3.73; Switzerland: –3.41) and two traditionally Catholic ones (Ireland: –5; Belgium: –4.4). Meanwhile, in other traditionally

[24] This concerns the Protestant traditions in Germany and The Netherlands. Currently, calling them Protestant countries is a simplification because the number of Protestants and Catholics in Germany is more or less the same, while Catholics are the majority in The Netherlands.

Catholic countries analysed here this index is also negative, although its value is not as high (Spain: –2.74; Italy: –1.87; France: –1.35; Austria –1; Portugal: –0.37). Poland is the only country in this group in which this index is positive: 0.46.

A decidedly larger decrease characterizes the population of women religious rather than that of religious priests and religious brothers. Poland stands out on this background as it is the only country in the analysed group where the number of religious priests and religious brothers per 10,000 Catholics increased, while the number of women religious per 10,000 Catholics decreased to the smallest extent in the analysed group of countries.

The number of women religious decreased in all analysed European countries since 1974. This fall, expressed in the change of the number of women religious per 10,000 Catholics, is bigger in traditionally Protestant countries (except Germany) than in traditionally Catholic ones (except Belgium and Ireland). We also observe a decrease in the number of religious brothers and religious priests (except Poland and Portugal, where their number increased in the years 1974-2015). The decrease in the number of religious priests and religious brothers per 10,000 Catholics indicates a similar tendency to the one displayed by the index of women religious – it is higher in traditionally Protestant countries (except Germany) than in traditionally Catholic ones (except Belgium and Ireland).

Changes in Central and Eastern European countries

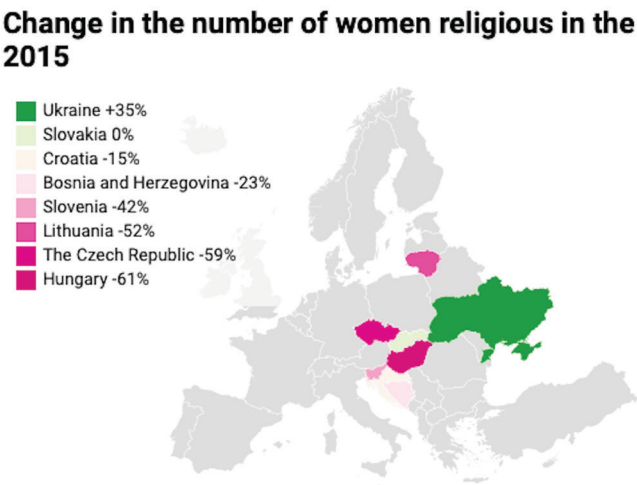
Poland departs from the tendencies discernible in countries analysed so far in terms of the change in the number of religious priests; however, just like in other countries, Poland witnesses a decrease in the number of women religious and religious brothers, and an increase in the number of religious priests. Due to the absolute number of Catholics, the countries analysed so far – not Central and Eastern European ones – constitute a better point of reference because Poland clearly distinguishes itself from its neighbours both in terms of the absolute number of Catholics and/or their proportion in the entire population.

Problems with analysing Central and Eastern European countries stem primarily from a much smaller number of Catholics in these countries, and also from the incompleteness of data. ASE does not provide any information on many countries from this region from before the 1990s.

To analyse tendencies in Central and Eastern Europe, a special key is adopted in this study. First, the analysis covers countries that not only have a Catholic majority but also a large total population: Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Hungary. This choice has led to the exclusion of countries like Malta. Second, three more countries were included in the analysis: the Czech Republic, due to its long historical tradition of religious life, as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Ukraine – countries where the Orthodox Church is dominant yet the number of members of religious orders are on the rise (in Catholic orders).

As is clear from figures 6 and 7[25], in Central and Eastern European countries covered in the analysis the number of women religious is falling, but on a different scale in different countries. In the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Lithuania the change amounts to 59%, 61%, and 52%, respectively; in Slovenia: 42%; in Bosnia and Herzegovina – 23%; in Croatia – 15%; lastly, no change has been noted in Slovakia.

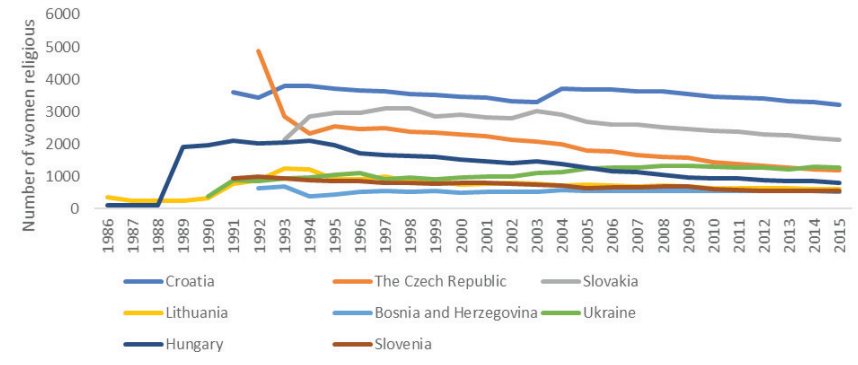
Figure 6. Change in the number of women religious in selected European countries (in percentage terms) in the years 1993-2015



Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

25 It needs to be emphasised that whereas data from ASE about other European countries than ones in Central and Eastern Europe are analysed since 1974, data about Central and Eastern Europe was not collected before 1986 (only since 1993 there is any data about all analysed countries).

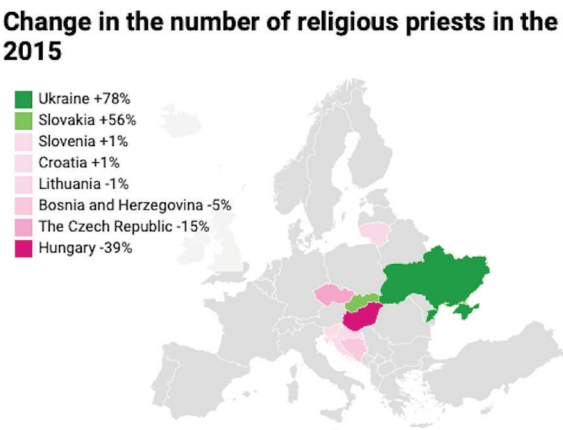
Figure 7. Change in the number of women religious in selected Central and Eastern European countries



Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

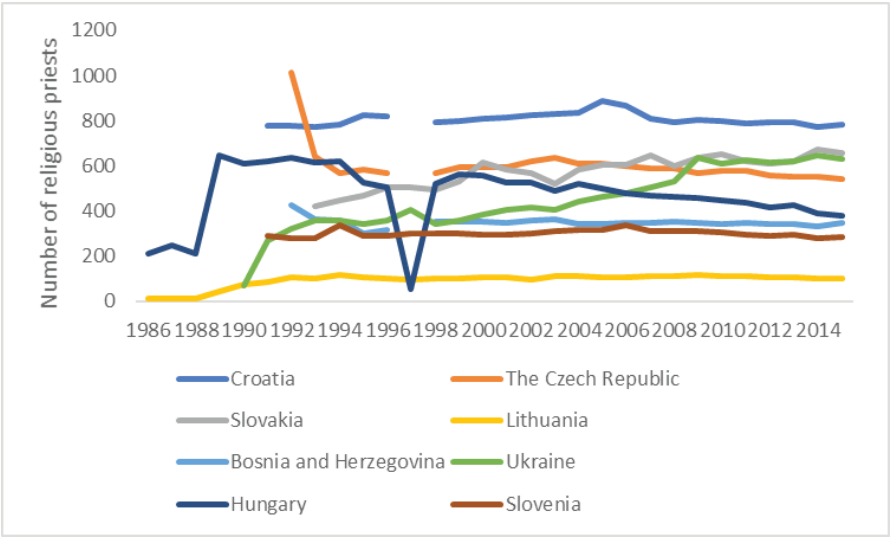
As is clear from figures 8 and 9, as far as religious priests are concerned, in the years 1993-2015 a rising tendency has been observed in Slovakia (by 56%), Ukraine (by 78%), as well as in Slovenia and Croatia (by 1%). The biggest fall was noted in Hungary (by 63%), in the Czech Republic (by 18%), and in Bosnia and Herzegovina (by 5%).

Figure 8. Change in the number of religious priests in selected Central and Eastern European countries in the years 1993-2015



Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

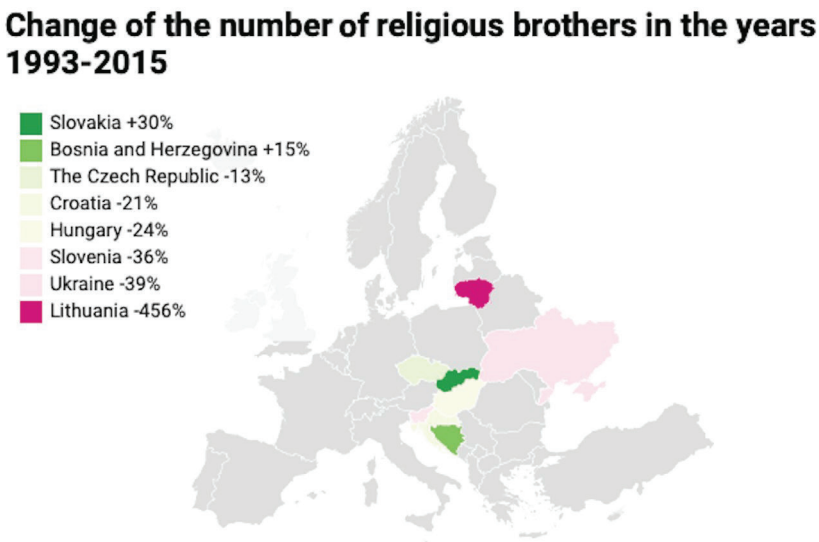
Figure 9. Change in the number of religious priests in selected Central and Eastern European countries



Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

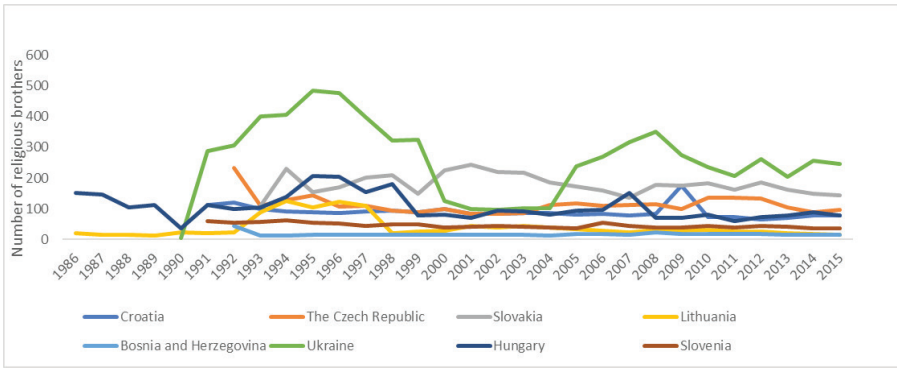
As is clear from figures 10 and 11, as far as religious brothers are concerned, two tendencies are visible in Central and Eastern European countries. The more widespread one is the decrease in their number. However, an increase has been observed in two countries: Slovakia (by 30%), and Bosnia and Herzegovina (by 15%).

Figure 10. Change in the number of religious brothers in selected Central and Eastern European countries in the years 1993-2015



Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

Figure 11. Change in the number of religious brothers in selected Central and Eastern European countries



Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

In analysed Central and Eastern European countries we can observe partially similar tendencies to ones noted in other European states. In the years 1993-2015 the number of women religious rose only in Ukraine – a country where the Orthodox Church is dominant – while in Ukraine and Slovakia there was a rise in the number of religious priests (also a slight rise was noted in Slovenia and Croatia – by 1%). Finally, the number of religious brothers rose in Slovakia as well as in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where Muslims are dominant and the Orthodox population is twice as big as that of Catholics.

Religious priests and religious brothers in various types of religious orders

What are the proportions of various historically developed forms of religious life in a general perspective? As it arises from table 11, in 2015 there were 225 different male institutes and 42 societies of apostolic life. The most common type of male institutes are religious orders, which have over 80,000 members of various status, and over 10,500 houses around the world. Clerical congregations have more houses – altogether over 13,000 – but have around 6,000 fewer members. Non-clerical congregations have over 3,300 houses and a total of 16,000 members, similarly to societies of apostolic life that have almost 2,800 houses and 17,000 members. Clerical congregations are the most diverse group, comprising 101 institutes, as compared to 84 orders. Among religious orders, mendicants have the most houses – over 7,200 – as well as most members of various status – over 46,500. Monastic orders, historically the oldest way of organizing religious communal life, have over 900 houses and over 12,000 members; they are also the most diverse group, comprising as many as 44 institutes. The smallest group is that of canons regular, with over 2,300 members and almost 250 houses. In total, male institutes and societies of apostolic life gather almost 190,000 men (cf. table 11). In the same year, there were over 415,000 Catholic priests as compared to 124,000 ones associated with institutes and societies of apostolic life. Unfortunately, data from ASE does not allow us to perform analogous calculations in reference to women religious.

Table 11. Male institutes and societies of apostolic life around the world

		institutes	houses	bishops	priests	permanent deacons	seminaristes	Non-priest religious	total
A)	Male institutes (Religiosa Instituta)	225	27,174	1,101	110,424	529	26,947	33,487	172,488
I	all orders	84	10,608	514	55,508	398	13,742	10,473	80,635
	canons regular (Canonicorum regularium)	14	245	12	1,833	17	293	160	2,315
	Monks (Monachorum)	44	924	73	6,643	93	1,884	3,613	12,306
	Mendicants (Mendicantinum)	18	7,261	351	32,664	252	8,058	5,292	46,617
	clerics regular (Clericorum regularium)	8	2,178	78	14,368	36	3,507	1,408	19,397
II	associations of clerics (Congregationes religiosorum laicalium)	101	13,264	586	54,323	119	13,139	7,692	75,850
III	associations of laymen (Congregationes religiosorum laicalium)	40	3,302	1	593	21	66	15,322	16,003
B)	societies of apostolic life (Societates vitae aposolicae)	42	2,673	140	13,611	65	1,878	1,359	17,053
Total A) + B)		267	29,847	1,241	124,035	594	28,825	34,846	189,541

Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

Religious orders in Poland today – number and scope of activity

The increase in the number of religious priests observed in Poland in the twentieth and twenty-first century, including the rise that began in the 1970s, distinguishes Poland on the background of Western European countries, although this rise has

been also noted in several Central and Eastern European countries since the 1990s (cf. the discussion above). Detailed data obtained during research show a change in the number of religious priests and women religious in Poland beginning from the fourteenth and sixteenth century. As is clear from data presented in table 12, despite the increase in the number of religious priests, currently their number is still lower than before the dissolutions. Additionally, the increase in the number of religious priests, observed since the 1970s, seems to be part of a rising tendency in light of data from previous years, a trend discernible in Poland since 1914 (according to the earliest available post-dissolution sources). The number of religious priests is not only higher than in the 1970s, but has also been systematically rising since that decade. The only exception is the 1980s, when a slight decrease was noted. There was also little fluctuation from year to year, but this has not affected the generally rising tendency observed since the 1970s (cf. figure 12). This trend will probably not last due to the ageing of the male population in religious orders (Lange 2014) and the fall in the number of order vocations. In the years 1992-2012, the number of seminaristes decreased by almost 68% – from 2,745 to 882, while that of aspirants and novitiates decreased in the years 1992-2010 by 60% (from 541 to 205, i.e. by 62%, and from 745 to 306, i.e. by almost 59%, respectively) (Tutak 2014). However, if we examine earlier data, going back to the 1970s, a partial increase in the number of order vocations can be observed since Poland's transformation, i.e. in the 1990s: "in 1971 in the orders' WSDs [higher religious seminars – M. J.] there were 991 students, while in 1994 there were as many as 3,128, the 215% increase being unprecedented in any country around the world" (Baniak 2010, 321; cf. Baniak 1997, 38). Baniak concludes that "in the period of thirty years spanning 1964-1994, the 'vocation boom' involved mainly contemplative orders, both male and female" (Baniak 2010, 322). The period marked by particular rises was the first decade of the pontificate of John Paul II (1978-2005), i.e. the years 1978-1986 (Baniak 2010).

As for women religious, the period of revival of consecrated life in the nineteenth century is also a time of an increase in their number. Whereas prior to dissolutions there were around 3,000 women religious, in 1937 there were already almost 17,000. The decrease in the number of women religious in Poland began in the mid-1970s. In the years 1992-2010 there was a two-thirds fall in the number of women religious in formation (Tutak 2014). The number of women entering religious orders is successively falling: whereas in 2000 there were 723, in 2005 there were 484, and in 2011 – 209. This translates into a rise in the average age of women

religious.[26] However, in 2010 this tendency regarded only apostolic orders, not the cloistered ones – among the latter a rising tendency continued until 2012 (there are twenty times fewer nuns in cloistered orders than in apostolic ones). In 2012, the number of nuns in cloistered orders slowly began to decrease. In 2012 there were altogether 1,355 nuns in 84 houses (including nuns after perpetual and temporary vows, novitiates and postulants), and in 2016 – 52 fewer.[27]

Table 12. Change in the number of religious priests, religious brothers, women religious, and houses in Poland since the fourteenth century

Year	Number of male houses (monasteries)	Number of religious priests and religious brothers	Number of female houses (monasteries)	Number of women religious
1300	132[a] (190)[d]	3,900[b]	43[c]	n/a
1520	283[a]	5,600[b]	n/a	n/a
1600	227	3,600[b]	31	840[b]
1650	410	7,500[b]	93	2,760[b]
1700	674	10,000[b]	111	2,865[b]
1772	884 (990)[e]	14,500	152	3,211 (2,723)[e]
1825	659	n/a	n/a	n/a
1864	272	n/a	n/a	n/a
1914	188	2,252[e]	n/a	n/a
1935	n/a	n/a	1,560	15,613[l]
1936	326	6,197 (1,564 religious priests, 2,150 clerics, and 2,483 religious brothers)	n/a	n/a
1937	n/a	6,430[j]	1,686	16,820
1939	n/a	7,646[f]	n/a	21,788[g]
1945	n/a	5,618[f]	n/a	19,671[g]
1950	n/a	6,942[f]	n/a	n/a

26 http://www.zyciezakonne.pl/wiadomosci/kraj/powolania-kaplanskie-i-zakonne-w-pol- sce-15503/ (accessed 10 January 2018).

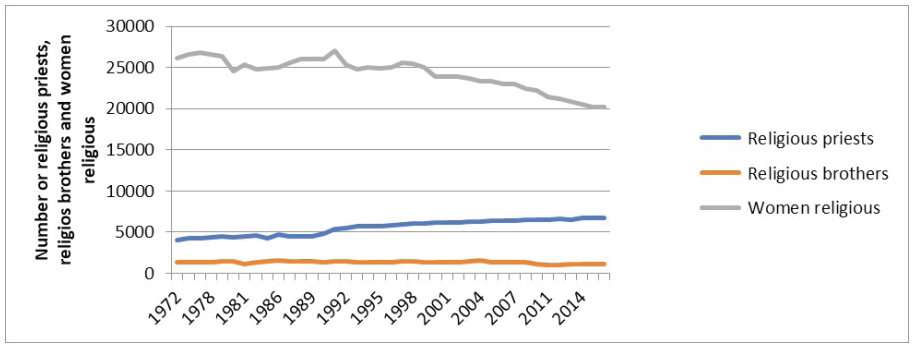
27 http://www.zyciezakonne.pl/wiadomosci/kraj/klasztory-kontemplacyjne-dane-statystycz- ne-2016-66338/ (accessed 10 January 2018).

Year	Number of male houses (monasteries)	Number of religious priests and religious brothers	Number of female houses (monasteries)	Number of women religious
1955	n/a	8,010[f]	n/a	27,748[g]
1960	n/a	8,168[f]	n/a	29,283[g]
1965	n/a	7,836[f]	n/a	28,807[g]
1970	n/a	7,624[f]	n/a	28,130[g]
1976	n/a	5,650[h]	n/a	26,541[i]
1980	n/a	5,778[h]	n/a	24,537[i]
1991	n/a	6,804[h]	2,774 (including 66 cloistered ones) (in 1990)	27,079[i]
1995	n/a	7,067[h]	2,717 (including 75 cloistered ones)	24,964[i]
2000	n/a	7,474[h]	2,634 (including 79 cloistered ones)	23,945[i]
2005	n/a	7,761[h]	2,574 (including 83 cloistered ones)	23,333[i]
2010	n/a	7,558[h]	n/a	21,892[i]
2015	n/a	7,777[h]	2,218 (data from 2016) (including 83 cloistered ones)	20,159[i] (including a total of 1310 cloistered onesk)

[a] abbeys and large houses
[b] estimate
[c] does not include certain groups like the Beguines
[d] data after Kłoczowski 2010, without counting over a hundred knightly orders
[e] Derwich 2012
[f] sum of religious priests, clerics, religious brothers, and novitiates
[g] sum of professed women religious, novitiates, and postulants
[h] sum of religious priests and religious brothers
[i] only women religious (perpetual and temporary vows)
[j] sum of religious priests, clerics, and religious brothers
[k] sum of perpetual and temporary vows, as well as novitiates and postulants
[l] only women religious who have taken vows, and novitiates

Source: author's calculations on the basis of: Annuarium Statisticum Ecclesiae in Polonia AD 2018, Kłoczowski 1987, Derwich 2012, Catholic Church in Poland Statistical Yearbook 1991-2010, ASE, Pirożyński 1935, 1937.

Figure 12. The number of women religious, religious priests, and religious brothers in Poland since the 1970s



Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

In 2011, there were 59 male institutes and 114 female ones in Poland. The number of members of male institutes staying in Poland amounted to a total of 8,983, including 6,323 religious priests, 1,174 religious brothers, 1,045 clerics as well as 441 novitiates and postulants. Female institutes had 21,464 members in 2011.[28] As table 13 shows, the most populous male institutes were (in descending order of the sum of religious priests, religious brothers, and clerics): the Franciscans (OFM), the Salesians, the Conventual Franciscans (OFMConv), the Jesuits, and the Pallottines. At the same time, it was the Franciscans, the Salesians, and the Jesuits who had the greatest number of aspirants, novitiates, seminaristes, and religious brothers in formation (Tutak 2014). In 2016, the greatest number of vocations was recorded in Franciscan orders (OFM – 178, and OFMConv – 136), in the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate – 108; in the Salesians – 105; in the Dominicans – 103; and in the Capuchins – 102.[29] In other orders, the number of vocations was below 100. In 2016, the very number of postulants among the Franciscans (OFM) amounted to 30, among Salesians – to 27, and among Conventual Franciscans (OFMConv) – to 24.[30]

28 The number of women religious after ASE.

29 Sum of all postulants, novitiates, clerics, and religious brother (including foreigners). Source: http://www.zyciezakonne.pl/wiadomosci/kraj/kwpzm-statystyki-dotyczace-powolan-zakonow-meskich- -polsce-2016-r-66363/ (accessed 11 February 2018).

30 http://www.zyciezakonne.pl/wiadomosci/kraj/kwpzm-statystyki-dotyczace-powolan-zakonow-meskich-polsce-2016-r-66363/ (accessed 11 February 2018).

Table 13. The most populous male orders in Poland in 2011

No.	Male institute	monks	religious brothers	clerics	sum
1	Franciscans (OFM)	697	161	126	984
2	Salesians	817	31	104	952
3	Conventual Franciscans (OFMConv)	406	151	83	640
4	Jesuits	393	47	93	533
5	Pallottines	372	51	50	473
6	Capuchins	287	88	46	421
7	Dominicans	255	22	56	333
8	Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate	208	37	54	299
9	Paulines	202	50	47	299
10	Redemptorists	256	16	21	293

Source: Catholic Church in Poland Statistical Yearbook 1991-2011.

As shown in table 14, in 1999 the largest religious orders in Poland were: the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul – 1,207; Congregatio Sororum Servularum Beatae Mariae Virginis Immaculatae Conceptae de Stara Wieś – 1,202; the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth – 882; the Ursulines of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus – 851; the Felician Sisters – 868; the Sisters of the Family of Mary – 827; the Sister Servants – 815; Congregatio Sororum BMV Addoloratae – Congregatio Filiae Beatae – 688; Congregatio Sororum Servularum Beatae Mariae Virginis Immaculatae Conceptae de Silesia – 668; Congregatio Sororum Servularum Beatae Mariae Virginis Immaculatae Conceptae de Dębica – 543 (Baniak 2010).

Table 14. The most populous female orders in Poland in 1999

No.	Female institute	Number of women religious
1	Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul	1,207
2	Congregatio Sororum Servularum Beatae Mariae Virginis Immaculatae Conceptae de Stara Wieś	1,202
3	Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth	882
4	Ursulines of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus	851
5	Felician Sisters	868
6	Sisters of the Family of Mary	827
7	Sister Servants	815
8	Congregatio Sororum BMV Addoloratae – Congregatio Filiae Beatae	688

No.	Female institute	Number of women religious
9	Congregatio Sororum Servularum Beatae Mariae Virginis Immaculatae Conceptae de Silesia	668
10	Congregatio Sororum Servularum Beatae Mariae Virginis Immaculatae Conceptae de Dębica	543

Source: Baniak 2010.

In 2010 male orders managed a total of 183 educational institutions (such as schools, kindergartens, psychological and pedagogical counselling services, or boarding houses), 173 charity organizations (day-care rooms, psychological and pedagogical counselling services, etc.), 1,848 institutions devoted to formation or otherwise specialist (including Neocatechumenal groups or retreats) and 1,102 institutions focusing on publishing, media, and culture (including internet websites and portals, radio stations, museums, or religious press). Other social activities of the religious include religious education, higher education (in 2010, 304 religious were employed at universities, apart from seminars – to compare, there were ten times fewer women religious in these positions) (Lange 2014).

Sisters work primarily as catechists (ca 2,000), in education and child-rearing as teachers or directors (ca 2,500), or in healthcare-related institutions, e.g. as nurses (ca 1,200). In terms of professional work, there has been a rise in this group since the times of the People's Polish Republic. In 2016, female orders would already run around 500 schools and kindergartens, around 60 boarding houses, around 210 care houses for children and adults, one hospital, several clinics and hospices, six publishing houses, and around 500 websites.[31] After 1989, apostolic activities developed in education, upbringing, healthcare, and charity – areas in which their activity was severely limited by the communist regime. For example, in the years 1989-2007 the number of kindergartens rose by 130, primary schools by 17, various secondary schools by 42, boarding houses and student halls by 55, and social care houses by 46. Sisters doubled their number of children's homes, established one shelter for the homeless, one for women with children, and three hospices. Sisters also developed new activities related to helping the elderly, the lonely, large families,

[31] http://www.zakony-zenskie.pl/statystyka/#1504104745091-7cb3c406-9524 (accessed 11 February 2018).

as well as children and youth from poor families. Finally, they opened a "baby box" (known in Poland as "the window of life") (Olech 2008).

In terms of their members, male institutes are a small fraction of the so-called apostolic force. As for the Latin rite, in 2014 there were 5,773 religious priests in Poland, compared to almost 25,000 secular priests (exactly 24,724) (Annuarium Statisticum Ecclesiae in Polonia AD 2015, 9).

In Poland, 34 secular institutes gather 1,100 members, the most populous being the Secular Institute of Mary Servant of the Lord (established in 1986), the secular institute Elianum (focusing on Carmelite spirituality), the female Secular Institute of Christ the King (established during the Second World War) and the Institute of the Immaculate Mother of Church. To compare, around the world there are 214 secular institutes with around 40,000 members in 184 institutes associated in the World Conference of Secular Institutes.[32]

Apart from the above-mentioned numerical changes there are no sociological studies that would account for the transformations of consecrated life in Poland after 1989. This calls for using other sources. In an article written for the Catholic Information Agency, Sr Jolanta Olech enumerates the following changes (referring only to female orders). First, the transformation facilitated legal changes with regard to orders and their property, which made it possible to regulate their situation in relation to professional status, financial matters (also by returning property) as well as healthcare and pension schemes. Second, there was a development of apostolic work, as mentioned above. Third, consecrated life was internally transformed: whereas under communist rule religious life would defend itself from the state (Sr Olech even speaks of a "fortress syndrome"), it now requires – according to her – further reflection on how to "exit the *fortress* and do not yield to the influence of *this world*." Fourth, a new generation of women religious is – as she argues – similar to that in Europe, which means that they "carry the values and dilemmas of contemporary times" (Olech 2008).

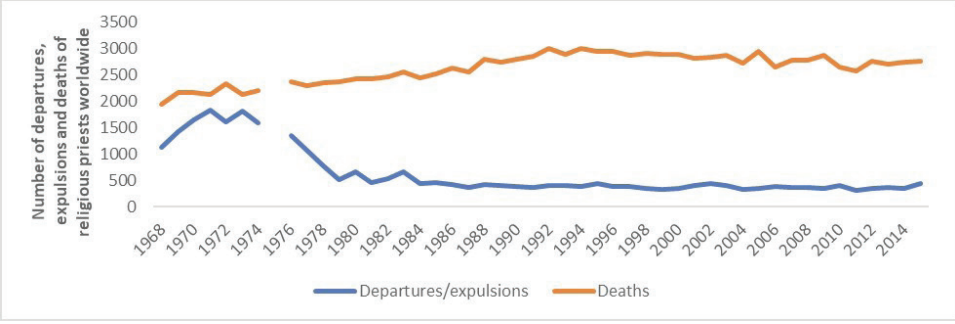
[32] http://www.zyciezakonne.pl/informator/instytuty-swieckie/instytuty-swieckie-542/ (accessed 12 February 2018).

Changes in the number of religious – explanatory hypotheses

The above analyses show that the global decrease in the number of women religious, religious priests, and religious brothers is not observed in every country on every continent. This tendency is primarily visible in Europe, North America as well as in Australia and Oceania, though there are European countries where rises have been noted.

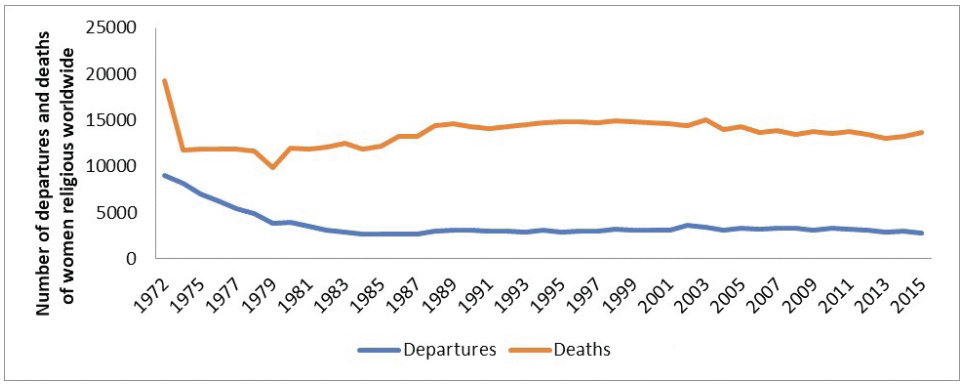
On the basic level, population in any religious order is the outcome of three processes: vocations, deaths, and departures from religious life. As figures 13 and 14 demonstrate, the level of departures among religious priests and women religious has remained more or less unchanged since the turn of the 1970s and 1980s, in global terms. The global downward trend is determined by the falling number of vocations, but it needs to be emphasised that closer examination of data on the level of countries and in relation to particular years shows that the periods of rises and falls interweave.

Figure 13. Number of departures, expulsions and deaths among religious priests around the world (different institutes as well as societies of apostolic life established on papal law; there is no data from the year 1975)



Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

Figure 14. Number of departures and deaths of women religious around the world (sum of autonomous and centralized houses, except for years 1986 and 1987, for which data covers only centralized houses)



Source: author's calculations on the basis of ASE.

Roger Finke and Rodney Stark (2000) surveyed and verified three main hypotheses explaining the downward tendency. The first hypothesis associates the fall in the number of vocations with the Church hierarchy's inability to respond to the changing attitudes and needs of young Catholics, who are unable to manage traditional sacrifices related to priestly or religious life, including celibacy and obedience to superiors. At the same time, they would expect liberal reforms, which have not been introduced (cf. e.g. Greeley 1972).

The second hypothesis underscores the importance of social changes that have secularized society, lowering the attractiveness of consecrated life among young Catholic women, creating instead many possibilities in life, especially in economically developed countries (Ebaugh 1977, 1993). In the historical perspective, in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth, Catholic women were able to hold higher positions mainly in institutions ran by female orders: schools, orphanages, hospitals, or other charitable organizations. In this sense, female orders gave women a chance to develop professionally and educationally, which was quite limited in the secular sphere. In other words, what attracted women to female orders, apart from vocation, was the chance for personal and professional growth. Thus, new possibilities to pursue professional careers outside orders contributed to the fall in the number of vocations as new, non-religious paths of development opened before women. Studies by Ebaugh, Lorence and Chafetz (1996), which take into

account fifty countries, have shown that the fall in the number of women religious is strongly tied to the levels of women's employment as managers and professionals, as well as to the improvement of their education. The higher the indices in these two areas, the bigger the fall in the number of vocations among Catholic women. However, Finke and Stark have verified these findings and concluded that the actual factor that is negatively correlated with the number of women religious is only that of economic development (GDP) of a given country, and not the increase in the professional capabilities among women (which is also correlated with the decrease in the number of religious priests and religious brothers).

The third hypothesis identifies the Second Vatican Council as the reason for the overall downward tendency. As Finke and Stark show, its influence was essential insofar as falls began right after it ended. As table 15 demonstrates, decreases began after the Council concluded in 1966 (USA, Canada, France, Germany, The Netherlands, though it began only in the 1970s in Portugal and Spain). The reason for the shift in the beginning of decreases was that Church hierarchy resisted some of the changes introduced by the Council, which was also related to the entanglement of national churches in authoritarian regimes whose fall led to the liberalization of both state and church, further contributing to the Council's decisions and leading to a falling tendency. As Finke and Stark underline, the distancing of various national churches in less developed countries was also responsible for preserving a higher number of vocations.

Table 15. The Second Vatican Council and the fall in the number of women religious. Lack of Italy stems from changes induced by the influx of women religious from abroad

	USA	Canada	France	Germany	The Nether-lands	Great Britain	Portugal	Spain
1962	177,154	47,045	110,665	90,392	32,654	17,773	6,459	67,426
beginning of the Second Vatican Council								
1963	180,015	49,352	105,543	89,876	32,667	18,272	6,872	67,584
1964	179,954	51,725	106,151	90,191	32,680	18,279	7,157	75,280
1965	181,421	52,760	106,810	89,038	31,773	18,115	7,090	77,492
end of the Second Vatican Council								
1966	176,671	51,770	105,131	89,204	30,776	18,294	6,958	79,704
1967	176,341	50,653	102,103	87,255	30,194	16,148	7,150	80,443

	USA	Canada	France	Germany	The Nether-lands	Great Britain	Portugal	Spain
1968	167,167	50,565	99,074	87,053	26,740	14,266	7,036	81,076
1969	160,931	48,111	96,899	86,994	23,038	13,195	7,500	88,817
1970	153,645	45,656	94,724	80,583	24,400	13,215	7,787	89,976
1980	122,653	38,858	87,791	68,782	22,034	11,968	7,818	80,524
1995	92,107	28,498	60,027	46,366	15,463	10,316	6,950	68,750
2015	47,056	12,836	28,548	22,182	4,417	5,110	4,603	45,139

Source: Finke, Stark 2000 (data from the year 2015 added by the author after ASE 2015).

Drawing on the theory of rational choice, the authors claim that the Second Vatican Council diminished the unique value of consecrated life in comparison to the vocation of lay people because all Christians have been defined as striving towards holiness (not just the consecrated), while consecrated life has been supposed to orient itself towards the world and not to flee from it by enclosing itself (as argued in three documents: *Lumen gentium*, *Gaudium et spes*, and *Perfectae caritatis*).[33] Using the theory of rational choice, Finke and Stark argue that these losses were never compensated for, either by lowering the costs of choosing this form of life (understood as following evangelical principles, separating oneself from the world, adopting celibacy, etc.), or by achieving awards in the secular sphere (lack of increase in prestige, or even its partial diminishing). Additionally, in relation to changes introduced by the Council, collective activities have been limited at the cost of the individual, which has further undermined the stability of these communities (Finke 1997; Wittberg 1994; Dialanni 1993; Finke, Stark 1992). In effect, as Finke and Stark argue, religious orders which embraced changes introduced by the Council left their members in a situation of increased costs of living and lowered awards for their effort, at the same time fostering individual activities at the cost of collective ones. Sr Patricia Wittberg, an American sociologist, characterizes these changes in the following way:

[33] Cf. the analysis of the social context of the Council's decisions in the context of religious orders in USA in: Neal 1971a and 1971b.

> Thus, by the 1980s, the original ideological framework that had legitimated and described Roman Catholic religious for eighteen centuries had been largely destroyed. Religious life was no longer a superior route to holiness; obedience and, to a lesser extent, poverty no longer meant what they once had; chastity [arising from celibacy – M. J.] was not holier than marriage and might even be unhealthy. (1994, 251)

This allowed Finke and Stark to pose the hypothesis that religious orders, which are characterized by more intense communal life and are strongly detached from secular life, have higher recruitment.

Yet another hypothesis – one that is not discussed by Finke and Stark – was formulated by Br. Seán D. Sammon (2001), who regards the crisis in identity terms. In his view, the above-mentioned changes introduced by the Council led to the crisis of identity among religious priests. In social reception and for these priests themselves, this category remains unclear, which hinders some people from choosing this imprecisely defined path of life (Sammon writes only about religious priests) (cf. also Talin 2005).

Closer analysis of vocations in Poland indicates, however, that this is a complex and multidimensional process. This stems primarily from the nature of vocation itself, which is a "continuous process unfolding within the personality of an individual endowed with religious charisma (i.e. vocation) and under conditions external to the secular and church society" (Baniak 1997, 191). Moreover, Baniak emphasises that vocation is a socio-religious phenomenon, i.e. one depending on "complex social configurations, but not relying completely on any single factor. Spiritual vocation also has a humanistic character and studying its sources is complicated" (189).

> The absolute generalization of the influence of external factors – secular and religious – on the number of inspired and realized vocations is not fully justified. Religious vocation ultimately turns out to be a process that is relatively independent of human mediation, including that of clergymen and church institutions, despite the fact that they constitute its foundation and main source of recruits. It would often happen that vocations are born and developed in places where parish and diocesan structures functioned poorly, where priests or religious would be associated with foulness, where the Catholic community had little to do with the spirit of the Gospels and the teachings of the

> Church, and where the physical conditions in the parish and family often made it difficult to inspire and realize the two types of vocations. (Baniak 1997, 187)

Despite these reservations, complex research on the question of vocations has helped to distinguish a range of factors affecting the emergence and cultivation of vocation. Baniak indicates in his studies the following factors: historical and political, social and economic, family relations as well as religious and church-related factors. Thus, the high local population does not translate into the number of vocations (large dioceses generate fewer vocations than smaller ones); there is a clear statistical relationship between countryside origins or farming professions and vocations as they emerge more frequently in more affluent families than poorer ones, in more numerous families rather than smaller ones, and in more religious ones, in which there is a tradition of vocations, rather than in ones without it. Individual attitudes and the personal approach to priests and the religious are crucial, just like diocesan, parish, and religious order activities (tradition of vocations in the parish and the diocese as well as diocesan and parish activities aiming to raise the number of vocations or generally boost the influence of these institutions) (Baniak 1997).

The current decrease in the number of male vocations in Poland is related, Baniak argues, to the following factors: "the weakening of interest in religious and clerical life among male youth, enforced celibate in Poland and in many countries around the world […], the distancing of a large percentage of male youth from Church and the clergy, as well as the diminishing of the sacred factor in Catholic families and the waning of religiosity among the youth" (Baniak 2010, 323). As for the decrease in the number of women religious, Baniak primarily suggests that it stems from lack of clearly religious motivation, which is revealed in the process of formation (Baniak 2010). In the case of both male and female vocations a negative role is also played by the media, which present and popularize lifestyles different from religious ones (Baniak 2012).

As for the dwindling population of women religious, Sr Jolanta Olech points to other important factors. First, she draws attention to the fact that the current decreases follow a period in which religious life flourished (in the nineteenth century), which stemmed from the time's social needs. Women religious were very active in areas such as education, care, upbringing, and charity. Although she does not mention this, it needs to be added that these areas are now also handled by secular institutions, which forces religious institutions to compete with them for

clients. Thus, the fall in the number of female vocations can be explained by the greater number of non-religious institutions that allow women to realize themselves professionally. Secondly, she points out that the process of secularizing the Polish society has led to the lack of "upbringing to vocation," which means that this way of life is simply not taken into account. The situation is all the more difficult because the sacrifices entailed by this way of life are not considered a value in contemporary culture, including the socially promulgated model of womanhood. Thirdly, she claims that the Second Vatican Council has not developed a clear vision of what religious life would involve, which does not help to attract candidates, posing the question "whether women religious are [in fact] really wanted by the Church and people" and "what would be their place in today's world" (in terms developed by Sammon, this would concern the crisis of identity, not only individual but also institutional):

> The image of a woman religious held by people and sometimes even by priests is not desirable in spite of all changes. Lack of clarity regarding the role and place of consecrated women in the Church causes vocations to be embarrassing, feared and generally negatively approached by families and even those conducting pastoral work. (Olech 2008)

At the same time, she emphasises that the reception of the Second Vatican Council in Poland was much more limited than in Western countries, which means that treating its provisions as a crucial factor in the crisis of female religious life is simply incorrect.

Fourthly, she indicates that new, competing forms of activity in the Church are being developed by various movements and organizations. Sr Olech offers the following summary of the current condition of female religious life:

> We feel that the time in which we live is also one of transformation and crisis for us (let us hope that it is a crisis of an upward tendency…). We also sometimes experience exhaustion and lack of enthusiasm. We observe secularizing tendencies in ourselves and in our communities: weakening of faith and hope, intensifying individualism, and the increasing tendency to choose an easier life. We sometimes fear approaching new assemblies, which calls for courage and forces one to take risks. We experience anxieties related to the falling

> number of vocations and diminished faith, often being unable to deal with this, primarily in spiritual terms. We sometimes feel unappreciated in the church community, and insufficiently acknowledged as consecrated women. One could continue this list of our anxieties, pains, and dilemmas. We also recognize that the best cure for these calamities is to begin always anew from Christ. (Olech 2008)

The above hypotheses explaining the decreases noted in Poland along with their irregularity can be supplemented with those offered by Finke and Stark. First, high economic development is correlated in given countries with the fall in the number of vocations. Second, religious orders that lead intense communal life and are more clearly separated from secular life boast more candidates. The latter hypothesis has been confirmed by the fate of female orders in Poland until 2012. Unfortunately, it seems impossible to conduct an analogous analysis in relation to male orders for two reasons: first, due to the ministry carried out by the religious, which entails adopting, at least partially, a way of life beyond enclosure (also, being a brother does not mean living an enclosed life insofar as it involves various duties); second, this is due to changing patterns of functioning because currently most monastic orders – which have been traditionally oriented towards separation from the world – also undertake a range of activities beyond the order's walls, thus obliterating the division into monastic orders and other ones – a division that could be the basis for such reasoning but is incorrect. In other words, factors responsible for the fall in the number of male and female vocations are different, at least partially.

It also needs to be emphasised that despite general decreases in specific geographical regions the downward tendency does not concern all orders. For example, in American male institutes a fall by as many as 57% has been noted since the 1970s among religious priests and religious brothers. This fall concerns both large and small institutes (in terms of the number of their members). Nevertheless, a slight numerical rise (587 members) and a huge one in percentage terms (by as much as 93%) was observed in thirteen institutes. The biggest rise was noted in the Legion of Christ, which gained almost 370 members, while others recorded rises by several or several dozen members. This is related to the fact that many religious are sent to USA from abroad (Palacios, Gaunt, Gautier 2015). One factor that slows the decreases is the rise in the number of vocations among ethnic groups other than the Anglo-Caucasian, hailing from outside USA (Berrelleza, Gautier, Gray 2014).

Hypotheses explaining these decreases focus on religious life and thus explain the change in one of the forms of consecrated life. The Second Vatican Council also brought about a transformation of religious life and stimulated the development of new forms of consecrated life, which have come to compete with various forms of religious life, attracting people wishing to realize their "call" for life devoted to God outside such institutions. In USA, for example, the Council initiated a revival of female institutes and introduced divisions stemming, among other things, from debates on the forms proposed as part of this revival. Divisions not only led to the creation of new institutes, but also to many departures from religious life by way of granting dispensation from religious vows. For example, mass departures were noted in the California Institute of the Sisters of the Most Holy and Immaculate Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The reason behind this was that the revival in the spirit of the Council, initiated by women religious, met with strong opposition from Cardinal McIntyre, the Archbishop of Los Angeles, who forbade changes. Most sisters, however, did not change their mind after the Cardinal prohibited them from teaching in diocesan schools. The conflict was appeased by a special Vatican commission, but the outcome was that only 50 women remained in the institute, while over 300 filed for dispensation from vows and established a secular movement – the Immaculate Heart Community – which evolved, according to its members, from a Catholic female institute into an "inclusive, ecumenical 'community without borders' created for men and women, married or not, of different sexual orientations and representing various Christian denominations."[34]

Since the mid-1960s, new forms of consecrated life have been developing – ones that depart from former, historical divisions, e.g. secular institutes or new monastic communities such as the Monastic Fraternities of Jerusalem. Secular institutes were recognized by the Vatican towards the end of the 1940s, e.g. Opus Dei. They are formed by laymen who do not live together and are variously active in different areas of social life, working yet at the same time taking religious vows. In Poland this category is represented for example by the Primate Wyszyński Institute, the Secular Institute of the Transfiguration, or the Holy Family Institute.[35] Currently, such institutes function on all continents except Australia, most of them in Europe. Sr Olech also points out that certain institutes existing before the Second Vatican

[34] https://www.immaculateheartcommunity.org/rootshistory.html (accessed 12 January 2018).

[35] For more see: http://www.kkis.pl/index.php/instytuty-swieckie (accessed 12 January 2018).

Council also noted increases, and that there is a rising number of new institutes approved by the Vatican and gaining papal rights (Olech 2008).

As for the new monastic communities, due to their diversity there are no accounts helping to determine their number. The development of such communities nevertheless indicates that forms of consecrated life are evolving and – as stated above – can be regarded as an institutional competition to older forms of religious life (Wittberg 1997). Lack of precise quantitative data regarding the development of non-order forms of religious life, difficulties with their classification as well as with recognition by the Vatican make it impossible to estimate to what extent the rise of the number of people practicing certain non-order forms of religious life constitutes a counterbalance to the decrease in the number of order members. Still, the hypothesis about the "outflux" of people seeking religious life (in the basic, broad understanding of Catholic character) outside historically established forms can be regarded in this light as probable and important for further study, constituting a vital contribution to analyses of the "crisis" that emerges from the above data.

While assessing the entire phenomenon of consecrated life one needs to take into account not only the falling number of members and the emergence of new forms, but also changes in the social significance and functioning of older forms, i.e. religious orders. The social significance and functioning are meant to indicate the position of certain institutions, both in the broader context of a given society and in the narrow sense of a given local community, manifesting in socially ascribed meanings and realized functions. The fact that a given religious order has few members or that there are not many vocations realized in it does not mean that its social significance is low or does not increase. This kind of situation is observed in relation to monastic orders, e.g. the Benedictines, who engage in broad scientific activities, including publishing and other efforts (this phenomenon is described in greater detail in the Polish context below). Social significance also manifests in the form of increased interest in orders regardless of the religious or related dimensions, as in the case of popular products made in monasteries, or their "leisure" offer, including meditation or other forms (cf. Metzger, Feuerstein-Prasser 2008, 229). Finally, as is confirmed by results of studies carried out for the purpose of this book (discussed further), it has been observed that monasteries gain extra-religious significance apart from the religious one, which means that it is impossible to identify the condition of a monastery with the religious community to which it belongs. For instance, even in local districts where there are

no monks – as in the case of the Cistercians, examined in this study – the import of their past remains a significant component in their functioning. In other words, the question of the condition of forms of consecrated life cannot be thoroughly accounted for by studying the number of members in specific orders, which appears to be an obvious conclusion given their multidimensional significance that clearly emerges when adopting a historical perspective.

Chapter Three.
Sociological studies of religious orders

The state of sociological studies on religious life is definitely more modest than that of historical and theological ones, which do not constitute the primary field of analysis in this book. Nevertheless, it needs to be underlined that modern historiography of religious orders has been developing since the seventeenth century, when the Jesuits (the Bollandist Society) and the French Benedictines from the Congregation of Saint Maur began to work on available source texts about religious orders and saints in the Catholic context (history of the Benedictines). Polish religious would also undertake this kind of research in that period. During the Enlightenment, the approach to religious orders was critical, which was a typical attitude towards all manifestations of religious life. This approach changed along with the advent of Romanticism when religious orders began to be an object of interest and certain fascination. Despite this, during the nineteenth century the critical perspective did not disappear as both Church and religious orders were regarded as the anchor of conservatism, hindering development and progress. This perspective – widespread in both Poland and Europe – is exemplified by the 1910 book *Historia zakonów w Polsce* [History of religious orders in Poland] by Natalia Gąsiorowska, which repeats – among other claims – the nineteenth-century allegation that the Jesuits have contributed to the fall of Poland as a result of the partitions. Parallel to this trend, since the end of the nineteenth century religious orders have been developing their own historical centres researching their history. Kłoczowski indicates that two tendencies can be discerned in nineteenth-century studies of religious culture: lay historians would be primarily interested in how the religious have contributed to changes in culture and economy, while religious historians would focus on the question of spirituality (Kłoczowski 1987). It seems that this tendency is now changing as the religious are taking up historical studies (cf. e.g. Zamiatała 2011, 2012; Kanior 1993, 2002), at the same time developing studies in spirituality (cf. e.g.

Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów in Tyniec). Since the nineteenth century historical research has been developed in areas such as India, Buddhism, and Islam, including accounts of the specific character of their monastic culture (cf. Kłoczowski 1987). As Kłoczowski summarizes it, the nineteenth-century aversion to religious culture gave way to the currently growing interest and more objective analyses (1987).

The major classic sociologists who researched religious orders, mostly monasticism, were Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch. Up until the 1950s this phenomenon was rarely taken up by sociologists. A moderate change occurred at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s, sparked by the onset of a crisis in religious life in Europe and North America, and by the Second Vatican Council. Religious themes came to constitute at that time a point of reference for broader analyses (Michel Foucault) as well as ones focusing solely on this phenomenon. In Poland, sociological studies on religious orders took a different course by focusing primarily on the question of vocation, with the exception of analyses conducted by Rev. Witold Zdaniewicz (a Pallottine) and later by Sr Jadwiga Cyman (a Sister of Saint Elizabeth). This chapter analyses Catholic religious culture around the world.

Max Weber's studies in monasticism

According to Jean Séguy (1984) and Paul-André Turcotte (2014), Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch should be regarded as the two major sociologists of their time who would take up the subject of religious orders, mostly monasticism, although neither of them developed a systematic approach despite touching upon a number of related issues such as the relations with the Church or the matter of asceticism. Troeltsch defines monasticism in terms of adapting the sect-model within the Church, though he does not identify it as a sect per se, indicating at the same time that different forms of religious life could establish different relations with the Church (including opposition to it) and with the "world" (Turcotte 2014, 269; Troeltsch 1923, 1925). He also analyses the changing forms of monasticism, drawing attention to their social significance and areas of activity. Troeltsch's analyses as well as later ones inspired by his work consider it essential to introduce a third type of religious communities – ones based on mysticism (outside the Church or sect). As Zdzisław Krasnodębski emphasises, Troeltsch's 1912 study *Die Sociallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* influenced Weber's research programme

(especially the development of theses formulated in *The Protestant Ethic…*) because he recognized that Troeltsch had already realized a part of his own planned research (Krasnodębski 2000). It was Weber, however, and not Troeltsch, who – as I would argue – is the key figure in sociological studies of religious orders. This is why his analyses of this phenomenon receive more attention in what follows.

Monastic themes feature in Max Weber's early and late writings in connection with his reflection on religion. At first, he would discuss monastic culture in the context of Protestant ethics and its relation to modern capitalism (*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, 2005). At that stage of his career, he made Catholic religious life an important component of argumentation about the significance of earthly asceticism (he would treat the latter as the source idea of the former), and more broadly in the context of developing modern economic rationalism (regarding asceticism as the source of rational techniques organizing ways of living). Later, in studies of religion in India and China (1958, 1959), which contain texts characterized by a historical and genetic approach, he adopts his earlier thesis to analyse world religions, seeking to establish their relations with rationalism and economic ethic. This project led him, for example, to broadly discuss ascetic principles as well as forms of monastic life and its social realizations (e.g. in the form of monasteries) in Buddhism. Weber indicates, for example, that in Buddhist religious orders it was impossible to develop a rational economic ethic.

> Buddhism denies any form of rational asceticism. Just as every rational asceticism does not constitute flight from the world so not every flight from the world represents rational asceticism – as convincingly shown by this example. […] Buddhist salvation is anti-ascetic if one conceptualizes, as we wish to do here, asceticism as a rational method of living. […] Thus, there is lacking an element which in occidental monkhood increasingly developed and signified so much, namely, the strain toward rational method in life conduct in all spheres except that of the pure intellectual systematization of concentrated meditation and pure contemplation. (Weber 1958, 219-220, 222)

In turn, while comparing Confucianism and Protestantism, he argues that

> [t]he contrast can teach us that mere sobriety and thriftiness combined with acquisitiveness and regard for wealth were far from representing and far from

> releasing the "capitalist spirit," in the sense that this is found in the vocational man of the modern economy. (Weber 1959, 247)

In *Economy and Society* (1978), a posthumous collection of theoretical texts edited by Marianna Weber, references to monasticism have a different role in his argumentation. Comparisons of Western and Eastern monasticism allow him, among other things, to analyse the question of the institutional character of how religions function, as well as the relation between religious life and political or bureaucratic control (Silber 2001, Turcotte 2014). Chapter XV from Volume II ("Political and Hierocratic Domination") is specifically devoted to the subject of religious life, demonstrating the huge scope of Weber's analyses. He compares the activities of monks in different religions, indicating, for example, similarities in terms of institutional relations with spiritual authorities, or the spectacular economic successes that contradict the declared poverty. Analysing the process of transforming personal charisma into an official one, and more broadly the institutionalization of faith within various "Churches,"[36] resulting in rational operation focusing on "administering divine blessings" (Weber 1978, 1165), Weber notes that within a developed hierocratic organization monks pose a structural problem insofar as they refer to personal charisma and not the official one that emerged out of the former, thus leading to charismatic competition. Hindu, Buddhist, Islamic, and Christian monks cause that

> [t]he radical demands of the revolutionary and almost always eschatological charisma can never be realized within those religious organizations that insist upon compromises with the economic and other mundane power interests, and the withdrawal from the world – from marriage, occupation, office, property, political and any other community – is only the consequence of this state of affairs. (Weber 1978, 1166)

This attitude creates the personal charisma of ascetics, monks, or – more broadly – the religious, competing with the hierocratic organization. Nevertheless, as Weber emphasises – "Churches" of various denominations would not eliminate charismatic

[36] Quotation marks after Weber.

competition but rather negotiate with it. Christianity, for example, would attempt to reinterpret asceticism as an element of its own organization:

> Friction and compromise can be observed most clearly in the Occidental church, whose internal history is largely made up of them. Eventually a consistent solution was found by integrating the monks into a bureaucratic organization; subject to a specific discipline and removed from everyday life by the vows of poverty and chastity, they became the troops of the monocratic head of the church. (Weber 1978, 1168)

Economic, artistic, and architectural successes achieved by monks in various religions – contradicting the ideal of *fuga mundi*, which was supposed to define this form of life – are identified by Weber in the transformation of asceticism from an ecstatic technique or a contemplative bond with God into a set of "methodical practices" (1169). The process of charisma "going stale" and rationalizing ways of life is characteristic for monastic movements in various religions. This manifests, among other things, in highly specific organization of collective life, detailed directions regarding ascetic practices, and the formalization of recruitment and formation, which were institutionalized in the form of rules. The methodology of monastic life would thus become an efficient tool of managing and realizing other "worldly" projects:

> The very fact that the monks were a community of ascetics accounts for the astonishing achievements that transcend those attainable through routine economic activities. Among the believers the monks are the elite troops of religious *virtuosi*. (Weber 1978, 1170)

Weber tackles the theme of the monks' attitude to hierocratic and political power by indicating how it was gradually tied to the goals of the Church as monastic forms developed, and how asceticism was increasingly rationalized and consequently oriented towards discipline. This process received its final form in the case of the Jesuits. Weber emphasises that monks would not only "become the bodyguard of hierocracy" (1181), but would also make rationalization a part of church organization, ultimately affecting specific solutions such as celibacy.

What follows[37] is a development of the subject of relations between monasticism and rationalism in Weber's work on the basis of *The Protestant Ethic…* – a phenomenon I consider to be crucial in his account of this matter.[38] The thesis about the

[37] The subsequent part of the chapter was originally published – almost unchanged – in the journal *Roczniki Historii Socjologii* (Jewdokimow 2016).

[38] A note on terminology and translation issues is in order. As noted in Chapter One, the difference between monasticism and religious life can be variously described. Weber is not unambiguous in this respect because he uses terms like "monastic" (*klösterlich*), "monasticism" (*Mönchtum*), or "monk" (*Mönch*) in different meanings that overlap with broader terms such as religious or religious life. It needs to be taken into account that – as noted by Isabelle Jonveaux, Stefania Palmisano and Enzo Pace (2014) – "Max Weber, for instance, speaks about 'monks' and apostolic orders, such as Jesuits, without making a clear distinction between the two. This is also because not all languages use two different terms for these approaches. Although French and Italian have at their disposal the terms 'moines/monaci' and 'religieux/ religiosi,' it is not the same in German, for instance, which uses 'Mönche' in both cases. The word 'Ordensleute' ('religious') would be correct, but only 'Mönche' ('monks') is used. This explains why Max Weber did not feel the need to make the distinction, and the special situation of German and Austrian monasticism also justifies this amalgam between both kinds of religious life" (XIV-XV). In my view, this matter could be regarded from a different perspective. Weber did not focus so much on differences arising from theological decisions and historical development as on the essence of this form of life, which – as is demonstrated in Chapter One – consists in monasticism. Distinguishing this shared character allowed him to analyse monasticism in different religions. However, it is visible how these ambiguities caused differences in translations, as is demonstrated by the following sentence: "Diese unbedingte Selbstbeherrschung ist, wie das Ziel der exercitia des heiligen Ignatius und der höchsten Formen rationaler mönchischer Tugenden überhaupt, so auch das entscheidende praktische Lebensideal des Puritanismus" (Weber 2016, 101; German original), which is rendered in English as: "This active self-control, which formed the end of the exercitia of St. Ignatius and of the rational monastic virtues everywhere, was also the most important practical ideal of Puritanism" (Weber 2005, 72-73). In this sentence, Weber treats the spiritual exercises of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit order, as part of other forms of rational virtues that he calls *mönchisch*. Jesuits are religious, not monks. Still, the English translation employs the term *monastic* (i.e. relating to monks) and not "religious," which is often found in English texts where the term "monastic" replaces the broader one of "religious." The above sentence is only one example of the terminological difficulties found in Weber's texts. It needs to be emphasised that the issue here is not just a matter of precise language, but involves the meaning of his argument. What does Weber consider to be the source of the processes he describes: monasticism understood narrowly as monastic orders, or monastic life as such, understood more broadly? As it transpires from his analyses, he probably did not specifically mean a certain kind

relationship between the Protestant ethic and the spirit of modern capitalism lends itself to many interpretations (cf. e.g. Kozyr-Kowalski 1984, 42ff) and is the subject of unceasing controversies, which David J. Chalcraft has proposed to call an "academic 'Hundred Years War'" (2001, 1). A plain indication of the relationship between Catholic monasticism and the spirit of modern capitalism would be a simplification; however, a discussion of Weber's thesis in the context of broader debates on the subject goes beyond the scope of this section. Therefore, I have decided to present selected themes related to monasticism in Weber's work, assuming the following strategy: I begin by reconstructing his argumentation and then summarize selected criticisms, which refer primarily to the analysed issue.

Weber was interested in the relation between economic ethic and a religiously motivated way of life (Weber 1946, 268), and clearly indicated in *Einleitung* – published in 1915, i.e. after the initial critical discussion of his theses from *The Protestant Ethic…* – that "[n]o economic ethic has ever been determined solely by religion" (268) because "the religiously determined way of life is itself profoundly influenced by economic and political factors" (268). In the 1905 text of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* the problem of asceticism is central because he understands it as a certain attitude towards the world (an idea) and simultaneously as a set of techniques facilitating the implementation of this relation in life, in turn allowing him to indicate "the influence of certain religious ideas on the development of an economic spirit, or the ethos of an economic system" (Weber 2005, xxxix), as he notes in *Vorbemerkung*, the introduction to the 1920 *The Sociology of Religion*. One example of this relation would be, in his view, "the connection of the spirit of modern economic life with the rational ethics of ascetic Protestantism" (xxxix). The "spirit" of capitalism – the key term of Hegelian origin – can be understood as a "specific kind of belief (*Gesinnung*) about economic matters and ones that manifest in people's everyday activities […], as a special kind of ethos accompanying economic management, and as a particular way of directing one's life and choices (*Lebensführung*) adopted by those involved in economic management" (Kozyr-Kowalski 1984, 32; cf. Bucholc 2012, 21ff).

Monastic asceticism practiced by Catholic monks and religious – whom Weber considers to be the virtuosi of asceticism (and thus individuals who distinguish

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of orders but rather their shared characteristic. Why else would he mention the Benedictines, the Cistercians, and the Jesuits?

themselves through their religious engagement) or people gifted with charisma – and thus having a certain "extraordinary, at least not generally available, quality" (Weber 1958, 49) – are viewed by Weber as the source of Protestant asceticism. According to him, "Christian asceticism, both outwardly and in its inner meaning, contains many different things. But it has had a definitely *rational* character in its highest Occidental forms as early as the Middle Ages, and in several forms even in antiquity. The great historical significance of Western monasticism, as contrasted with that of the Orient, is based on this fact, not in all cases, but in its general type" (Weber 2005, 72; emphasis added). This rational way of life, whose sources he traces already in St. Benedict's *Rule*, in Cluny, as well as in the Cistercians and the Jesuits[39],

> has become emancipated from plan-less otherworldliness and irrational self-torture. It had developed a systematic method of rational conduct with the purpose of overcoming the *status naturæ*, to free man from the power of irrational impulses and his dependence on the world and on nature. It attempted to subject man to the supremacy of a purposeful will, to bring his actions under constant self-*control* with a careful *consideration* of their ethical consequences. Thus it trained the monk, objectively, as a worker in the service of the kingdom of God, and thereby further, subjectively, assured the salvation of his soul. This *active* self-control, which formed the end of the *exercitia* of St. Ignatius and of the rational monastic virtues everywhere, was also the most important practical ideal of Puritanism. (Weber 2005, 72-73)

Rationalism – the main characteristic transferred from the monastery to other areas of social life – is thus defined as aiming to overcome irrational impulses of natural origin, to achieve individual self-control, and to enable reflection on the ethical character of one's own behaviour.[40]

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39 He calls them "rational forms of life in the Catholic orders" (Weber 2005, 76).

40 It is worth mentioning that the terms "rational," "rationality" and "rationalization" are ambiguous in Weber. He indicates various types of rationalization and emphasises that "the rationalization of life conduct […] can assume unusally varied forms" (Weber 1946, 293). Thus, rationalization would involve both "the kind of rationalization the systematic thinker performs on the image of the world" and "methodical attainment of a definitely given and practical end by means of an increasingly precise calculation of adequate means" (293). For example, the rationality of asceticism, which methodically suppresses desires, consists in "planned" realization of this

Weber argues that the monastic cell is the origin of self-control achieved through "systematic, cogent method of living rationally," an important element of the "civilizing process" (Elias 1980). The ascetic attitude leads, in turn, to systematic, methodical and rational activity in other spheres of the monk's life, including the economic sphere. As Weber notes,

> [i]t was the same fate which again and again befell the predecessor of this worldly asceticism, the monastic asceticism of the Middle Ages. In the latter case, when rational economic activity had worked out its full effects by strict regulation of conduct and limitation of consumption, the wealth accumulated either succumbed directly to the nobility, as in the time before the Reformation, or monastic discipline threatened to break down, and one of the numerous reformations became necessary. In fact the whole history of monasticism is in a certain sense the history of a continual struggle with the problem of the secularizing influence of wealth. (2005, 118)

The sources of rational and worldly Puritan asceticism would thus be found in monastic asceticism, which could be termed as collective action aiming to reject the world. The means of this rejection, however, had a *worldly* character, because the Benedictines or the Cistercians are not anchorites or Sarabaites, i.e. monks simply abandoning this world, but coenobites, "the monastic kind, who serve under a rule and an abbot" (*The Rule of St. Benedict*, Chapter 1). As Weber clearly noted, monastic asceticism involved the concept of a hierarchical community "managed" in precisely defined ways, in which specific tasks would be ascribed to monks living in the monastic community.

Although worldly and otherworldly asceticisms differ in terms of goals, the techniques employed to realize them are similar (which led otherworldly asceticism

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goal (293-294). Weber regards rationalization as a universal phenomenon that can be identified in different cultures. However, Western rationalism has a specific character consisting in that "religion has been shifted into the realm of the irrational" (281). Let me note on the margin that Weber does not speak here of religious irrationalism as regarded from a "disenchanted" perspective, nor of religious irrationalism as such, which constitutes an interesting topic from the point of view of the post-secular turn.

to unintentional consequences such as the amassing and multiplication of wealth, development of management systems, or technological progress). Puritan asceticism

> tried to enable a man to maintain and act upon his constant motives, especially those which it taught him itself, against the emotions. In *this* formal psychological sense of the term it tried to make him into a personality. Contrary to many popular ideas, the end of this asceticism was to be able to lead an alert, intelligent life: the most urgent task the destruction of spontaneous, impulsive enjoyment, the most important *means* was to bring *order* into the conduct of its adherents. (Weber 2005, 73; emphasis added)

According to Weber, these goals and the means of achieving them are present in the rules of Catholic religious orders and in the principles of the Calvinist way of life. "On this methodical control over the whole man," he argues, "rests the enormous expansive power of both" (73).

> But the most important thing was the fact that the man who, *par excellence*, lived a rational life in the religious sense was, and remained, *alone* the monk. Thus asceticism, the more strongly it gripped an individual, simply served to *drive him farther* away from everyday life, because the holiest task was definitely to *surpass* all worldly morality. (Weber 2005, 74; emphasis added)

The divergence between secular and monastic life was eliminated only by Luther, Weber argues. Reformation, he claims, turned every Christian into a monk and transferred asceticism from the monastic cell to "mundane occupations" (74). Certainly, Calvinism did not imbue professional and everyday life only with asceticism but also with the necessity to confirm predestination, causing – as Weber notes – an even bigger separation from the world than that of mediaeval monks because this cleavage would be "a gulf which penetrated *all* social relations" (75) insofar as it does not generate a desire to help others – as in the case of monks – but fosters "hatred and contempt for him as an enemy of God bearing the sign of eternal damnation" (75).

Weber argues that there is a relation between asceticism and the economy. This relation would function on two levels, the first regarding certain techniques, as described above, and the second regarding the attitude towards life:

> For when asceticism was carried out of monastic cells into everyday life, and began to dominate worldly morality, it did its part in building the tremendous cosmos of the modern economic order. This order is now bound to the technical and economic conditions of machine production which today determine the lives of all the individuals who are born into this mechanism, *not only* those directly concerned with economic acquisition, with irresistible force. Perhaps it will so determine them until the last ton of fossilized coal is burnt. (Weber 2005, 123)

According to Weber, this led to a qualitative change because orienting oneself towards outside goods ceased to be a "light coat" that can be taken off at any time, and became instead an iron cage:

> Since asceticism undertook to remodel the world and to work out its ideals in the world, material goods have gained an increasing and finally an inexorable power over the lives of men as at no previous period in history. Today the spirit of religious asceticism – whether finally, who knows? – has escaped from the cage. But victorious capitalism, since it rests on mechanical foundations, needs its support no longer. (Weber 2005, 124)

Abandoning the world in the "spirit of asceticism" means that capitalism functions as a technique ("mechanical foundations"). It is important to indicate here the separation of technique from the very idea that this technique was supposed to bring forth or embody. The exact same mechanism operates in the context of change from monastic asceticism, which rejects the world, to worldly asceticism – a similar set of techniques, Weber shows, was adopted along with the change of goal, making these techniques oriented not towards the other world but this one. According to Michel Foucault, whose account of monasticism is discussed in detail below, what is adopted includes techniques that contribute to the production of subjects different from ones originally intended by these techniques. Weber, in turn, draws attention to yet another issue, namely that of spirit (mindset), i.e. that in the broadly understood modernity we find not only monastic techniques but also a monastic mindset.

Therefore, it seems that Weber seeks the sources of the spirit of capitalism in monasticism, especially in religious orders, identifying a certain attitude towards

the world, which has contributed to the development of this system and created specific techniques that hold an important place in it.

What is crucial, the above quotations show that Weber draws attention not only to the importance of these beliefs (or mindsets), but also to specific techniques that play a key role in the capitalist organization of production. When it comes to the source, it can be argued that monastic asceticism laid the foundation for Puritan asceticism, which was tied not only to a certain mindset but also to particular techniques. The ascetic idea transformed into worldly asceticism becomes – when tied to a certain technique – a *way of life* (*Lebensführung*), which is regarded as a key category in interpretive sociology, i.e. one not oriented towards "discovering […] (non-existent) fundamental regularities in the sphere of interpersonal relations, in the spirit of natural sciences, but towards interpreting social actions by understanding (in current and causal terms) their subjectively constructed meanings" (Holona 2004, 28).

It is thus possible to argue that, in Weber's view, monastic life is connected with modernity not only *metonymically* (i.e. closely and particularly, in a way that can be proven in relation to specific historical processes, e.g. regarding the factual organization of monastic life) but also *metaphorically*. He identifies this connection in the sphere of facts and in their interpretations occurring in both the world, as experienced by social actors during the Reformation, for whom monastic life constituted an important, negative point of reference, and – less obviously – at the level of constructing the social world, where one can clearly discern a similarity between worldly and otherworldly asceticism as well as the *connection* between the spirit of capitalism and monasticism.

Brian Stock offers a different summary of the significance of monastic themes in Weber: "In Weber's view, monasticism thus played a vital role in institutionalizing what later writers called 'economic rationality'" (1975, 220). It is possible to indicate three dimensions in which religious orders influenced the shape of modernity in legal and organizational terms. "First it substituted 'rationality' for 'irrationality' in an attempt to overcome the limitations, as then conceived, of the human condition. Then it gradually evolved a decision-making process which not only produced a 'rational plan of living,' but also began to relate individual human action to wider ethical principles. Finally, it taught the monk, through discipline, obedience and the adoption of a systematic 'work ethic' to postpone present consumption in anticipation of future reward"

(219-220).[41] As a result of this change, the modern form of social organization emerges – one based on rational methodology, though its aim is changed. It is not meant to lead to a particular goal, as in the case of monks, but becomes a goal in itself. In the case of Puritan asceticism, profit becomes a goal in itself, confirming one's relation with God, and ceasing to be a means to an end or even a side product.

Rachfahl's criticism of the connection between monastic and Puritan asceticism

Weber's thesis about the significance of Catholic monasticism met with criticism. Monastic themes were also discussed on the margin of the criticism of theses formulated in *Protestant Ethic…* and the ensuing debate (including both the said criticisms and Weber's response to them) conducted in the years 1907-1910 with Karl Fischer and Felix Rachfahl.

Rachfahl criticised the relation between monastic and Puritan asceticism, at the same time questioning the concept of worldly asceticism. In his first 1909 review of *Protestant Ethic…* he "questions whether rationalised conduct of life and self-discipline should properly be called asceticism" (Chalcraft, Harrington 2001, 56). In his view, such a broad definition of asceticism causes that it becomes indistinguishable from piety. Asceticism "must involve renunciation of material life through flight from the world; but this was only properly achieved in the monastic orders of the Middle Ages"[42] (56). Calvinist ethic, Rachfahl argues, features aspects of hostility to material goods, which makes it possible to speak – in a sense – of the ascetic character of this ethic. However,

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41 It is worth noting – after Stock – that the problem of "authenticating or modifying Weber's views on monasticism" (Stock 1975, 220) is not properly and broadly discussed in literature on the subject. This task, however, obviously goes beyond the scope of this book.

42 In light of the ambiguity of *fuga mundi*, presented in Chapter One, as well as the fact that religious orders literally wishing to "separate themselves from the world" functioned not only in the Middle Ages but also later, e.g. cloistered female orders, or – among male orders – the Carthusians or the Camaldolites, this argument is invalid.

> they [these features] justify no talk of asceticism in the sense of a fully developed style of conduct of life unless bound up with principled flight from the world and a particular kind of deliberate action […]. If we are to call the Calvinist vocational ethic 'asceticism,' we must never forget that it is quite incommensurable with Catholic asceticism, whose most consistent expression is monasticism, and is unconnected to it other than by name – a name it would consequently be best to discard. (Rachfahl 1909, 92-93, after Chalcraft, Harrington 2001, 56)

In response to the criticism of the relationship between Catholic and Protestant asceticism Weber raises several issues. First, he emphasises the semantic character of this criticism. According to Weber, coining new terms is a natural move, especially when new phenomena call for new concepts. Second, Weber indicates that this interpretive gesture was already made before in relation to the discussed use of the word "asceticism" by the theologian Albrecht Ritschl, who discerned "certain ascetic […] features" (Weber 2001a, 63) within Protestantism, as well as by Sebastian Franck, a Protestant pastor who claimed that "*every single person* had to be a kind of life-long monk" (63; emphasis preserved). Weber thus provides arguments of two kinds. The first type could be called genetic as it regards the relationship between aspects of various strands in asceticism (Ritschl's example), whereas the second type is of semantic character because Franck – a sixteenth-century pastor – used the word "monk" in the meaning that Weber intended; therefore, there is a tradition of using this word in this meaning. Finally, Weber argues that his use of the word is justified by a clear genetic affinity in relation to particular means of achieving the ideal, and the fact that this idea is shared.

> Thus this "asceticism" was an ideal of life – with the difference that it had to be exercised *within* the world-orders of family, earning a living and community life, and its material demands had to be modified accordingly. In its "spirit," it was an ideal common to both the Protestant movements and to those *rational* forms of *methodical* life regulation that governed monastic asceticism. (Weber 2001a, 64; emphasis preserved)

However, he emphasises that it was not the case that "'*the* early Protestantism' *as a whole* 'took over' asceticism 'from medieval Catholicism'" (64; emphasis

preserved). Moreover, he clearly underlines that on the historical level Protestantism criticised Catholic monasticism – suffice to recall *De Votis Monasticis*, which Weber refers to in the discussed text.[43]

In 1910 Rachfahl responded to Weber's answer, to which the latter in turn offered a rejoinder. Monastic themes resurface in Weber's second reply, where he refers to "drawing a *substantive* parallel between this [Protestant] and Catholic monastic asceticism" (Weber 2001b, 113), by which he means at least two things. First, he draws attention to the factual relation consisting in the fact that Protestant writers "regularly quoted medieval devotional literature of monastic origin (Bonaventura and others) in connection with the requirements I called 'ascetic'" (113). Second, he again points to the genetic relation tying together chastity, poverty, independence from the world, denunciation of naïve pleasures, and employing similar means to achieve these goals. As for these means, Weber points out the following:

> […] strictly divided time; work; silence as a means of subduing the instincts; detachment from overly strong bonds to the flesh (dubiousness of overly intensive personal friendships and such like) and the renunciation of pleasure as such, whether "sensuous" pleasure in the narrowest sense or aesthetic-literary pleasure, and, in general, renunciation of all use of worldly goods not justifiable on *rational* grounds, for example hygiene. (114; emphasis preserved)

Differences between Protestant and monastic asceticism would thus consist in that the former rejects "all irrational ascetic means" (114), which is followed by "its rejection of contemplation; and finally and most importantly […] its change of direction towards inner-worldly asceticism, its working out of itself in the family and (ascetically interpreted) vocation, from which result the differences already mentioned and all others" (114).

Weber summarizes that, if the similarity of the "spirit" of regulating life is in fact not a similarity, then no similarity can be identified here at all (114). "Thus," he concludes, "the genesis of the capitalist 'spirit' in my sense of the word could be understood in terms of the transformation of the *romanticism of economic adventurism into the economic rationalism of methodical life practices*" (119; emphasis preserved).

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[43] It is worth adding that in the nineteenth century a revival of religious life began in Protestant countries (cf. Biot 1963).

Silber's theory of the autonomization of the economic sphere

Other critical arguments against Weber were formulated by Ilana Friedrich Silber. She argues that Weber's account of the influence of monastic life on mediaeval economy, which focuses on processes of rationalization, is actually incomplete. Silber claims that apart from the debatable impact of asceticism and organization of monasteries on the rationalization of the economic sphere, in the context of modern capitalism monastic life has been connected with the development of a distinct and autonomous sphere of economic activity. According to her, the shared characteristic of both monastic orders (the Benedictines, the Cistercians) and mendicant orders was their declared separation of personal and collective wealth, which was not always possible to implement in practice (2001, 116). "This principle," she argues, "evokes the latter distinction between the property of the private entrepreneur and the assets of the enterprise, emphasised by Weber as carrying with it a depersonification and autonomization of economic activity essential to the operation of a capitalist, market form of economy" (116). Thus, the significance of monastic life regards – in her view – not only rationalization but also the problematization of the economic sphere as an autonomous area. She identifies in the latter process a prototype of differentiation, i.e. one of the ways of understanding the thesis about secularization (Casanova 2005; Dobbelaere 2008; Turner 2010). Accepting this thesis would entail agreeing that the process of secularization has its roots in this mediaeval division.

Accounts of monastic life developed by both Weber and Troeltsch still constitute a vital source of inspiration in sociological reflection on this form of life, especially with respect to definitions, typologies and historical studies, which is examined in greater detail further in this chapter. Weber also importantly argues that monasticism has shaped the rise of modernity. Since a similar thesis has been formulated by Michel Foucault, the next section examines it closely before proceeding to discuss other sociological concepts of monasticism.

Orders and the disciplinary society in Michel Foucault's work

Similarly to Weber, Foucault traces the relation between Western monasticism and the development of modernity.[44] Originally published in France in 1975, *Discipline and Punish* regards monasticism and related principles as the distant and transformed source of the disciplinary order that finally emerged at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth century – one in which "disciplines became general formulas of domination" (Foucault 1995, 137). In the perspective of Foucault's "historiography," specific origins of given phenomena cannot be established, as is well illustrated in the said study. "Perhaps it was these procedures of community life and salvation," Foucault claims, "that were the first nucleus of methods intended to produce individually characterized, but collectively useful aptitudes" (162), organizing the social order in the Western civilization since the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. However, his caveat – the "perhaps," to which I shall turn later – should not occlude the main premise regarding the link between monasticism and the disciplinary order emerging at the time, which concerns – to put it succinctly – the replacing of preparations for *parousia*, economically- and politically-oriented, with parcelization. In other words, though *similar* techniques are retained, the organization striving for salvation, asceticism, and preparation for the Second Coming of Christ is replaced with an organization aiming to increase productivity.

To clarify Foucault's argument, specifically the significance of viewing monasticism as one of the sources of modernity, it is necessary to begin by elaborating two analytical perspectives he has developed: the archaeological and the genealogical. As Barry Smart emphasises, the shift from one to the other, which occurred in the 1970s, was not so much a break, but rather a

> re-ordering of analytic priorities from a structuralist-influenced preoccupation with discourse to a greater and more explicit consideration of institutions, social practices and technologies of power and the self and their complex interrelationships with forms of knowledge, in brief to the interface between non-discursive and discursive practices. (Smart 2002, 39)

[44] The following section was published in the journal *Hereditas Monasteriorum* (Jewdokimow 2012) and is reproduced here in slightly changed form.

Defining these differences otherwise, though not exhaustively, it is possible to recount Smart's claim that the archaeology of knowledge is "directed to an analysis of the unconscious rules of formation which regulate the emergence of discourses in the human sciences" (39) or an "analysis of systems of thought or discourse" (40), while genealogical analysis finds "their [the human sciences'] conditions of existence to be inextricably associated with particular technologies of power embodied in social practices (39).

Archaeological analysis aims to go beyond the traditional methodology employed in the history of ideas, as part of which analysis regards the views of specific individuals. Instead, Foucault concentrates on the "stage" (Gutting 2005, 34) that allows given views, judgements, or thoughts to emerge while suppressing others. This echoes Kant's "conditions of possibility" (Kant 2000), which Foucault views as historically determined (Gutting 2005, 36). Therefore, the archaeological method is about examining the conditions of thinking, and not about particular ideas, people, or movements. Consequently, this concerns the deep structure or logic of transformation connected rather with economic and technological conditions, which – just like in structuralism, historical materialism, or the methodology of the *Annales* school – transcends individual consciousness (which could additionally conceal the factual meaning of this structure, e.g. dominance).

The archaeological method is also distinguished from the genealogical one by the fact that the former is synchronic, whereas the latter – diachronic. This is why Foucault claims in *The Order of Things* that "within the space of a few years a culture sometimes ceases to think as it had been thinking up till then and begins to think other things in a new way" (Foucault 2005, 56). He deliberately avoids indicating possible sources of change and other related contextual factors like the economy, while in the genealogically-oriented study *Discipline and Punish* he identifies monastic life as one of such sources, though not so much of change as of the current shape of life.

It needs to be emphasised that this does not concern in any way cause-and-effect conclusions, in which monasticism would be a specific cause. It is rather indicated as constituting a distant source, i.e. one that is not entirely deterministic. Although monasticism's connection with the here and now is discernible, it is not altogether clear. Foucault's account focuses on transformations rather than their causes, which naturally does not preclude pointing out, as part of such descriptions, new objects or principles of behaviour that impact other social spheres.

Foucault writes:

> For centuries, the religious orders had been masters of discipline: they were the specialists of time, the great technicians of rhythm and regular activities. But the disciplines altered these methods of temporal regulation from which they derived. (Foucault 1995, 150)

Elsewhere in this book he notes:

> The classical age did not initiate it [the utilitarian rationalization of detail]; rather it accelerated it, changed its scale, gave it precise instruments, and perhaps found some echoes for it in the calculation of the infinitely small or in the description of the most detailed characteristics of natural beings. In any case, "detail" had long been a category of theology and asceticism: every detail is important since, in the sight of God, no immensity is greater than a detail, nor is anything so small that it was not willed by one of his individual wishes. (140)

Both quotations demonstrate the kind of a mode of analysis which does not concern causes but various discernible yet quite elusive changes: modifications, accelerations, shifts of scale, etc.

Discipline and Punish represents genealogical analysis, which is aptly revealed in earlier examples that point specifically to non-discursive aspects (social institutions and practices), though principles of archaeological analysis are also evident here. Social practices regarding bodies, space or time were "suggested" by or "derived" from monastic life (Foucault 1995, 149-150), becoming the source of social practices in the period of 1650-1800 and in modernity. Monasticism would thus be the formative source of social practices that assume modified form in a given period, becoming subjected to a different goal, as mentioned above.

It needs to be emphasised that, in this view, the monastery is not regarded as a source of high culture (Derwich 1995) associated with libraries, archives, charitable work, medicine, or education, but rather as the distant source of everyday social practices:

> In its mystical or ascetic form, exercise was a way of ordering earthly time for the conquest of salvation. It was gradually, in the history of the West, to change

> direction while preserving certain of its characteristics; it served to economize the time of life, to accumulate it in a useful form and to exercise power over men through the mediation of time arranged in this way. Exercise, having become an element in the political technology of the body and of duration, does not culminate in a beyond, but tends towards a subjection that has never reached its limit. (Foucault 1995, 162)

According to Foucault, during the seventeenth century principles and forms of discipline characteristic for monastic life were adapted, in turn contributing to a change in the goals and specificity of this discipline, distinguishing it from slavery, domestic service, vassalage as well as

> from asceticism and from "disciplines" of a monastic type, whose function was to obtain renunciations rather than increases of utility and which, although they involved obedience to others, had as their principal aim an increase of the mastery of each individual over his own body. (137)

The relation between monastic life and disciplinary practices, which are the focus of Foucault's book, can be indicated in relation to the body, the organization of time and space, as well as subjectivity and power. In his view, the first aspect of how features of the organization of monastic life emerged in societies in the period of 1650-1800 and in modernity was the change in bodily practices. However, he does not emphasise intimacy, whose birth in the sixteenth century

> instituted a new way of being in society, characterized by strict control of the instincts, firmer mastery of the emotions, and a heightened sense of modesty. […] Henceforth, two types of behavior were sharply differentiated: that which was permissible in public without emabrassment or scandal, and that which had to be hidden from view, including […] exhibition of the naked or sleeping body, satisfaction of natural needs, and the sexual act. (Chartier 1989, 16)

It needs to be underscored that intimacy understood as a certain relation with one's body is also connected with another practice of monks, namely isolation, which was reserved in the Middle Ages only for the select few.

Foucault interprets the change in bodily practices not so much as a change in self-consciousness but rather as an increase in control. As both a biological organism and a cultural artefact, the body is subjected, in his view, to new, formerly inexistent forms of shaping and using. First, control over the body becomes more elaborate, regarding an ever greater number of details – it is exerted over "movements, gestures, attitudes, rapidity" (Foucault 1995, 137). Second, "behaviour or the language of the body" (137) ceases to be the subject of control, yielding before "the economy, the efficiency of movements, their internal organization" (137). Third, constant pressure on the body regards "processes of the activity rather than its result" (137), referring to the entirety of the body's posture or positioning in time and space. Conceived in this way, discipline creates bodies that Foucault terms as "docile," i.e. ones that are trained, subjected, and simultaneously strong in the sense of being productive.

The detailed character of control over the body thus demonstrates that the "mystique of the everyday is joined here with the discipline of the minute" (140). Practices formerly known only to monks and nuns are adopted in schools, barracks, hospitals, or factories, i.e. new social spaces, in the form of regulations, inspections, and supervisions examining every aspect of human activity. Development of knowledge about humanity and the human body is also viewed by Foucault as not carrying any emancipatory potential but rather as fostering new forms of dominance, thus making political and economic use of detailed inspections of the body. Therefore, knowledge does not lead to maturing – as Kant would have it (2013) – but to the creation of new forms of dominance. The hyphen linking knowledge and power – *savoir-pouvoir* – cannot be erased and the two components cannot be separated. Consequently, increased control of the body was accompanied in the discussed period by increased knowledge about it.

Thus, detailed interest in the body corresponds formally (though not in terms of goals) to the preoccupation displayed by Saint Benedict in his *Rule*, for example with regard to how monks are supposed to sleep:

> Let them sleep singly in separate beds. Let them receive bedding suitable to their manner of life, at the discretion of the abbot. If it can be done, let all sleep in one room: but if their number does not allow of this, let them repose by tens or by twenties with their seniors who have charge of them. Let a candle burn continually in the dormitory until morning. Let them sleep clothed and

> girded with girdles or cords, but let them not have knives at their sides while they sleep, lest by chance while dreaming they wound a sleeper; and let them be monks always ready; and upon the signal being given let them rise without delay and hasten one after the other, yet with all gravity and decorum, to be ready in good time for the Work of God. (*The Rule of St. Benedict*, XXII)

The example of norms regarding sleep leads directly to the question of cells and spaces – the second area of organizing monastic life identified by Foucault in the disciplinary society. What discipline effects is a "distribution of individuals in space" (Foucault 1995, 141) – a division or separation made on the basis of several principles. The first is enclosure, or "the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself" (141), which caused secondary schools to be organized on the basis of the monastic model (141), while factories were "explicitly compared with the monastery, the fortress, a walled town" (142).

The second principle regards parcelization, i.e. positioning in a specific space comprised of cells: "Each individual has his own place; and each place is individual" (143). Disciplinary space is thus composed of cells. It is the space of the prison – made up of cells, which is also characteristic for the monastery – that serves Foucault as an analogy and somewhat as a source of the disciplinary order.[45]

The third principle of organizing space is the functionality of its design, meant to maximise the use of bodily strength, which translates into productivity (Foucault 1995, 143-144). These principles boost control over individuals, who are no longer able to move freely and aimlessly, but are tied to places where they can be most productive, effective, and simultaneously cloistered.

Apart from changes in the meaning of space in the new form of social organization emerging in the seventeenth century, it is highly characteristic how the use of time was altered. In this aspect Foucault also discerns similarities to the functioning of the monastic community: "The *time-table* is an old inheritance. The strict model was no doubt suggested by the monastic communities" (149), and is rooted in ways to "establish rhythms, impose particular occupations, regulate the cycles of repetition" (149).

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[45] This is not a question of any prison but one designed by Jeremy Bentham. Foucault's analysis leads him to formulate the thesis about the panoptic form of power characteristic for disciplinary societies.

This heritage manifests in the functioning of workshops, gymnasiums, or "the Protestant armies of Maurice of Orange and Gustavus Adolphus" (150), which were organized on the basis of a specific daily rhythm featuring repeated spiritual exercises. Just like in the case of space, organization of time has two goals: to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of workers, students, soldiers, etc. This is why – as in the case of organizing space – time management translates into control over the body by training it, which occurs by forming habits regarding spatial configurations and the daily schedule. All of these changes contribute to turning people into objects of discipline: "Discipline 'makes' individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise" (170).

According to Foucault, discipline produces "four types of individuality, or rather an individuality that is endowed with four characteristics: it is cellular (by the play of spatial distribution), it is organic (by the coding of activities), it is genetic (by the accumulation of time), it is combinatory (by the composition of forces)" (167).

These individual characteristics are achieved thanks to constructing classification systems, conducting drills consisting of locating bodies in space and supervising them, imposing exercises, and adopting tactics: "Tactics, the art of constructing, with located bodies, coded activities and trained aptitudes, mechanisms in which the product of the various forces is increased" (167).

For this reason Foucault coined the term "subjection" (*assujetissement*) to denote the disciplining of individuals with the indispensable component of power in the process of developing the individual self.

Thus, it needs to be ascertained that disciplinary social organization connected with monastic practices also creates specific individuals (as briefly described above) whose constitution is inextricably tied to the development of science: "power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production" (194).

Foucault points out that the birth of the disciplinary order is simultaneously the birth of "political anatomy" (138) and the "mechanics of power" (138). These metaphors indicate that the body and its functioning become the focus of interest for power, which establishes itself with the help of a mechanical system, i.e. one which imposes repetitiveness on the body, predefines proper and acceptable moves, etc. This kind of discipline increases bodily strength, but – he argues – only in terms of economic usefulness, because in the political sense the body becomes

soft, pliable, and susceptible. This observation reveals an important aspect of the power issue: power is productive because it creates subjects that it controls, while the goal of these actions is simultaneously economical because their aim is to increase productivity. It is in this sense that parousia is replaced with parcelization: the new political anatomy and social organization aim to increase productivity, which is an economic goal. The mystique of interest in details is replaced with "laicized content, an economic or technical rationality" (140). Comparison of monastic and modern discipline reveals that they may be governed by different principles, but their form remains similar: whereas the former had the moral character of "non-idleness" (154), the latter "poses the principle of a theoretically ever-growing use of time: exhaustion rather than use" (184).

The above considerations lead to the conclusion that – in Foucault's view – the heritage of monastic culture is that it constitutes a distant and transformed source of the disciplinary order that emerged at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The disciplinary society "adopted" and transformed mainly those aspects of monastic organization that are related to bodily practices as well as the organization of time and space. These social practices acquire a new "meaning" in this period: to increase economic efficiency and create new forms of domination. In contrast to widespread accounts of monastic heritage, which treat it, among other things, as a source of high culture or charitable work, Foucault identifies a monastic residue in social practices. In the disciplinary society, isolation, body control, or detailed regulation of the daily schedule become techniques of power that create new, formerly unknown forms of dominance.

Sociological studies of religious orders since the turn of the 1960s and 1970s

Isabelle Jonveaux, Enzo Pace and Stefania Palmisano (2014) point out that "the sociology of religion hardly ever mentions monasticism. In contrast with historians, who have paid close attention to the phenomenon, sociologists have practically ignored this topic" (XIII). What are the reasons for the fact that sociological studies of religious orders and monasteries are a rarity both in Poland and abroad? It is possible to offer several explanations, all of them hypothetical. First, it is not an easy phenomenon to study because religious orders are specific institutions, partially

cloistered. Further, they describe their activities using an unfamiliar language, making it difficult to understand them. Second, the complex presence of this subject in disciplines such as history and theology, which somewhat appropriate it by adopting their own approaches and theories, can cause the subject to be partially excluded from the sociological scope of interest. Third, religious orders can be treated as institutions identical with the Church (though in fact the relation between the two is complex and far from obvious), which hinders research that would focus mainly on this phenomenon. Fourth, as noted by Rev. Witold Zdaniewicz, religious orders in themselves (along with their members), as well as the Church, "sometimes" protest against such research (1974, 9), claiming that studies of this kind are marked by "naturalism" and "undermine the fundamental (supernatural) values of religious life, which – some argue – can be only a subject for theology" (9). This a broader issue in the sociology of religion and is not limited to the study of religious orders. Zdaniewicz also points out that the hierarchical character of religious life, including the dependence on superiors, raises difficulties with obtaining direct and honest answers (10). Fifth, the nineteenth-century aversion to religious orders may also have contributed to this situation by treating them as a mundane subject, belittling it and thus discouraging its study.

In the 1965 article "The Monastic Community Life in Our Times" Hendrik P. M. Goddijn expresses amazement at the fact that so little sociological research has been devoted to the question of religious orders despite the fact that it is a field of study that allows one to examine basically all crucial sociological questions, including social stratification and hierarchy, conformism, tradition, habits, communication, distribution of work, to name only some of those mentioned in the article. In his opinion, lack of sociological research on religious orders (in the 1960s) stems primarily from the specific character of these institutions, their certain resistance to sociological examination, including the crucially important spiritual dimension, which eludes sociological study; next, from the discourse of "good and evil," which is characteristic for them and makes it difficult to provide objective accounts of reality; and finally, from the specific inadequacy of secularized sociological discourse for describing a world governed by divine rules, as it appears from the perspective of the religious. Certainly, Weber's analyses from the beginning of the twentieth century clearly indicate that these fears are unfounded. Goddijn's article has a programmatic character insofar as it indicates specific areas and problems, which the author deems worthy of sociological attention in the context of religious

orders: entering and leaving monasteries, their internal organization, and transformations taking place due to a variety of factors. One particularly interesting aspect of Goddijn's argument is that he draws attention to the evolution of religious orders in relation to their historical form, as well as to their multidimensional contacts with the contemporary world and the question of adapting to the changing social environment.

Research focusing on religious orders

Adopting a historical perspective in relation to the development of the sociological interest in monasticism allows one to note that after the wide-ranging analyses conducted by Weber this topic remains present in sociology but very modestly so, especially in numerical terms, throughout the twentieth century and in the twenty-first. Graph No. 15 presents the global development of sociological interest in monasticism since the 1960s on the basis of the bibliography of sociological texts published in *Social Compass*.[46]

[46] The graph was developed on the basis of bibliographical lists published in the journal *Social Compass* titled *Bibliographie international de sociologie des religions / International bibliography of sociology of religion*, published since the early 1960s. It is necessary to specify certain aspects of this list, which shall also shed light on the meaning of the graph. First, in the list's early years both articles in journals and books were taken into account; then, since 1974, only articles were included. Second, in the early years, the list included various publications regarded as having sociological import, e.g. articles in theological journals or selected historical monographs. Since 1974, however, the list presents only articles from selected sociological journals. Thus, the graph presents (especially in the earliest period) the actual development of sociological interest in the topic of religious orders by taking into consideration much more than just sociological texts on the subject published in scientific journals. It is only since 1974 that the list focuses on sociological texts understood solely as articles published in sociological journals. Third, the methodological change introduced in 1974 is the actual reason for the decrease in the number of texts on religious orders included in the graph. Fourth, the title of the section that is of key importance for this topic changed four times: *Ordres et congrégations / Religious orders and communities*, *Vie monastique / Monastic life*, *Religieux, religieuses*, *moines / Religious*, *nuns*, *monks, Membres de communauté (religieux, moines…) / Members of a community (members of religious orders, monks…)*; the graph uses the latest section title. Fifth, from the beginnings of the list until the end of the first decade

A detailed discussion of the context necessary to interpret the graph is contained in footnote number 11. At this point, however, two issues need to be addressed. First, sociological interest in this phenomenon has been slight, not only since the 1960s but also before. Second, since the mid-1970s we have observed not just dwindling interest, but rather a change in the methodology of the calculations at the foundation of this analysis: some texts on the subject (e.g. books) have not been taken into account. I do not correct these calculations basing on texts I am aware of because I lack knowledge on publications devoted to the subject on the global scale. Moreover, since the 1970s the process of sociology's development has been intensifying, which translates into a numerical growth of texts in this area. Publications that I know of and use, which have not been included in *Social Compass*, are taken into account below in the substantive analysis.

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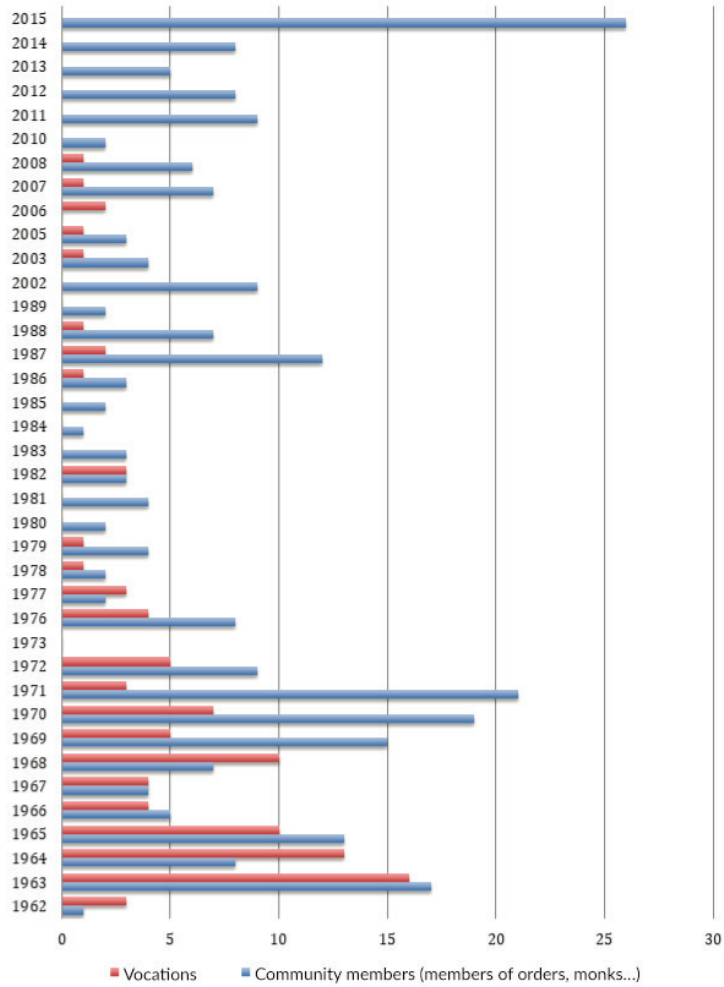
of the twenty-first century the list included the section *Vocations* / *Vocations*, which was suspended in the indicated period; estimates related to it are presented separately on the graph because the section would also include texts on vocations in religious orders or at the same time in religious orders and among priests; thus, I decided to include all texts from this section. Sixth, the list includes texts on both Christian and other forms of religious life; I do not differentiate between them but emphasise that the former are dominant. Profits of the list are unquestionable: it is cyclical, takes into account texts published in different countries, and is prepared in sociological circles, which helps to treat it as a reliable source of information about the development of sociological interest in the topic. However, one needs to remember that since the mid-1970s this list is quite incomplete because it omits books; also, in recent years there were sociological publications on Catholic religious life that – as it turns out – are not included in the list because they were published in journals that are not taken into account in it. Although the list is not without flaws, it chiefly demonstrates that sociological studies of religious life are rare. Years in the graph correspond to the year in which the list was published in *Social Compass*, not to the year of the texts' publication. The graph does not account for the latter because the list sometimes includes publications from two years back. Such calculations could be easily made, but there seemed to be no reason for this. In 1986, one article was added in the section "members of the community." I have also prepared the summary for the year 2001, including the articles published in that year in a thematic issue of *Social Compass*.



Graph No. 15. Number of sociological texts tackling the question of monastic life across the globe in the years 1962-2015

Source: the author's calculations.

Moving to a substantive analysis of sociological texts devoted to religious life, the focus shall be placed on its Catholic variant. After Weber, the following crucial texts written until the 1960s should be indicated: studies on the Jesuits by Gustav Gundlach (1927) and on Western religious orders by Blazovich (1954); typological

studies of religious orders are also found in broader publications on the sociology of religion (Wach 1944; and later Martin 1969). Since the 1950s, the Belgian political scientist Léo Moulin became a distinguished figure. He published a range of texts on monastic life, focusing on matters of management in religious orders (e.g. 1951, 1956, 1964, 1965, 1981, 1983). Since the 1960s, important researchers include sociologist Hendrik P. M. Goddijn (1965) and historian Jean Leclercq, who also discusses the contemporary functioning of religious orders (e.g. 1967, 1968, 1969). In the 1960s one can distinguish Farag Rofall's book on Byzantine and Coptic monasticism (1964). In the 1950s the French sociologist Jean Séguy began to address monasticism (1956, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1984, 1999, 2014), crucially emphasising the significance of Weber and Troeltsch for studies in this area; these two authors also proved inspirational for a certain group of scholars in the twenty-first century (Jonveaux 2011; Jonveaux, Pace, Palmisano 2014). In this period, the Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione (DIS) was founded. This research institute focuses on Catholic religious life and publishes a dictionary of institutes, i.e. various forms of consecrated life (Pelliccia, Rocca 1974-2003).

In articles from the 1960s it is clearly visible that the subject area was poorly institutionalized (which manifests in a small number of records in bibliographies of articles, as well as in the fact that authors publishing in the same journal do not refer to each other's works) and that there were attempts to develop a sociological approach (which manifests in programmatic texts, e.g. Moulin 1963, Goddijn 1965, and earlier in Francis 1950). The 1960s saw the beginning of a crisis in religious life, but sociological interest in this subject increased in this period in the form of new studies adopting statistical, historical, or general approaches. A breakthrough took place in the 1970s when one issue of *Social Compass* was devoted to this topic (1971). Apart from programmatic and theoretical texts (Hill 1971), the issue features discussions of the crisis of religious life, which was already discernible in Europe and North America (Augusta 1971), methodological problems in studies of religious orders (Servais, Hambye 1971), as well as studies of quantitative (Stoop 1971) and qualitative character (Weigert 1971). In the 1970s, Paul-André Turcotte notes, "perspectives have diversified, theories have been enriched, studies have dealt with current problems as well as with fundamental issues. Committed writings, notably feminist, are placed alongside minutely detailed surveys, studies which seek an objective distance or a general historical overview. Bibliographical references show the renewal of work on religious orders in the Catholic world" (2001b, 163).

Parallel to this, approaches basing on an organizational framework as well as references to Weber and Troeltsch were being developed in USA. The former proved to be better suited for studying the crisis of religious orders. Towards the end of the 1970s, the important American scholar Helene Rose Fuchs Ebaugh began her work (cf. e.g. 1978, 1993), which can be classified as part of the American tradition of organization-focused studies.

In the 1980s some work on religious orders was continued though interest in the subject began to wane. Although scholars like Séguy or Moulin would still publish, significant publications in the area started to appear only in the 1990s. In 1995 Ilana F. Silber published the book *Virtuosity, charisma, and social order. A comparative sociological study of monasticism in Theravada Buddhism and medieval Catholicism*, which polemicizes with Weber on the subject of the development and significance of monasticism using a comparative approach.

The beginning of the twenty-first century brought a decided increase in the interest in the topic. In 2001 the second thematic issue of *Social Compass* was published. As its editor Turcotte argues, although many phenomena still need to be explored (including the development of new religious communities, establishing of monasteries in Africa, relations between religious orders and other religious or secular institutions as well as the legitimization of internal and external power relations; Turcotte 2001a), there has been a notable increase in the attention devoted to this subject. In the twenty-first century there has been a rise in the number of articles published in the area, while the scope of the subject was expanded. New figures emerged on the international arena, not only developing new approaches or exploring precisely delimited subjects (e.g. Jonveaux – the economy of religious orders, Palmisano – new monastic communities), but also making the effort to institutionalize sociological research on religious orders, which manifests in organizing international conferences, realizing research in international teams, and publishing edited collections. In 2015, the second monasticism-themed issue of the *Annual Review of Sociology of Religion* was published under the title *Sociology and Monasticism*, edited by Isabelle Jonveaux, Enzo Pace, and Stefania Palmisano.

Publishing this issue can be considered as in important move towards fostering sociological research in this field, with a major role played by Isabelle Jonveaux and Stefania Palmisano, who have published extensively on the subject (both together and individually), realized empirical research around the world (in Western,

Southern, and Central-Eastern Europe, as well as in Africa), and published edited volumes, the latest one being *Monasticism in Modern Times* (Routledge, 2017).

Areas of sociological research on monasticism

The aforementioned works by Weber and Troeltsch engage in historical analysis of this phenomenon using sociological concepts. In the case of these authors monasticism does not constitute the main area of research, but – as it were – a supplementary one discussed as part of broader reflection on processes of social transformation (especially in Weber). At the same time, monasticism constitutes for Weber one of the key elements helping to understand the sources and current shape of the modern society – something he shares with Foucault. Aside from historical analyses, sociological studies of religious life also regard the question of the current crisis of this form of life. Apart from these two areas of sociological research (historical analysis and analysis of the ongoing crisis) several others could be mentioned: concepts of religious life, monographic studies (with analyses focusing on particular religious orders, provinces, or monasteries, including comparative studies of various religious orders), economy, vocations, internal organization of religious life, the image and role of the consecrated and the religious (e.g. Villate 1967), or the image of religious life in literature (Ponton 1969). Research regards both male and female religious orders. In the case of the latter, however, "active" religious orders are studied much more often than contemplative ones (research on the latter includes: Roth-Haillotte 2008; Jonveaux 2011). Both qualitative and quantitative studies are carried out (for information on the methodology of studies on religious orders see for example: Hillrey 1981; Giorda, Díez, Hejazi 2014; Sbardella 2014). Various theories are employed to analyse the phenomenon, with special prominence held by the organizational perspective developed since the 1950s, mainly by American scholars. Scholars in the area include both male and women religious as well as secular academics. One important platform uniting scholars of religious orders is the journal *Social Compass*, which devoted two thematic issues (1971 and 2001) to the phenomenon of religious life.

As Jonveaux, Pace and Palmisano note (2014), several vital flaws can be indicated in the sociology of religion as far as studies of monasticism are concerned, which in themselves are quite rare. First, according to these authors there are

more studies on monasticism in Eastern religions (Buddhism, Taoism, Hinduism) than on Christian monasticism (e.g. Bunnag 1973; Galmiche 2014; Starkey 2014).[47] Second, there are few studies of contemplative congregations (such as Roth-Haillotte 2008; Jonveaux 2011). Third, most studies focus on "organizational aspects and relations with ecclesiastical authorities, often having recourse to typologies […] diachronically focussed more on the past than on the present" (XV), rarely trying to "understand their internal working, motivations of the actors, dynamics of reorganization, or tensions with society" (XV) (e.g. Palmisano 2015; Wiegert 1971). Finally, available studies are written primarily by "insiders," with disregard for the broader context of transformations.

The next section of this chapter discusses those areas of sociological studies in Catholic monasticism that have been distinguished in the course of substantive analysis.

Sociological concepts of religious life

Attempts at sociological definitions of religious life, especially monastic life, include approaches that propose to regard it as a community or association (Francis), a sect (Troeltsch, Hill, O'Dea), a utopia (Séguy), a protest (Séguy), a total institution (Goffman), a cognitive minority (Turcotte), an organization (especially in America, cf. e.g. Ebaugh), a social group (Cyman), or a social system (Zdaniewicz). The two last interpretations – ones offered by Polish scholars – are discussed in the following section.[48]

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47 Unfortunately, they do not quote any calculations confirming this conclusion.

48 It is worth emphasising that the key Polish scholar of religious life – Rev. Witold Zdaniewicz – rejected the above accounts of religious life interpreting it as a protest, a sect, and a total institution (although in his work he does not refer to Goffman, Troeltsch, or Séguy, but solely to Francis, Hill, and Goddijn). In his view, it is difficult to speak of religious life as a protest because this "would require backing it up with empirical research, which has not been done yet" (1974, 8) (Zdaniewicz does not refer to Weber in his work); nor does he view the religious order as a sect because "both phenomena do not have the same 'sociological appearance.' Religious life as a whole does not develop 'against the main current' of a given religion" (8). Finally, he argues that "excessive 'sociologization' of religious life could also lead to misleading conclusions. For example, one-sided emphasising of the institutional aspect of monastic life seemed to indicate

In 1950, Emerich K. Francis published the first attempt at a sociological typology of Catholic religious orders in the *American Journal of Sociology*. In this article he focuses on organizational differences among various religious orders, which he defines using Georg Simmel's terms *Gesellchaft* and *Gemeinschaft*. The Benedictine organization – in which it is crucial to ensure the stability of the monks' place of residence: the monastery (*stabilitas loci*) – constitutes a model of *Gesellchaft*, whereas the Jesuits, who lack any such stability, would constitute a model of *Gemeinschaft*. Francis's work uses an historical approach insofar as it focuses on characterizing subsequent organizational forms, which – he argues – end with the Jesuits. According to Francis, later modes of organizing monastic life are merely close or distant derivatives of the one developed by the Jesuits. He does refer to Weber, but not to his studies of monasticism; nor does he mention Troeltsch.

In the article *Typologie sociologique de l'ordre religieux* (1971), Michael Hill defines religious life in categories of an ideal type as a sect within the Church. His definition is based both on Troeltsch's differentiation between sect and church, as well as on Weber's understanding of an ideal type, and an ideal type of sect defined by Bryan F. Wilson (1967). In contrast to other sects, religious life functions like a sect within the Church, whereas other sects exist solely for their members. In his view, it is possible to distinguish ten characteristics of religious orders: 1. They are part of the Church. 2. As a part of the Church they retain partial autonomy from it, which manifests in their unique character and organization. 3. They cannot fully reject the world as a thoroughly evil place; at the same time, however, they firmly reject any loosening of evangelical ethics, as well as isolate and protect themselves from regular social relations. 4. They demand complete affiliation from their members. 5. They demand much more obedience from their members than the Church does with regard to either clergymen or lay people. 6. At the local level, they have a communal, quasi-familial form comprised by participation in rituals. 7. Originally, religious orders would constitute secular movements with large numbers of lay members, which remains an ideal they keep referring to, even if the Church keeps it in check in order to retain control over it. 8. Religious orders are assemblies of religious virtuosi who adhere to a strict interpretation of evangelical ethics – an interpretation that the Church does not consider to be applicable to all

inevitably negative consequences for the integration of the individual, leading to alienation" (8), which has not been confirmed empirically.

faithful. 9. Members of religious orders primarily seek salvation through personal perfection, which can be defined in terms of individual or collective goals as missionary activity or contemplative life. From this perspective it needs to be noted that a contemplative vocation can be interpreted as socially useful because prayer is deemed to be beneficial to both Church and society. 10. One can become and remain a member of a religious order only upon displaying exceptional worthiness.

This account of religious orders is a reformulation of Troeltsch's definition, in which religious life constitutes an adaptation of the sect-model within the Church, but not a sect in the Church; at the same time, Hill indicates that various forms of orders could have different relations with the Church (including opposition to it) and "the world" (Turcotte 2014, 269; Troeltsch 1923, 1925). In the book *The Religious Orders: A Study of Virtuoso Spirituality* (published two years after the article, i.e. in 1973), Hill focuses on the question of the spiritual virtuoso character and on an historical analysis of religious orders, attempting to develop Weber's account.

The French sociologist Jean Séguy (1956, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1984, 1999, 2014), who develops in his studies of monasticism the theories of both Weber and Troeltsch, proposes to define monasticism as a social laboratory where people of special calling, who strive towards God, try to "combine the ideal of detachment from this world without denying the beauty of creation" (Pace 2014, 278). One effect of this experiment and of the tension between flight and appreciation was the construction of utopia. In his view, monks are utopists, while the monastic utopia is a radical protest against a world in which it is so difficult to realize that striving towards God. The monastic utopia would create an alternative model of society – one in which the ideal of Christian life can be realized. However, this model also remains in a tense relation with the Church, its hierarchy and power. As Pace underlines, Séguy initially viewed monasticism as having a positively critical energy aiming to return to the origins of Christian ethic, or reform its institutionalized form. Nevertheless, he would come to regard this impulse – just like Weber – as subjected to the routinization of charisma and the institutionalization of the movement itself (Pace 2014):

> […] monastic or coenobitic utopia has nothing utopian in the common sense of the word. Once the period or the domain of charisma is past […] monastic utopia is practiced in an institution and its form is that given by the general orientation of the relationships between the institution Church and the world. (Séguy 2014, 294)

As a result, the practice of monastic utopianism recreates various characteristics of the society, although it does question for example the relations between men and women by forbidding marriage, introducing celibacy, and forming homogenous communities in terms of sex. Still, differences between men and women in various forms of religious life reflect gender inequality in society (cf. Chapter One); although these forms strive towards a classless structure, they are in fact based on hierarchy and obedience.

In the rich body of works penned by this author – which focus on the past and the present of monasticism, analysed in sociological categories – one can distinguish his typology of religious orders based on their relations with society. According to Séguy, until the sixteenth century different forms of monastic life were characterized by the fact that the form of utopia they would practice entailed smaller or greater ties with the society. Even hermits were, to some degree, dependent on the society from which they fled. Kłoczowski quotes the curious example of Saint Romuald, a hermit from the early eleventh century. The locals living nearby wanted to kill him when they learned that he plans to move. Hermits would have great authority, and a dead hermit would at least remain close to them (Kłoczowski 1987). In the sixteenth century, along with the foundation of the Jesuits, the relation with the society changed, or was in fact broken because the Jesuits would be integrated with the Church more than with the society.[49]

As Enzo Pace notes, Séguy's interest in monasticism stemmed, among other things, from the fact that analysing it allowed him to glimpse deeper, concealed tensions within the Catholic Church, as well as some means of easing and managing them within this institution (Pace 2014).

Paul-André Turcotte (2001a) defined the religious order as a cognitive minority that distinguishes itself from both the Church and the society, thus creating an institutional and symbolic tension with the two:

> As a group of individuals with determined objectives, the religious order, regardless of its canonical category, is defined as a minority which is more or less functionally or symbolically adjusted to its surroundings. Clearly, one is not born a religious. One becomes one through the profession of religious vows (poverty, chastity and obedience) after a probationary period dedicated

[49] For a good case study analysing one example in terms of sect and utopia see: Lévesque 1976.

> essentially to the ideological and practical assimilation of a system of references in part, at least, distinctive from that of society in general and the mass of believers. The distinction sought provokes tensions and transactions which are symbolic and institutional. (Turcotte 2001a, 170)

In Turcotte's view, any analysis of religious orders should account for their internal organization, interactions between members, and the influence of outside factors, both social- and Church-related.

A definition tying together the notions of sect and protest was coined by Thomas F. O'Dea, who views religious life as a collectivity of protesting people organized in a sect that remains inside the Church in order to reform it (1966).

For Erving Goffman, the monastery constitutes an example of one of the five types of a total institution, which include "establishments designed as retreats from the world even while often serving also as training stations for the religious; examples are abbeys, monasteries, convents, and other cloisters" (Goffman 1961, 5). His theory of total institutions is known well enough and it seems unnecessary to summarize it here. What is worth emphasising here, however, is the fact that Goffman devotes little space to discuss the specificity of monasteries as total institutions. His modest references to monasteries include (the list contains most phenomena he indicates): the question of possessing personal objects by monks (19), appreciation for not possessing personal objects with a view to the development of the self in religious institutions (20), body posture and gestures, e.g. kissing feet (as a means of humiliation) (22), rules regulating entry into the institution, i.e. recruitment through vocation (119), drawing attention to the relation between spatial configuration and the self, the former aiming to remind one of the human condition and the relation with God (45-46), and emphasising the change of social position by entering the monastery (73).

In Goffman's view, the monastery is an example of a total institution. Its detailed analysis allows him to better characterize these kinds of institutions. He assesses them negatively, which manifests in the use of the word "inmates." Goffman uses mainly four sources in his discussion of monasteries: St. Benedict's *Rule*; *The Seven Storey Mountain*, which is a famous book by Thomas Merton (1999); *The Nun's Story* (1957), a bestselling novel by Kathryn Hulme; and *A Right to be Merry* by Sr Mary Francis (1956), prioress at a monastery in Roswell, New Mexico (USA), which is a book about spiritual revival. Nevertheless, Goffman's approach remains

an important point of reference for scholars studying religious orders. For example, Jordi Collet-Sabé (2013) claims that the process of transforming religious life initiated by the Second Vatican Council moves it further away from being a total institution by way of deinstitutionalizing it, i.e. by starting a reinstitutionalization based on principles different from ones operating in total institutions (although he quotes different possible directions of reinstitutionalization, which he derives from broader transformations of social institutions in late modernity, he makes the reservation that it remains difficult to assess how this process can actually unfold; there is no reason to recount the details of this analytical exercise here). A similar hypothesis was formulated by William J. F. Keenan (2002), who argues that the impact of social and market processes increases the eclectic character of religious life, loosening traditional organization and allowing it to be permeated by market logic.

On the other hand, Danièle Hervieu-Léger, a French sociologist, proposes to regard the monastery as "a place where all the dimensions of the confrontation between the utopia of a Christian *summum* of individual and collective human existence, on the one hand, and the experience of the world no longer organized by religion, on the other, can occur. From this point of view, religious life can be taken as a sort of laboratory of confrontation, as well as of the restructuring of the relationships between Christianity and modernity" (2014, 21). Such an exceptional position of monasteries stems in her view from two characteristics. First, it arises from the autonomy of each monastery: "due to both its canonical definition, its formal structure (and notably the distribution of power within its organization), of its way of life in practice (the separation from the world materialized by its 'cloistered aspect'), and in many cases, the social dispositions of its members – is a place where community, political, economic, intellectual, and other dynamics evolve (which can, to some degree, be isolated for analysis)" (23). Second, it originates in the network connecting individual monasteries with others, and with the external world.

She holds that religious life is now running the risk of becoming an element of folklore, which manifests also in the Polish context. Hervieu-Léger writes about commercial networks in which monasteries operate, about tourists who visit monasteries and "flock to listen to liturgical chants, to perceive these silent men (or women) living the thousand-year old rhythm of services, and to buy in the shops products labelled 'monastic tradition' – cheeses, wax, pottery, fruit jelly, and pious souvenirs – from which these communities make their living" (28). Visitors of this kind do not search for the past, but seek "the equilibrium and harmony that they

attribute to monastic life in a community" (29). Some monks regard these changes as dangerous and forcing monasteries to change their organization. According to Hervieu-Léger, this brings the danger of trivialization (casting monks in the role of cultural others) and of "mythologizing projections" (30). She regards both of these processes as examples of folklorization.

Socio-historical analyses

Historical studies of the forms and transformations of monasticism were started by Weber. Some scholars have used rather than verified his findings; these authors include primarily Jean Séguy (1956, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1984, 1999, 2014), Michael Hill (1971, 1973), Sr Patricia Wittberg (1994), Jean Martin Ouédraogo (1997), as well as the aforementioned commentator of Weber's work – Ilana F. Silber (1991, 1995, 2001). In her book titled *Virtuosity, charisma, and social order. A comparative sociological study of monasticism in Theravada Buddhism and medieval Catholicism* Silber bases on Weber's theory to attempt a historical and comparative study of Catholic and Buddhist monasticism. It needs to be recalled that already Weber conducted such comparative analyses. However, Silber supplements them with an ideological level of analysis, strongly emphasising that in both cultural circles monasticism – despite declaring *fuga mundi* – not only developed under the influence of external factors, but was also the basic aspect in the development of the religious and social sphere in both cultures during their heyday. Drawing attention to the charisma as well as the elite and virtuoso character of monks, she expresses, in the language of sociological theory, some of the earlier findings of historians who indicated for example the functioning of monastic culture in Western culture (cf. Chapter One). The same pertains to the functional and ideological tension described by this author, which would consist in the cyclical engagement of various religious orders in worldly matters, and their development in terms of worldly functioning despite ideological declarations about turning away from this world. One merit of this study certainly consists in the clear indication that – contrary to what Weber claims – Buddhist monasticism was in fact strongly preoccupied with the social dimension, just like its Western counterpart.[50]

[50] On the other hand, Martine Cohen (1993), who was inspired by Weber, analysed the relationship between Catholic charisma and the development of capitalism in France.

Others, mainly Léo Moulin (1951, 1956, 1964, 1981), Turcotte (2001a) as well as Finke and Wittberg (2000), conducted historical analyses using other concepts than the one formulated by Weber. In a programmatic text indicating issues of interest to the sociological study of religious orders, titled *Pour une sociologie des ordres religieux* (1963), Moulin especially emphasises the attractiveness of historical questions, including the significance of religious orders for the development of Europe and its political systems.

The American tradition: religious orders as organizations, and the Weberian tradition

So far, the discussion covered mainly texts from Europe. However, in the 1960s increased interest in the subject was noted in USA, where religious communities are studied from the perspective of various sociological issues such as socialization, group dynamics, or in comparison to communities from Europe and Africa (Murphy 1964, 1966; Murphy, Liu 1966; Hillery 1969; Meissner 1965; Aquina 1967). American studies are characterised by adopting an organizational framework in analysing religious life, an approach developed since the 1950s (Goffman 1961[51]; Vollmer 1957), though this perspective was also used in continental research. The organizational approach is mainly used as a theoretical framework helping to answer the question about the sources of the crisis in religious life.

One example of a text employing organizational theory is the article by Roseanne Murphy and William T. Liu titled "Organizational Stance and Change: A Comparative Study of Three Religious Communities" (1966), in which the authors treat religious communities as organizations. The model of such research involves taking into account the following aspects: the original, "foundational" form of a given organization, its rule-, task-, and profession-oriented character, the understanding of the organization's values by its members, especially ones at the base of organizational change, as well as factors of change, organizational effectiveness, and leadership. The article in fact constitutes a monograph of three communities written from the perspective of organizational theory. The upside of this approach lies in its consistent treatment of the religious community in terms

[51] Goffman's paper on total institutions, including the monastery, was delivered in 1957.

of ideas and concepts developed in studies of different organizations, e.g. military ones, which helps to pose important questions, for example one about how the organizational transformation of a given community is related to outside factors, including competition with other organizations. Thus, the object of analysis is the religious order as organization, and not its individual members.

Another author who develops this approach is Helene Rose Fuchs Ebaugh (1993) (cf. also e.g. Ebaugh, Chafetz, Lorence 1996; Ebaugh, Ritterband 1978; Ebaugh 1991). Ebaugh analysed the fall in the number of women religious in USA. She treats female orders as organizations in decline, i.e. in a situation of a "deterioration of an organization's adaptation to its domain or microniche and, as a result, the reduction of resources within the organization" (1993, 18-19). This definition of organizational decline – borrowed from Cameron et al. (1988) – emphasises the significance of exchanges between the organization and the environment in which it operates, which leads in the proposed mode of analysis to studying both internal and external factors. Ebaugh mentions the following external factors: the Second Vatican Council, the expansion of professional possibilities for women, falling birth rates (which contributed to the depopulation of parish schools – a niche filled by female orders), the feminist movement, increased significance of professional qualifications (which raised the cost of running parish schools), as well as changes in government programmes and insurance (which caused changes in the financial operation of religious orders). In her view, the key factors were the Second Vatican Council and the expansion of professional possibilities for women. The former relaxed the traditional, hierarchical system by democratizing it, shifting the responsibility for the institution to all of its members; moreover, it decreed the necessity to adapt to the modern world, which initiated a process of self-evaluation; further, it raised the status of secular people, thus depriving religious life of its uniqueness; finally, it ordered the religious to live among lay people, undermining the meaning of enclosure. The Council's decisions also led to the expansion of the scope of activities realized by the women religious, who no longer had to work solely in parish schools (which also lost their unique status). In the 1970s career options for women multiplied, which caused many to leave religious orders as some women religious pursued professional opportunities that were previously unavailable to them. Finally, recruitment diminished due to an increasing range of lifestyle choices available to women.

These external changes caused the religious orders to respond with internal modification of their organization, ultimately leading to the decline of female orders.

The internal changes included: proliferation of feminist ideas in religious orders, creation of democratic power structures, loss of cloister, new possibilities of work in parishes, loss of traditional niches (education in parish schools), redefinition of vows of poverty, changes in financing, and a rise in the level of education. These broader changes in turn led to occupational diversity as well as changes in recruitment and departures, which resulted in the anomie of missions and goals, as well as the increase in the age of members.

Due to the specific character of external factors, Ebaugh's analysis has a local character, pertaining only to USA. Nevertheless, it seems compelling to conduct analogous analyses in other countries where a decline in the number of religious has been observed. What is crucial in Ebaugh's analyses is that she emphasises the organizational character of religious orders and its significance, thus going beyond the kind of reasoning that considers the number of members solely on the basis of vocations, which definitely individualizes the problem of the functioning and liveliness of these institutions. The focus of studying vocations marginalizes the organizational dimension, which constitutes an important aspect of social life, as demonstrated by Ebaugh and many others.

Sr Patricia Wittberg also embraced organizational theory (1994, 1996a, 1996b, 2006, 2007, cf. also Finke, Wittberg 2000) and conducted an interesting analysis using the social movement theory supplemented with elements of the organizational approach. In the book *The Rise and Decline of Catholic Religious Orders* (1994) she attempts to explain the cyclical rise and fall of religious orders in the quantitative sense by referring to their members and their social significance. In her view, in order to explain these changes one needs to take into account a number of factors: social origin, material and spiritual background, individual motivation of people who choose this way of life, resources available to a given religious order (or their lack), differences in spirituality and organization as well as mechanisms of recruiting new members. One key takeaway from Wittberg's work is the equal focus on male and female religious orders – usually, much less space is devoted in historical analyses to the latter.

In America, apart from organizational theory, development of reflection on religious life was fostered by the reception of Weber, which was connected with works by Frank Knight, Talcott Parsons, Edward Shils, and C. Wright Mills. Knight was the first to translate Weber into English, rendering *General Economic History* (1927), which was published in USA. In turn, the *Protestant Ethic…* was first released

in Great Britain in 1930 in translation by Talcott Parsons, who studied in Heidelberg and London in the 1920s.[52]

In works by Talcott Parsons monastic themes emerge in the context of reconstructing and analysing Max Weber's views on the connection between capitalism and modernity (1966), and (without references to Weber) as a distinct though fragmentary subject of analysis (1978). References to monasticism appear in *The Structure of Social Action. A Study in Social Theory with Special Reference to a Group of Recent European Writers* (1966, first published in 1937) and *Action Theory and the Human Condition* (1978).

In one of his early works Parsons touches upon monastic themes solely in reference to Weber: "In one field, however, Catholic ethics achieved something approaching the modern conception of the 'calling,' namely in the place it gave to labor in the monastic discipline" (Parsons 1966, 518) – this is where he traces a connection with the development of bureaucracy. However, as he emphasises, "the very fact that it was a phenomenon of monasticism and that the way of life of the monk was so sharply distinguished from that of the laity prevented it from being generalized" (518). Also, he notes that "[o]ne of the fundamental results of the Reformation was to eliminate the monastery from the sphere of Protestant influence. And with this went an increase in the stringency of ethical discipline expected of the lay Christian in his daily life. The extent of this and its practical implications, however, varied greatly with the different branches of the Protestant movement" (518).

Monastic themes also surface in *Action Theory and the Human Condition* (1978). In this later text Parsons draws attention, among other things, to the fact that the

> development of organized collective monasticism, as distinguished from individualistic anchoritism, was in important degree a response to this critical situation. This process – the major innovations being the work of St. Basil – resulted in a differentiation within the church that may be regarded as even more fundamental than that between clergy (administrators of the sacraments) and laity. This was the differentiation between the religious and the laity. (185)

This position stemmed from the fact of retreating from the world, which guaranteed independence from the secular sphere, while vows of obedience served

[52] For more on the reception of Weber in America see for example: Scaff 2014.

as "protection against nonreligious influences and pressures" (185). Parsons also briefly discusses the development of monasticism, specifically congregations based on ideas developed by St. Basil, and on the Benedictine rule:

> […] the Benedictine order was the first in a series of involvements by the monastic elements of the Western church with the problems, first, of firmly establishing the church in its relations with secular society and, second, of improving secular society itself from a Christian point of view. (187)

Authors from the American circle utilizing concepts developed by Weber (virtuosity, charisma, asceticism) in order to analyse religious life in the past and now also include the aforementioned Michael Hill (1971). In his theoretical text he defines religious orders as sects within the Church. In a book published two years later, titled *The Religious Orders: A Study of Virtuoso Spirituality* (1973), Hill focuses on spiritual virtuosity and historical analysis of religious orders, which constitutes an attempt to develop the perspective first adopted by Weber.

Monographic studies

Another separate type of research can be termed monographic studies. They could be understood as representing deepened research focusing on the general situation of a given monastery, province, or religious order (possibly comparing various orders), as well as on one aspect of their functioning, e.g. economy or organization. The research problem structuring a large number of monographic studies is the question of the condition of the monastery, province, or religious order, which can take the form of investigating transformations in a given period, or strategies of adapting to the social environment. This research covers both male and female religious orders. The following is a presentation of selected findings of these studies.

Empirical research was already conducted in this area in the 1960s. For example, Rev. Bernard Bro (1962) realized a questionnaire survey among 1,800 women religious. Herman Santy (1969) conducted research on commission from one of the female religious orders in Belgium regarding its general condition, the work done by the nuns, the significance of communal life, and the religious identity of nuns. Fr Melchior Baan, a Franciscan, published studies of a Dutch Franciscan province

(1965, 1966). This pioneering project comprises both analysis of found data and empirical explorations (the bibliography includes two items, both Dutch, including one text by the author of the article). Still, the author is a Franciscan, which gave him access to contextualized knowledge and the possibility to obtain various data. Baan addresses the question of structural and cultural transformations of the province, focusing on external and internal factors shaping these changes. He indicates that in order to examine changes in these two dimensions, it is necessary to take into account both external factors, which he regards as more important (transformations of the Dutch society and the Catholic Church in the Netherlands, as well as of the Franciscan order itself), and internal ones (the order's age structure, the members' education as well as their prospects and needs). Baan points to quantitative changes (increase of the number of Franciscans during the last century), the ageing population of the Dutch province, changes in activities, geographical shifts in distribution of monasteries and parishes, organizational transformations, or the process of making religious brothers and priests equal. In the same year, he published a statistical summary about Franciscan orders in Northwestern Europe in *Social Compass* (Baan, Grond 1966).

Andrew J. Weigert (1971) conducted an extended study of the Jesuits from the perspective of their functioning at the turn of the 1950s and 1960s. His analysis focuses on student education programmes, organization (aims, structure, or rules of membership), demonstrating that in the said period there was an increase in the significance of individual development and lifestyle among members of this order, accompanied by the incorporation of instrumental and ecumenical values characteristic for the society. They materialize in the transformation of identity among the Jesuits, who consider themselves to be sacred-secular intellectuals.

Stoop (1971) conducted comparative and questionnaire-base studies in the Netherlands in four anonymous religious orders, analysing seven factors used to characterise them: 1. The significance of individual or formal power structure. 2. The significance of personal satisfaction, needs, and aspirations. 3. The significance of the way of leading a monastic life (inside the monastery rather than outside it). 4. The significance of the spirituality of a given order. 5. The significance of prayer. 6. Certainty about the religious development of the religious order. 7. Assessment of interactions with other members. The article, however, does not reveal full research results.

Kristo Talin (1997) compared female religious orders in France and Quebec, taking into account their adaptation to the social environment. He indicates that

in Quebec – where relations between religion, the Church, and the society are less tense than in France – representatives of female orders make public appearances more often and more frequently seek to exercise their rights. Other relations link them with the Vatican as nuns from Quebec are more independent from the Vatican in terms of their views than French nuns.

Adaptation to changing conditions can be also made necessary by internal factors. Annick Anchisi, Laurent Amiotte-Suchet and Kevin Toffel (2016) conducted comparative research on female religious orders in France and Switzerland from the perspective of their changes due to the ageing population of women religious and the decrease in the number of vocations. The authors distinguished five strategies of adapting to these changes: surviving, grouping, alliance, delegation, and evolution. The strategy of surviving consists in implementing partial healthcare solutions in order to manage old age as long as it is possible, which requires engaging lay personnel. The strategy of grouping consists in joining religious communities that live relatively close to each other so as to manage the question of old age together; for this purpose some rooms in the monasteries are adapted to function as places of care and specialist external personnel is hired. The strategy of alliance consists in admitting ageing women religious from a given order or congregation to one of the separated units of medical care. The strategy of delegation consists in entrusting care over older sisters to a Christian healthcare association, the monastery being then rented or transferred to the association, which ensures the implementation of proper sanitary standards. The strategy of evolution involves moving to a structure of care managed by the religious congregation with extensive support from lay people, or by a fully lay team. In this way, the monastery is reorganised so that it can meet state requirements and gain the status of EHPAD (Établissements d'hébergement pour personnes âgées dépendantes) in France or EMS (Établissements médico-sociaux) in Switzerland. As the authors conclude, as a result of this monasteries transform – to a different degree depending on the adopted strategy – into old people's homes. Finally, the fifth strategy distinguished here also demonstrates the emergence of new forms of dependence between religious institutions and the state, insofar as the former strive to gain the status of welfare institutions, which is granted by state authorities (for more on the problem of the ageing population of the consecrated cf. also Luy, Flandorfer, di Giulio 2013).

Economy

A special place in monographic studies is held by investigations of economic aspects. It was already Weber who mentioned, in his writings about the organization of monastic life, the paradoxical character of its structure.

> The ascetic monk has fled from the world by denying himself individual property; his existence has rested entirely upon his own work; and, above all, his needs have been correspondingly restricted to what was absolutely indispensable. The paradox of all rational asceticism, which in an identical manner has made monks in all ages stumble, is that rational asceticism itself has created the very wealth it rejected. Temples and monasteries have everywhere become the very *loci* of rational economies. (Weber 1946, 332)

Isabelle Jonveaux emphasises in turn that

> [f]rom the very beginning of monasticism, work and economy generated deep tensions within religious life. […] the tension between work or economy and prayer life did not disappear with the redaction of rules or institutionalization of communities in defined monasteries but continues throughout the whole history of monasticism. More particularly, this question has often been the cause of reforms or creations of new monastic movements. (2014, 72)

For Weber, "the whole history of monasticism is in a certain sense the history of a continual struggle with the problem of the secularizing influence of wealth" (Weber 2005, 118). Today's religious orders, having suffered waves of dissolutions, are no longer the large-scale feudal and farming economic organisms they used to be in the Middle Ages due to donations and their economic efficiency. For example, at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Benedictine Abbey possessed fifty-two villages, five parts of villages, and one town (totalling ca 5,700 hectares) (Gapski 1990). Economic affluence stimulated the creation of new movements that would attempt to return to source ideas and break away from a developed system of economic practices characteristic for basically all religious orders. Dissolutions diminished their economic status, while the new economic context of capitalism posed before them a challenge consisting in the need to develop new forms of economic activity.

In the article "Instituts religieux et économie charismatique" (1992), the aforementioned scholar Séguy discusses the significance and form of the economic practices adopted by religious orders today. Referring to Weber, he poses the question whether today – in capitalism and late modernity – there exists an economy that could be called charismatic (religious), i.e. one that would "practically confirm the advantage of values and their logic [*rationalité*]" (37) over everyday goals or ones stemming from a rational calculation of profit and loss, instead being based on sharing and ascetic motivation (*économie charismatique*). Or maybe the current economic model realized in religious orders should be called an "institutionalized charismatic economy," i.e. one adapted to the capitalist logic of accumulation, surplus production, as well as calculation of profit and loss (*économie charismatique rationalisée*). The French sociologist points out that the Second Vatican Council changed the religious orders' attitude to economy. The Council established that their form is inadequate to the changing times, characterised by rationalism in social, technical, political, and economic systems, recognizing the necessity to modernize the religious orders in economic terms, which initiated the process of verifying their economic practices. Séguy underlines that many religious orders were inspired at that time – theoretically rather than practically – by the Little Brothers of Jesus and the Little Sisters of Jesus, religious congregations founded at the beginning of the 1930s and based on principles developed by Karol de Foucauld (today there are around 250 religious brothers representing the former congregation around the world, and 7 in Poland, where they are present since the end of the 1970s). What distinguishes the Little Brothers of Jesus is that they do simple physical work among the poor and excluded (e.g. in factories or supermarkets), do not take up pastoral duties, live among people, and return any surplus profits (after fulfilling their own basic needs) to their local community. This congregation fosters appreciation for physical work and solidarity with the excluded. In this sense, Séguy argues, it has redefined the meaning of poverty. On both theoretical and practical level, it solved the problem of the secularizing influence of the economy by redistributing surplus profits. Religious orders which have historically held assets like the monastery, other buildings or land (even after secularization), had to work out a different model than that of the Little Brothers of Jesus due to the character of these assets and their long-standing tradition. In such cases, especially those of monastic orders, it is possible to observe that they are active in production, farming, or the hotel industry, which are all subject to the capitalist logic of the market.

In Séguy's view, the model of the Little Brothers of Jesus constitutes a type of charismatic economy. However, in practical terms it is not very widespread and its significance today consists in its recognizably paradigmatic status of a model. Economic practices of religious orders correspond in his view to the given type of rationalized charismatic economy.

Inspired by Séguy's conclusions, Isabelle Jonveaux explored, conducting field studies, the subject of the religious orders' economy (2011, 2014). As she underlines, it is now possible to speak about the development of non-religious, commercial forms of activity undertaken by monasteries as an economic necessity, i.e. in order to survive, and as an important factor in adapting to new circumstances. For example, in today's Belgium the monasteries' main source of income are royalties from selling cheese and beer. Jonveaux enumerates three main ways of generating profit: direct work of monks and nuns, assets like land or investments, and the work of employees working for monasteries (2014). In France, only 24% of production in monasteries is constituted by religious products, and in Italy – 18%. "For instance, foods represent 27% of French products, CD's and cards are 15%, and decoration is 10%. We also can find in monastic productions cosmetics, foods supplements, toys and so on" (2014, 78). She claims that the new forms of economic activity can help religious orders "to find a renewed place" (75) in a secularized context. Thanks to the monastic products, which are consumed not only by believers, and to the opening of the monasteries' spaces to non-religious tourists (ones not motivated by religion but by consumerism, for example), the "audience" of efforts made by the monasteries is broadening, which Jonveaux regards as an instrument of evangelization, "a new way to be integrated into it [society]. […] Thanks to their commercial proposition which also brings a spiritual sense, monks go out of the strong framework of institutional religion which is precisely declining in western European society" (85). "In most European countries today," she underscores, "economic activities have become a first necessity for monasteries that have lost their traditional sources of incomes" (2014, 73), while "a large part of monastic communities today live thanks to the direct work of monks" (74), leading to the commercialization of monastic products, traditions and spaces – a tendency that has so far been only cursorily analysed (Jewdokimow 2015a, 2015b; Jonveaux 2014). In this context it is possible to recall a remark made by Peter Berger, who argues that "[a]s a result of secularization religious groups are also compelled to compete with various *non*-religious rivals in the business of defining the world" (2011, 274). Pluralization leads to the necessity to compete.

> As a result, the religious tradition, which previously could be authoritatively imposed, now has to be marketed. It must be "sold" to a clientele that is no longer constrained to "buy." The pluralistic situation is, above all, a market situation. In it, the religious institutions become marketing agencies and the religious traditions become consumer commodities. (Berger 2011, 276)

New monastic communities

In discussions of monographic studies a separate place is occupied by studies of the so-called new monastic communities, e.g. the Monastic Fraternities of Jerusalem, or the Bose Monastic Community (e.g. Wittberg 1996a; Baudouin, Portier 2002; Landron 2004; Palmisano 2013, 2014, 2015, 2017; Sweeney 1994; Ponzetti 2014). The development of these communities was connected with the Second Vatican Council. According to Stefania Palmisano, new monastic communities can be defined as

> groups of people (at least some of whom have taken religious vows) living together permanently and possessing two main characteristics: 1. Born in the wake of Vatican Council II, they are renewing monastic life by emphasizing the most innovative and disruptive aspects they can find in the Council's theology; 2. They do not belong to pre-existing orders or congregations – although they freely adapt their Rules of Life. (2015, 7)

She points out that elements of the functioning of these new communities include, for example, allusions to Judaism, yoga, lozo, and zen, as well as consent for male and female religious to live together under one roof. In such communities not only and male and female religious live side by side, but their members also include "lay members, whether single, married or families, residing in private dwellings more or less close to the monastery" (Palmisano 2014, 88); further, "they reject enclosure and *contemptus mundi*, limiting collective prayer time in order to increase that available for labor, evangelization and voluntary social work, often outside the monastery" (88). Their last feature is the connection with oriental religions, which manifests not only in transplanting certain beliefs and practices, but also in becoming engaged in ecumenical and inter-religious dialogue. Consequently, Palmisano argues that new monastic communities are not "a reform of any pre-existing monastic order

but a new form of consecrated life" (88). According to her, new monastic communities constitute examples of reinventing the monastic tradition (Palmisano 2015).

Studies of Central and Eastern Europe

There are very few sociological studies of religious life in Central and Eastern Europe. However, basing on other, non-sociological sources it is possible to reconstruct the general condition of religious life in the last several decades and indicate – otherwise than in Chapter Two – not only quantitative tendencies, but also their broader context. Still, the insufficiency of sociological studies is all the more acute here since – as demonstrated in Chapter Two – countries in this region have seen processes that are partially different from ones observed in other European countries. Also, this section makes unprecedented references to Orthodox monasticism.

Among the few studies one should point out the volume edited by Ines Angela Murzaku titled *Monasticism in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Republics*[53] (2016), which attempts to discuss the phenomenon of monastic life in areas specified in the title. The work employs a predominantly historical approach, but also covers the twentieth century, providing a rich body of facts. Available sociological studies as well as the above-mentioned publication facilitate establishing the following data on monastic life in Central and Eastern Europe, where Catholic and Orthodox forms of monastic life coexist.

In Hungary, religious life was liquidated in 1950 with the dissolution of 23 male religious orders and 40 female ones, involving 3,000 religious priests and brothers, and three times as many women religious. Under the communist rule, only four orders operated legally: three female ones – the Benedictines, the Franciscans and the Notre Dame Sisters – as well as one male: the Piarists. Some religious orders functioned in secrecy (Révay 2003, after Börge 2010). Basing on fifty life stories of women religious who went underground, the Hungarian scholar Zsuzsanna Börge demonstrates that the communist period transformed the religious identity of Hungarian women religious from a collective to an individualized one, which was related to the loss of the primary reference group – the religious order.

[53] This volume discusses not only monastic orders but also other types.

Following Philip E. Hammond (1988), she understands collective religious identity as stemming from being a part of the local religious community, acting as the basic reference group. Further, she regards the ties with the Church as obvious and not requiring reflection. Individualized identity, on the other hand, is based on low levels of cooperation among the local community and characterised by changeability, including the ties with the Church. Studies by Börge have demonstrated that whereas the identity of women religious has become individualized, their relation with the Church has not been altered. Emmerich András (1994) shows, in turn, that the process of reviving religious life began in this country in 1989 when authorities decided to reorganize it and return some of the appropriated assets (in the 1990s it was possible to reclaim properties, allowing religious orders to function properly). As a result, the process of reclaiming assets (including buildings) began in the 1990s, stimulating the development of religious orders. In 1991 there were almost 3,000 women religious (one third less than in 1950) and almost 1,000 religious brothers; however, in 1991 the population of religious was dominated by people over 65 years (76% of all women and 51.5% men). After two years of revival there were already 18 male religious orders and 16 female ones, as well as 3 male congregations and 20 female ones, along with two female secular institutes and eight societies of apostolic life (four male and four female).

In Bulgaria, religious life was forbidden by the communist regime. After 1989 Catholic orders began to function anew, but the number of male and female religious is now four times smaller than just after the Second World War. However, Orthodox monasticism would develop: whereas the Bulgarian Orthodox Church had 105 monasteries in 1944, it now has already 170 (including defunct and ruined ones), with only 120 male religious and 140 female ones (Kalkandjieva 2016).

In Serbia, due to agricultural reforms introduced by the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a large portion of land that belonged to the monasteries was nationalized. Further, monasteries were obliged to sell agricultural produce to the state, and some monasteries were turned into tourist centres.

However, this did not mean that Orthodox monasticism was obliterated. In 1960, the Serbian Orthodox Church included ca 150 monasteries with almost 850 male and female religious. New monasteries were also built and destroyed ones were renovated during the communist era. In the early 1990s there were already 204 monasteries with 1,200 male and female religious, including novitiates. Whereas in 1996 there were 108 monasteries with 744 female religious and

novitiates, in 2006 there were already 131 with 981, which indicates development (Radić 2016).[54]

In Romania, Orthodox monasticism was subordinated to the communist authorities, which allowed it to develop, although many monasteries were dissolved, while the religious were prosecuted as the authorities regarded them to be anti-communist. In 2009 there were 637 monasteries with over 8,000 male and female religious (D'Alessandri 2016). As Emilian Nica shows (2009), in the Romanian Orthodox Church there are now 637 monasteries with over 8,000 male and female religious. Monasteries are active in charity and culture, running addiction treatment centres, old people's homes, or orphanages.

In Slovakia, after dissolutions carried out under the communist rule Catholic religious life began to develop. Currently, there are 58 religious orders and congregations as well as eight secular institutes (Kirschbaum 2016).

In Slovenia, just like in other countries under the influence of USSR, the communist authorities took action already in 1945, limiting and ultimately liquidating religious life. Religious orders were forbidden to run schools and other educational institutions, their buildings and land were nationalized, while male and female religious faced judicial proceedings (e.g. for contacts with foreign authorities). In the early 1950s the situation improved – the religious were allowed to be partially active in the social sphere outside monasteries (e.g. in the media and in education, especially in religious instruction). After the fall of communism, nationalized assets began to be returned. In 1998 there were 386 religious priests and brothers (most of them Salesians and Franciscans) and 784 female religious (most of them Daughters of Charity) (Kolar 2016).

Studies of religious life outside Europe and North America

As it arises from the above analyses, sociological studies of Catholic religious life regard primarily North American and European countries other than ones in Central and Eastern Europe. In literature on the subject it is also possible to point out studies regarding continents other than Europe and North America. Such areas are relevant because – as indicated in Chapter Two – these are the places where

[54] For more on this subject see: Bakić-Hayden 2006.

religious life thrives. For example, monasteries are established in Africa since the 1950s (with few exceptions) following the call made by Pope Pius XII in the encyclical *Fidei Donum* (Langewiesche 2015). In the context of countries outside Europe and America, several studies of Catholic religious life can be indicated as focusing on, for example, the Benedictine missionary sisters in the Philippines (Claussen 2001), the foundation of monasteries in Cameroon (Gavrand 1990), monasteries in Burkina Faso (Langewiesche 2003, 2008, 2012a, 2012b, 2014, 2015), religious life in Nigeria (concentrating on the Ibo ethnic group) (Onyejekwe 2001), Brazil (Valle 2001), and India (Valipalam 2001). Selected ones are discussed below.

Edenio Valle (2001) shows that religious life in Brazil had four phases of development. In the first, initiated by the First Vatican Council (1869-1870), the shape of religious life in Brazil, Argentina and Chile was tied to the middle class as well as to the immigrants and their needs (or the needs of native communities), which translated into the development of institutions like schools, hospitals, seminars or parishes. This distinguished the period's religious life from the its earlier form, which was rooted in colonialism. In the second phase, i.e. since the Second Vatican Council, the European model grew weaker and focus shifted from the middle class to the impoverished. In the third phase, which started in the 1980s, what moved into the foreground was the political engagement of religious priests, brothers and sisters, related to their being active among the poor since the previous phase. The fourth phase, which began in the twenty-first century, is characterised by seeking the kind of a model of religious life that could constitute an answer to the new conditions and challenges (among other things, the "quality" of the rising number of male vocations, the place of women in the Church and the ageing population of women religious, as well as broader socio-economic changes).

Mathew P. Valipalam (2001) discusses the state of religious life in India. In 1999, in this country there were 77,000 women religious, over 16,000 religious priests (diocesan and religious) as well as 3,000 religious brothers (the last number rose by 171% since 1969), focusing in their activities on education, medicine, and social matters (e.g. Saint Mother Teresa; these are areas of activity developed already during the first missions). Also, local religious orders and congregations were founded in India.

Katrin Langewiesche (2015) demonstrates that studies of Africa regard primarily missions and the clergy rather than the significance of monasteries, including female ones. She conducted a project about the position of monasteries in Africa from the perspective of their influence on the development of local communities.

As her studies show (basing on the example of a Benedictine abbey in Burkina Faso, where 26 nuns live), women religious operate in transnational networks (connected both with religious life and, more broadly, with Catholic and secular organizations), which not only facilitate the development of local monasteries, but also contribute to the development of local communities. Founding a monastery initiates the process of spreading these networks, which in turn affects the local community. Monastic economy is also vital in this perspective: apart from running a shop selling handmade items or CDs, and running a boarding house, these women religious also have a yogurt factory, currently the biggest one in Burkina Faso, and are an important employer in the region (ca 10-15 permanent positions and 10-20 part-time).

As for sociological research on religious life other than Catholic, this question remains outside the scope of this study. Authors of literature on Orthodox monasticism have been listed by Ines Angela Murzaku (2016), while sample research projects were carried out by: Jioultsis (1975), Iossifides (1991), Denizeau (2010, 2012, 2014), Hämmerli (2014), and Poujeau (2014). Studies of Buddhist monasticism were conducted by Saram (1976), Bunnag (1973), Galmiche (2014), and Starkey (2014).

Vocations to religious life

The question of religious life is also taken up in studies of vocations, as part of which analysis are made of both clerical and monastic vocations (cf. graph no. 15). A thorough discussion of this topic, along with a bibliography of Polish and foreign works, was penned by Józef Baniak (1981, 1997, 2012) – thus, this work does not address this subject, only indicating selected works by Baniak (1984, 1986, 1994, 2000) and by Zdaniewicz (1960, 1965, 1968, 1998), which are devoted to religious vocations.

Sexual offences and violations in the context of religious life

The problem of sexual offences and violations in the Catholic Church, including ones against children, is a grave subject that has drawn the attention of both the general public and a rising number of scholars. However, it has not been analysed with the use of sociological tools in the context of religious orders and the religious.

Data on the subject is presented in general discussions. Sociological analyses of the phenomenon in general in the Irish context (without focus on monasteries) demonstrate that there exists a connection between reports of sexual abuse of children by the clergy and the general decrease in institutional religiosity (Donnelly, Inglis 2010). Broader analyses of the question of celibate, as well as of the Church's reactions to the revealed facts, have already been published (e.g. Keenan 2012; John Jay College 2004; Scheper-Hughes, Devine 2003; Loseke 2003; Terry, White 2008). As Marie Keenan shows (2012), data on the phenomenon is limited, although in some countries (especially USA, Canada, Australia, and Ireland) the situation has improved due to publicly exposed cases and reactions to them on the part of the judiciary or independent researchers.

As Keenan shows, data from the Vatican demonstrate that in the years 2001-2010 the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith examined around 3,000 alleged cases of sexual abuse by priests (including religious priests) in the last fifty years, out of which 60% were cases of ephebophilia, 30% – of heterosexual contacts, and 10% – of pedophilia. Around 20% of the 3,000 cases were handed over to law enforcement bodies, and 60% were not examined in canonical legal processes due to the old age of perpetrators, although they were forbidden to celebrate the Holy Mass, hear confessions, or lead the life of a retired priest (Keenan 2012, 6).

Information about sexual offences and violations against children, including the context of religious orders and institutions run by them, arrive from many countries. In USA, questionnaire surveys conducted at the beginning of the twenty-first century have demonstrated that accusations of alleged sexual abuse of children by religious priests regarded 2.7% of all religious, as compared to 4.3% of diocesan priests (out of which 80% regarded boys, and 20% – girls) (Keenan 2012, 7 and 12). It is estimated that 4% of all Irish priests were accused of sexually abusing minors in the last fifty years (until 2005) (8). The Ryan Report produced by the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (2009)[55] revealed that in Irish educational centres run by 18 religious orders there were cases of physical, psychological, and sexual abuse in the last sixty years, which translated, among other things, into millions of euros of financial obligations on the part of the religious orders, payable to the state. It was one of several such reports drafted in Ireland at the beginning of the twenty-first century. In Australia, the Australian Royal Commission into Institutional Responses

[55] http://www.childabusecommission.ie (accessed 5 February 2018).

to Child Sexual Abuse[56] reported that, in the years 1950-2009, 7% of priests were accused of abusing children. In the Benedictine Community of New Norcia, 21.5% of priests were accused (average from the last six decades), in the Salesian Society – 17.2%, in the Society of Mary (the Marists) – 13.9%, in the Association of Catholic Apostolate (the Pallottines) – 13.7%, and in the St John of God Brothers – over 40%.[57] Charges were also levelled, among other places, in Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Austria, Spain[58] and Poland.

The Polish tradition of studies of religious orders

In Poland, studies of religious orders currently take mostly the form of analyses focusing on the question of vocations. Two fundamental pre-war texts are studies by the Redemptorist Fr Marian Pirożyński on the topic of male and female religious orders (1935, 1937). These publications contain quantitative data, information about the distribution of religious orders in dioceses, general characteristics (typology, density of population in monasteries, or the age of religious priests), discussion of the orders' activities, and a detailed presentation of them in historical terms or, in some cases, with regard to their present operations.

References to these topics can be already found in Jan Stanisław Bystroń's 1936 book titled *Kultura ludowa* [Folk culture]. Writing about religious orders in the spirit of Enlightenment criticism (as part of a broader discussion of the Church's influence on the countryside), he indicates that thanks to the authority they enjoyed in the countryside the religious would contribute to the spreading of superstitions:

> Monasteries […] greatly contributed to the cultivation of various superstitions, especially of foreign origin; piety did not exclude superstitiousness. Certainly, the intellectual approach adopted for example by the Jesuits or the Piarists did not foster the development of these traditional beliefs and practices, but

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56 https://www.childabuseroyalcommission.gov.au (accessed 5 February 2018).

57 https://www.childabuseroyalcommission.gov.au/sites/default/ les/research_report_-_analysis_of_claims_of_made_with_respect_to_catholic_church_institutions_-_institutions_of_interest_0.pdf (accessed 5 February 2018).

58 http://www.bbc.com/news/10407559 (accessed 5 February 2018).

> many devotional monasteries were not free from them; the religious were often simple people, who only had a superficial understanding of theological matters, while lay brothers were only vaguely familiar with the principles of religion, not really exceeding the average folk in terms of their intellectual depth, although they were an important authority. (Bystroń 1936, 178)

As an example, Bystroń quotes the aforementioned long poem *Monochomachia* by Ignacy Krasicki. Elsewhere he draws attention to the fact that monasteries also contributed to the spreading of certain species of plants.

Today's state of Polish sociological research on this subject is quite modest, just like the number of studies in this field, including translations (apart from the issue of vocations). In their presentation of an outline of the Polish sociology of religion after the Second World War, Rev. Janusz Mariański and Rev. Władysław Piwowarski (1986) list the topic of monasteries as the second field of research "on religious communities and institutions." They write about the institutions of religious orders and priesthood jointly, arguing that in this sphere the dominant area of study is the question of vocations. Further, they indicate the existence of "more advanced [in comparison to studies of the model of modern priesthood] […] sociological studies among the religious" (36). To support this, they refer, in a footnote only, to two unpublished works: the postdoctoral thesis by Zdaniewicz (1974) and the doctoral thesis by Cyman (1983).

It is highly problematic to analyse the state of sociological research on religious orders in Poland (apart from the question of vocations). The question of monasteries or – more broadly – consecrated life has been typically addressed by theologians and historians, who also prepare sociographic characteristics, additionally using – in the case of the former – questionnaire surveys. As Mariański and Piwowarski point out (1986), this research practice, however, is accompanied by a lack of broader sociological reflection concerning theory. They argue that this makes it difficult to regard these analyses as strictly sociological, although "they form a certain foundation for generalizations and the construction of mid-scale theory on the basis of reinterpretations of the assembled factual material" (36). Taking these difficulties into consideration, Józef Baniak includes in his bibliography, covering the years 1945-1994 and titled *Problematyka stanu i życia zakonnego* [The question of the religious state and religious life] (Baniak 1997), also the texts that have been published in theological, historical, and socio-cultural journals, without differentiating between sociological and non-sociological works.

As a result of this, it is problematic to distinguish works that are strictly sociological and regard Catholic religious orders. Any such attempts must be inherently flawed. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to make the effort. The present analysis, which aims to distinguish such texts, covers bibliographies of religious life prepared by Baniak for the years 1945-1994 (1997) and by Ryszard Żmuda for the years 1945-2000 (2001, 2011). The following criteria of selection have been assumed in what follows: name (whether the person is recognized as a sociologist), sociological journal or one publishing articles in the area of sociology of religion, or sociological monographs and edited volumes. This has been supplemented with a survey of all issues of the journals *Znak*[59], *Więź*[60], *Kwartalnik Religioznawczy "Nomos," Studia Religiologica*, and *Przegląd Religioznawczy* (previously *Euhemer.*

[59] *Znak* published many articles on religious life, which adopt a historical, theological, or social perspective. All of them are insightful and rewarding but fail to use sociological tools, which causes that they are not included in the category of sociological works. Despite their high quality, they remain – to echo Mariański and Piwowarski – material for renewed analysis. Apart from the abovementioned sociological article by Goddijn (1966b), this category includes an article by the historian Ewa Jabłońskiej-Deptuła, titled *Problemy rozwoju i adaptacji polskich XIX-wiecznych zgromadzeń żeńskich* [Problems in development and adaptation of nineteenth-century Polish female congregations] (1966), which addresses the topic of the transformations of religious orders as institutions (up to 1945). Nevertheless, the author herself considers her work to represent the discipline of history, which is the reason why it is mentioned in a footnote. Crucially important articles about strictly social questions include one by Andrzej Woźnicki titled "Czy istnieje kryzys idei zakonnej?" [Is there a crisis of the religious idea?] (1960), which analyses a questionnaire survey conducted by students on the subject of religious life (basing on answers from 126 respondents) and the article by Anna Morawska titled "Czyją siostrą jest siostra zakonna? (z dziejów aggiornamento w USA)" [Whose sister is a religious sister? From the history of aggiornamento in USA] (1968) on the transformations of religious life in USA. Three issues of *Znak* have been devoted solely to monastic themes: nos. 143 (1966), 261 (1976), and 318 (1980). Crucial texts have also been published in the following issues: nos. 73-74 (1960), 75 (1960), 132 (1965), 137-138 (1965), 153 (1967), 159 (1967), 163-164 (1968), 176 (1969), 190 (1970), and 214 (1972). A survey of these issues shows that interest in the this topic peaked in the period around the Second Vatican Council. Just like in sociological journals published in Europe and America, this interest increased after the Council (three thematic issues appeared in that period).

[60] *Więź* also published many interesting and important texts on the subject, e.g. in no. 6 (548), which contains the article titled *Zakonnice – rodzaj nijaki?* [Sisters – a neuter word?] (2004).

Przegląd Religioznawczy)[61] as well as with certain sociological publications on the subject that do not appear in analysed bibliographies and journals. This catalogue does not include studies of Buddhism (many works on this subject were published in *Studia Religiologica* and *Przegląd Religioznawczy*) and of Orthodox monasticism. As a result, in the period since 1945 it is possible to list 34 works by scholars different than the author of this book (articles, books, chapters, and theses), including four doctoral theses and one post-doctoral one (none of them have been published), four translations, one review, one edited volume, as well as thirteen articles, chapters, and review essays by the author of this book (including four as a co-author). It needs to be emphasised that this bibliography includes works in Polish or ones regarding Poland that have been published abroad, as well as translations into Polish. Among the published works I list two chapters by Rev. Witold Zdaniewicz – one on the Pallottines, and the other a theoretical text on the sociology of monasteries (1977, 2009) – as well as four articles penned by him about the evolution of religious life (1961) and about the question of religious communities (1967) as well as three statistical ones about religious orders around the world and in Poland (1987, 1991) and about the societies of apostolic life in Poland (1993); three theoretical articles on religious life and two monographs on Polish women religious by Sr Jadwiga Cyman (1987a, 1987b, 1988, 1990, 1995), a theoretical chapter on religious communities by Fr. Władysław Jacher OP (1974), five articles and chapters by Marta Trzebiatowska about Polish women religious (2006, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2013), a survey article on religious life in Poland by Rev. Wojciech Sadłoń (2016), an article by Emilia Zimnica-Kuzioł analysing online statements by women religious (2015), an article by Izabelle Main on the organization and activity of students receiving pastoral care from the Dominicans (2011), two articles on lay brothers (Stachowska 2013; Bazak 2005) published in *Przegląd Religioznawczy*[62] and three translations published in a volume edited by Bohdan Cywiński titled *Ludzie – wiara – Kościół. Analizy socjologiczne* [*People – faith – Church. Sociological analyses*] (1966): Eugène Collard's "Badania socjologiczne żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych i ich powołań" ["Sociological studies of women's religious congregations and vocations in them"], Hendrik P. M. Goddijn's "Życie zakonne w naszych czasach"

[61] Irena Borowik calls them journals publishing sociological articles on religion (Borowik 1999).

[62] The journal also published three articles on religious orders, but they are not sociological in character (Łagosz 2006; Zawada 2012; Augustyn 2012).

["Religious life in our times"] and Emile Pin's "Apostolskie zgromadzenia zakonne wobec przemian socjokulturowych. Rozważania socjologiczne" ["Apostolic congregations in the face of socio-cultural changes. Sociological considerations"]. One translation was also published in *Znak* (Goddijn 1966b). The sociological journal *Kultura i Społeczeństwo* also published Antonina Kłoskowska's review of a book by Allen Douglas (1982) (Kłoskowska 1986). This list should be supplemented with one edited volume (Jewdokimow, Quartier, 2019) as well as nine articles, chapters and a review article by the present author, written individually (2012, 2014, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2016, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c), and three written together with Barbara Markowska (2013a, 2013b, 2015).

The six unpublished works include: the post-doctoral thesis by Rev. Zdaniewicz on the subject of women religious (1974), his earlier work on vocations among religious brothers (it goes beyond the topic of vocations – this is why it is mentioned here) (1968b), three doctoral theses supervised by Rev. Professor Władysław Piwowarski (Jadwiga Cyman 1983; Franciszek Szczęcha 1985; Roman Jusiak 1981) and one supervised by Professor Władysław Wicher (Władysław W. Siwek 1954).

Religious themes also surface in studies of parishes. Rev. Józef Majka (1971) characterizes the sociology of parishes, analyses types of religious parishes, as well as enumerates churches of male and female religious orders in the context of supporting religious centres in parishes. He discusses the specific situation of these churches, which consists in the fact that they fall under the jurisdiction of the bishop, not the parish priest, which causes that certain conflicts can be settled – in his view – by taking into account various conditions, including harmonization of pastoral work plans prepared by the churches of religious orders with plans of the diocese and the parish, as well as the recognition by the bishop and parish priest that monasteries are cult centres whose activities go beyond the regular scope of parishes or sometimes even of dioceses. However, I know of no empirical studies that would take this detailed problematic into account.

Thus, very few sociological texts on Catholic religious life were published in the years 1945-2017 apart from ones devoted to the subject of vocations. The subject is broadly addressed by historians and theologians. At the same time – as Mariański and Piwowarski underline – there are a number of sociographical texts. In light of the above it is difficult to speak of a sociology of religious life or Catholic religious life in Poland. The next sections discuss in detail works by Zdaniewicz, Cyman, and Trzebiatowska, who are key scholars in the Polish context. Importantly, all

three of them have conducted empirical studies among women religious, which can suggest that Polish sociology lacks empirical studies of male institutes.

The concept of the sociology of religious orders developed by Rev. Witold Zdaniewicz

Zdaniewicz developed his structural-functional theory of religious orders basing on the many sociological works on the subject that have been published worldwide since 1974.[63] At the same time, he supplemented these theories with original ideas, which makes his theory of religious orders unique on a global scale. The characteristic feature of his research is not only the use of a structural-functional perspective, but also the recognition of the theological dimension, which – he argues – helps to grasp the essence of religious life without facing limitations entailed by the adoption of a strictly sociological perspective. At the same time, analyses of his bibliography and thesis confirm that until 1974 studies of religious orders were not developing in Poland (apart from studies of vocations). On top of this unpublished thesis, Zdaniewicz also penned two theoretical texts on religious life (aside from studies of vocations) (1967 and 2009) and one general study titled *Z problematyki powołań braci zakonnych w Polsce* [Issues in the area of vocations among religious brothers in Poland] (1968b, typescript) as well as four articles on the following subjects: the evolution of religious life (1961), the problematic of religious communities (1967), statistical analysis of religious orders in Poland and abroad (1987), and societies of apostolic life in Poland (1993); moreover, he conducted unpublished studies of religious life commissioned by religious orders as diagnostic tools, e.g. a study of the Congregation of Marian Fathers in 1999, and one devoted to the Pallottines in 2012 (not included in the above bibliography due to being commissioned by specific institutions). Consequently, it is necessary to acknowledge that Rev. Zdaniewicz is the first and crucial Polish sociologist working in the field of religious orders who developed an approach different from the one concentrating solely on the question of vocations.

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63 The bibliography included in the thesis by Zdaniewicz can be treated as a survey of publications on the subject around the world for he lists more works than are found in bibliographies published in *Social Compass* in the same period. Nevertheless, these items are not included in graph no. 15 in order to adhere to the methodology assumed before.

The typescript-only thesis titled *System społeczny zakonu a funkcja apostolska (na przykładzie żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych w Polsce)* [The social system of the religious order and the apostolic function (on the example of female religious congregations in Poland)][64] constitutes an attempt to answer the question of how to reconcile the historical formula of religious orders, understood as communities aiming to flee the world, with two influences: the requirements posed by the Second Vatican Council regarding the intensification of apostolic efforts, and the impact of the outside world. Thus, in the perspective of the theory developed by Rev. Zdaniewicz, this is a question of finding balance and adapting the religious order to the social system – a fundamental issue that surfaces in many studies of religious orders. Rev. Zdaniewicz formulates the research problem as follows: his work is devoted to the question of the "apostolic function of religious orders and its significance for the entire social system of religious orders" (176), and examines the following aspects: realization of apostolic tasks, adaptation of religious orders to the apostolic function, and the influence of the social environment on the activity of women religious (including the media, family, and other people). In other words, he is interested in how communal life in religious orders looks like, and how this organizational formula translates into the effectiveness in realizing assumed goals related to the apostolic function. Research demonstrates that communal life in religious orders "constitutes something in-between a family-like community and an organization aiming to realize a specific goal" (178). Rev. Zdaniewicz concludes that this organizational formula "does not always dovetail with the robust functioning of the religious organization" (178); at the same time, an efficiently functioning community – i.e. one focused predominantly on the realization of its goals (the apostolic function) – "may not lead to the creation of a true community of people" (178). Religious life, which was historically created as a form of communal living, thus has a structural problem with the efficient realization of the apostolic function – a modernization introduced by the Second Vatican Council. Thus, the tension between the apostolic and the contemplative functions constitutes a "continual problem that requires new solutions" (179), all the more so since the women religious studied by Rev. Zdaniewicz consider communal life and contemplation – the "path to perfection" (180) – to be more important than

[64] The author conducted a questionnaire survey (with 5,335 responses from women religious), statistical analyses, and – as he calls them – "other minor studies."

apostolic activity because they have limited contacts with the outside world and are not interested in it (e.g. on a daily basis only 5.7% of women religious listen to the radio, 3.6% watch television, 6.1% read newspapers; occasionally: radio – 49.4%, television – 58.2%, newspapers – 60.9%). Thus, they learn about ideas of reviving religious life in the form of documents and statements produced by the Church hierarchy, which is – one could argue – quite inefficient (Rev. Zdaniewicz does not say this directly but it seems that this is his assessment). Women religious would thus represent a centripetal attitude that remains conflicted with the necessity to carry out apostolic duties. Rev. Zdaniewicz argues that the answer to these difficulties could be the creation of small apostolic societies that would realize the apostolic function without forgoing communal life.

As for the second issue – that of the influence of the social environment on the lives of women religious – Rev. Zdaniewicz claims that

> the scale of the environment's influence on life in religious orders remains unknown. Learning about this could largely explain a range of disturbing (as some hold) social phenomena in religious congregations (e.g. crisis of vocations, democratization of life, a spirit of independence, etc.). (Zdaniewicz 1974, 180)

Interestingly, despite these reservations Rev. Zdaniewicz concludes that "in the social systems of particular religious congregations the balance has not been disturbed, although they suffer from the problem (sometimes imposed from the outside) of adapting to new conditions of life and work" (180).

The said work extensively discusses religious communities using a structural-functional approach. Rev. Zdaniewicz develops a theory of religious orders as social systems in which he distinguishes the following: structure (configuration of elements), function, and microstructures specific to various social configurations. In his view, the structure includes: members who – as he puts it – "take care to sustain and develop the entire social system" (71), the goal (the principal value and highest norm: "love for God (and the inseparable love for fellow humans); striving towards holiness and realizing love of our neighbours, as well as contemplation and apostolic duty" (71); evangelical counsels, i.e. means to attain the said goal; living together, i.e. the "specific, real framework that unites all elements of the structure" (71); management and tutelary authority; organization, which coordinates the

actions and behaviour of members; rules and regulations, or sets of norms; and finally, vocation. Further, he indicates the following functions: adaptive, apostolic, as well as ones related to the perfection of members, and to the preserving of the system.[65] Among the microstructures he includes the structure of the religious order or of the "religious character" itself, which refers to supernatural values; the structure of power (the subordinate-superior relation); structure of functions (tasks), which stems from social bonds; communal structure and informal ties, i.e. "manifestations of social life" (75), and finally the age structure.

Another text that deserves attention in the present context is the 1968 typescript by Rev. Zdaniewicz devoted to vocations among religious brothers. It is a unique work, one of its kind in Poland, which appears exceptional also in the global context. Its special character stems from the material it includes, namely accounts of everyday life in a monastery, written from the perspective of religious brothers. This is further discussed below, after a brief note on methodology. In the 1960s, questionnaire surveys were conducted among 448 religious brothers (almost one fourth of their entire population in Poland); the questionnaire includes, among others, two open questions: "Why is the number of vocations among Brothers currently decreasing?" and "What should be done in order to increase the number of vocations among Brothers?" Answers to these constitute fascinating material. The main goal of the study was to analyse the problem of the vocation crisis among religious brothers and the "crisis of perseverance" (5), which manifests in the increasing number of brothers departing from the religious order after profession. The author provides the following data: in 1934 there were 2,045 religious brothers in Poland; in 1946 – 1524; until 1960 the number was rising (reaching 1,828), and then would successively decrease until 1967, reaching 1,662 (successively because in the years 1961-1962 it slightly rose from 1775 to 1794).[66]

Decreases in the period mentioned by Rev. Zdaniewicz were rooted in dwindling recruitment and an increase in the number of brothers departing from the

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[65] In the 2009 article titled "Socjologia zakonu" [Sociology of religious orders], which offers a summary of the argument developed in 1974, Rev. Zdaniewicz writes about the following functions: perfecting members, perfecting the community, realizing goals and tasks, and permanent adapting. In comparison to the 1974 thesis, the 2009 article does not contain any new theoretical findings and for this reason it is not discussed here in detail.

[66] Rev. Zdaniewicz quotes figures for the period before 1967.

order after profession. In the years 1947-1949 there was a simultaneous increase in the number of newly admitted members and a decrease in the number of made professions and brothers leaving the order. In the years 1951-1953 the number of brothers departing after profession already surpassed the number of those leaving before it. "In 1949, those 'departing' after profession constituted only 20% of all the 'leaving' ones, whereas in 1953 this number rose more than three times" (Zdaniewicz 1968b, 5). No similar data has been found about the period after that which is analysed by Rev. Zdaniewicz, making it impossible to establish what the tendency was after 1968. However, his findings lead to the conclusion that the factors responsible for the drop in the number of brothers also include the situation of brothers inside orders, or – to put it differently – the organizational culture in a given order:

> When one reads these statements, which are full of remorse for lack of appreciation and for the burden of everyday work, one can sense that this is an "oppressed" class in a secular society. The suffering that arises from the shortcomings of the monastic community ceased to be a factor in its internal transformation. It is possible that this kind of attitude could be heroic, but it remains a fact that this attitude is largely not revealed in questionnaires.
>
> Brothers crave respect and appreciation from both their superiors and other members of the monastic community. They wish to be fully-fledged members of this community. This explains their requests for fuller religious and professional education. Hence the demand for greater care about the life of religious brothers. (Zdaniewicz 1968b, 21)

These are the conclusions drawn by Rev. Zdaniewicz on the basis of statements made by brothers. It turned out, among other things, that 30% of religious brothers would point to lack of respect from other members of the community, 17% would underline the importance of equality in everyday life, 10% argued in favour of the necessity to continue professional education, 7% demanded better care, 5% argued that they deserve love and respect, postulating good (equal) treatment of all members, and emphasising mistreatment on the part of religious priests and superiors.

This is confirmed by three statements chosen to illustrate the above quantitative data:

> Lack of brotherhood and kindliness in the religious order, inappropriate behaviour of superiors (using brothers, denying them little reliefs and entertainment, meanness, lack of interest in their family relations or personal life).

> Finding a way to eliminate the incredible antagonism between priests and brothers in the congregation as well as the shattering pessimism that some brothers would identify among others with almost caste-like zealousness, or other negative features enlarged through lively imagination.

> Because religious brothers do not have any rights within the religious order, and cannot feel like members of a religious family, while religious priests, especially superiors, treat brothers like their slaves, like pariahs or camp prisoners. When I talk to young people who confess that they wish to become brothers, I discourage them by explaining who brothers are: the pariahs of the religious order. If someone explained this to me before I became a brother, I would be greatly indebted and would not become one.

These studies show that the current fall in the number of vocations should be viewed differently for each group (women religious, religious priests and brothers), because within the institution of the religious order these groups are characterized by different positions and relations. What is also revealed is that the factor that needs to be considered – as a hypothesis – in relation to the fall in the number of religious brothers is certainly the organizational culture of the given religious order. Unfortunately, lack of fuller data on the subject of the current condition of this group makes it impossible to verify this hypothesis.

Studies by Sr Jadwiga Cyman

Jadwiga Cyman, a Sister of Saint Elizabeth, is the author of five important empirical works on women religious (1983, 1987b, 1988, 1990, 1995) and one theoretical text on religious communities (1987a). Cyman also conducted empirical research

(in the form of a questionnaire survey) among women religious in Poland and internationally in comparative terms. These detailed studies examine the communal life of women religious. At the same time, however, the way in which she frames some questions can be indeed surprising, revealing her engagement in the world she describes as well as certain assumptions she makes about its functioning, e.g. regarding the joys of women religious.

Cyman is primarily interested in the communal life in the monastery (its character and its evaluation by women religious). In the text "Wspólnota zakonna grupą społeczną" [The religious community as a social group] (1987a) she defines the religious community as a "specific kind of a goal-oriented social group of religious character, which belongs strictly and inseparably with the life and holiness of the Church" (351-352). Using concepts developed by Turner (1955) and Szczepański (1972), she indicates the following components: shared goal, specific norms, hierarchical management, emergence of interacting groups (ones that individuals do not identify with but need to acknowledge regarding norms in the course of realizing their goals) and evaluation groups (which constitute points of contact with other groups that individuals identify with), complete identification with the group's duties, satisfying one's own personal needs and aspirations, and realizing supernatural values.

Cyman conducted her comparative studies in 1979 on the sample of 5,242 women religious from various congregations in Poland, (West) Germany, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Tanzania, and Cameroon (questionnaires were sent to selected congregations in these countries) (Cyman 1987b, 1988). The main goal was to establish how communal and religious life (including liturgy and prayer) look like in the light of decisions taken by the Second Vatican Council. As these studies show, in comparison to other countries Polish women religious are the least eager to stay in the house – only 33% compared to 68% in Germany, 50% in Scandinavian countries, and 38% in Tanzania and Cameroon. Polish women religious, on the other hand, keenly stay in their workplaces: as many as 59% in comparison to 22% in Germany or 30% in Italy (1987a). It is worthwhile to compare answers to this question with responses regarding the reasons for returning to the religious house after work. It turns out that Polish women religious are the least comfortable with returning – in comparison to those from other studied countries – as only 33% "feel safe [in the religious house] and at home" in comparison to 68% in Germany, 53% in Scandinavia, 59% in Italy, and 34% in Cameroon and Tanzania (1990).

Interestingly, despite quoting this data, which indicates that Polish women religious feel much more comfortable outside the religious house than inside it, Cyman claims – referring not to the results of her studies but to the ideological assumptions about the functioning of religious communities – that

> most sisters regard the community as the true real place of interpersonal contacts – a place where one can feel needed. This sense stems from living together, duty, and the choice of a real, material, tangible service to the other. […] The disposition to serve the other is the foundation of life and community. For this reason no one can claim the sole right to it and no one can feel relieved from it. (Cyman 1987b, 127)

In other words, duty (including work) both in the religious house and outside it is the core of the life led by women religious. What is also interesting, while studying the phenomenon of the "joy of communal life" and the "joy of kindliness among sisters" – i.e. the quality of life – Cyman did not ask whether women religious are content with communal life or if they enjoy living together with other sisters, but what they feel joy *about*. As she writes, "rejoicing about the truth of the Gospels deep inside, the sisters emanate with joy all around" (136). Thus, she would take it for granted that the women religious are content. In comparison to other studied countries, Polish women religious lead in terms of the joy they derive from serving God. 72% are satisfied in this regard in comparison to 58% in Germany and 63% in Italy. At the same time, Polish women religious are the least likely to derive satisfaction from bringing joy to others in any circumstances (12%, as compared to 17% in Germany, 25% in Scandinavia, 16% in Italy, Tanzania, and Cameroon). In studies focusing solely on Polish women religious (questionnaire survey among sisters from active orders, i.e. not cloistered, realized in 1982 on a sample of 476 sisters in Poland) Cyman already addressed the issue of being content with the community (again, a highly specific question because she did not ask about the satisfaction with life in the community, but about the community itself). As she indicates, the smaller the religious community, the greater the satisfaction of living in it: in communities numbering three to six thousand women religious, almost 84% of them would be content, whereas in the largest ones, numbering thirteen thousand and more – only almost 5% (at the same time, more than 75% would prefer a smaller community). It is in large

communities that the greatest number of women religious feel lost (as many as 43.4%), while in the smallest the greatest number feel appreciated (almost 48%); in middle-sized communities (from seven to twelve thousand) most respondents felt spiritually enriched (almost 39%).

Cyman also compared the topics of conversations among women religious. In religious houses, Polish women religious – just like their counterparts in Scandinavia, Tanzania, and Cameroon – prefer to talk about Church life (38%). Germans prefer to speak of religious and educational issues as well as apostolic duties, while Italians – of apostolism and ultimate matters (1987a). Cyman also shows that, on average, in all studied countries 3.4% of women religious suffer from depression (basing on the question about factors that make it difficult to receive Eucharist); in Poland and Germany – 2.7%, in Italy – 3.6%, in Africa – 5.1%, and in Scandinavia – 7.5%. Weariness and sleepiness have been mentioned by 30% of Poles, 50% of Italians, 36% of Africans, 19% of Germans, and 8% of Scandinavians.

On the basis of Cyman's studies it is difficult to assess the factual attitude of women religious towards communal life and its quality. It arises from this that these studies were structured primarily by theology. In this sense, they show communal religious life from a theological perspective rather than from a sociological one. Some insight into the quality of this type of life is provided by demands regarding the life of women religious in a religious community formulated by Cyman. Below is a selection of three demands from among the six she discusses:

> The daily schedule ought to prioritize the life needs and prayers of those women religious who work. They should be able to participate in the Holy Mass actively and well-rested, and their prayers should not be affected by weariness and sleepiness. […] In service, difficulties could be omitted if God's will was communicated more clearly and understandably. To make service more mature, superiors should serve women religious as children of God, seeking and tracing God's will together with others. […] Life in a religious community should develop in the spirit of understanding, deepened unity, love, and mutual support. Only a close-knit community is able to realize its mission in today's world. (Cyman 1990, 221)

Marta Trzebiatowska's studies of women religious

In 2004 Marta Trzebiatowska conducted qualitative studies among Polish sisters in five apostolic orders (non-cloistered), including two non-habit-wearing ones. The thirty-five interviews were semi-structured and revolved around narratives of entering the order, vocation, vows, socio-cultural identity, and feminism. This research contains interesting conclusions about Polish women religious.

As Trzebiatowska underlines (2006, 2010), unlike in Great Britain or USA, Polish habit-wearing women religious are often seen in the streets. Among other things, the Second Vatican Council facilitated a change regarding the attitude towards wearing habits, which led many women religious around the world to resign from it. In Poland, Council reforms did not take root. Trzebiatowska argues that this was related to unfavourable conditions in the 1960s and 1970s, and the fact that women religious would focus on fighting for independence, which drew them further away from theoretical discussions about organizational transformations indicated by the Council. Thus, dropping the habit could have been counterproductive because it could loosen communal integrity. Trzebiatowska's studies show that the habit can be analysed in symbolic terms or in the perspective of symbolic interactionism. The studied sisters would regard the habit as a symbol of their close connection with God and faith. In the social context, wearing it can help one gain respect and ensure friendliness, which can translate into material profits, e.g. lower prices. Habits can generate both positive and negative reactions, but it is also an element that strengthens the identity of the consecrated person.

In another article, Trzebiatowska analyses the data she gathered from the perspective of the question about consecrated femininity (2013). For the studied sisters, their model of femininity – one based on vows of purity and being married to Jesus – does not so much undermine the model that dominates in Poland but rather constitutes an alternative that allows one to find satisfaction. Unable to bear children, they do not reject the idea of motherhood but hold that religious life helps them to be mothers to innumerable others, which they can practice through the duties they perform. Thus, women religious would not oppose the dominant model of femininity, but adopt an alternative one. This does not change the fact that women religious – as Trzebiatowska demonstrates elsewhere (2008) – feel obliged to support the Church. She also analyses the similarities between women religious and lesbians in Poland (2009). According to her, comparison of the two groups is possible

because of their "unnatural" character in the cultural context (due to the cultural alterity of celibacy and homosexuality with regard to the dominant heterosexual culture). She also points, for example, to the similarity between a lesbian coming out and the declaration of the intention to enter a religious order.

Monastic inspirations beyond sociology – an additional note

Religious orders, and especially the idea of religious life, are also examined outside sociology, which can be viewed as a sign of renewed interest in this subject. Scholars from the fields of management, cultural heritage or tourism turn towards the Benedictine Rule or the history of orders for inspiration.

In texts from the area of management, monasticism has recently become an inspiration for organizational solutions, which constitutes an interesting feedback loop because Weber argued there is a connection between monastic work and modern bureaucracy (cf. the discussion above). Brigit Kleymann and Hedley Malloch argue in the article "The Rule of Saint Benedict and Corporate Management: Employing the Whole Person" (2010) that some elements of St. Benedict's Rule can contribute to the creation and operation of "more 'humane' organizations" (207). On the other hand, Bruno S. Frey, Emil Inauen, Katja Rost, and Margit Osterloh (2010) turn towards monasticism in search of answers to the current crisis of financial markets. In the context of contemporary transformations of culture this should not come as a surprise since one idea for a project financed with EU's structural funds – whose summary I saw on display in the European Projects Office at the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw – regarded time management in monasteries (cf. the above discussion of Foucault).

Monasteries are also regarded as an element of cultural heritage and a tourist product. As noted by a Łukasz Gaweł (2011), some of the thematic trails crossing the territory of Poland include monasteries, e.g. the European Cistercian Trail, partially located in Poland, or the planned Trail of Monasteries in the vicinity of Łódź. Regarding monasteries as elements of cultural heritage and objects on tourist trails causes them to become incorporated into the cultural context as places of significant historical and cultural value, and makes them objects of modern management tools that emphasise their economic and commercial character. Defining a given set of places as a cultural trail causes that a specific strategy is adopted with regard

to them: "each trail developed as a complex tourist [integrated] product shall consolidate selected tourist attractions in the region. As part of the product, an offer [of tourism and tourism-related services] shall be created and consolidated. Also, a consistent infrastructure shall be created around the product, along with systems of identification. A product of this type ought to have a clear-cut organizational structure [leading party, company, a group of both social and private partners, sponsors, including ones from the media] and a concept of commercialization. It is also recommended to develop product branding [of trails], including brand concept, visualization, and attributes [souvenirs, events, etc.]. Each trail should have its own unique set of attributes, offers, or provided services" (Gaweł 2011, 64-65). In this perspective, the monastery is regarded as a tourist product, which goes far beyond the religious context. However, it should be emphasised that considering the monastery as a product does not stem directly from the perspective of cultural heritage, but from its supplementation with the perspective of management, because The Icomos Charter on Cultural Routes defines a trail as (among other things) "having to promote the interaction of cultures in time and space, which is reflected in both material and immaterial heritage; it must reflect the dynamic system of history and cultural relations" (after Gaweł 2011, 47).

Towards a relational sociology of religious life: from an order-centred perspective to a relational approach

As demonstrated in the historical part of this book, the idea of renouncement, which lies at the foundation of religious life, has been very difficult to realize in practice. Monks would distance themselves from the world but the world would gradually pull them back. Historical studies show that transformations of religious life have been related to both internal and external factors. The former regard continuous, recurring departures from the assumed ideal. Subsequent religious orders were created in protest against their predecessors forsaking the source ideal, and then would share the same fate. In the first stage of their functioning they would return to the original rule or to the "sources" (anachoretism or other forms), and then, along with institutional development, they would depart from it. One of the key factors in this has been the increase in the number of members, which requires organizational changes, specifically the rationalization of behaviour, as emphasised

by Weber. As Kłoczowski points out on the example of the Franciscans, "[their] rapid development caused serious problems. What was possible in a small group would become ever more difficult for hundreds and thousands" (1987, 175). Increased population required, among other things, that steps be taken towards homogenizing the religious order and adopting uniform organization, including formation. It also boosted the potential to action, which could be taken advantage of.

> Priests who have become part of the movement would demand going beyond the original, often penitential teaching as well as developing full-blown preaching and pastoral care. This, however, required greater stabilization, books, which were very expensive at the time, and churches near their places of dwelling. Initiators of broader action, among whom were those who worked closely with St. Francis, did not wish to depart from the original monastic ideals but to combine them with new solutions. (Kłoczowski 1987, 176)

The development of the religious order could not be disregarded by other social actors, primarily papacy. In the 1220s, St. Francis wrote a "compromise" version of his rule negotiated with the Vatican. Increased population also affected the shift of Franciscan apostolate towards preaching, ultimately fostering the clericalization of the order as well as the transformation of hermitages into monastic complexes with churches, just like in the case of the Benedictines (Kłoczowski 1987).

Along with organizational development, rationalization, and the accompanying economic growth, a specific process would unfold – one often termed as "relaxation of discipline." It consists of departing from the assumed lifestyle in favour of a less rigorous one, which contributed to the rise of internal and external initiatives calling for renewal. As Kłoczowski observes,

> [t]he spirituality of a given religious order cannot be treated as a homogenous whole that moulds subsequent generations in accordance with the same pattern. The dynamics of transformations and the vitality of these generations relies more on their ability to adapt fundamental inspirations to new situations and needs. The very understanding of the order's character and its tasks, which are constantly reinterpreted, is naturally the subject of internal debate, as is perfectly visible in the history of each community. (Kłoczowski 2010, 420)

Internal changes were also enforced by external pressures related to the social context in which religious orders function. Changes in social attitudes and poor education of the clergy were among the key factors in the development of mendicant orders (apart from the period's religious reforms and the crisis of Benedictine orders), while economic changes were related to the development of the Cistercians, etc. Kłoczowski discusses an interesting tendency observable in difficulties with renouncing the world: a hermit chooses an isolated place where he wishes to separate himself from social life. Then, this situation is socially recognized and appreciated, endowing the hermit with an authority that attracts disciples and other people. Thus, the hermit's personal charisma drives the process of sucking him back into the social order from which he meant to escape (cf. the above-mentioned example of St. Romuald).

The above demonstrates that transformations of religious orders, and religious life in general, occur in a social context and in relation to other aspects of social life. This is also clearly confirmed by findings of sociologists researching consecrated life. Their analyses underline the influence of social factors (and reactions to them) over the shape and functioning of these institutions. However, in empirical sociology focusing on religious orders there is a prevailing assumption that studies should concern primarily religious orders understood as separate, specific institutions subjected to transformations in connection with internal and external factors. These studies are supposed to focus on ways in which they adapt to the social environment, their organizational forms, recruitment procedures, typologies, the question of vocation (including factors that shape it and its changes in time), or finally – the rarely addressed question of the influence of religious orders or specific monasteries on the social environment in which they function (lack of interest in this topic was already mentioned by Rev. Zdaniewicz). The last question has been interestingly tackled by Katrin Langewiesche, who demonstrates that the development of monasteries can contribute to social progress (as discussed further). One could say that sociological studies of religious orders are order-centric, meaning that the order is the unit of analysis, or even more narrowly – the monastery as an institution or community, the main goal of such research being the assessment of that unit's condition. This perspective seems understandable in light of the history of research in this area as current approaches are rooted in explorations that first emerged in the 1960s and then developed in the 1970s – i.e. in the period of the Second Vatican Council, when the crisis of religious life became apparent. These studies focus

on the above changes and religious orders as such – not on analyses of monasticism, like Weber did, in order to account for broader social changes. Focus on the order is accompanied by reflection on its nature understood sociologically, as has been attempted by subsequent theoreticians applying various concepts (e.g. of sect, utopia, cognitive minority, organization, system, etc.). The usefulness of these concepts seems to be limited in terms of research, which probably stems from the fact that they base on historical findings; these concepts can be viewed as certain summaries that cannot be easily or effectively deployed operationally in empirical research because studies realized on this basis could lead only to their confirmation or rejection. Exceptions to this include concepts of religious orders derived from an organizational approach (e.g. Ebaugh), social movements theory (Wittberg), or a systemic perspective (Rev. Zdaniewicz), which introduce a complete theoretical framework that translates into particular research problems.

Without rejecting any of the above perspectives, I propose a certain shift in studies of religious life, which would consist in expanding the field of this research by breaking away from order-centrism – which treats the religious order as the unit of analysis, and sees the evaluation of its condition as the main goal – in favour of analyses focusing on the relations in which these institutions function, at the same time expanding the field of research from religious life to various forms of consecrated life, i.e. moving from order-centric sociology to a sociology of religious life. A relational approach shall not replace but supplement the previous approaches. Sociological studies can and ought to focus on defining the condition of this phenomenon and its transformations, but they should not be limited to this.

The relations mentioned above naturally refer to the relational approach that is being developed within sociology. It is not new, but builds on the various discussions of relations in works by classics of sociology such as Simmel, Marx, Elias, Mead, Foucault, Bourdieu, or Goffman, to name just a few. The relational approach does not focus on defining the substance or character of a given phenomenon, but on the processes that shape it – not so much on things themselves but on the relations that characterise them (Emirbayer 1997). For example, power analysed from a substantialist perspective is "an entity or a possession […] something to be 'seized' or 'held'" (Emirbayer 1997, 291), but from a relational perspective it becomes crucial for any analysis to trace the changing balance of power or the excesses of the positions that social actors occupy in networks (Emirbayer discusses both Elias's theory of power and the actor-network theory). As for agency, the relational

approach views it not as an individual, intrinsic characteristic, e.g. strong will, but rather as a mode of action stemming from the situation in which the individual finds him- or herself; thus, agency is not an individual trait but a process, because the very same individual can either have agency or not, depending on the situation; even in the same situation that same individual can act with agency or not. This redirects analysis from individual features responsible for agency or action to characteristics of the situation that facilitates a given type of action.

In the relational approach it is no longer the religious order or the monastery that acts as the unit of analysis but its relations with the social environment. This makes it possible to pose a question that eludes the order-centric approach – the question about the significance of the religious order in a given social environment (in place of the question asking only about the influence of the latter on the order, monastery, or other forms of religious life).

In this perspective, the cognitive problem is naturally still the monastery or religious order, but it is not the only one. Translating the above into a research programme, the relational approach allows one, among other things, to study the social significance of monasteries or orders, and to grasp what a given order or monastery means for social actors other than the religious. What actions do they undertake in relation to the order or monastery? Who takes action and why? What does the cooperation between orders/monasteries and their social environment consist of from the perspective of social actors? This approach requires that studies do not focus solely on interviews with the religious or on observations made in monasteries, but that they also include interviews with actors from the social environment in which the monastery functions, and that they examine these actors' texts about religious orders and monasteries, refocusing on the discourse whose shape today is not the result of theological reflection only. Therefore, it needs to be asked not only what orders and monasteries do for social actors (a question in which we can discern a not entirely reflective projection of the former social position of these institutions onto contemporary times), but also what social actors do with orders, monasteries or other forms of consecrated life (which – I would argue – better reflects their current, factual, post-dissolution condition).

In this approach importance is ascribed not only to actions themselves, i.e. relations in which these institutions function, but also to their understanding by social actors and their functioning in social discourse, which helps to name and grasp these relations. Discourse is understood here as a "text in social context"

(65) or "a set of context-dependent semiotic practices, which occur in specific areas of social activity" (Reisigl, Wodak 2009, 89; after Krzyżanowska 2013, 65). Ruth Wodak distinguishes discourse from text in the following way: "discourse assumes the existence of patterns and shared characteristics in frameworks of knowledge and structures, whereas text is a concrete and unique realization of discourse" (Wodak 2011, 18; after Warczok 2013, 34). This differentiation thus dovetails with Ferdinand de Saussure's theory, in which language (*langue*) is differentiated from speech (*parole*), or the social is distinguished from the individual. "Language," he writes, "is not a function of the speaker; it is a product that is passively assimilated by the individual. It never requires premeditation, and reflection enters in only for the purpose of classification" (de Saussure 1959, 14). As a "social product of the faculty of speech and a collection of necessary conventions," language is a "self-contained whole and a principle of classification" (9): thus, it is a system (15-16). Discourse is socially constructed but allows one to understand, name, and transform reality. Analysis of discourse aims to demonstrate how the social world is understood by social actors, which occurs by way of studying various texts (Pawliszak, Rancew-Sikora 2012). The discourse on consecrated life is primarily shaped by theology and canonical law, which define and specify this form of life. However, this discourse does not permeate into everyday life or does so only to a limited extent. Parallel to this, as it were, the social discourse is developing, reaching ever broader audiences through websites, tourist brochures, and other media. This social discourse needs to be also taken into account while studying religious orders, monasteries, and the relations in which they function because this discourse not only describes but also shapes them.

Studying relations and discourse helps to push analysis beyond counting the number of members and vocations, or creating monographs of religious orders. This approach also allows one to take into account the changes in their social significance and functioning, i.e. the position held by a specific institution both in the broader social context and in the local community, which manifests in socially ascribed meanings and realized functions. The fact that a given religious order has few members or that it has few vocations does not mean that its social position is low or that it does not improve. This can be observed in the case of monastic orders, e.g. the Benedictines, who are broadly active in terms of research, publishing, and other ventures, despite having few members in Poland. Social significance can also manifest in an increased interest in religious orders, which is detached from

the religious dimension or loosely associated with it, as in the case of monastic products as well as "meditative holidays" or other forms of spending free time (cf. Metzger, Feuerstein-Prasser 2008, 229). Finally, as my own research shows – as discussed further on – it is possible to observe the process of "separating" orders or monasteries from their religious meaning, which leads to the situation in which even in small towns without any religious (as in the analysed case of the Cistercians) the significance of the monastic past remains vital. In other words, the condition of consecrated life and its many forms cannot be exhaustively described solely by studying the number of members, which becomes apparent if one takes into account the multidimensional social relations in which religious orders function. It also needs to be underlined that these relations ought to be regarded in the new, post-dissolution context, without projecting the former, decidedly stronger position of religious orders from before the dissolutions. As discussed above, dissolutions not only altered the social position of religious orders but also forced them to develop new formulas of action in relation to the changing social, economic, and political context. An equally important later impulse naturally came from the Second Vatican Council. In order to grasp the social dimension of how religious orders function it is necessary to study the relations revealed in many areas, including the economy, politics, or culture. From the perspective of a monastery, a religious order, or a local district, these relations can be regarded as facilitating adaptation to the social environment (which is all the more pertinent if we take dissolutions into account and the necessary later reinstatement of property). As my studies demonstrate, collective memory is a vital component of these relations. This concept was introduced into the social sciences by Maurice Halbwachs (1969).[67] He emphasises that memory is a social phenomenon because it is constructed thanks to the social frameworks of collective experiencing (discursive forms, rituals, events, symbolic institutions). What we remember as individuals is always determined by the context of the collective, the process of socialization (primary and secondary), acculturation, or state-shaped politics of memory (museums, exhibitions, education). Reminiscing

[67] In Poland, increased interest in memory and – more broadly – in historical consciousness can be discerned since the late 1990s, when many works addressing and summarizing this subject were published (cf. Kwiatkowski 2008). In the middle of the twentieth century this topic was tackled by classics of Polish sociology such as Nina Assorodobraj (1967), Ludwik Krzywicki (1978), and earlier by Stefan Czarnowski (1958).

is always context-bound and determined by the perspective of the group(s) to which the individual belongs. Finally, components of memory include discourse, particular events, actions, and objects connected with the activities of various groups. Understood in this way, collective memory is socially constructed, transmitted, and shared. Thus, it does not refer to some historical "truth" about past events, but constitutes a social tool that can, for example, integrate the community through a shared vision of the past, or disintegrate it by developing antagonistic visions. Collective memory is the building material of a given *we*, while practices of memory can be treated as ways of developing (or weakening) this *we*. It is also possible to define an "area" or "domain" of collective memory – a space where memory is practiced socially, e.g. through local collective memory.[68]

In her discussion of local civic community[69] (a term close to local community) Joanna Kurczewska indicates two theoretical frameworks in which this concept can be elaborated: temporal and spatial. The former "focuses on the problem of recreating tradition (or heritage) in a given social space," while the latter – "on dividing the material and social space (into one's own and its surroundings) and appropriating them" (Kurczewska 2006, 13). In the temporal perspective the past becomes the material for constructing local communities, which can be compared to larger communities, making the meaning of the past to the community assumed out of definition. The spatial perspective, in turn, is about indicating the boundaries of "institutional and axiological distinctiveness of this society, which is spatially expressed in relation to the *social* context" (14; emphasis preserved), and consequently about pointing out "where, or between what elements we find the phenomena and processes that constitute the local civic society" (14). The gesture of territorializing collective memory (as *local* collective memory), grounded in Halbwachs's theory, is of course connected to the latter perspective.

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68 Naturally, other social and cultural concepts as well as theories of memory have been developed since Halbwachs, for example social, cultural, communication-oriented, or functional, to name just a few (for more information cf. e.g. Szpociński, Kwiatkowski 2006). Nevertheless, from the perspective of the issues addressed here Halbwachs's theory seems adequate.

69 Kurczewska defines it as "complex structures of voluntary cooperation among individual actors and collective institutions, embedded in a specific material and social space, occurring in a particular period" (2006, 12).

Returning to more general matters, studying various forms of consecrated life (not only religious orders) is also necessary because – as is shown in Chapter Two – the partial crisis of consecrated life is accompanied by the rise of its new forms. Thus, sociology should not abandon studies of religious orders, but expand them so as to include various new forms of consecrated life. Research in this area ought to regard not only institutional forms of consecrated life, but also newly emergent ones that remain in unclear relation to institutional forms or have not been acknowledged yet by the Vatican. My aim is thus to expand this area.

Thus, the sociology of religious life aims to study various forms of consecrated life. Limiting the scope to religious orders excludes, out of definition, these other forms. Although religious orders are dominant in the Catholic world (though not only), there is a visible tendency among these forms to differentiate. Transition towards the sociology of religious life, which studies various forms of consecrated life, is a gesture that allows one to depart from an order-centric approach and thus overcome the situation in which the sociology of religion is the only subdiscipline examining this phenomenon. As demonstrated in this chapter, sociological studies of religion developed an order-centric approach, focusing on the condition of religious orders and treating them as institutions connected only with religiosity, e.g. parish life, as proposed by Majka. This gesture constitutes an attempt to adopt the perspective on monasticism (understood in the broad sense, as discussed above) offered by Weber and Foucault, whose aim was not to study and understand religious orders but to identify and grasp broader social processes. To recall, both authors treat religious orders as institutions that help to study modernity because of their significant impact on it. They did not write monographs of specific orders but studied the social relations in which these orders partake in order to draw conclusions about larger social processes. In Weber's account it is primarily the relation between religious life and economic ethics, and in Foucault's – between monasticism and the shape of the disciplinary society. Analyses of social relations – with which I wish to supplement existing studies of consecrated life – aim to broadly account for the functioning of religious institutions in the society. Naturally, this issue is elaborated in the sociology of religion, but my point is to examine it by starting from monasteries and religious orders and not from various dimensions of religiosity (faith, practices, morality), communities and religious institutions, religiosity in various social criteria, relations between religion and other fields of human activity, or the impact of socio-cultural changes on religiosity, to recall

the five basic directions in studies of religion in Poland after 1945, as indicated by Mariański and Piwowarski (1986). The approach proposed here aims to make the relations established between religious orders (and other forms of consecrated life) or monasteries (religious institutions *per se*) and the society the focus of sociological reflection. Historical and sociological research discussed in Chapters One, Two, and Three clearly indicate that these institutions and the society mutually influence each other in many dimensions. It seems crucial to enrich scholarly reflection with those perspectives and concepts that could expand the programme of studying consecrated life developed in the sociology of religion with approaches that focus on relations, discourse, or collective memory, expanding this reflection and not limiting it.

Thus, the proposed project of the sociology of religious life involves:

– studying those forms of consecrated life that are already institutional or are in the process of becoming such (not just religious orders, which constitute only one of many such forms),

– studying the institutional dimension of this kind of life, as theorized by Rev. Zdaniewicz in terms of organization, transformations, adaptations, communal life, power, norms that organize it, recruitment,

– studying relations in which this form of organizing social life functions,

– studying the discourse of this form of social life, including its theological, legal (canon law), and social dimension,

– adopting perspectives and concepts developed in the sociology of religion and in other subdisciplines of sociology.

Such a broadly conceived programme aims to facilitate studying transformations of consecrated life in a sociological perspective, without limiting oneself only to a subset of historically developed forms of this life (religious orders). Naturally, this project has a programmatic character and its realization requires further extensive studies. As part of my own research – discussed in the next chapter – I focus on two dimensions that are rarely addressed in international research: the social discourse on monasteries and the relations in which selected monasteries function. Research on the institutional dimension of religious orders, which is the *typical* approach in studies of religious orders, is the focus of another project I only began to realize in 2017. Its findings shall be discussed in another monograph, currently in preparation, devoted to the transformations of various forms of consecrated life in Central and Eastern Europe.

Chapter Four.
Original research on Cistercian monasteries in relation to tourism, economy, and collective memory

A note on methodology

Analyses presented in this chapter focus on relations that characterise the functioning of Cistercian monasteries, and on the local discourse on monasteries. The choice of Cistercians, who are monks, as the object of study needs to be justified. Quantitative data does not support this choice because there are few of them in comparison to other religious, while the monastic movement itself is not as influential in social terms as it was several centuries ago, especially at the peak of monastic culture. Cistercians have never been heavily engaged in pastoral care in comparison to other religious. They were chosen for the purposes of this study mainly because they form a typically monastic order that has been present in Poland for around nine hundred years. Thus, the studied monasteries are vital institutions from the perspective of Polish history, which makes it more significant to learn about their contemporary transformations within a local context.

Research questions revolved around the following issues: 1) What actions do monasteries undertake aside from contemplation and pastoral care, and what actions are taken with regard to them? What subjects are engaged in these actions? In what social areas are these actions noted? 2) How is the discourse on monasteries constructed? What subjects partake in developing it? What meanings are ascribed to monasteries? How does this process occur and who is engaged in it?

As is suggested by the methodology proposed here, both of the above dimensions are closely connected. On the one hand, what manifests or materializes in discourse are transformations of monasteries and relations that involve them.

The said discourse constitutes a specific record of these changes – one I wish to decode. On the other hand, this discourse facilitates undertaking particular actions with regard to monasteries by various social actors. Therefore, my own enquiry has focused on identifying today's relationships between Cistercian monasteries – which separate themselves from the outside – and the non-monastic world in terms of discourse and actions. I have been primarily interested in relations that are not connected to the orders' religious activities. This stems from the research programme described in the previous chapter, which takes into account the perspective that covers other dimensions than the religious one.

Research used in further analyses[70] was conducted in four locations where Cistercian monasteries actively operate (Wąchock, Szczyrzyc, Jędrzejów, Sulejów), and one where a post-Cistercian monastery is situated (Bierzwnik). My intention was not to compare them but to indicate certain typical features. The conducted research does not allow one to draw general conclusions, i.e. to assume that all monasteries in Poland function in a network of relations described below. This stems from assuming a qualitative perspective that naturally demands a deliberate choice of research objects, and from the differentiation of these institutions (as discussed in previous chapters). Additionally, at this stage of sociological research on monasteries, qualitative research – which facilitates deeper insight into the essence of the studied phenomenon – is indispensable due to lack of basic knowledge regarding its contemporary transformations.

Triangulation of data involved individual interviews[71], analyses of websites of specific towns and printed materials prepared by local publishing houses, which touch upon the topic of monasteries (leaflets, regional publications, local press, etc.) as well as participatory observation (visits in museums and monastery cafés, walks with guides around the monastery, etc.) accompanied by visual documentation. In every location, interviews were conducted with actors representing various local institutions: representatives of district offices and councils, local institutions (e.g. culture centres, libraries, schools, NGOs, and local press) as well as abbots and/or priors, and/or monks indicated by them. The choice of these actors stemmed from the fact that these people are potentially – through their professions – connected

[70] In further analyses I disregard research conducted in Opatów on the Bernardine monastery (cf. Jewdokimow, Markowska 2015), realized as part of a research grant awarded by NPRH.

[71] Some of the Bierzwnik interviews were conducted by telephone.

with the activities of monasteries and/or possess knowledge about actions realized by monasteries (or with them) as well as about future plans of such actions. A total of 34 individual interviews were conducted (for more on this see the appendix devoted to questions of methodology).

The place of Cistercian monasteries in local discourse was reconstructed by analysing websites run by the local government and printed publications gathered during field trips (tourist brochures and news items from the local press). These are fairly recent materials – the oldest are just from several years ago. They constitute part of local discourse as most of them are published by the local government (or by connected institutions, e.g. culture centres) or with its participation. In this sense, informational leaflets about a given place or a synopsis of a district's history on its website comprise fascinating research objects that help to follow the topic of monasteries from the perspective of local institutions. It was the question about the meanings ascribed to monasteries at the local level that constituted the main research objective, organizing all analyses that focus on selected texts about monasteries and monks. These analyses attempt to answer the following questions: How is the monastery presented? How do others write about it? How is it defined and in what terms? The research was qualitative in character, i.e. it aimed to distinguish specific elements in the discourse on monasteries. I have additionally concentrated on isolating non-religious meanings.

As Tomasz Warczok underlines (following Pierre Bourdieu), "the symbolic power of a given text does not depend (at least not entirely) on its own specific properties but on the social position of its author" (2013, 35). Thus, the discourse on monasteries surfacing in these publications has strong symbolic potential due to the fact that it is produced by representatives of key local institutions (local authorities and related institutions), thereby contributing to the local, social understanding of monasteries, and simultaneously legitimizing it through its symbolic power. In other words, the meanings ascribed to monasteries in analysed texts legitimize the understanding of monasteries they propose, chiefly thanks to the strong, local position of their producers. Discourse determines not only the significance and understanding of monasteries, but also sets out possible courses of action that could be undertaken with regard to them. Studying local discourse involves attempts at reconstructing semiotic practices as well as recreating patterns and shared features in a given local context. Locality is meant here as the spatial delimitation of discourse. From the methodological perspective it also determines the choice of texts created in a given district.

Thus, the object of the present analysis is comprised by monasteries understood as institutions that function in a local context and are characterized by a range of meanings – forming a discourse on monasteries – and not by the community of monks living in it. This stems from the presupposition that the analysis shall focus on relations and discourse, not the organization as such. Such research would thus have an "external" character. I am neither an insider, nor someone who would study monasteries "from the inside," e.g. by focusing on the perspective of monks, or on the processes that occur inside the monastery, for example the changes in its functioning, the question of recruitment, etc. Consequently, my research focused neither on monks – e.g. their motivation for entering the monastery, or attitude to the outside world, etc. – nor on the monastery as a social institution analysed from the perspective of its internal organization. It rather focused on the Cistercians, their monasteries and specific character, viewed in their social and cultural context.

Development and specificity of the Cistercians in Poland and around the world

Due to the fact that my field research was devoted to Cistercian monasteries, I shall briefly discuss their history and specific character.

The crisis of monasticism in the eleventh and twelfth century led not only to the creation of new non-monastic orders, but also to attempts at reform that postulated returning to ideas laid down in Saint Benedict's *Rule*, the founding document of Western monasticism. A crucial role in the revival of monasticism was played by none else than the Cistercians who – just like the Camaldolites or the Carthusians – sought to breathe new life into monasticism by engaging in radical asceticism, which was in this case based on the Benedictine rule. Abbot Robert of Molesme criticised the Benedictines and announced a return to Saint Benedict's *Rule*, which would be realized "to the letter" (*ad apicem litterae* – this was the essence of Cistercian reform), i.e. by rejecting everything that was not provided for in the rule. This meant returning monastic life to what it was during the lifetime of Saint Benedict (Kanior 2002).

One component of monastic asceticism is the strict regulation of individual and communal life. Taking the example of the Mogiła Abbey (in 1990), a regular day in a contemporary Cistercian monastery looks as follows: "the wake-up call

(bell) is sounded at 4.45, and at 5.10 begins the Office of Readings (formerly eve) + Matins (Lauds), followed by a conventual Mass at 6.00. After Mass comes the time for individual breakfast around 8.45, and then time for work. At 12.15 there is Daytime Prayer (today only one – previously: Terce, Sext, None), and dinner at 12.30, followed by recreation. At 15.00 Vespers and time for work; at 18.00 supper and short recreation. At 20.05 spiritual readings at the chapterhouse (10-15 minutes), then Compline and then quiet hours […]. During the day, the religious priests and brothers conduct pastoral care, religious instruction, organize retreats and missions, do scholarly work or study" (Wyrwa 1990, 23).

In 1098, Robert of Molesme left the Benedictine monastery at Molesme accompanied by a group of monks. Together, they began to operate in an organized, eremitic way in Cîteaux. It is worth mentioning that the monastery he established there followed the Benedictine model and belonged to the Cluny congregation. Disillusioned with his project, which proved to be an economic success, he founded Cistercium (Cîteaux) (Pennington 1985). The Cistercians would argue that it is "illicit to live from the proceeds of other people's labour. This was in stark contrast to the black monks, whose economic system and bodily survival depended precisely on what was produced by their farmers. Rents and tithes, the two main sources of income for Benedictines were rejected by Cîteaux" (Milis 1999, 30). Whereas the Cluny monasteries would support themselves with serfdom, the Cistercians would initially work on their own, doing physical work. Additionally, because they would seek seclusion, Cistercians – called "white monks" due to their white habits with black scapulars, worn in order to distinguish themselves from the black-robed Benedictines – would build monasteries in remote places, cultivating wastelands and turning them into functioning farmsteads. By the middle of the twelfth century, the Cistercians already had around 360 monasteries (Pennington 1985), towards the end of that century – 525, and towards the end of the thirteenth – as many as 700 (Kłoczowski 1987). This number indicates that the order developed vigorously, also influencing other orders. For example, the rule of the Knights Templar was based on that of the Cistercians.

In his account of the Cistercian spirituality, Fr Basil Pennington emphasises the significance of ideals such as poverty, loneliness, seclusion from the world, as well as mystical experience achieved through asceticism, Christo-centrism, and compulsive physical work (ca seven hours a day), which they would initially perform themselves, unlike other monks:

> Monastics go apart to find silence. In their solitude they embrace an ascetic life to silence the clamouring within. They seek silence so that they can pray, so that they can hear and respond to God. Men and women go apart, embracing the monastic life because they want to find the freedom and the support they need to enter into a complete union with God. (Pennington 1985, 206)

These ideals would be also reflected in the organization of life: eating a simple meal once a day, sleeping on pallets without undressing, and restricting both washing and shaving. Churches and monasteries themselves would be also modestly furnished.

However, the Cistercian flight from the pitfalls of affluence and their initial isolationism were unsuccessful. Turning away from the world, combined with simple lifestyle and hard work, created a surplus and consequently – profits. "Religious ideals increased agricultural production and reduced consumption, invariably leading to a surplus. The market the monks tried to flee became the usual outlet for their products, functioning as an exponent of social interaction" (Milis 1999, 39). In comparison to the Benedictines, "the Cistercians spent less and accumulated wealth whether they liked it or not" (67). This created a problem with affluence. Milis notes that their estates were not managed differently than secular ones: "monks acted as possessors, like every other owner, nobleman as well as burgher, not as knights of the Lord" (40). Another departure from the ideal of work was connected with the introduction of religious brothers (*conversi*) at the beginning of the twelfth century, who would focus on physical work (this change is explained in terms of different factors, e.g. the fact that the focus on work largely prevented the Cistercians from realizing other items in their rule – Manteuffel 1955). In the thirteenth century, hired labour was legalized (in comparison to the Benedictines, the Cistercians allowed countryside folk to enter the religious order as religious brothers), and then – the goods economy. These economic changes were also forced by the religious order's demographic growth, which prevented monks from supporting themselves through work (Kanior 2002). In the thirteenth century Cistercian monasteries were already rich, possessing several manor farms of around 200-300 hectares, where religious brothers would work (Manteuffel 1955). A crisis arising from diminishing discipline or simply from growing decadence – as noted by Kanior (2002) – and augmented by the departure from declared ideals, began already in the fourteenth century. In 1604, the Cistercians again felt an urgent need to reform themselves by returning to St. Benedict's *Rule*, which led to the emergence of the Trappists, a strict observance order.

When foundations of Cistercian monasteries began around 1150 in Poland, the religious order already had a large network of several hundred monasteries in Western countries. In Poland, the first Cistercian foundations date back to around 1147 in Jędrzejów (Brzeźnica) and in Łękno (ca 1150). Monks from Morimond – a direct branch of Cîteaux, founded in 1115 – arrived in Jędrzejów. In the years 1176-1177, the monastery in Sulejów was founded; in 1179 – in Wąchock, in 1245 – in Szczyrzyc; and in 1180-1194 – in Bierzwnik (this list only includes monasteries covered in field research) (Kłoczowski 2010). Twenty-six abbeys were created on today's territory of Poland during the Middle Ages, which amounts to 3.5% of all Cistercian monasteries founded in Europe until the fifteenth century (Wyrwa 1990, 36). As Wyrwa notes, foundations were motivated by religion rather than prestige (34). As Jerzy Kłoczowski emphasises, founding monasteries was very costly, constituting a "huge investment" (2010, 143).

> At the origin we always find one large donation consisting of at least several villages with enough people and area to begin a larger project. Religious orders would meticulously examine these parameters before deciding about foundation. Among the founders […] more than a half were princes, naturally primarily the Piasts, along with Pomeranian dynasties and Brandenburg electors. (Kłoczowski 2010, 144)

The Cistercian mode of operation in Poland did not differ from that in any Western country. They would focus on agriculture, animal husbandry, and craftsmanship. In the thirteenth century they switched to a rent-based system (Wyrwa 1990, 25) and expanded, taking up mining, metallurgy, and smithery (26). Apart from the goods economy, they would engage in trade. In 1629, for example, the Cistercian abbey in Jędrzejów owned twenty-two villages, parts of two more villages, and the town of Jędrzejów, totalling around 2,250 hectares (Gapski 1990, 94). To compare, the Benedictines from Tyniec owned at the same time – as "owners of the greatest assets" (94) – fifty-two villages, parts of five more, and one town (totalling around 5,700 hectares) (94). There were 28 monks in 1623. In the Middle Ages, the Cistercians influenced art and significantly contributed to missionary activities.

The Cistercians played an important role in popularizing Gothic art in Poland. However, as Kłoczowski underscores, their impact on society was limited because no Poles could be admitted into this religious order until the fifteenth century (Kłoczowski 1987).

As for the current situation of the Cistercians in Poland, Eberl sums it up as follows: "As statistics show, despite persecution and intensifying secularization, the Cistercians hold an important place in twentieth-century church and society. […] Despite the fall in the number of religious in the twentieth century, the Cistercians thrive. Skilful use of the Internet by both orders [that of regular observance and the Trappists (strict observance) – M.J.] demonstrates that at the beginning of the twenty-first century they remain, just like in previous epochs, in the avantgarde, i.e. open to whatever is new, as long as it is possible to incorporate it into the religious aspects of their spiritual life" (2011, 442). In 1965 there were 1,648 monks in 61 monasteries around the world, and 1,600 women religious in 56 convents; in 1997: 1,389 monks in 64 monasteries, and 2,489 women religious in 63 monasteries. As for the Trappists (strict observance), in 1958 there were 4,397 monks in 74 monasteries, and 1,845 women religious in 38 monasteries; and in 1999: 2,506 monks in 98 monasteries, and 1,852 women religious in 64 monasteries (442-443).

The Cistercians are not among the largest orders in Poland. In 1937 there were forty of them in Poland, including 17 religious priests, 11 clerics, and 12 brothers in two active "houses" (Adamczuk, Mariański, Zdaniewicz 1991, 147); in 1949 – 69, and in 1964 – 109. In 1980 there were 124 (Poles in male orders per jurisdiction, in Poland and abroad), in 1991 – 133, in 1995 – 142, in 2000 – 132, in 2005 – 143, in 2010 – 130, and in 2011 – 118. Around the world in 1995 there were 1,292 religious (Marecki 1997, 33), while the biggest group (Franciscans OFM) totalled 942 in 1980, and 1,319 in 2011 (Lange 2014, 103-105). In 2011 there were 89 Cistercian religious priests (in 1980 – 78) and 16 religious brothers (in 1980 – 18), while religious order clerics – 7 in 2011 and 12 in 1980. In 2010, the Cistercians had two aspirants, six novitiates, nine alumni, three persons after first profession and six brothers in post-novitiate formation. To compare, Franciscans (OFM) have 149 alumni, while the conventual ones (OFMConv) – 104.

Just like other religious orders, the Cistercians have been affected by secularization, first in connection with the Reformation, and then with further processes of secularization. Only two Cistercian monasteries were not dissolved in the nineteenth century on the Polish territory: ones in Szczyrzyc and Mogiła (under the Austrian rule). As Immo Eberl observes, secularization isolated monasteries in various nation states. The separation was so strong that "it would be difficult to speak of a homogenous religious order; instead, we should speak of national congregations existing next to each other" (2011, 421). Dissolutions in Sulejów, Wąchock, and Jędrzejów were carried out in 1819 by the Governmental Commission for Religious Denominations

and Public Enlightenment (Gach 1999, 97) (for more on this see Chapter One). The monastery in Bierzwnik was dissolved in 1539 in connection with the Reformation.

Dissolutions of monasteries were a process. Let us consider how they would unfold on the example of Wąchock. Until 1819, i.e. the year when it was dissolved, the Cistercian abbey in Wąchock was a local institution that dominated in economic terms (as an employer) as well as in cultural and social terms (through pastoral care and social activities as a charity and herbal medicine centre). As Piotr Paweł Gach notes, "the Cistercians from Wąchock constituted a highly significant economic force in the Świętokrzyskie region towards the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth. […] In the eighteenth century, the Cistercians supported and organized the exploitation of local resources of sandstone; also, they would produce millstones and whetstones. Moreover, they established smithies, produced beer, flour, bricks, and iron" (Gach 1993, 89). Out of the initiative of Abbot Aleksander Rudkiewicz, a large smelting furnace was built in 1789 in Starachowice, and mines were opened nearby. Sr Małgorzata Borkowska, author of a detailed monograph titled *Dzieje opactwa cysterskiego w Wąchocku* [History of the Cistercian Abbey in Wąchock], emphasises that "for all other inhabitants of Wąchock the monastery was, since centuries, the centre of the world they knew and understood" (Borkowska 1999, 193). The dissolution meant that all of these assets were repossessed. The former estate was leased, while monks were relocated after drawing a part of the remuneration (Gach 1993, 95-96). On the one hand, the Wąchock parish was moved to the monastery's church, and on the other – the monastery's buildings "were supposed to host […] scythe and sickle workshops […], a blacksmith workshop, a nail workshop, an enamelling workshop, a magazine, a miners' hospital, and housing for administration" (97). Though without monks, the monastic complex preserved a limited religious function in the local context, but also gained new, secular ones. The dissolution changed the meaning and functioning of the monastery as a building, putting an end to the economic and symbolic dominance of the Cistercians. However, this change can be also viewed as a transformation: the monastery functioned in the past even without monks, although it was deteriorating due to lack of renovation works. At the same time, the dissolved monastery begins to be associated with the independence discourse[72] and treated as both a historical monument and a tourist

[72] A guide published by local authorities, titled *Gmina Wąchock. Turystyka i przyroda. Przewodnik* [The Wąchock District. Tourism and nature. A guide] (Urząd Miasta i Gminy Wąchock, undated,

attraction as these two dimensions constitute further aspects of its post-dissolution history. The dissolution of the monastery in 1819 entailed a number of changes in this social micro-world. Extensive changes in ownership occurred: among other decisions, "the entire monastic complex was given over to the Mining Administration in order to use it for 'various forms of iron handicraft'" (97). On 14 September 1820, the parish was moved to the monastery's church (Borkowska 1999, 164). Most monks left Wąchock (apart from Fr Bartyzel, who died as the last Cistercian on 17 August 1861) (164). In 1870, an already "ruined" monastery – as Borkowska writes (164) – was reclaimed by the parish, which became its owner. "In the early eighties, the monastery was already a roofless ruin, overgrown with shrubs and trees" (165) (no renovation works were carried out in the years 1819-1884). As Borkowska summarizes: "until the middle of the twentieth century, the monastery in Wąchock was merely a historical site and the seat of parish priests" (165). In a discussion of monasteries in Wąchock and Święty Krzyż, Krystyna Samsonowska notes: "dissolved at the beginning of the [nineteenth – M.J.] century, both of these monasteries, which were the pillars of the [Świętokrzyskie] region's spiritual identity, were replaced with a new tradition – that of fighting for independence" (Samsonowska 2013, 11).

In the post-war period in Poland, the Cistercian order would expand, just like many others at the time: "in 1953 it became possible to create a Polish congregation from abbeys in Jędrzejów, Henryków, Mogiła, Oliwa, Szczyrzyc, and Wąchock" (Eberl 2011, 438). In 1945, monks returned to Jędrzejów, in 1951 to Wąchock, and in 1986 to Sulejów. Currently, there are seven monasteries used by the Cistercians in Poland (Oliwa, Henryków, Sulejów, Wąchock, Jędrzejów, Mogiła, Szczyrzyc). In Jędrzejów there are 17 religious priests and 7 brothers, in Szczyrzyc – 11 religious priests and 2 brothers, in Sulejów – 2 religious priests, and in Wąchock – 11 religious priests and 16 brothers.

Monasteries in Sulejów and Jędrzejów were built in the twelfth century, in Wąchock – at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth, in Szczyrzyc and Bierzwnik – in the thirteenth. Jędrzejów serves the role of an archabbey, Wąchock and Szczyrzyc are abbeys, while Sulejów is a regular priory controlled by the Cistercians from Wąchock.

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probably ca 2010), argues: "one important event in the town's history was the dissolution of the Cistercian abbey in 1819 as a result of the partitioners' repressive policies. The monastery's wealth was annexed by the government, ending the period of over six hundred years of religious brothers' charity work in the Świętokrzyskie region" (5-6). As has been already mentioned, the reasons for the dissolution were rather complex.

Photograph No. 1. Monastery in Jędrzejów. Source: the author's archive.

Photograph No. 2. Monastery in Wąchock. Source: the author's archive.

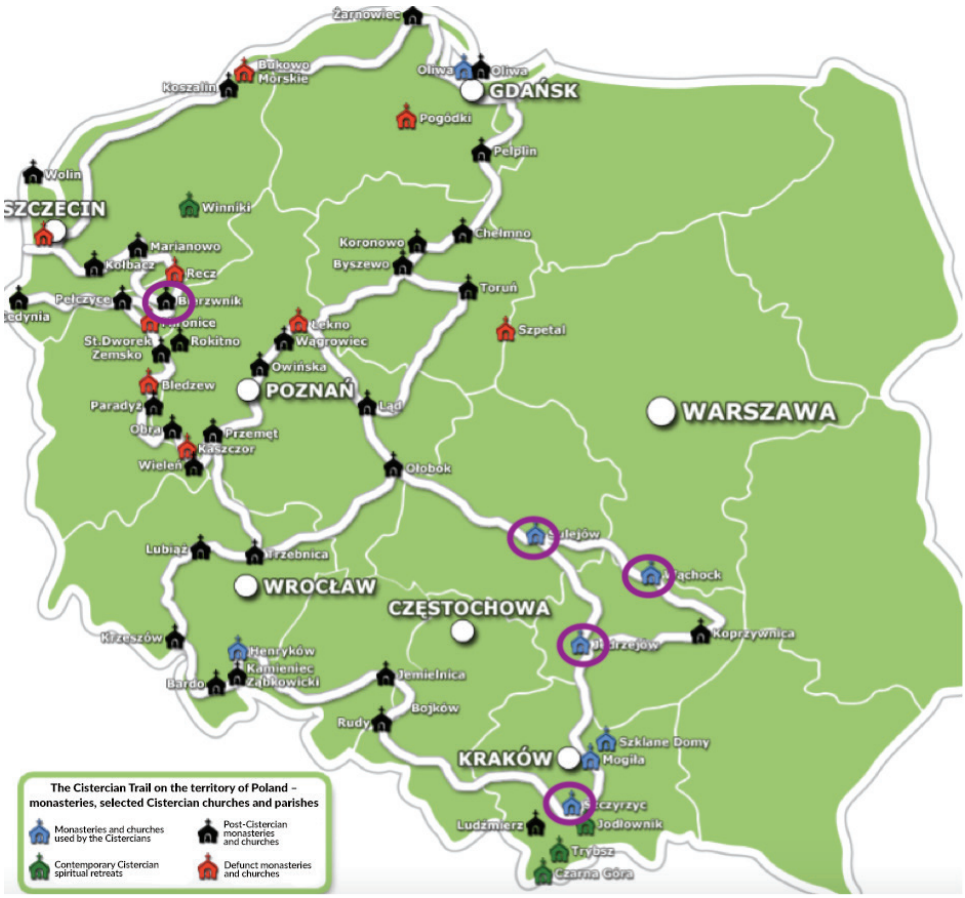
Photograph No. 3. Monastery in Szczyrzyc. Source: the author's archive.

Photograph No. 4. Post-monastic buildings in Sulejów. Source: the author's archive.

Photograph No. 5. Post-Cistercian monastery in Bierzwnik. Source: Bierzwnik District Office Archive.

However, social interest in the Cistercians causes the post-Cistercian character of certain places to be emphasised by placing defunct objects on maps. One could say that the phenomenon of the Cistercians fares better than the Cistercians themselves. Aside from active Cistercian monasteries, Poland is also home to post-Cistercian monasteries, which are socially considered to be important for both religious and touristic reasons. This is aptly illustrated by the map on photograph no. 6.

Photograph No. 6. Map of Cistercian monasteries today, featuring places where fieldwork was conducted.



Source: http://www.szlakcysterski.org.

The above map comes from the website of the "Cistercian trail," an initiative promoting Cistercian heritage, including monuments. The legend introduces four categories: monasteries and churches used by the Cistercians (blue), post-Cistercian monasteries and churches (black), defunct monasteries and churches (red), contemporary Cistercian spiritual retreats (green). These categories show that the monastery itself – understood as a historical monument or part of heritage – has a strong cultural significance today despite not being occupied by any religious.

Relations connected with tourism, economy, and promotion

In the studied locations, monasteries and post-monastic buildings not only perform religious functions but also partake in a range of non-religious relations: economic, touristic, and cultural. The Wąchock monastery features a café and a handmade ceramics workshop[73], as well as offers guest rooms, which are described in the following way on the monastery's website:

> More and more people prefer to spend their holidays in the silent monastery rather than in fashionable resorts. Our Abbey makes the effort to meet the demands of those seeking to embrace spirituality and recover internal harmony, proposing several-day-long stays in the Wąchock monastery, which could help one to find relief from metropolitan hubbub, stress, and depression, allowing one to live in harmony with God, people, and nature. There is also the option to talk to a spiritual guide.
>
> The offer is addressed to men and women who wish to try out the rhythm of life proper to a monastery. It is possible to join the Cistercians in the church for daily Eucharist, in the refectory for meals, as well as to work together, because – as Saint Benedict said – "idleness is the enemy of the soul."[74]

In 2015, the abbey in Szczyrzyc opened a brewery in cooperation with a local businessman. This is considered to be a continuation of a long-standing brewing tradition because this kind of facility operated there since 1623[75]:

> So they noted that the older buildings are deteriorating and something had to be done with them. Half of the first building they started to renovate was turned into a hotel, or a pilgrims' house, and the other half is a concert hall. Previously there were more concerts, several each year. The second building hosts a brewery, but you cannot try [the beer yet]: they keep starting and

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73 http://www.owdoba18.linuxpl.info/pl/ (accessed 8 September 2015).

74 http://www.wachock.cystersi.pl/pokojegoscinne6/ (accessed 8 September 2015).

75 http://www.browarszczyrzyc.pl/s1-historia-browaru-szczyrzyckiego.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

> cannot get it done. They had to soften the water or something, there was too much chilled water… (Interviewee No. 4; Szczyrzyc)

Monks in Szczyrzyc have around a hundred cows and sell their milk in a dairy. Just like the one in Wąchock, the abbey in Szczyrzyc runs a museum. In Sulejów, a privately-owned hotel operates in some of the post-monastic buildings since the 1970s, but the priory is not active economically.

Monasteries are not only centres of life for monks, but also historical sites and tourist attractions. This condition has been recognized by both monks themselves and other local actors. On their website, the monks from Jędrzejów claim:

> The Jędrzejów archabbey is a place of prayer and work for the Cistercians. At the same time, however, it is a unique monument of Christian culture in Europe. We offer a chance to tour the monastic complex with a monk-guide.[76]

Monks have acknowledged the touristic significance of monasteries:

> The district can boast having on its territory a monastery, an abbey, which is the oldest because it was founded in 1234. Locals can be proud because tourists arrive to visit it. Most of them actually come to see the abbey. The abbey has a museum. […] I have to tell you that most of those who come here want to see the monastery, there is no doubt about that. (Interviewee No. 4; Szczyrzyc)

Local actors treat monasteries as historical sites and monuments, which makes them potential tourist attractions, constituting a local resource that can be used to realize the actors' own goals. In the guide to the Wąchock district, the Cistercian abbey is mentioned in a touristic context (in the section "Monuments and attractions"): "it is a true gem among the historical monuments in Świętokrzyskie. Founded in 1179 by the Kraków bishop Gedeon, it is a simple basilica-like building constructed on a Latin cruciform plan with side-chapels, and a short chancel. This design is quite typical for Cistercian monuments in Poland."[77] The church

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[76] http://jedrzejow.cystersi.pl/opactwo/zwiedzanie.html?df06ebad3866eb63ce6c12ce-11033df7=282ef2db78f311739344dcbc75125509 (accessed 8 September 2015).

[77] Booklet titled *Gmina Wąchock*…, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

is an "attraction" due to its "original"[78] architecture and furnishings, including a pipe organ. As far as monasteries are concerned, interviewees have echoed the local publications: due to its historical "attractiveness," the monastery is a magnet not only for tourists and pilgrims but also for ordinary people:

> Ordinary people are enchanted by the monastery. I will give you an example: many people do not want to get married in the new, barn-like churches in Starachowice, which have simple frames, shoring, and have been concrete-cast. Even when they are decorated, they have little charm in comparison to what we have here. So, many people from Starachowice wish to get married here. (Interviewee No. 2; Wąchock)

> Due to the historic monuments and the church, many people come from afar to get married here. (Interviewee No. 8; Sulejów)

Another interviewee noticed the following:

> The monastery has a beautiful interior, including a chapterhouse and a refectory. Especially the last one makes a huge impression on visitors because people sit and eat differently there, with completely different emotions. (Interviewee No. 1; Wąchock)

In the above quotations, the significance of the monastery is associated with its architectural features. One representative of the Jędrzejów district emphasises this aspect:

> This place actually gave rise to Jędrzejów, it is the jewel in its crown, a mighty monument. It is one of the few such monuments of Romanesque architecture in Kieleckie apart from fragments of a pre-Cistercian church from the turn of the eleventh and twelfth century. (Interviewee No. 1; Jędrzejów)

Tying the monasteries' historical status with tourism, and deriving from this the necessity to cooperate with the monastery in order to boost the number

[78] Ibidem, p. 31.

of tourists, thus improving the town's economy, recur in the studied materials, both in publications and interviews. Considering monasteries as monuments and tourist attractions allows one to regard them as a tourist space, and to work with them to achieve non-religious goals:

> This makes the monastery attract many tourists to Jędrzejów, contributing to economic growth, and indicating certain needs that we – as authorities – have to address, right? We are currently trying to sort out, together with the monastery, the question of accommodation. In one of the buildings vacated by women religious, from the side of the Klasztorna street and the current main entrance to the monastery. (Interviewee No. 1; Jędrzejów)

On the other hand, as one representative of the district says, it transpires that the monastery should be regarded as a tourist resource that could help promote the town in Poland:

> The only chance for us to exist in Polish public space is tourism and its development. Without this, we simply could not do anything in the archabbey. Tourism will not start on its own. We are now in the process of establishing a local tourist organization. Several meetings have already been held. Practically everything relies on the monastery, the Przypkowscy Clock Museum, and the several monuments around Jędrzejów, some of them not even in the same district. Still, Jędrzejów is at the heart of it all. (Interviewee No. 2; Jędrzejów)

The attractiveness of the monasteries from a tourist perspective is deliberately exploited by the local authorities. One district representative has explicitly argued that "the monastery is regarded as the only motor of development" (Interviewee No. 7; Szczyrzyc). Intense revitalization works are now carried out with the aim to transform the monastery in Wąchock into a centre of tourism and a recreational base for Starachowice – a city only five kilometres away from Wąchock. Most of such actions rely on promoting the monastery as an architectural monument and a destination for pilgrims and tourists: "Our only great asset is the thirteenth-century monastery, an astonishing, class zero monument" (Interviewee No. 4, Wąchock). For example, as part of the initiative to develop the Eco-Muzeum project from

Starachowice, a long-term project was launched under the name "Mnisi i hutnicy" [Monks and foundry workers]. The first event, which turned out to be hugely successful, involved history-promoting festivities held in the abbey:

> The idea was to display the "sacrum-profanum" (or illustrate the principle *ora et labora*); we have divided this into accounts of spiritual life, provided by religious priests, of industrial activity (we had a scale model of forges), and of everyday practices (cooking, herbal medicine, scriptorium work). (Interviewee No. 7; Wąchock)

One lasting effect of this cooperation was the introduction of a single ticket to the abbey and the museum in Starachowice, where it is possible to admire a post-Cistercian blast furnace.[79] Wąchock, in turn, is promoted as the cultural capital of the northern part of Świętokrzyskie, which can be observed in how the monastery is used as a venue for many cultural events such as cyclical concerts of classical music (*Bach u Cystersów*[80]) and exhibitions of both artistic and museum character.[81] The gravity and influence of the building causes – as one representative of the local government argues – that "there is a surplus of immaterial resources. […] At the same time, we wish to be a kind of a weekend town serving recreational purposes for people from Starachowice and Skarżysko" (Interviewee No. 3; Wąchock).

Tying the district's development with the monasteries finds confirmation in strategies of development adopted in all studied towns. One such document, produced by the Jodłownik district (Szczyrzyc is part of it), claims that "the main tourist attractions are: the Island Beskids, the Cistercian abbey, historic churches

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79 A biking trail is supposed to link the two in the future, emphasising and reinforcing – among both visitors and citizens of Wąchock – the importance of the Cistercian heritage in the region. A report from the history-oriented festivities in the abbey can be found here: http://www.wachock.pl/a,901,MNISI_i_HUTNICY_Festyn_Historyczny_w_Opactwie.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

80 http://www.wachock.cystersi.pl/pokaz_artykul/?id_article=762&id_page_element=47 (accessed 8 September 2015).

81 Title of the exhibition: *Malowałam pieśniami – malarstwo Marianny Wiśnios*; *Przeszłość – Przyszłości – ksiądz Jan Wiśniewski (1876-1943) w 70. rocznicę śmierci*; *Artur Grottger Powstanie Styczniowe*. After: http://www.wachock.cystersi.pl/pokaz_artykul/?id_article=767&id_page_element=47 (accessed 8 September 2015).

and roadside chapels, as well as the manor house in Słupia with an adjacent ancient forest" (10). An analogous document from Wąchock argues:

> Wąchock boasts many historic and cultural objects, also ones connected with religious cult: the monastic complex of the Cistercian abbey from the twelfth century; the Cistercian abbey founded by the Kraków bishop Gedeon in 1179. It is one of the most beautiful monuments of Romanesque and early Gothic architecture in Europe – a class zero monument of global significance and one of the best-preserved objects on the "Cistercian Trail" protected by the Council of Europe. (4)

Cistercian monasteries are included in tourist relations not only through grassroots initiatives but also by ones coming from the top. In 1990, the Council of Europe established the Cistercian Trail as part of the European programme of Cultural Routes. The Trail is meant to "showcase the shared, centuries-old heritage connecting all countries on the continent."[82] In this sense, the function of the trail goes far beyond the tourism-related development of towns, and regards the dimension of identity. The Trail features those European towns that can boast existing or former Cistercian monasteries. One effect of establishing the Trail was the organization of conferences and facilitation of efforts to integrate both Cistercian districts and owners of Cistercian and post-Cistercian objects (Ogólnopolskie Forum Gmin Cysterskich oraz Właścicieli Obiektów Cysterskich i Pocysterskich [All-Poland Forum of Cistercian Districts and Owners of Cistercian and post--Cistercian Objects]), which is connected with the development of initiatives such as the Days of the Cistercian Trail, or the International Fair of Monastic Products. In 2007, on the other hand, Ogólnopolskie Stowarzyszenie Gmin Cysterskich [All-Poland Association of Cistercian Districts] was established. The Cistercians actively participate in all of these initiatives.

These projects have boosted the significance of the Cistercians in places where none of them live anymore. In Bierzwnik, where only the post-monastic complex survived and no Cistercians actually live, the Cistercian character itself is heavily present both in local discourse and in events organized there, which revive it as a product and a cultural resource. Events of this kind include the Monastic Products

[82] http://www.szlakcysterski.org/?pokaz=kronika_wydarzen (accessed 8 September 2015).

Fair (since 2010), the Cistercian Run, membership in the Forum of Cistercian Districts, in the All-Poland Association of Cistercian Districts, and in the Polish-German network of monasteries called Klosterland ("Klosterland is the brand of the Polish-German network of monasteries comprised by ones situated in eastern Germany and western Poland; the status of the network is secured by way of voluntary yet binding cooperation in which all parties control each other yet remain independent actors in legal and economic terms").[83] The example of Bierzwnik demonstrates how the Cistercian character – treated as a local resource – can function without the physical presence of the Cistercians and without an active monastery.

Treating the monastery as a tourist attraction goes back to the nineteenth century, and is thus not a novel tendency. What is new, however, is the adaptation of this strategy by district authorities, which have strongly relied on the attractiveness of the monastery to make the town more popular. Gach notes that already in the middle of the nineteenth century "the first descriptions of the church and monastery began to appear in the press. In the second half of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth, the number of such publications increased. In the same period, Wąchock was visited by journalists, sightseers, and art historians" (Gach 1993, 99). This interest caused that "Wąchock began to be visited by sightseeing tours, lovers of old traditions, and pilgrims" (100). One important element was also the interwar activity of the Polish Sightseeing Association (PTK). In 1933, its branch in Starachowice founded the Wąchock Division, which would undertake many actions aiming to secure and conserve the church and the post-monastic buildings (Nowicki, Rembalski 1993, 139).

In 1999, Sr Borkowska described the tourist experience of the Wąchock monastery in the following way:

> Today, tourists can admire the part of the building that is not enclosed, primarily the church, which boasts an almost unchanged thirteenth-century design, and many layers of later additions, including altars, paintings, and tombs. Then, visitors can walk the cloisters, admiring the seventeenth-century ceiling and fragments of original walls beneath. Then they can stray into the

[83] http://www.bierzwnik.pl/content.php?sid=0616e4e402694b4be664abe3e4da4bd9&tr=cl&cms_id=263&lang=pl (accessed 10 September 2015).

> unforgettable chapterhouse. The nearby room contains a lapidarium with pieces of old tombs and other stone fragments. Next to it there is the monument of major Ponury, hero of the last war. An identical monument stands in the market. Even more mementoes related to the region's history and to the history of the monastery can be found in the museum situated next to the main entrance in the western wing. (Borkowska 1999, 165)

The significance of the Cistercian character is also exploited by businesses. In Sulejów, a hotel operates next to the monastery. It was set up in post-monastic former outbuildings. In 1973 they were acquired by the government from a private owner and transferred to an institution that would run the hotel. Then they were privatized and are now managed by a private company. Crucially, the Cistercians returned to Sulejów for the first time after the dissolution in 1986 – at a time when the hotel was already open. The objects that currently belong to the Cistercians include the church and parts of the monastic complex forming an irregular polygon.

Photograph No. 7. Hotel (in the background) located in the post-monastic buildings, and the church along with parts of the monastery (in the foreground) in Sulejów. Source: archive of Jacek Szewczyk.

Photograph No. 8. View of the hotel in Sulejów from the perspective of the monastery. Source: the author's archive.

Photograph No. 9. View of the hotel in Sulejów from the perspective of the monastery. Source: the author's archive.

The hotel, which is a business located in post-Cistercian buildings, treats the historical and Cistercian aspect of these premises as a resource that can be utilized commercially by giving the hotel a "Cistercian" character:

> This is supposed to be the only restaurant in Poland serving Cistercian cuisine. Its specialty is the carp, which was brought to Poland by the Cistercians and has been since eaten once a year. We want to serve it all the time. There are also herbs and a spa based on them and other natural products. Certainly, we cannot completely rely on the Cistercian past… because it is difficult to package everything like that. The media report – e.g. *Gazeta Wyborcza* – that monastic objects are fashionable and attract people who want to calm down. I regard this as a niche, and this is not our target. (Interviewee No. 3; Sulejów)

Such proximity between a religious institution and business is bound to create tensions. As one hotel employee recounts:

> Anyway, we will continue with this, because this is what running a hotel and a restaurant involves. We are trying not to be too invasive, and wish to coexist in peace. Naturally, this does not always work out as we cannot control all the guests. Some of them are bound to go where they should not, or dress inappropriately. What can I say to a woman who wishes to sunbathe in a bikini? "Please, do not sunbathe here because a church is situated two hundred meters away"? Well, I would not say so. (Interviewee No. 3; Sulejów)

This situation is also difficult from the perspective of monks. Commenting on this, one monk put in succinctly: "We are trying to somehow live together" (Interviewee No. 8; Sulejów).

Tourism, development, and the economy in local discourse

Treating the monasteries in terms of tourism, development, and the economy is a tendency that clearly manifests in local discourse. The official website of the Sulejów district presents the Cistercian abbey in the section "Promotion," subsection

"Monuments."[84] This evidently shows that that narrative around monuments has pragmatic, promotion-oriented goals. The description of the monastic complex dovetails with the narrative about its historic character, underscoring the uniqueness of the site (or its parts) and pointing to specific dates and events from its past. The website also offers a "virtual stroll around the Cistercian monastery in Sulejów"[85] and presents visual materials illustrating its history, recounting legends surrounding it, and describing it as a place meant to be visited. The history of Sulejów presented on the district's official website is also located in the section "Promotion," which foregrounds how the history of the town is used to promote it today. The history of Sulejów contains mention of the Cistercians' arrival and their past economic impact.

The guide to Sulejów published by the district's and town's office begins from discussing the Cistercian abbey as a historic monument: "Visiting the abbey in Sulejów is like travelling in time. Its walls began to be erected almost eight centuries ago!"[86] The exclamation mark at the end aptly emphasises local pride and the eagerness to invite tourists in connection with the monastery's historic character. The said guide is also interesting because it discusses the specific character of the Cistercians: their rule, assumed self-sufficiency, as well as the technological impact and intellectual significance they had in the Middle Ages. As for the present, however, the abbey is no longer described in terms of the Cistercian (past or present) specific character. It belongs in the past, which helps to turn it into a local resource. Reaching into the past makes all related events and products more important and authentic.

Defining the monastery through a narrative based on its historic and historical relevance makes it part of the local heritage and sets non-religious goals before it, ones related to promotion, tourism, development, and culture. In light of this it seems entirely obvious that in 2014 a Trappist prior from Citeaux would meet with the abbot from Jędrzejów and the town's mayor. Talks regarded, among other things, economic cooperation:

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84 http://www.sulejow.pl/asp/pl_start.asp?typ=14&menu=24&strona=1&sub=235&subsub=239 (accessed 8 September 2015).

85 http://radoslawsobik.pl/panoramy/sulejow/index.html (accessed 8 September 2015). The district's website refers to this site.

86 "Informator Sulejów", p. 2 [no date of publication].

> The talks focused on determining the scope of cooperation between the Cistercian archabbey in Jędrzejów, the Jędrzejów district, and the monastery in Citeaux. Brother Bertrand Marie arrived in Jędrzejów on the occasion of celebrations commemorating the Blessed Wincenty Kadłubek. A delegation from our town will travel to Citeaux in October.[87]

Non-religious plans for the monastery have also been presented by the abbot from Jędrzejów, using a tourism- and monument-focused narrative:

> As is well-known, the monastic complex is one of the key sites on the Romanesque Trail. The arsenal shall become a place where visitors can learn more about history as well as a venue for outdoor exhibitions or painting competitions for schools and art academies. One interesting initiative is the association called Kalejdoskop Europejski [European Kaleidoscope]. Its goal is to study and popularize cultures rooted in the great Cistercian heritage on the territory of Poland, Hungary, and Germany. This association currently has open branches in Budapest and Berlin. Sulejów shall join them shortly. The renovated Abbot's Tower will serve as a viewing area. Ambitions are clearly high. I hope that we will be able to realize them together. This would be a lasting and worthy contribution to the cultivation of tradition as well as to the promotion of our region and its inhabitants, both past and present.[88]

The monastery in Jędrzejów also appears on the website of the mayor's office in a touristic context. A caravanning rally was held in the monastery in 2013. As the website claims, "its main goal was to promote the town of Jędrzejów and the Cistercian monastery."[89] This shows how the monastery becomes part of the tourist discourse serving to promote the town. This secular discourse is emphasised not only by secular actors: "During the official opening of the rally, Abbot Edward Stradomski underscored in his short welcoming speech that the event was organized

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87 http://www.umjedrzejow.pl/pl/aktualnosci/art961.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

88 Ibidem.

89 http://www.umjedrzejow.pl/pl/aktualnosci/art651.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

in order to promote the town, the Świętokrzyskie and Ponidzie regions, and the Cistercian monastery."[90]

There is hope that the narrative revolving around monuments and history could help Jędrzejów to develop, both by making it more recognizable and actually attracting tourists. This has been most explicitly voiced – as far as the materials gathered for this study are concerned – on the occasion of the city council debating in 2013 the motion to make the Blessed Wincenty Kadłubek the official patron of Jędrzejów:

> Making a saint out of a man who was so closely connected with Jędrzejów and is also such a distinguished figure in Polish culture, both religious and secular, would be a tremendous honour to our town, contributing to the rise of its significance, both as a site of the cult of Wincenty Kadłubek and as a strong tourist centre.[91]

One could thus say that Wincenty Kadłubek appears in the local context as a figure that unites the religious and the cultural aspects. It is worth emphasising the motivation for recognizing Kadłubek as the patron – it was development-focused. According to analysed materials, increasing the town's significance as a cult site and a tourist centre aims to foster its development.

Defining the monastery in terms of a narrative foregrounding monuments and history causes it to be treated as a resource of a different character than a religious one. This also sets new, non-religious goals before the monastery: ones related to promotion, tourism, development, and culture.

Analysed texts emphasise cultural events in which monasteries participate. Since the late 1990s, the International Festival of Chamber and Organ Music is held in Jędrzejów, and since 2014 – the Polish Meeting of Academic Choirs "Święty Krzyż 2014." The monastery in Sulejów is the place where cultural events are organized by district authorities, including chamber and organ concerts, the Łódź Philharmonic Wandering Festival "Kolory Polski" [Colours of Poland] or the Mediaeval Family Feast (formerly Family Fair) whose fifth edition in 2015 was organized as part of the 870th anniversary of the town's foundation. The character of this event is perfectly conveyed in the following passage:

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90 Ibidem.

91 http://www.umjedrzejow.pl/pl/aktualnosci/art601.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

> Last weekend we enjoyed the fifth edition of the celebrated Mediaeval Family Feast. The organizers made sure that visitors free themselves from the hustle and bustle of the everyday by creating a historical town within the mediaeval walls of the abbey complex. Attractions included stalls with unusual products, a coin minting workshop where one could make a coin with their face, a shooting range for bow and arrow, and delicacies that have partly fallen into oblivion. A mediaeval atmosphere was created by court ladies in beautiful gowns, peasants wearing simple shirts, knights, and even a court jester. Visitors particularly enjoyed products offered by the Circle of Countryside Housewives from Witów, while other stalls enchanted guests with original jewellery and varied handicraft.[92]

The monastery in Sulejów was also part of an urban game organized in 2015 under the title "Śladami Jagiełły" [In the footsteps of Jagiełło].[93]

Szczyrzyc, in turn, organizes the Cistercian Fair, which coincides with fruit picking. Arguing in favour of expanding the local event of fruit picking so as to include a fair, the borough leader argued as follows:

> We were lucky to have the Cistercians settle here already in the thirteenth century. They were known for their agricultural activity and would teach the locals how to select fields for crops and process agricultural produce. Currently, selling it for a fair price is a bigger problem than growing. The Cistercians come to help today as well. The fair shall be a place where local farmers have the chance to promote and sell their produce.[94]

The above passage acknowledges the historical and present role of the Cistercians in developing local agriculture.

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92 http://www.sulejow.pl/asp/pl_start.asp?typ=13&menu=12&artykul=3555&akcja=artykul (accessed 8 September 2015).

93 http://www.sulejow.pl/asp/pl_start.asp?typ=13&menu=12&artykul=3568&akcja=artykul (accessed 8 September 2015).

94 "Owocobranie," *Kurier z Jodłownika* No. 7 (2005), p. 9.

Tourism and changes in the functioning of monasteries

All studied monasteries cooperate with local actors. These contacts are often initiated by actors other than monks. As one monk from Szczyrzyc has noted:

> Let me tell you something – when someone wants to prepare a bigger event, they always approach the monastery to win its support. People believe that the abbot should be invited to whatever is being organized. The popular opinion would be that if the abbot does not attend an event, it could not be the same, although this may be already an outdated view. Holy Communion – what would we do without the abbot, as if no one else were fit for the job! If there is a red cow festival, the abbot must be there – what would they do without him! (Interviewee No. 4; Szczyrzyc)

However, this does not mean that monks participate in all proposed activities:

> They simply came up with this idea that the abbey should open a market for them, raise funds, buy a plot of land from the borough leader, or donate one of their own to make a market so that people from the vicinity could come and sell their products. On our market, prepared by us. My response is: What does the monastery have to do with it? It does not seem logical to me that the monastery should be engaged, it is not our task. (Interviewee No. 4; Szczyrzyc)

The monks' resistance to some of those efforts is connected with the fact that they are trying to maintain the monastic mode of functioning despite pressures from outside. Still, those activities connected with tourism and promotion that are related to the monasteries affect the changes in their functioning. The boundaries of the monastery – a place of *fuga mundi* – have become permeable for the outside world. In Wąchock, visitors touring with a guide can enter the inner courtyard (which currently hosts a café for guests) and gardens, which were off limits still at the beginning of the twenty-first century. "The abbot went quite far […] in opening the Cistercian gardens, which were previously inaccessible to outsiders; also, there is a café and a museum" (Interviewee No. 3; Wąchock). These decisions can be regarded as a breakthrough. Currently, the gardens – which feature the monument of Saint Bernard – are open to visitors when the café is open. Opening the monastery can

be interpreted from the perspective of the long term as a breakthrough in relations with the local community. However, it was certainly a gradual process, which is confirmed by the difficulty with pointing to any single date.

> It is a process. For example, five years ago we would not allow a television crew to enter under any circumstances. However, three years ago people from the TV series *Father Mateusz* came to us and a segment was aired in one of the popular breakfast shows. At five in the morning broadcasting vans arrived and the abbot told them "you can stay but you have to be silent because the brothers do not like this." Generally speaking, the brothers would close themselves so that no one can interrupt them, but such practices have become an almost everyday matter. This means that the process continues. (Interviewee No. 3; Wąchock)

First, information plates began to appear in the monastery after the cloister was renovated: Although "they were open to everyone because they feature stations of the cross so every parish member could go there freely," when the café was opened, "general free access became possible. The gardens are now open" (Interviewee No. 4; Wąchock). Currently, visitors in Wąchock have access to the following: cloister, church, chapterhouse, entrance hall, seclusion cell, fratry, refectory, and gardens.

According to the monks, this opening, or the development of the touristic significance of monasteries cannot go too far

> because it is necessary to lead a religious life – after all, this is not a museum, but a living monastery that still needs to grow. With the work that we do, there need to be more vocations and the enclosed part must be kept separated. In a way it is, as I say, because they move around the entire monastery. […] For monks, work would partially mean maintaining it all, giving guided tours, yes… But when you go upstairs there is silence and retreat… […] One could say that work is different now. It is oriented towards people, the community, and the presentation of culture. (Interviewee No. 4; Jędrzejów)

Nevertheless, in recorded comments made by monks these processes are not assessed negatively, i.e. as endangering the idea of monasticism. One monk from Jędrzejów has argued that it is necessary to open the monastery to tourism because this would allow to speak of the Cistercians' past and its importance for the town's

development. Thus, he treats this as an adaptive strategy that lends meaning to the Cistercian presence:

> The Cistercian culture needs to be properly presented because people often have no idea that it was at the foundation of all development in this area […] showing the Cistercian spirituality, their merits in the development of Polish culture, both material and spiritual […] showing this, I think, is a consequence of pastoral care and spiritual work. (Interviewee No. 4; Jędrzejów)

Moreover, opening the monastery to both believers and non-believers is regarded as a means of evangelization and a way of supporting the local community, which struggles with unemployment:

> Tourism is a chance and we are guided by this in our operations. It is not just the case that we want something for ourselves – we want to do something good for the people, e.g. create workplaces related to running the pilgrims' house, producing souvenirs, or putting up visitors because you need the whole day to visit everything and many will seek accommodation. There is also the question of the second museum… We want one and have been speaking about this with the authorities for years. We have three things: the monastery, the museum, and the narrow-gauge railway which will receive a lot of funding because the whole station is planned to be recreated. The intention is to make it all part of a single programme. This could boost tourism… well, we already have tourists. (Interviewee No. 4; Jędrzejów)

Asked about the perspectives on the future, the interviewee was optimistic about the studied processes:

> **– How do you see the monastery in ten years?**
> – Well, if it all works out, I'd say it could be like the other centres of tourism and pilgrimages, e.g. Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, to use an example of a sanctuary that has comparable monuments. It could be just like there, or perhaps not exactly because we will have rather typical tourists – Kalwaria is visited by religious [groups] and it just happens to have historic significance. In our case I see two possible tracks that would be nevertheless quite distinct: first,

> pilgrims coming for the Holy Mass and some speech, and second, the typical tourists who focus on sightseeing. This is certain. There is a possible third group we have been already thinking of a dozen or so years ago when the first businessmen arrived asking whether it would be possible to stay for a couple of nights, calm down, relax, cut yourself away from the world. We would like the pilgrims' house to perform exactly this function. This is what we would focus on when the season ends (it lasts around four months): holiday retreats to calm down, maybe even including some physical work in reference to our ways. It would help these busy people break away for a moment from whatever they do. Were we to combine this with a healthy cuisine and some traditional elements, I guess it would be great for many people. I would love to go to a place like that myself. (Interviewee No. 4; Jędrzejów)

No clear-cut approach of the Cistercians to the abovementioned changes emerges from what the interviewees shared. They rather regard these changes as a way of adapting to the new conditions that prevail today, giving them a chance to continue to function and develop, though this carries risks for their religious lifestyle. It seems that monasteries seek new forms of activity. As Isabelle Jonveaux's research demonstrates, this is quite typical for European monasteries.

Relations with the collective memory

Analysed publications also describe monasteries in terms of their status as monuments and elements of local history. On the official website of the Jędrzejów municipal council, information about the archabbey is found in the "Monuments" section, right next to the Holy Trinity Church, the Przypkowscy Clock Museum in Jędrzejów (exhibiting solar clocks and astronomical instruments), and the Expres Ponidzie train service. Defining the monastery as a historic monument structures the entire narrative of this short description.

One oft-underlined characteristic of the monastery, for example, is that it is "the oldest in Poland."[95] Its architectural details are precisely described, while its historical form and design constitute a value in itself.

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95 http://www.umjedrzejow.pl/pl/nasze_miasto/zabytki/ (accessed 8 September 2015).

> According to Cistercian principles, the church was built without a tower, its chancel oriented eastward. The towerless mass of the church was crowned with flat tops and colourless stained-glass windows. The stone floor was covered with tiles in the thirteenth century.[96]

The monastery is also mentioned in a historical context in the website's sections "Town history" and "Important dates in the history of Jędrzejów." In this case, however, the meaning of these mentions partially goes beyond the context of the monastery's status as a monument of historic importance. They rather discuss the functional relation between the town and the monastery in terms of economy and culture.

> The origins of Brzeżnica (Jędrzejów) are inseparably tied to the Cistercian monastery established in the years 1140-1149. It influenced the town economically and culturally for several centuries. […] The town's deterioration, which became apparent already towards the end of the eighteenth century, was only exacerbated by the Austrian occupation. The monastery was dissolved in 1819, which meant that another institution contributing to the town's development would be lost.[97]

The monastery is also mentioned in the website's news section. As part of ongoing events, it is a place that attracts activities related to its status of a historic monument. It is being "visited,"[98] commemorated on coins issued by the National Bank of Poland[99] or – as in the case of the pipe organ – on post stamps issued by the Polish Post[100] (described as "another form of promoting the Jędrzejów monastery"[101]), as well as presented as one of the "Polish wonders" as part of a competition organized by the National Geographic Traveler.[102] Finally, it becomes a part of the biking[103] and hiking[104] trails.

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96 Ibidem.

97 http://www.umjedrzejow.pl/pl/nasze_miasto/historia_miasta/ (accessed 8 September 2015).

98 http://www.umjedrzejow.pl/pl/aktualnosci/art162.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

99 http://www.umjedrzejow.pl/pl/aktualnosci/art210.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

100 http://www.umjedrzejow.pl/pl/aktualnosci/art1136.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

101 Ibidem.

102 http://www.umjedrzejow.pl/pl/aktualnosci/art467.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

103 http://www.umjedrzejow.pl/pl/aktualnosci/art604.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

104 http://www.umjedrzejow.pl/pl/aktualnosci/art750.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

Unlike Jędrzejów and Sulejów, Szczyrzyc is a village, which makes it part of the Jodłownik district in administrative terms. Importantly, Szczyrzyc does not have its own website, which means that information about it can be found on the website of the Jodłownik district. In comparison to Jędrzejów and Sulejów, the district office website contains little information about the Cistercians. The site only mentions that "the district's most important monument is the Cistercian monastic complex"[105] and provides its history alongside the history of how the Cistercians arrived in Szczyrzyc.

Thus, in analysed texts the monastery is situated in the past and described as a monument firmly rooted in the historical context. From the perspective of the authors of the analysed texts, its monumental and historic character plays two functions: the first is connected with the economy and the development of the district (the developmental function, monastery as a local resource), and the second – with the local identity (the identity function, monastery as part of the collective *we*).

In the local discourse, the monastery also functions in its primary context, i.e. as a religious institution. However, such references are rare in the studied texts. It is mentioned, for example, that the monastery in Jędrzejów is a place where the Holy Mass is held on occasions like the harvest festival[106] or – in Sulejów – during the peregrination of the copy of the painting of Our Lady of the Rosary at Pompeii[107] as well as during the Nativity celebrations.[108]

Religious issues emerge more often in the context of patriotic celebrations, which is conditioned in the Polish context by the country's history (cf. Marody, Mandes 2007). The Jędrzejów monastery and the Cistercians are engaged in celebrations of events that combine patriotic and religious aspects. For example, during the Constitution Day celebrations on 3 May 2010 the Mass in the Holy Trinity Church was held by the abbot.[109] As we read on the city council's website, in 2015 – as part of the First Cadre Company March[110] – and in 2011, during an important local anniversary of rescuing Home Army soldiers from the Gestapo seat in Jędrzejów,

105 http://www.jodlownik.pl/pl/477/0/historia-i-tradycje.html (accessed 10 September 2015).

106 http://www.umjedrzejow.pl/pl/aktualnosci/art199.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

107 Cf. *Sulej* No. 56 (2013), p. 9, and No. 57 (2013), p. 9.

108 "Ojciec Tadeusz," *Sulej* No. 38 (2009), pp. 8-9.

109 http://www.umjedrzejow.pl/pl/aktualnosci/art247.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

110 http://www.umjedrzejow.pl/pl/aktualnosci/art1141.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

Masses were held in the monastery: "Mayor Marcin Piszczek was represented by District Secretary Renata Kawiorska, and the City Council Chair was represented by Vice-Chair Wacław Kędra."[111] In Sulejów, in turn, the former monastery hosts celebrations of the Polish Independence Day (11 November). In Szczyrzyc celebrations are held, among other days, on 11 November and 3 May.

Texts contained in *Sulej*, a local quarterly published by the Association of Friends of Sulejów and its Vicinity in cooperation with the city council, describe the monastery as "ours," e.g. "our treasure."[112] The significance of the religious order is emphasised by indicating "how much our Motherland owes [to the religious order – M.J.] both in spiritual and material terms."[113]

In a brochure titled *Gmina Wąchock. Turystyka i przyroda* [The Wąchock District. Tourism and nature], the district presents itself through the monastery. The cover features a photograph of the monastery church's interior, confirming the importance of the monastery for the town's official image. Its foundation is linked in this publication – in accordance with historical facts – to the activity of the Cistercians:

> Wąchock owes its existence and multidimensional development to the French religious order of the Cistercians. Its representatives arrived in Poland in the first half of the twelfth century and settled in Jędrzejów. Monks reached the picturesque valley of the Kamienna River in 1179 due to efforts of Gedeon, bishop of the Kraków diocese, who donated land and granted privileges, giving rise to a new abbey.[114]

Attention is also drawn to the 1819 dissolution:

> One important event in the city's history was the dissolution of the Cistercian abbey in 1819 as a result of repressive policies adopted by the partitioners. The religious order's assets were confiscated by the government, ending the

111 http://www.umjedrzejow.pl/pl/aktualnosci/art308.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

112 Cf. *Sulej* No. 58 (2014), p. 5.

113 Bogumiła Strojna, "Cysterskie inwestycje w nieruchomości," *Sulej* No. 47 (2011), p. 11.

114 *Gmina Wąchock*…, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

> period of six hundred years of the religious brothers' charitable work in the Świętokrzyskie region.[115]

The Cistercians are recalled as the unquestionable founders and creators of Wąchock – the *spiritus movens* of local life. The next monastery-related event from the history of Wąchock described in this publication is the 1987 burial of the remains of Jan "Ponury" Piwnik in the "cloister of the Cistercian monastery."[116] As should be noted, the burial of Ponury's ashes in the cloister reveals a crucial dimension of processes shaping local collective memory. As a result of these processes, his activity in the Home Army has been tied – both narratively and materially – to the monastery by setting his urn in the walls and transforming a part of the monastery's space into an important memorial site.

The history of Wąchock presented in the analysed publication concludes with the statement that "the most important event in the town's post-war history was the return of the Cistercians to their former monastery in 1951 (officially the monastery was taken over by them in 1954)."[117] The Wąchock district was not only created by the Cistercians – they must continue to hold a symbolic influence over the place if their "return" is regarded as "the most important event in the post-war history of the town."

In 2015 the monastery in Jędrzejów was visited by President Andrzej Duda, shortly after he was sworn in. The President "met with monks, prayed at the relics of Blessed Wincenty Kadłubek, and sat with us for the noon meal"[118] as well as listened to organ music and laid flowers under the Smoleńsk memorial plaque. In the visitors' book, he wrote the following words:

> One of my first visits as the President of the Republic of Poland allowed me to go back to the source. The Cistercians – who have always been at the spring, following the motto *ora et labora* – are a prime example of faithful service to God and the Motherland.[119]

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115 Ibidem, p. 8.

116 Ibidem, p. 10.

117 Ibidem.

118 Ibidem.

119 http://jedrzejow.cystersi.pl/aktualnosci/257-prezydent-rp-w-naszym-archiopactwie.html (accessed 8 September 2015).

Photograph No. 10. Visit of Andrzej Duda, President of the Republic of Poland, in the Jędrzejów abbey. Source: archive of the monastery in Jędrzejów.

The President's visit to the Jędrzejów monastery shows that it is treated not only as an element of local identity but also as a part of being Polish.

The significance of local and state history for the monasteries is clearly revealed in material manifestations of memory such as monuments and commemorative plaques present in monasteries. The monastery in Jędrzejów contains plaques referring to the Smoleńsk plane crash, the 1940 crimes in Kozielsk, Ostaszków and Starobielsk, John Paul II, the activities of the Home Army; in Szczyrzyc there are plaques devoted to, among other things, John Paul II, Polish soldiers who fought in the Second World War, legionaries and Home Army soldiers, and people murdered during the Second World War. The cloister in Wąchock features the bust of major Jan "Ponury" Piwnik, and elsewhere in the monastery one can find plaques commemorating other Home Army soldiers, including a pantheon of Home Army commandants. No memorial plaques have been found in Sulejów as part of the presented research.

Monks from the monastery in Szczyrzyc – which was not dissolved – were engaged in many activities during the Second World War, e.g. clandestine classes.

> All of them almost died and the monastery miraculously avoided being burned down. It must have been Mother of God helping because the Germans found nothing. There were firearms behind the great altar, a radio station, underground pamphlets – all of this was in the monastery and they found nothing, although they would keep looking and checking. (Interviewee No. 4; Szczyrzyc)

Wąchock and Szczyrzyc have museums: the Museum of Fight for the Independence of the Nation in the former, and a double museum of sacred art and military history in the latter. The museum in Szczyrzyc was founded in 1954 basing on the local collection amassed by the abbot. On display we find, among other exhibits, Asian weapons like the Japanese sword (*katana*), a *harakiri* knife, a Malay *kris*, as well as polearms: flail, bardiche, a Cossack spear (*spisa*), or Western European side arms. Before the entrance to the museum in Wąchock a plaque reads "Museum of the Cistercian Fathers," which is the second, parallel name of the museum. The very design of the museum also confirms that both the monastery and Cistercian history are part of the independence-focused vision of Polish history.

Photograph No. 11. Sample exhibits in the museum in the Szczyrzyc monastery. Source: the author's archive.

Photograph No. 12. Sample exhibits in the museum in the Szczyrzyc monastery. Source: the author's archive.

It is difficult to reconstruct the history of the museum in Wąchock, which is now located in the monastery. Rev. Ślusarczyk from Nowa Słupia initially wanted to donate his collection, which is devoted to the martyrology of the Polish nation, to the abbot in Święty Krzyż: "However, there was a shortage of funds and finally in 1979 – on the 800th anniversary of the monastery, attended by Cardinal Wyszyński and Bishop Gołębiewski, as is described in many places – he ceremoniously donated everything to the Cistercians. […] Abbot Alberyk's efforts led to the creation of the museum and it was opened in 1990" (Interviewee No. 2; Wąchock).

Photograph No. 13. Sample exhibits in the Wąchock monastery museum. Source: the author's archive.

The very structure of the museum is worth analysing from the perspective of narratives tying the Cistercian past with Wąchock. Although these ties are not expressed directly, the entire museum serves as testimony to them. Simple, vertical plaques present the history of the Cistercians (e.g. dates of founding subsequent monasteries, presented on the map of the Polish territory in 1945, or the history of the Cistercian abbey in Wąchock), while the horizontal museum cabinets filled with exhibits present selected military-related objects from the period after the partitions (featuring an abundant collection of jewellery and funeral ornaments), military activities and their consequences during the First and Second World Wars (including a cabinet devoted to Auschwitz, containing batons from the camp), as well as objects related to the Solidarity movement. The museum's collection also includes "manuscripts by famous historical figures" (e.g. Jeremi M. Wiśniowiecki and Bohdan Chmielnicki), which are found in the

pre-partitions part of the exhibition. The narrative of Polish history created through this selection of events and specified by the material exhibits in the cabinets clearly indicates that military, patriotic, and martyrologic aspects are foregrounded, especially the mourning after the January Uprising, and tied – through the unifying structure of the museum as a whole – with the history of the Cistercians in Poland. Although there is no clear connection between these events and the presence of monks on these territories (the only exhibit linking monks to patriotic activities in the nineteenth century is the painting from the second half of that century titled *Klasztor na św. Krzyżu* [Monastery at Święty Krzyż], captioned "The picture shows a mound of national memory, built in 1861 and later demolished"), putting them together in a single space in the same museum is an attempt at establishing this link. The geometrical and semiotic structure of this one-room museum speaks volumes about these ties, just as clearly as the fact that the museum is located in a monastery. At the same time, this shows the difficulty in maintaining the coherence of the narrative about these ties. Perhaps this is the reason why it was decided that the *history of Poland* and the *history of the Cistercians in Poland* should be positioned differently in geometrical terms. The *Polish* cabinets and the *Cistercian* posters are positioned at right angles to each other, complementing each other.

Just like the structure of the museum's space demonstrates how the symbolization process unfolds in geometrical terms, helping to tie the history of the Cistercians with the history of Poland, the very fact that the museum is located in the Wąchock monastery itself foregrounds the narrative about the ties linking the Cistercian past and Wąchock. Naturally, these ties are known, but the museum expands this connection, presenting exhibits referring to the history of Poland but not directly related to the history of Cistercians in Poland. Thus, the meta-narrative created in the museum (a meta-narrative because it speaks of *Poland* and *Cistercians*) creates and naturalizes the relationship between the monastery and Wąchock as a Polish town. It needs to be stressed that this kind of materialization and *geometrization* of collective memory is also related to the burial of Ponury's ashes, the unveiling of his monument in the cloister, and the placing of the memorial pantheon in the monastery, featuring plaques celebrating Home Army commanders. There is no historical link between Ponury and the Cistercians – it has been constructed by the monastery, making monks the keepers of the local collective identity and legitimizing their current presence in Wąchock.

> There was a bit of history appropriation. It is the Cistercians who speak of their participation in the January Uprising, our abbot. Locally. Knowing that some Cistercians took part in the Kościuszko Uprising, he extends this to other events, forgetting that in fact there were no Cistercians here. We are talking about a single person, but if it is the abbot saying so then some people repeat this unreflectively and consequently a legend is made. (Interviewee No. 3; Wąchock)

The Cistercians from Wąchock are now part of the local *we*, which is connected with the obvious necessity to take care of the monastery, manifesting for example in the functioning of the foundation Historic Monument of the Cistercian Abbey in Wąchock. As the interviewed inhabitants of Wąchock argue: "Tradition is being rebuilt from scratch here, in our circle, because of generational shift." "There is a lot of work left to be done: the elevation for example […] also, a large-scale renovation is in order but they do not have enough money. If they do not receive support from outside, there is no way they can continue to function basing on people's donations" (Interviewee No. 6; Wąchock).

The second crucial element in making the monastery's space *patriotic* is the burial of Ponury's ashes in the cloister. Transferring his ashes was an event that the interviewees distinctly remember: "As far as I can recall, remembering old photos, there was a huge procession. First, they brought the ashes, then there were celebrations at Wykus, a casket was carried, and there was a whole procession" (Interviewee No. 4).

Apart from the January Uprising, the figure of Ponury is one of the two axes of Wąchock's patriotic character. Local schools bear his name and that of the Uprising. In June, on the first Sunday after the anniversary of Ponury's death, partisan-focused celebrations are held at Wykus, organized by Suchedniów, Bodzentyn, and Wąchock.

> Among the many events in the history of Wąchock, the [January] Uprising is certainly studiously commemorated. One school bears the name of the Uprising heroes. There is a street named after the insurrectionists of 1863, and another street carrying the name of Marian Langiewicz. We have tombs of insurgents, which are renovated and cherished at the local cemetery. There is a symbolic tomb of the insurgents, currently dismantled, a cross next to the school, because a new fence is being made and the tomb needed to be placed

> differently because it was too high. Note that they used to bury people at the monastery. There is still the tomb of Zefiryn Bartyzel, the last Cistercian, who was a deputy prior and later a parish priest; he died in 1860, I think. (Interviewee No. 2; Wąchock)

In this way, the significance of patriotic themes is underscored. By placing the ashes of "Ponury" and his monument in the space of the monastery and locating the museum within its walls, featuring a well-developed section about the January Uprising, the three narrative strands that dominate in the local collective memory are tied together, both symbolically and materially. One of the interviewees openly claimed that "we are gradually developing into a strong patriotic centre" (Interviewee No. 2; Wąchock).

This is how one interviewee interprets the tying of Ponury with Wąchock:

> In order to reach Wykus [a local area highly relevant in patriotic terms – M.J.], one would have to go either to Bodzentyn or Wąchock. There was a good base here for such operations, remember about that: vast forests in the Świętokrzyskie region, armaments plants in Skarżysko and Starachowice, and Wąchock in between (a bit closer to Starachowice). And so, he operated there. People from Wąchock would be part of the Świętokrzyskie branch of the Home Army. In the end, these things were somehow materialized. We have a square named after Ponury in Wąchock, as well as his monument and ashes. (Interviewee No. 2; Wąchock)

The third key element is the Memorial Pantheon of the Underground Polish State 1939-1945. As the monastery's website claims:

> The monastery's wall at the courtyard in front of the church has been used by the Home Army circles to celebrate names of heroes who fought for freedom. Numerous memorial plaques, symbols, and orders were set in the wall, commemorating the activity of partisan groups. At the centre of the Pantheon there is a monument of the Polish Underground State designed by Andrzej Kasten aka "Zulejka."[120]

[120] http://www.wachock.cystersi.pl/muzeum/ (accessed 8 September 2015).

Photograph No. 14. Memorial Pantheon set in the monastery's walls – the material dimension of the monastery's history made patriotic. Source: the author's archive.

Therefore, today's identity of Wąchock is constructed on the foundation of themes related to patriotism and the monastery, which are tied together – as the above analysis shows – both in the symbolic and material dimension. The "patriotic socialization" of the monastery intensified towards the end of the 1980s and in the early 1990s, i.e. during the transformation. The exact same thesis has also been formulated by Andrzej Jankowski, who indicates "the role of the abbey as a memorial site" (Jankowski 1993, 150). He emphasises elements such as the burial of Ponury's ashes in the monastery, the creation of the museum and its exhibition, the adaptation of the wall at the courtyard in front of the church, "which was made available for memorial plaques" (150), as well as the Cistercians' engagement in "ceremonious anniversary Masses" (150) organized by Home Army veterans. These endeavours indicate how much the said process of the patriotic nationalization of the monastery has changed its place in local collective memory. This process is well illustrated by photograph No. 15.

Photograph No. 15. Patriotic and touristic contexts in the monastery's space. Place: cloister. Source: the author's archive.

Conclusion

Today, monasteries operate in a much different socio-cultural context than before. In order to grasp the specific character of their current functioning and the changes in their activity it is necessary to focus not only on their internal transformations, but also on the external conditions and ways in which these institutions would respond to these conditions. Drawing conclusions about the situation of religious life on the basis of the number of vocations or the number of members in a given religious order is not helping to see the complete picture, which – as this book tries to demonstrate – requires taking into account analyses of other aspects. Field research conducted as part of work on this book has helped to identify vital dimensions in which the studied monasteries function in their meaningful social relations. These include the interrelated dimensions of economy, tourism, promotion, and collective memory. New economic and political conditions in Poland after 1989 opened new possibilities of functioning in the public sphere before monasteries, at the same time causing them to be regarded on the local level as a resource that could contribute to the development of a given area, also through tourism. Thus, economic activity, including tourism, becomes a way for the studied monasteries not just to make profits essential to their operation, but also to forge extra-religious relations with a given local community. These relations can be interpreted as a means of reaffirming the position of these institutions in a local context, from which they were erased for about a century after dissolutions. Their revival also meant returning to a different world that follows different rules. In other words, the current extra-religious activities of the studied monasteries – notably, ones aiming to distance themselves from the social world – should not be treated, due to the transformations of the social context in which they function, simply as a continuous and institution-specific mode of functioning, but should be analysed in a given context that determines their specificity. Thus, sociological analysis cannot be limited to the directions of action declared by religious orders, treating these self-constructed narratives as factual accounts, but needs to regard them as

an element of the social constitution of these institutions, as demonstrated by Weber and confirmed by the "reformist" history of the transformations of religious orders. On the other hand, economic relations (including tourism) allow monasteries not only to install themselves locally, but also to make it possible for local communities, represented at the level of the local government by district offices, to create fitting adaptive strategies that would work in the context of the economic and social challenges they face. These conclusions have been reached by Katrin Langewiesche, who studied female orders in Burkina Faso. She has demonstrated that, on the one hand, monasteries undertake a range of actions meant to facilitate adaptation and survival, but on the other they are still treated by the local community as a resource that helps them to realize their own goals.

Relations in which the studied monasteries function also regard the past, including collective memory. This question is all the more fascinating because social studies of monasteries are usually conducted by adopting a historical perspective. Historical findings are sedimented in collective memory, creating an image of monasteries as long-standing institutions, which is of course true, though it has become the dominant aspect in our knowledge about them. Thus, findings of historians are often used as the basis for developing accounts of their current condition, which involves limiting oneself to reports of the past. Studies show, however, that it is equally important to note how this past is currently shaped by social actors, i.e. what is the place of their history within collective memory. The studied monasteries function in relations connected to collective memory, thus contributing to the development of local identity.

Along with the changes of social relations, the discourse on monasteries is changing as well. In the theological perspective, the studied monasteries are religious institutions, places of *fuga mundi*, where a religious community is seeking God through highly regulated individual and group practices. Their theological understanding is transcended in the kind of discourse that ascribes other meanings to monasteries: historical ones related to their historic importance; patriotic ones, or ones broadly referring to identity; ones related to tourism and promotion (connected with economic development); and finally, cultural and religious ones (connected with pastoral activities). This multiplicity of meanings indicates various religious and non-religious dimensions of the monasteries' functioning in their local context, which dovetails with various relations in which these institutions function. Monasteries are symbolically located in the past and regarded as historic

sites that have their place in a specific historical context. This narrative is upheld to develop both the local area (or town) and the local identity. Simultaneously, analysed materials show that monasteries are treated not only as religious objects but also as historic sites and resources helpful in realizing goals set by the local authorities, not just by the religious order. Monasteries abound in meanings and activities related to the past: they are monuments of architectural importance and witnesses to key historical events. Historical meanings created in this way become a value not only in symbolic but also in economic terms. Tourists visit monasteries because they are part of national heritage. As Waldemar Kuligowski emphasises, "heritage is used to declare to others: 'We live, we have our roots here, we are different'" (2007, 88) – thus, it is not only a tourist attraction but also a vital component in the forging of local collective identity, which – at least partially – "materializes" in the form of a monastery and the symbolic references it carries (paintings, busts, monuments, etc.). Acknowledging a certain object as part of heritage entails distinguishing a given place, group, or region, also involving a condensation of "us" in relation to various kinds of "them." According to Tim Edensor, cultural heritage is not "ossified" as "traditions are continually *reinvented* in a range of different contexts" (2002, 6; emphasis preserved): it is actively altered, created, imagined, and adapted to new contexts. In contemporary world, cultural heritage partakes – just like popular culture and everyday life – in forming not only national identities but also local and regional ones, although these processes are increasingly entangled in commercialization. Processes that manifest in the social life of "old" objects show how being regarded as a product and a part of cultural heritage are now interrelated. The best example of this, taken from the history of one of the monasteries studied in this book, is a tourist fair organized several years ago. Monks from one of the monasteries accepted the invitation to participate in the fair along with a group of enthusiasts of American Indians, together promoting the town. After the fair, the latter took off their costumes, but the Cistercians would not, surprising everyone.

Available data can be also interpreted as showing that even though the Cistercians turn away from the world, their multi-faceted connections with it become apparent, which can be regarded as an adaptive strategy assumed after dissolutions, or more broadly – as a way of adapting to the new socio-economic conditions in which they currently function. At the same time, however, these relations are beneficial for local communities that treat monasteries as a resource facilitating

the realization of extra-religious goals, among others economic development or the creation of collective identity. A relational approach that departs from an order-centred approach and constitutes the result of my own research on new approaches to the study of monasteries allows one to grasp the significance that these relations have not only for monasteries but also for other actors in social life. Due to the scope of these relations in the local context, monasteries can be viewed as local, institutional social actors. Relations they partake in can be created or initiated not just by monasteries but also by other institutional social actors. Monasteries can be drawn into these relations by force, invited to participate in developing them, or they become willingly engaged in this process. Therefore, monasteries can be regarded not only from a theological perspective as houses of religious communities, but also as objects existing separately from such groups – objects that can become the focus of interest for other people than the religious and for other reasons than religious ones. What occurs is a specific, partial separation of the religious community from the monastery. At the same time, it is not only the monastery as a building but also the entire religious community living there that becomes – as I have demonstrated – important in the local context, not just in the religious perspective.

Finally, a relational approach to monasteries shows that the "crisis" of religious life, defined by the diminishing number of order members, should be confronted with the social vitality of these institutions and the transformations they are undergoing. Although the studied monastic communities are small in quantitative terms, they are thriving and present themselves as locally important institutions. In this sense, a relational approach has facilitated pointing out those aspects of their functioning that were previously disregarded in order-centred approches widespread in sociological studies of monasteries.

Appendix 1.
Scenario for individual interviews (Szczyrzyc, Jędrzejów, Sulejów, Bierzwnik)

Perception of the monastery

1) How do you perceive the monastery? What kind of a place is it?
2) What do you associate it with?
3) Do you happen to visit? If so, on what occasions?

The monastery today

1) What kinds of activities does the monastery engage in today? (Discuss ones listed, with incentive to elaborate on their genesis, meaning, engaged parties.)
2) What actions are undertaken in relation to the monastery? (Discuss ones listed, with incentive to elaborate on the genesis, meaning, engaged parties; e.g. concerts, trails, modernization, renovations, cooperation on various local initiatives, e.g. an urban game was organized in Sulejów, featuring the monastery.)
3) What do you think of the activities realized by the monastery and in relation to it?

Impact of the monastery on the town

1) How do other inhabitants (people you know) perceive the monastery?
2) What is the local significance of the monastery? How can one assess the impact of the monastery on the town? Please list different areas of such impact and provide examples (ask about the following aspects: religious, cultural, touristic, architectural, spiritual, social, and any other).
2.1) Has this influence changed? In what way? For what reasons? Please provide examples of these changes.
2.2) Who contributes to these changes? Please list actors (people) and institutions.
2.3) What is your view on the extent of this influence? Should it be greater, smaller, or just the way it is?

The place of the monastery in the local culture

1) Does the monastery contribute to the local culture?
2) What kinds of actions does it take in this respect? (Please list the most important social and cultural activities that the monastery has realized.)
2.1) Which of these were initiated by the monastery itself? 2.2) In which ones does it merely participate?
2.3) What specific cultural activities (projects, etc.) has the monastery offered?
2.4) Who controls the monastery's actions in the cultural sphere? Please list these people and institutions, indicating the scope of their influence.
3) What cultural institutions and NGOs does the monastery work with? Why these ones? Which ones does the monastery certainly not work with and why?
4) Who is the strongest actor in the local field of culture? (Who does most? Who is most active?) What is the monastery's position on this background?

The place of the monastery in collective memory

1) What aspects of the monastery's history are remembered locally? (Ask about the social awareness as well as the indirect impact of public celebrations, street names, and other elements.)
1.1) What people and/or organizations focus on preserving the memory of the monastery? Who is its "guardian"?
1.2) How does the monastery's cultivation of memory manifest? (Ask about actions and events, material correlates of memory, e.g. street names, monuments, etc.)
2) Why would you say these specific aspects of the past are remembered? Can you indicate any other institutions or individuals responsible for keeping the memory of the monastery's past?
3) Are any aspects of the monastery's history disregarded? Has this been purposeful? Please provide examples and attempt to elaborate. What institutions contribute to this? 4) Are any attempts now made locally to publicize and share certain aspects of the monastery's history? [Monks wish to create a museum in the monastery, demonstrating the great impact of the place on the local area as well as on mediaeval economy and culture more generally.]

The monastery and institutions represented by the interviewee

1) Does the institution you represent work with the monastery? If so, what would this cooperation regard? Who initiated it? How long ago?

2) Has this cooperation changed? If so, in what way? Please provide examples.
3) Should this cooperation be different? If so, in what way?

Place of the monastery in the local sphere of religion

1) What does the religious activity of the monastery consist in?
2) What is the relation between church parishes and the monastery?
3) What is the significance of pilgrimages for the town? Do they contribute to its development?

Place of the monastery in the local public sphere

1) How would you assess the monastery's cooperation with the local authorities? What is its scope? What does it regard? What is the local authorities' approach to the monastery? What are the reasons behind this approach?
2) What are the various opinions about this cooperation and approach? Should something change in this respect?

Tourism

1) Is the monastery an important place from the perspective of tourism? How does this situation affect the town? Should this change?

Monks

1) What kinds of people are monks? What are their relations with citizens? Does their Cistercian character manifest in something? If so, what would it be?
2) Would you say that the monastery could be still a locally important place without monks? Please justify your answer.
3) What do people say about the monks?

Place of the monastery in the interviewee's biography

1) What is the monastery's place in your life?
2) What is your memory of the monastery from your childhood? Has something changed? If so, how?

Appendix 2.
Scenario for individual interviews (Wąchock)

Section 1 – Town identity

– How would you characterize the town you live in? (associations)
– What major events have shaped this town?
– Does this place have a defined identity? What comprises it, in both the material and the non-material (symbolic) dimension?
– What is characteristic for this place today? Lifestyle, development strategy, environment?
– How can you characterize the inhabitants? Are they locals or immigrants?
– Is the past or the memory of the past important for the inhabitants? If so, what would it be related to? What dominates in this memory?
– How has the identity of the place changed (since the transformation or earlier)? How fast has it been changing?
– What processes have led to this?
– What are the key monuments or sites related to the cultural heritage of Starachowice?

Section 2 – Collective memory and the monastery

– Does the monastic history now play any role in shaping the town's identity? Is it cultivated or rather forgotten? What aspects are remembered and how?
– What factors would you identify as affecting this situation (i.e. the condition of social memory being connected to the monastic past)? (Discuss historical factors as well as ones related to the actions of the local government, the vision of the city's development, its geographical location, etc.)
– How would you assess the inhabitants' knowledge about the monastic past of the town? What does it result from? Is it a positive phenomenon? – Which local cultural institutions work with the town's monastic past? What do they do?

– What function is now played by the past, including the town's monastic past? (Discuss tourism, economy, identity – integrating citizens, etc.) – Who uses it and for what purposes? – What place is occupied in this memory by the dissolution?

Section 3 – Perspective of the represented institution

– What actions or events are realized by your institution in relation to the town's monastic history? Please list and discuss them.
– Why are they being realized and what is their goal?
– How are they perceived locally? – Are you planning to continue or expand the scope of these activities? If so, in what directions?

Methodological appendix

The empirical research on monasteries presented in this book was realized as part of two projects in which monasteries were studied in their local context. The aim of conducting this kind of research was to grasp how these religious institutions function both in the social dimension and in the discursive realm of meanings ascribed to them. Sociological research on this phenomenon began as part of a project funded by the National Programme for the Development of Humanities [NPRH] and led by Professor Marek Derwich from the University of Wrocław. This project was devoted to the historical study of the dissolutions of monasteries. I participated in it as the leader of the team focusing on sociological analyses of the relationship between the heritage of the monasteries and collective memory. The main research question was as follows: What is the place of the monastery in the local collective memory? Posing this question was justified by the fact that most monasteries in Poland were dissolved at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Their reinstatement was also related in local communities to reflection on history. As part of this project, research was realized in Wąchock (Cistercian monastery), Opatów (Bernardine monastery), and in Starachowice/Wierzbnik (former prepositure of Święty Krzyż). In what follows I refer solely to the study conducted in Wąchock because this town is home to a Cistercian monastery. The second project – which was a logical continuation of the one described above – focused on the current functions and meanings of monasteries in selected local communities. Due to the fact that a thorough study of the Wąchock monastery was conducted previously, other Cistercian monasteries were chosen as the subject of research, namely ones in Szczyrzyc, Jędrzejów, and Sulejów, along with the post-Cistercian town of Bierzwnik, where the monastery is no longer occupied by the Cistercians.

Field studies in question were carried out in the period between 2012 and 2017. They included a (usually) two-day research visit to every place; apart from Sulejów and Bierzwnik, two visits were made in each place. A total of 34 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted. Different sets of questions were prepared

for Wąchock and other places – both of them are included as Appendices 1 and 2. Questions listed in the scenarios could be asked by the interviewers in any order. Also, in line with the rules of conducting individual interviews, they could be modified and elaborated during the interview as long as the research intention behind the question was preserved (each interviewer was briefed before fieldwork on the research goals and the logic of the study). The choice of a semi-structured interview was motivated by the fact that when the interviewees were asked about monasteries, they would display a tendency to assume a historical perspective and, at first, would mainly recall historical facts about these institutions. For this reason, interviewers had to adopt individualized approaches to asking questions in order to establish social facts.

Table 16. An overview of interviewees in relation to their category and the place of the interview

Place		Jędrzejów	Szczyrzyc	Wąchock	Sulejów	Bierzwnik
Category of the interviewee / number of interviews	representative of local authorities (mayor, borough leader, or some other employee at the district office)	2	2	1	1	2
	representative of an institution dependent on the local government (cultural centre, library, etc.)	2	1	1	3	1
	representative of local non-governmental institution (NGOs, local press, parishes other than the monastery's, etc.)	1	4	3	3	1
	monk (abbot, prior, or other)	1	1	2	1	0
TOTAL	34	6	8	8	8	4

Source: own data.

Interviews were carried out by the author and three other scholars: Barbara Markowska, PhD (Wąchock), Magdalenea Łukasiuk, PhD (Szczyrzyc and Jędrzejów),

and Piotr Jakubowski, PhD (Sulejów). Each interview would last from twenty to ninety minutes. Most of them were recorded and later transcribed. Five were not recorded, including two with monks (due to the fact that they were interviewed on the move during a walk around the monastery), two in Bierzwnik (they were not recorded due to technical issues), and one conducted with a representative of a local non-governmental institution, who did not agree to be recorded without stating any reasons. In all cases, reports were made just after interviews on the basis of notes and from memory. The choice of interviewees was deliberate. In line with research assumptions, before each field trip I would prepare a list of people representing important local institutions, contacting all potential interviewees and fixing dates of interviews after agreeing on their subject. Interviews were carried out personally by the author (over a half of them – 19) or by other researchers. Difficulties with interviews about the monastery stemmed primarily from the fact that most interviewees assumed that the study regards the history of monasteries (which are indeed institutions of long history, thus constituting an object of local reflection – they are discussed in this light for example on websites run by the local authorities and in many widely available leaflets). Reaching examples of contemporary actions and ways in which monasteries are perceived usually demanded explaining that the present is in fact the focus of the study, not the past. Recorded interviews were transcribed and analysed using MAXQDA software.

Thus, triangulation was adopted in relation to both data and researchers. Among the latter – representing different disciplines such as philosophy, sociology, and cultural studies, as well as possessing different knowledge on the studied phenomenon – each contributed individually to the conducted interviews and the discussion on the gathered data. Visual documentation was also realized as part of participant observation (including a visit in the local museum, refreshments in the Cistercian café, etc.).

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