AS IT WAS IN THE BEGINNING: THE WRITING OF IMAGINED HISTORIES OF CONTINUITY AND THE RESHAPING OF RUTHENIAN EASTERN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES, 1544-1772
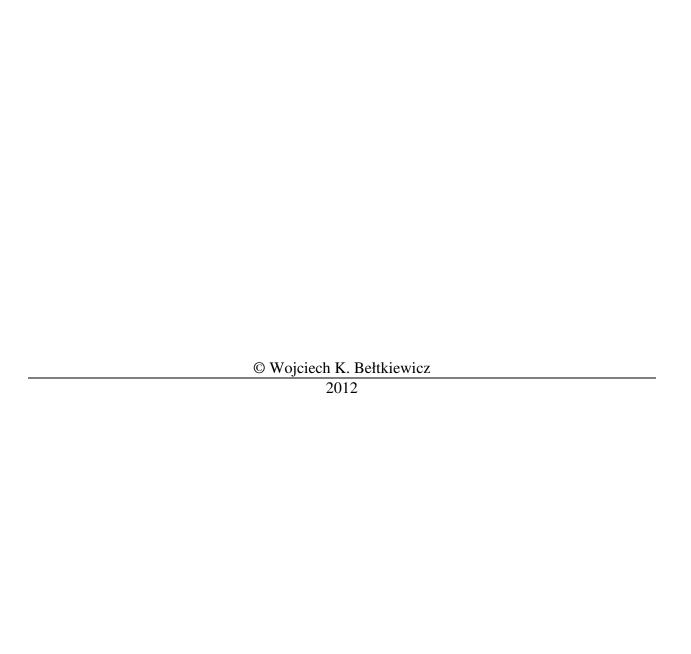

by

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To Zdzisław and Bożenna, my parents.

Zdzisławowi i Bożennie, moim rodzicom

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABGK   Archiwum Biskupstwa greckokatolickiego w Przemyślu

BUW   Biblioteka Uniwerstytetu Warszawskiego

CDIAL   Центральний державний історичний архів України (Львів)

MANSI   Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio

MUH   Monumenta Ucrainae Historica

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

PREFACE: TRANSLATION, TERMINOLOGY AND TEMPORAL SCOPE

The Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, commonly termed the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów*) was one of the largest and most populous states of Early Modern Europe. Reaching from the Baltic to the Black Sea, the borders of the Commonwealth waxed and waned over time and encompassed areas now in modern-day: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, the Russian Federation, Belarus, Ukraine and Slovakia. In the Early Modern period, the Commonwealth sat at the crossroads of empires and cultures bounded by the Holy Roman Empire to the west, Muscovy to the east and the Ottoman Empire to the south. At the height of its territorial breadth in the seventeenth century, the Commonwealth spanned 990,000 square kilometers, smaller only than Muscovy and the Ottoman Empire within the European sphere. Its population of nearly 11 million was diverse in terms of ethnicity, culture, religion and language. In fact, the Commonwealth recognized three official languages and two official alphabets; Latin and Polish were written with a Latin alphabet and Ruthenian using Cyrillic script.[1] As a practical matter, the linguistic landscape of the Commonwealth was even more complicated with (often multi-lingual) speakers of German, Yiddish, Turkic, Armenian, Lithuanian, Italian, French, as well as local variants of Ukrainian, Belarusian and Russian, all residing within its borders.[2]

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[1] Henryk Wisner, *Rzeczpospolita Wazów: Czasy Zygmunta III i Władysława IV*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, Instytut Historii PAN, 2002), 64.

[2] Jan Stanisław Bystroń, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawnej Polsce wiek XVI-XVIII*, vol 1, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1994), 25-70.

Map 1.1: Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1648.The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth shown at the height of its territorial extent in 1648. This marked the eve of the period known as the Deluge after which the Commonwealth lost significant territory in the east. It began with the Khmelnytsky Uprising (Cossacks) in the southwest and was followed by a series of invasions by: Muscovy from the east, Crimean Tatars from the south-east and Sweden from the north.

The heterogeneity of the Polish-Lithuanian populace makes it a fascinating location for historical inquiry, but also poses a number of practical challenges in terms of a contemporary English translation. The vocabulary used within the polity for cities, regions, states, peoples and even proper names often varied with the multiple linguistic conventions of authorship. Many of the period terms have also assumed meanings which have changed from their original intent, often becoming politicized over the course of subsequent centuries.

While there are no perfect solutions to such quandaries, this work employs several conscious stratagems for translation. Where possible, I refer to proper locales with the contemporary designations specific to the language of their current politico-geographic position. For instance, I transliterate cities within the borders of modern day Ukraine, using "L'viv" instead the Russian "Lvov" or the Polish "Lwów." Likewise, I use the modern "Vilnius" as opposed to "Wilno," or "Vilna." Similarly, I have utilized the more recently adopted Kyiv, as opposed to Kiev. In the case of very small towns and villages, I have used the Polish designation as found in the sources, followed by a modern Ukrainian equivalent, where possible. As such, I have followed up Chodowice with "Ходовичі," and Górna Bronica with "Брониця."

Conversely, I avoid modern state designations or modern statist-based identities, such as "Ukraine," or "Ukrainian," "Belarus" or "Belarusian" all of which carry potentially anachronistic nationalist connotations when applied to the Early Modern era. Where personal names have multiple linguistic possibilities I use the Polish adaptation for purposes of standardization; the majority of the archival sources also tend to reflect this designation. Thus, when addressing the early seventeenth century Greek-rite Catholic Metropolitan, I employ Józef Welamin Rutski, as opposed to the Cyrillic transliteration Josyf Veljamiyn Ruts'kyj. Furthermore, both the Julian and the Gregorian calendars were variously and unevenly used in the Commonwealth after 1582.

In light of this, the dates and years I have cited from primary documents should be taken as approximations which fall within the parameters of these calendrical deviations.

This work investigates the creation of a new religious entity and its propagation within Poland-Lithuania; yet what to name this emerging faith (and in what period) remains an openly defined question with only imperfect solutions. Most anglophone scholars have opted to use the term "Uniate" which remained a fairly uncontentious designation for at least the last hundred years. In the latter half of the twentieth century "Uniate" has assumed a highly pejorative connotation. For this reason the term all but disappeared from official Catholic Church documents following the Second Vatican Council in 1962. It is also for this reason that I have tried to limit its usage within this work.

Polish scholarship has generally split between using the terms "Uniate" (unici) and "Greek Catholic" (grekokatolicy), or have used them interchangeably. The adaptation of these terms reflects the Early Modern Latin texts' use of "Uniti," "Graeco catholici Rutheni" and "Catholici ritus Graeci." In general, period Polish texts did not use translated vernacular terminology in official documents, opting instead for those found in Latin usage. For the purposes of this work, I find "Greek Catholic" a far more descriptive and appropriate term. With this in mind, I use "Uniate," "Ruthenian Catholic" and "Greek Catholic" interchangeably and they should be taken as synonymous. They should also not be confused with the terms, "Oriental Catholic" and "Eastern Catholic" which are broader designations including the Byzantine/Greek-rite/Uniates but also encompasses faiths with separate liturgical traditions.[3]

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[3] Today, the Oriental Catholic/ Eastern Catholic Churches include those of the Alexandrian, Antiochian, Armenian and Chaldean liturgical traditions totaling 22 *sui iuris* (autonomous) Eastern/Oriental Churches under five Rites (in addition to the Latin Catholic Rite). Eastern Catholic Churches using the Alexandrian liturgical tradition include: the Coptic Catholic Church and Ethiopian Catholic Church. Those using the Antiochian liturgical tradition include the Maronite Church, Syriac Catholic Church, and Syro-Malankara Catholic Church. The Armenian Catholic Church has its own Armenian liturgical tradition. The Chaldean Catholic Church and Syro-Malabar Catholic Church embrace the Chaldean liturgical tradition. The largest number of Eastern Catholic Churches are in this Byzantine rite

Unfortunately, "Greek Catholic" also lends itself to confusion among English speakers who often assume a Greek ethnic component instead of a Greek intellectual religious sphere. It is for this reason that I employ the problematic, but nevertheless unambiguous term "Greek-rite Catholic." This designation conveys religiously specific meaning and situates the community of believers between the realms of Greek Orthodoxy and Latin Catholicism, dovetailing into the framework of Tridentine Europe. Following John O'Malley's use of "Early Modern Catholicism," I use, "Early Modern Greek-rite Catholicism" in reference to the ecclesiastical institution that originated with the Union of Brest in 1596 and functioned within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth into its first partition in 1772.

The term suggests a balance between change and continuity, two themes which are strongly emphasized over the course of this work. It also leaves room for the negotiation that frequently took place between the differing ecclesiastical strata: Rome, the episcopate, the parish clergy and the laity.[4] The term, "Early Modern Greek-rite Catholicism" is meant to provide a wider, more inclusive perspective, encompassing not only the bishops, priests and doctrine, but also devotion, art and laity.[5]

At the center of this work are "Ruthenians," arguably the most problematic, historically contingent and fraught designation of all. Broadly defined, Ruthenians were eastern Slavic-

and include the: Albanian Catholic Church, Belarusian Catholic Church, Bulgarian Greek Catholic Church, Byzantine Church of Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, Greek Byzantine Catholic Church, Hungarian Greek Catholic Church, Italo-Albanian Catholic Church, Macedonian Catholic Church, Melkite Greek Catholic Church, Romanian Church United with Rome, Russian Catholic Church, Ruthenian Catholic Church, Slovak Catholic Church and Ukrainian Catholic Church.
The Harper Collins Encyclopedia of Catholicism, ed. Richard P. McBrien, (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1995), 439-40.
[4] John O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 140-1.
[5] John O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 1-15.

speaking peoples who lived in the areas of modern-day Poland, Ukraine, Belarus and parts of Western Russia; in the Early Modern period areas encompassed by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy. However, the word "Ruthenian" is the Latin variant of the Ukrainian word "Rusyns" (*Русини*) or Polish "Rusini" and refers to the people living in "Rus'" (Ruthenia in Latin) a land with a much earlier history.

The "land of the Rus'" (Rus'ka zemlia) was the first written term to be used for the territories now encompassing Ukraine, Belarus and western Russia, which, from the tenth to the thirteenth century, made up the medieval principality of the Kyivan Rus'. The term itself survived well past the feudal breakdown of the Kyivan state in the twelfth century. Successor states, whether revolving around Polatsk, Smolensk, Vitebsk, Moscow, Chernihiv, Kyiv or Halych, all possessed a written memory of the "land of the Rus'," and this sentiment was well reflected in the titles used by the various Rus'ian medieval princes.[6]

The Patriarchate of Constantinople was the first entity to designate "the land of the Rus'" as two separate entities, differentiating between territories that were the purview of the Kyivan Metropolitanate, as opposed to those that belonged to the newly established Muscovite Metropolitanate (1448). The fourteenth century marked the first time the terms "Micra Rosia" (Little Rus') and "Magna Rosia" (Great Rus') were used for ecclesiastical designation, with continued usage until the Kyivan Metropolitanate was placed under the headship of the Muscovite Patriarchate in 1686.[7]

Western writers, who primarily used Latin in their written work, used quasi-ethnic designations to demarcate the region, as opposed to the ecclesiastical markings employed by Constantinople. As such, north-eastern Slavic principalities were referred to as "Moscovia,"

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[6] Наталя Яаковенко, *Нарис історії середньовічної та ранньомодерної України*, (Київ: Критика, 2006), 20.
[7] Наталя Яаковенко, *Нарис історії середньовічної та ранньомодерної України*, (Київ: Критика, 2006), 21.

those of Lithuania and Belarus simply as "Lithuania," whereas the onetime principalities of

Chernihiv, Kyiv, and Halych were referred to as "Ruthenia." In the sixteen century, the term

"Ukraine" (Ukraina) also began to be used, referring to lands "on either side of the Dniester,"

and not merely those that fell within the borders of the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian State.[8]

For the purpose of employing a term that represented the ethnic designation of eastern Slavs

residing within the borders of Poland-Lithuania, I have chosen the contemporaneous term

"Ruthenian," as it most faithfully reflects the designation used by (Latin) literate writers both

inside and outside the Polish-Lithuanian State.

APPROACH AND INTENTIONS

The pages which follow will consider the creation and propagation of the Ruthenian

Greek-rite Catholic Church, established in 1596 by the Union of Brest in Poland-Lithuania, from

the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. The collective nature of this confessional union

was a historic gain for the Tridentine Catholicism, heralding the zenith of the Catholic

Reformation in the Commonwealth. However, it was also a historic compromise in an ostensibly

uncompromising period of post-Tridentine Catholic fervor.

While the Papacy sanctioned the maintenance of Ruthenian religious practices which the

Council of Trent (1545–1563) had deemed unacceptable to the Catholic faith less than forty

years earlier,[9] the Union brought a once united Eastern Church in Poland-Lithuania into open

rift. At its inception the creation of the Ruthenian Greek-rite Church resulted from an agreement

made by top level ecclesiastical elites, lacking a sizable lay following, with an uncertain future as

an independent entity. The Polish historian Zbigniew Wójcik incisively noted that, "after the

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[8] Наталя Яаковенко, *Нарис історії середньовічної та ранньомодерної України*, (Київ: Критика, 2006), 22-3.

[9] Principal among these concessions was the use of a vernacular Ruthenian liturgy, communion in both kinds (bread and wine), and the maintenance of a married secular clergy.

Union of Brest we are dealing on the one hand with a hierarchy without believers and on the other with believers without a hierarchy."[10] Yet today, more than four hundred years since the Union of Brest, the Ruthenian Greek-rite Church, or more accurately, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, maintains sizable flock across several continents, in numerous countries, having endured years of persecution.[11]

A broad question my dissertation seeks to answer is, how did this religious transformation happen? Why would Ruthenian Orthodox hierarchs embrace a future with the Catholic Church and how did the Ruthenian populace come to accept this new ecclesiastical entity? In answering those questions, I explore two related phases of Ruthenian Catholicization: the missionary campaign of the Roman Catholic polemicists in Poland-Lithuania prior to 1596, followed by the Greek-rite Catholic episcopal campaign to confessionalize Przemyśl and L'viv, the last eparchies to join union with Rome a century later.

As the Union of Brest was the product of the negotiations and agreements of hierarchs, the period prior to 1596 centers wholly upon church intellectuals who shaped ecclesiastical discourses in the Commonwealth, tracking the polemical campaign to unite the Ruthenian Church with Rome. I argue that confessional union resulted not merely from a campaign of conversion imposed by foreign Catholic missionaries, but from a negotiated agreement forged by members of the native Catholic and Orthodox (Polish and Ruthenian) high episcopate. Catholic evangelizers born in Poland-Lithuania and frequently educated in Rome, utilized their combined understanding of the political, cultural, linguistic and religious particularities of the region and its peoples with a Post-Tridentine missionary zeal. These evangelizers wrote polemics directed at

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[10] Zbigniew Wójcik, *Dzikie Pola w ogniu: O Kozaczyznie w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1960), 83-4.

[11] For a brief history of the Greek-rite Catholic Church following the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth please see the conclusion of this work.

the unique sensibilities and values of their Ruthenian neighbors, offering practical blueprints for a potential religious union rooted in historical and theological claims of legitimacy. In the lead up to union, Ruthenian Orthodox bishops engaged in a surprisingly civil dialogue with their Catholic episcopal counterparts, establishing useful blueprints for a potential union. Eventually, Orthodox hierarchs initiated union talks with Rome based in these earlier conversations, and amended by their own list of demands. [12]

As an important mechanism of conversion, my work focuses upon the imagined histories of Medieval Kyivan Rus'ian unity with Rome. While continuing to castigate the "heresy" of Protestantism as novel, confrontational, aggressive, incapable of amicable existence within the Commonwealth and fundamentally irreconcilable with the Catholic faith, pro-union polemicists rhetorically honored Ruthenian Orthodoxy's legitimate history, traditions and ethnic cohesiveness.[13] In decades preceding union, the Catholic campaign of conversion was rooted in identity claims, declaring ancient and longstanding bonds between the Ruthenian Church and Papal Rome. Essentially, Catholic polemicists situated calls of union as a mere act of "reunion;" an act which righted a temporary wrong, not in any way a deviation from the Eastern Church or Ruthenian history. To prove their claims they offered detailed and continuous lines of inheritance from the throne of Saint Peter to the founding of the Ruthenian Church. I interrogate the motives behind these continuity narratives, and their success in fostering budding regional identities emerging in this Early Modern period encouraging Ruthenian hierarchs to accept papal primacy. At issue in this period prior to union, and for the remainder of this work are appropriations of the past and the past's utility in shaping the present.

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[12] Motivations underpinning Catholic and Orthodox religious union and the particularities of the union are explored both later in this chapter and those following.

[13] The following chapter interrogates the deployment and evolution of this discursive campaign by Catholic polemicists in Poland-Lithuania.

While the first chapter explores the campaign of statewide Catholic evangelization in Poland-Lithuania, the remainder of the work centers upon the diocesan level of Greek-rite Catholic confessionalization in Przemyśl and L'viv. At the turn of the seventeenth century, these last remaining areas of Orthodox presence were subsumed into the Holy See. Up to this time, they were arguably the most contested ecclesiastical provinces in the Commonwealth, encompassing the densest net of parishes of any Eastern Christian eparchy.[14] As such, they presented a unique set of challenges to ecclesiastical elites who sought to discipline lay and clerical conduct, while reorganizing liturgical and devotional practices.

This approach is likewise represented in the broad arc of this work, which begins with an historical framework constructed by intellectual elites, focusing, in turn, on their impact on parish clergy and laity, concluding with the reordering of popular religious practices. Specifically, I interrogate the modes through which imagined constructions of history and the symbolic use of the past legitimated the Greek-rite episcopal project of confessionalization in Poland-Lithuania. I track the reordering of the clerical ranks, liturgies, devotional texts, catechisms, church interiors, icons, rituals and pilgrimages which aided in the process of centralizing episcopal control, socially disciplining the rural populace and instilling a sense of identity rooted in place and religious belonging.

Often scholars who focus upon the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during this period do so with a lens of decline, searching for the internal failings that prompted the Partitions in 1772, 1793, and 1795 respectively.[15] How and why, they ask, did one of the largest state entities

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[14] Eparchy (Gk. ἐπαρχία, O.C.S, єпархїа), refers to an administrative unit in Eastern Christian Churches that fall under the care of a bishop. In Western Christian Churches, the equivalent term is a diocese.
Elżbieta Smykowska, *Liturgia Prawosławna*, (Warszawa: Verbinum, 2004), 25.
[15] Władysław Konopczyński talks about "collapse of the public spirit" that begins with the rule of the Wettin kings.
Władysław Konopczyński, *Dzieje Polski Nowożytnej,* (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1987), 532-5.

disappear from the political map of eighteenth century Europe? Such questions invariably find answers of endemic weaknesses and deterioration.

More recent scholarship, however, has challenged this model, especially the work of Jacek Staszewski, who argued for a cultural flowering initiated under the reign of the Wettin kings in the first half of the eighteenth century.[16] Recent Ukrainian scholarship has adapted Staszewski's argument to the Ruthenian Church, citing its project of reform, centralization, education and vibrant religious culture. Ihor Skochylas has referred to the period following the 1667 Treaty of Andrusovo as a "Ruthenian Uniate renaissance" (руське унійне видрождення), which, over the course of the eighteenth century, brought about a "Uniate golden age" (золотою добою унії), in which the Greek-rite Catholic Church became a "fundamental part of the ethno-confessional makeup of the Commonwealth."[17] Statist political models aside, this dissertation finds centralization as well as cultural and artistic flowering actively underway during this period of alleged "decline."

Generally, I hope this work will contribute to the study of Central Eastern Europe in the context of the Early Modern period. Western scholarship has tended to privilege the European lands west of the Elbe and (roughly) east of the Dnieper, reflecting a modern understanding of regional significance, a reality which was, for a time, reinforced by archival inaccessibility of Communist-era Central Eastern Europe. The result of this political reality has been the ahistorical construct of a "Slavic wall" in Medieval and Early Modern European scholarship, in which analytical models and inquiry stopped abruptly and artificially at the Slavic speaking

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[16] Jacek Staszewski, *Jak Polskę przemienić w kraj kwitnący...: Szkice i studia z czasów saskich*, (Olsztyn: Ośrodek Badań Nauk. im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie, 1997) ,196-200.
[17] Ігор Скочиляс, *Релігія та культура західної Волині на початку ст.: За матеріалами Володомирського собору 1715 р.*, (Львів: Інститутукраїнської археографії та джерелознавства, 2008), 5-11.

world.[18] In fact, western academic interest in Central Eastern Europe over the last half century

tended to focus upon the area in the context of its strategic significance during World War II and

consequent Soviet domination.

Only in the last few decades, have scholars of Early Modern Western Europe have begun

to recognize the region's importance. Hopefully, historians will soon regard the Polish-

Lithuanian Commonwealth, and indeed all of Central Eastern Europe, as no more peripheral to

"Europeanness" than the British Isles, Scandinavia or the Mediterranean. The artificially

constructed fractures characteristic of Cold War scholarship have begun to diminish with

archival accessibility and I hope that my work, in some small way, can add to the scholarly goal

of bridging the divide.[19] This study thus endeavors to destabilize the historiographical constructs

of "East," "West," "Early Modern," "Medieval," "Slavic," and "European." Indeed, the

contemporaneous discourse was that of a Ruthenian Church very consciously situating itself in a

fiercely individual, yet liminal, geographic, confessional and intellectual space straddling the

spheres of East and West, and North and South, Latin and Byzantine, Occidental and Oriental.

In essence, I hope this work will aid in the process of extending Slavic scholarship westward,

Reformation scholarship eastward, placing this Early Modern narrative into conversation with

older traditions and the scholarship thereof.

PARADIGMS OF WESTERN SCHOLARSHIP IN AN EASTERN EUROPEAN CONTEXT

At its core, my work is an investigation of the related processes of community and

confession building, interrogating the means through which imagined historical narratives

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[18] Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment,* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994).

[19] For a recent publication for fronting the connections between Poland-Lithuania and Western Europe see: *Citizenship and Identity in a Multinational Commonwealth: Poland-Lithuania in Context, 1550-1772.*, eds. Karen Friedrich, Barbara M. Pendzich, (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

(particularly narratives asserting continuity) aided in their development. In exploring the Greek-rite episcopal project to standardize devotional practices of the rural laity and instill a unified ethno-religious identity, I draw upon the parallel historiographical concepts of "acculturation,"[20] and "confessionalization."[21] Both designations refer to the Early Modern phenomenon in which religious and state authorities worked to heighten social norms, professionalize the clergy, discipline moral codes, ingrain denominational differences, standardize religious practice, and the means through which loyalties to religion and state became co-enforcing. Investigating the same processes (in the same time period and often same geography) the conceptual framework guiding the research of Anglophone and French scholars differed from their Central European, principally German, counterparts. The former engaged with the process of "acculturation," while the latter employed "confessionalization" (Konfessionalisierung).[22]

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[20] The investigation of the "reform of popular culture," as Peter Burke called it, or the "acculturation thesis" as the body of historiography is termed, was pioneered in the 1970s most notably by: Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe,* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1994); Robert Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France 1400-1750,* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978); Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire*, (London: Burns & Oates, 1977).

[21] A precursor to the confessionalization thesis Ernst Walter Zeeden's works in the 1950s: Ernst Walter Zeeden, "Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe," *Historische Zeitschrift* 185 (1958), 249-99; Ernst Walter Zeeden, *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen. Grundlagen und Formen der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe*, (Munich, Vienna, Oldenbourg, 1965); Ernst Walter Zeeden, *Konfessionsbildung. Studien zur Reformation, Gegenreformation und katholischen Reform*, (Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1985). However, the paradigm was systematized by the works of Reinhard and Schillings: Heinz Schilling, *Konfessionskonflikt und Staatsbildung. Eine Fallstudie über das Verhältnis von religiösem und sozialem Wandel in der Frühneuzeit am Beispiel der Grafschaft Lippe* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1981); Heinz Schilling, "Profil und Perspektiven einer interdisziplin[ä]ren und komparatistischen Disziplinierungsforschung jenseits einer Dichotomie von Gesellschaft- und Kulturgeschichte," in *Institutionen, Instrumente, und Akteure sozialer Kontrolle und Diszpilinierung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa/Institutions, Instruments and Agents of Social Control in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Heinz Schilling (Frankfurt a. M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 1999), pp. 3-36; Wolfgang Reinhard, "Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 10 (1983): pp. 437-460; W. Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation and the Early Modern State: a Reassessment", *Catholic Historical Review*, 75, no. 3 (July 1989): 385-403; *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700,* eds., J. M. Headley, H. J. Hillerbrand and A J. Papadas, (Aldershot and Burlington, 2004).

[22] For some historiographical overviews on the Confessionalization paradigm see: Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Confessionalization," in *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2007), 136–57; Thomas A. Brady, Confessionalization: The Career of a Concept," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700: Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan*, ed., John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 1–20.

However, since roughly the late 1990s, the "confessionalization" paradigm has become the ascendant scholarly discourse. Moreover, the underlying hierarchical assumptions regarding culture change in both schools of thought have been nuanced and expanded. Specifically, scholars now allow for far more negotiation and accommodation in cultural and religious changes, even challenging the firm distinctions between "high" and "low" culture itself.[23] The historiographical scope of the confessionalization paradigm has also expanded geographically and, in recent years, scholars of East Central Europe are beginning to recognize its applicability.

The evangelization of the Ruthenian eparchies of Przemyśl and L'viv in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had much in common with the larger projects of reform underway across the ecclesiastical landscape of Europe. Unfortunately, while the traditional scope of Reformation scholarship used to halt abruptly at the Slavic-speaking world, the Reformation and the subsequent reform impulses of "The Confessional Age," extend much farther east into the thorny and complicated world of the multi-confessional regions of Central- Eastern Europe.[24]

The very constructions of "east" and "west" are products of the Cold War far more than they are representations of a historical, if not trans-historical reality. As the intellectual historian

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[23] As a small sampling of works stressing the negotiated process of religious reform see: Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Michael Mullett, *Popular Culture and Popular Protest in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1987); Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France,* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975); Marc Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560-1720* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Philip T. Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500-1789,* (New Haven: Yale University Press,1984).

[24] A representative sampling of the scholarship examining the role of the Reformation/Counter-reformation within the Polish-Lithuanian state includes: Janusz Tazbir, *Reformacja w Polsce: Szkice z dziejów tolerancji w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku* (Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1993); Janusz Tazbir, *Reformacja, kontrreformacja, tolerancja* (Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Śląskie,1997); Janusz Tazbir, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce (1460-1795)* (Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna, 1996); Ambroise Jobert, *Od Lutra do Mohyły. Warszawa, PAX, 1994*); Daniel Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386-1795,* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 36-66; Jerzy Kłoczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); James R. Palmitessa, "The Reformation in Bohemia and Poland." in *Companion to the Reformation World*, ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia, (Boston: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 185-204; R. J. W. Evans, "Calvinism in East Central Europe: Hungary and Her Neighbors, 1540-1700," in *International Calvinism*, ed. Menna Prestwich, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 167-96; Magda Teter*, Jews and Heretics in Catholic Poland: A Beleaguered Church in the Post Reformation Era*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Howard Hotsen noted in reference to these divisions in Reformation scholarship, "while ideology distorted historiography, particularly on the eastern side of that barrier, the barrier itself distorted historiography on the western side."[25] Now that the physical and political walls separating east and west have largely been dismantled and access to archives has been eased, scholars of both regions are beginning to reconsider the artificial divisions they have placed upon the past. This work aims to contribute to that overdue project of reconsideration, beginning with its theoretical approach.

For decades, historians of (western) Early Modern Europe have employed the model of confessionalization, *Konfessionalisierung*, to post-Reformation Western European projects of confession-building, identity creation and social disciplining. This conceptual framework originated in the 1970s through the works of two German historians, Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard, becoming a widely disseminated and recognized analytic tool by the 1980s.[26] Their works heralded the role of religion in the formation of the modern state, specifically as applied to the rise of state power in the Holy Roman Empire. Reinhard applied the model to the process of Catholic confession-building, identifying seven specific religious mechanisms supporting confessionalization: the elaboration of "pure doctrine," the dissemination and enforcement of confessional dogma, the spread of confessional propaganda and the censorship of heretical texts, the use of confessionally based schools to promote the

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[25] See: Howard Hotsen, "Central Europe, 1550-1700," in *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research,* ed. David M. Whitford (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008), 162.

[26] Schilling and Reinhard, based their theories upon the earlier works of Ernst Walter Zeeden. Zeeden noted the parallel process of confession building among Catholics and Protestants, and used the word "Konfessionsbildung," to describe this process. See: Ernst Walter Zeeden, "Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe," *Historische Zeitschrift* 185 (1958), 249-99; Ernst Walter Zeeden, *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen. Grundlagen und Formen der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe*, (Munich, Vienna, Oldenbourg, 1965); Ernst Walter Zeeden, *Konfessionsbildung. Studien zur Reformation, Gegenreformation und katholischen Reform*, (Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1985).

internalization of these ideas, social disciplining, control of access to rites, and the use of a confessional language to promote conformity.[27]

Heinz Schilling, on the other hand, interrogated Protestant confessionalization and was more interested in the practical outgrowths of the confessional project upon state and society. He identified four results of this confessional process upon the state and society: the confessional homogenization of the polity including the standardization of religious practices (Delumeau's "Christianization"), social disciplining, the establishment of confessional identities, and the promotion of state formation. Both Reinhard and Schilling agreed that confessionalization begat modernity through heightened social discipline, bureaucracy and a unity of purpose between church and state.[28] This model has been utilized, critiqued and expanded by historians of numerous European states in "The Confessional Age."[29] Yet, while many scholars embrace this term, they also have come to debate its meaning, implications, temporal scope, and even suitability for regions outside of Germany.[30]

Scholars of the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth resisted the German confessionalization paradigm's applicability well into the 1990s.[31] These historians believed that confessionalization models were problematic for the milieu of the Commonwealth for several key reasons. First, the term "confession," traditionally referred to three specific antagonist religious groups: Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists. In the case of the Commonwealth,

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[27] Wolfgang Reinhard, "Pressures towards Confessionalization? Prolegomena to a Theory of the Confessional Age," in *The German Reformation*, ed. C. Scott Dixon, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999).

[28] Heinz Schilling, "Confessionalization: Historical and Scholarly Perspectives of a Comparative and Interdisciplinary Paradigm," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700: Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan*, ed. John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).

[29] For an excellent overview of confessionalization literature, see: Ute Lotz-Heuman, 'Confessionalization', in ed. David M. Whitford, *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research*, (Kirksville, MO, 2008), 136-57.

[30] Thomas A. Brady Jr, "Confessionalization: The Career of a Concept," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700: Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan,* ed. John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).

[31] B. Gordon, "Konfessionalisierung, Stände und Staat in Ostmitteleuropa (1550–1650)," *German History*, vol. 17, no. 1 (January 1999), 90-4.

scholars disagreed whether Orthodox Christianity could be considered a separate confession since they remained, for the most part, without a written confession of faith.[32] Perhaps an even more complicated question pertained to the historical situation and placement of the Greek-rite Catholic Church: Were Uniates merely a subordinate church of the Roman Papacy (with some peculiar expressions of faith)? Were they a schismatic Eastern Church? Were they an independent and rival denomination, hardening lines of differentiation?

Secondly, the Commonwealth was well known for both its religious toleration and its sectarian heterogeneity. Roman Catholics, Greek-rite Catholics, Armenian-rite Catholics, Eastern Orthodox Christians, anti-Trinitarians, Lutherans and Calvinists, in addition to non-Christian populations such as Ashkenazi and Karaite Jews as well as Muslim Tatars, all co-existed relatively peaceably in Poland-Lithuania. The Warsaw Confederation of 1573 granted religious freedom for the noble classes and each subsequent Polish king swore an oath to uphold standards of toleration; Bishop Stanisław Cardinal Hozjusz famously lamented that the Warsaw Confederation had turned the Commonwealth into, "a place of shelter for heretics."[33] This notion of historical co-existence, and the fact that many nobles moved from one confession to another during their lifetime, has been traditionally heralded in the historiography as proof that confessionalization bypassed the Commonwealth. Janusz Tazbir's title *A State without Stakes*[34] exemplifies this model of Polish exceptionalism and some scholars continue to assert that Poland-Lithuania was the "exception" to the confessional paradigm, "offer[ing] refuge to religious minorities and radical sects from all over Europe, long before North America and other

[32] Jaroslav Pelikan
[33] Jerzy Kłoczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 94
[34] Janusz Tazbir, *A state without stakes: Polish religious toleration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, (New York: Kościuszko Foundation, Twayne Publishers, 1973).

oversees colonies offered a safer haven."[35] Winfried Eberhard concluded that all

confessionalizing projects in the Commonwealth were micro-historical and local in orientation,

without wider applicability even noting that:

> Tolerant pluralism of confessions thus became a special feature of the East Central
> European reformation, which distinguished it from those of the German lands and
> Western Europe. Where it succumbed to polarization, as in Bohemia-Moravia, the
> process of Catholic restoration was forceful and complete. In Poland, by contrast, the
> Catholic restoration trod the path of liberty, and in Hungary-Transylvania the
> confessional co-existence lasted into the age of absolutism. [36]

Many scholars continue to reject the influence of confessionalizing forces in Poland-Lithuania,

viewing it as far too tolerant and far too heterogeneous.

Lastly, from the standpoint of the expectations of the confessionalization paradigm, the

political history of Poland-Lithuania would seem to discount the model's applicability. Rather

than a centralized political state, the Commonwealth became progressively decentralized (ceding

great power to the gentry), militarily weak, was partitioned in 1772, and wholly disappeared

from the map of Europe by 1795. The trajectory of the Commonwealth functioned

oppositionally to the expectations of the statist confessional models. In fact, this model of

confessionalism is predicated upon its Hegelian assumptions rendering confessional projects as

stepping stones toward centralized authoritarian states and modernity.[37]

However, this statist focus of confessionalization has long been critiqued and scholars

such as Ute Lotz-Heumann contend that historiography should focus upon "confessionalization"

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[35] José Casanova , "Public Religions Revisited," in *Religion: Beyond a Concept,* ed. Hent De Vries, (New York: Fordham University Press 2007), 110.

[36] Winfried Eberhard, "Reformation and Counterreformation in East Central Europe, in *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600*, vol. 2, eds. Thomas Brady, Heiko Oberman, James Tracy, (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), 578.

[37] Luise Schorn –Schutte,"Konfessionalisierungalswissenschaftliches Paradigma?" in *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa,* eds. Joachim Bahlcke and Arno Strohmeyer, (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1988), 66-68.

as a process rather than "confessionalism," the end result."[38] The *process* of social disciplining

and enforcement of social norms as expressed by Reinhard and Schilling was actively underway

in the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian state. In fact, the Ruthenian project of Catholicization

mirrors the most widely accepted definition of confessionalization, the "consolidation and

advancement of the development of (...) confessions (...) in terms of religious doctrine,

relationships with the state and developing religious identities."[39] Even the most traditional

benchmarks of the model were reflected in the context of Early Modern Ruthenia: disciplining

the everyday lives of the populace, standardizing and regulating devotions and practices,

developing a Greek-rite Catholic community of faith which demarcated confessional outsiders,

professionalizing the clergy, educating (catechizing) at the parish level, internalizing of religious

ideas and creating and disseminating a written confession of faith. While the Commonwealth

remained a decentralized "state without stakes," largely free of state sponsored religious

persecutions and executions, it nonetheless experienced the polarization of confessional

identities, conflict and even a state sponsored campaign of religious union.

Deemphasizing the importance of political understandings of confessionalization,

inspires a more nuanced and complicated set of research questions for the Polish-Lithuanian

Commonwealth. Instead of asking whether confessionalization was a "success" or "failure" in

terms of a centralized political state, a confessionalization framework inspires a more useful set

of questions: "how" and "why" did confessionalization function in this place and time? "Who"

were the individual agents involved? And "what" were their particular interests in doing so?

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[38] Ute Lotz-Heumann, "Confessionalization," in *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research,* ed.
David Mark Whitford (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008), 150.
[39] H-German forum launch (Monday, April 4, 2005), http://www.h-
net.org/~german/discuss/Confessionalization/Confess_index.htm

Indeed, particularly since the turn of the new millennium, scholarship has recognized the utility of confessionalization once decoupled from a structuralist approach. More comparative and cultural methodologies are now investigating the confessionalization of visual, material and emotional cultures from across the Early Modern Eurasian landscape.[40] Confessional churches, once considered synonymous with the religion of the state, have come to be complicated by several works, which have explored the confession-building projects of minority faiths in Reformation-era Europe such as Anabaptists and Jews and to those outside the geographic sphere of Europe in the Russian, Ottoman and Safavid Empires.[41] Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholicism had many features of a minority faith; most prominently, its unique liturgical expression. While allied with and promoted by the Polish crown, its liturgies were not performed in an official capacity at the royal court. Likewise, the very last days of the Commonwealth aside, its bishops were not granted automatic representation in the Senate. In fact, while Reinhard and Schilling's classic confessionalization paradigm is clearly reflected in the processes underway in the Przemyśl and L'viv eparchies, there are several particularities

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[40] See for instance: *Konfessionen im Kirchenraum: Dimensionen des Sakralraums in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Susanne Wegmann, Gabriele Wimböck, (Korb: Didymos-Verlag, 2007); Birgit Ulrike Münch, *Geteiltes Leid: Die Passion Christi in Bildern und Texten der Konfessionalisierung*, (Regensburg: Verlag Schnell & Steiner, 2009); Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[41] For a sampling of this historiography see: Michael Driedger, *Obedient Heretics: Mennonite Identities in Lutheran Hamburg and Altona During the Confessional Age* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), particularly chapter 3; and Michael Driedger, "The Intensification of Relgious Commitment: Jews, Anabaptists, Radical Reform, and Confessionlization," in Dean Phillip Bell and Stephen G. Burnett (eds), *Jews, Judaism, and the Reformation in the 16th Century Germany* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 269-29; Frauke Volkland, *Konfession und Selbstverständnis: Reformierte Rituale in der gemischtkonfessinellen Kleinstadt Bischofszell im 17. Jahrhundert.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005); Robert P. Geraci, Michael Khodarkovsky*, Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia,* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans—Kisve Bahası Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730,* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change and Communal Politics in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire,* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011); E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbu*l, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); Rula Jurdi Abisaab, *Converting Persia: Religion and Power in the Safavid Empire*, (New York: I.B. Taurus, 2004).

singular to this Greek-rite Catholic confessional campaign, particularly apparent on the diocesan level.

In the Przemyśl and L'viv eparchies, the case studies utilized in this work, Latin and Greek-rite Catholics had a tense, problematic and often unequal relationship in the polity of the Commonwealth: Roman Catholic nobles and clerics held more political sway and representation, far more economic power, respect and favor from the crown. Over the course of the seventeenth century, Roman Catholicism became the faith of social and political elites. Conversion by Orthodox, Protestant and Greek-rite nobility to Roman Catholicism ensured an open path to full political participation, something which the Union of Brest could not entirely guarantee. Greek-rite Catholicism, conversely, became identified as a faith of the plebeian class.[42] However, at the episcopal level both Roman and Greek Catholic rites acted collaboratively. Catholicization and sarmatization (the process of cultural dominance by Polish high noble culture)[43] being parallel processes of state acculturation, both rites of the official Church also worked in cooperation with the (Catholic) crown and Roman Papacy to marginalize, if not eradicate, an Orthodox presence.

In recent years, Eastern-European scholarship has in fact adapted confessional models to the unique ethno-sectarian terrain of the Commonwealth, Ukraine, and Muscovy. Serhii Plokhy was among the vanguard of such scholars to apply Reformation interpretive lens to his work on the "confessionalization" of the Cossacks, situating Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholics as well as Eastern Orthodox Christians as confessional entities, among the Latin rite Catholics and Protestants also in the region.[44] Where western Reformation scholarship failed to include

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[42] Jerzy Topolski, *Polska w Czasach Nowożytynych (1501-1795),* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza, 1999), 553.

[43] Janusz Tazbir, "Sarmatyzacja katolicyzmu w XVII wieku," *Studia Staropolskie* XXIX (1970): 31.
For an engaging English-language explanation of sarmatization, see: Maria Bogucka, *The Lost World of the "Sarmatians": Custom as the Regulator of Polish Social Life in Early Modern Times*, (Warszawa: Polish Academy of Sciences, 1996), 29-33.

[44] Serhii Plokhy, *The Cossacks and religion in early modern Ukraine*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Oriental faiths (Orthodox, Greek-rite and Armenian-rite Catholic Churches) in the studies of separate or vying confessions, Serhii Plokhy situated the Greek-rite Catholic faith in terms of a schismatic Eastern Church, seeing the common traditions and history of these eastern rites as primary markers of identity. Following Plokhy, several scholars of Poland-Lithuania have also utilized this confessional framework, notably Barbara Skinner whose work asserted the central role of the Reformation and confessionalization in the violence of the eighteenth century.[45] In fact, this dissertation also provides an important corollary to Barbara Skinner's *The Western Front of the Eastern Church,* by investigating the confessional processes leading up to its formal codification at the Synod of Zamość in 1720.

Like Skinner and Plokhy, this dissertation similarly employs the confessionalization paradigm, both because it accurately reflects the Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic confession-building project in Early Modern Poland-Lithuania and also because it is a strategically useful term connecting Eastern Church traditions with Reformation historiography. I treat Roman Catholics, Greek-rite Catholics and Orthodox Christians as distinct confessions in which identity remained a fluid and contested terrain but increasingly took on ethno-religious dimensions tied to the state. The comparative aspect of confessionalization allows this dissertation to interrogate Uniate confession-building in parallel terms with other confessional churches through their: claims to apostolic descent, promulgation of written confessions of faith, disciplining uniformity of practice and doctrine and ties to the state. Confessionalization also has the flexibility to expand in its temporal scope far beyond the sixteenth century. I utilize Jean Delumeau's longue durée approach to the Reformation in which the weapons of confessionalization: seminaries,

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[45] Barbara Skinner, *The Western Front of the Eastern Church:Uniate and Orthodox Conflict in Eighteenth-Century Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia*, (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009); see also: Richard Butterwick, "Deconfessionalization? The Policy of the Polish Revolution towards Ruthenia, 1788–1792," *Central Europe* 6, No. 2, (November 2008), 91-121.

mandatory teaching of catechism or missions to the countryside, were not fully realized until the turn of the eighteenth century.[46]

Uniquely, in Przemyśl and L'viv, the process of instituting a confessional union with Rome was a surreptitious one. It was brought about by bishops of Przemyśl and L'viv (Innocenty Winnicki and Józef Szumlański) who, prior to their official proclamation of allegiance to Rome, functioned and identified as Orthodox, while secretly adhering to the confessions of union they made at the royal court. In this "crypto-Catholic" phase, these bishops introduced a number of Uniate devotional practices, while reinforcing clerical discipline, centralizing episcopal control, and planting the seeds of a Uniate confessional identity - all at time which preceded their official announcement of union with Rome. In other words, these bishops worked to confessionalize their Orthodox flocks to the Greek-rite Catholic faith, even before officially proclaiming them to be Uniates, obfuscating the Catholic nature of the campaign even while instilling Catholic principles and identities.

After formally proclaiming union, Winnicki and Szumlański continued the subterfuge using the term "Orthodox" in reference to their faith and while highlighting the historical continuity of their reforms. The very maintenance of a "crypto-Catholic" identity indicates the painstaking approach toward this acculturation process, particularly with regard to the clerical corps but also extending also into the realm of popular religious practices and devotions. The following chapters address these issues of clerical and parish reorganization, as well as the mechanism of confessionalization mediated through a careful *modus operandi* of historical continuity. Likewise, they also outline bishops' claim that the centralization of episcopal authority and its demands needed to be rightfully acknowledged by all subordinate clerics, for, despite occasional neglect, it existed since apostolic times. In so doing, this work bears much in

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[46] Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire*, (London: Burns & Oates, 1977), 28-9, 199-202, 189-94,

common with Phillip T. Hoffman's *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon*, through a shared emphasis on rural parishes (the Greek-rite largely being a peasant faith) and a focus on the secular priests as cultural and religious intermediaries between the episcopate and the laity.[47]

In the final chapters of this work I interrogate these "lived" religious practices of the largely rural Greek-rite Catholic laity and the confessionalization of their devotional practices, church spaces, iconography and pilgrimage sites. The Early Modern Greek-rite Catholic confessionalizing process shaped contours of this campaign through two primary objects of devotion, the Eucharist and miraculous icons. Reconceptualizing these objects, their ornamentation and surrounding devotional practices served to foster an affective spirituality in which biblical narratives, holy lives of saints, and particularly Christ's life and passion were corporeally reimagined in the present; reconfigured into a distinctly Catholic form of affective piety which differentiated Early Modern Greek-rite Catholicism from rival faiths.

I follow a large body of western medieval historiography engaging with concepts of "affective piety." The term was pioneered by Caroline Walker Bynum in *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* and *Wonderful Blood*, applying the term to women religious who sought union with the divinity of Christ through deeply and emotively contemplating his physical and emotional suffering. Following Bynum's path breaking work, scholars have utilized the concept with much success notably Miri Rubin's, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* [48] and Susan Karant-Nunn's, the *Reformation of Feeling*. Karant-Nunn's work adapted the term beyond the Middle Ages and applied the concept to the confessionalization paradigm; finding the

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[47] Philip T. Hoffman, *Church and community in the diocese of Lyon 1500-1789*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984). For literature on confessionalization as a push and pull project negotiation, see: Heinrich Richard Schmidt, "Sozialdisziplinierung? Ein Pladoyer fur das Ende des Etatismus in der Konfessionalisierungsforschnung," in *Historische Zeitschrift* 265, (1997): 639-682; Marc Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560-1720*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 199.

[48] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

emotional scripts adopted by Protestant reformers and Catholics, particularly with regard to Christ's Passion, as a means of confessional differentiation and social disciplining.[49]

Like Karant-Nunn, my work locates Greek-rite Catholic confessional disciplining employing unique religious behavioral and meditative scripts which heightened the emotional passion of Eucharistic ritual, the contemplation of the humanity of Christ, and the maintenance of the eastern devotions to miraculous icons; these being already functioning as sites of popular affective practices and adoration. In so doing, my work contributes to the body of scholarship on affective piety both through its continued expansion into the Reformation and Confessional Era, and through its adaptation to Eastern Christian forms of worship.

In fact, the Eucharist became a primary marker of confessional identity in Early Modern Greek-rite Catholicism. Post-Union Ruthenians retained the eastern practice of receiving communion in both kinds (bread and wine), distinct from their Roman Catholic co-confessionists. However, the Greek-rite Church also began to reimagine the Eucharist in terms influenced by Roman Catholic theology and post-Tridentine modes of religious expression, remaking the Eucharist into an object of veneration and contemplation. Spiritual practices, church interiors and aesthetics were disciplined to reflect these new religious ideas, becoming both visually and devotionally distinct from their Orthodox forbearers. The Eucharist as "Christ present" along with an increasingly humanized Christ of Greek-rite Catholic contemplation, fostered an affective experience of faith through which devotees were invited to transcend the boundaries of sacred past and present. This manner of imagining Christ was significant not only by fostering individual, personal piety, but likewise useful as a means of disciplining the laity toward a confessional ideal.

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[49] Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

The cult of miraculous icons was a well-established and popular form of religious expression. Miraculous images comprised pilgrimage sites visited by countless devotees from outside the immediate parish community. Over the course of the eighteenth century, these loci of popular devotion caught the attention of local bishops. Eager to channel otherwise spontaneous and sometime unruly lay devotions into ordered and regularized modes of worship, the episcopate called on the Basilian Fathers, the elite Greek-rite Catholic religious order, to promote a Catholic confessional identity. Far from destroying or replacing these sacred images, the Basilians sought to repurpose them, shifting their historical meaning and their spiritual implications. Toward this end, the Basilian Fathers placed these miraculous icons into a sacred historical narrative, silencing their onetime Orthodox past, while utilizing prayers, hymns, and group liturgies to portray them as "always Catholic."

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Chapter 2 of this dissertation is dedicated to the decades prior to the 1596 Union of Brest in Poland-Lithuania. I track the project of Catholic evangelization through which emerged a narrative of sacred historical continuities between the Ruthenian peoples and the Roman papacy. Outlined in a series of polemics advocating union, these histories cited events in apostolic, patristic and Ruthenian church history. Each successive Catholic polemicist advocated Orthodox "conversion" in increasingly benevolent terms, belying the conversional nature of a union by suggesting that Ruthenian history maintained a unity with Rome. I argue that this campaign was rooted in the continent wide discourses of the Reformation and Catholic Reformation, but took on Commonwealth specific contours in which the native Catholic and Orthodox episcopate of Poland-Lithuania engaged in an ecclesiastical dialogue which resulted in the negotiation of union. While the chapter engages with a number of intellectual movements, it is rooted in the

works of Catholic polemicists of Poland-Lithuania, specifically Orzechowski, Herbest, and Skarga. I end with the writings of Lev Krevza (Rzewuski). Krevza, a Greek-rite Catholic Basilian, whose constructions of historical continuity was both rooted in these prior histories and for whom history became a deeply held religious marker and means of Greek-rite legitimization.

The remainder of the dissertation interrogates the project of Greek-rite Catholic confessionalization in the two-hold out bishoprics of Orthodox control, Przemyśl and L'viv which accepted papal primacy at the end of the seventeenth century. Chapter 3 centers upon the reorganization and centralization of Greek-rite episcopal control. Through pastoral letters, visitations and supplication records, I trace the ways in which a narrative of sacral continuity functioned to legitimate these reforms, disciplining priestly behavior, dress, and public image, ultimately seeking to professionalize the clerical ranks. I argue that a new ideal of the parish priest; educated, sober, morally respectable and obedient to episcopal authority, was fundamental to the transmission of abstract ideas of ecclesiastical continuity and deploying them at the parochial level.

Chapter 4 interrogates the reorganization of the Greek-rite Church and parish in relation to ritual and devotional practice; particularly with regard to the introduction of "affective piety." In so doing, complex ideas regarding a Greek-rite confessional identity were offered to the masses of illiterate laymen through the incorporation of new ideals of a humanized Christ and Eucharistic-centered church interiors and devotional practices. Following religious union with Rome, the Eucharist, an already established part of daily liturgy, was transformed from a temporary feature in liturgical time, to a permanent sacred object, perpetually adorning the most prominent space in the interior of every church. This permanent presence on the high altar, coupled with lavish ornamentation, intended to make the consecrated species the uncontested

focal point of devotional life in the church interior. In addition to its new visual prominence, the Eucharist was placed in a discourse of simultaneous renewal and historical continuity, which retrospectively placed it in Apostolic, Patristic and conciliar sacred pasts; the laity was encouraged to view their own spiritual lives through the lens of biblical narratives. This historical rendering and ecclesiastical placement departed from the Orthodox treatment of the Eucharist. It effectively established new, uniquely Greek-rite Catholic emotive and contemplative traditions, which increased the importance of the consecrated species to practices of worship. As such, the Eucharist was no longer an object to be merely seen or even tasted – it was to be revered, adored and contemplated in a way that outstripped its usual sensory reception.

Finally, I track the modes through which popular imagery in the form of "miraculous icons," or religious images, functioned as a site of contestation between the Greek-rite episcopate and the mass laity. In the post-Tridentine age, when devotional and ritual uniformity were sought after goals, the allure of miraculous icons threatened to open a rift between two competing modes of worship, one popular, the other officially sanctioned by increasingly standardized ecclesiastical doctrine and praxis. Unable to supplant these powerful images, Ruthenian clerics instead used them as tools in legitimizing and promulgating their newly established confession by symbolically reordering the icons' historical placement and situating them into narratives of continuity with common Catholic past.

CHAPTER 2: TOWARDS A SACRED RUTHENIAN HISTORY: NARRATIVE CREATION, CONTINUITIES, DISCONTINUITIES, SILENCES AND ERASURES (1544-1617)

In 1596, after over a century of evangelization, all but two Orthodox bishoprics in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Przemyśl and L'viv, pledged confessional allegiance to Rome. As a result, the Union of Brest was signed between the episcopal representatives of Ruthenian Orthodox community in the Commonwealth, and Papal Rome, giving rise to a separate semi-autonomous and non-Latin Catholic rite, the Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic Church. This ecclesiastical entity neither fully abandoned its Orthodox traditions nor fully accepted Roman Catholic rituals and practices. Instead, it became a hybrid faith, fully Catholic and loyal to the Roman Pontiff, but preserving Eastern Christian vernacular liturgies, the reception of communion under two species (bread and wine), married secular priests and the maintenance of separate ecclesiastical governing structure. The chapter which follows is temporally centered in the decades immediately prior to Brest, tracking the contours of the Catholic missionary campaign leading up to the eventual confessional union between the two churches.

Stanisław Orzechowski, Benedykt Herbest, Piotr Skarga and Lev Krevza were among the most important Catholic religious thinkers of Early Modern Poland-Lithuania. They were the writers who produced and shaped the religious discourses of their period and generated the polemical, and sometimes political, controversies of the period. They participated in a virtual

"republic of letters" within the Polish-Lithuanian state in which leading intellectuals of the day shaped the political and confessional discourse.[1] I have selected these polemicists specifically because they were engaged in a project of writing what Serhii Plokhy calls, "identity texts," which delineated a proto-national basis for religious affiliation.[2] Specifically, these writers located their arguments for a Ruthenian religious union with Rome upon historical claims of a shared Rus'ian Catholic past.

Over the course of this period, a polemical dialogue emerged among church intellectuals in which the Catholic missionizing rhetoric took on an increasingly conciliatory tone, which belied an Orthodox ecclesiastical union as a project of conversion, arguing instead for historical instances of unity between the Ruthenian Church and Rome. These polemics outlined historical narratives of continuity between the Ruthenian Church and the Roman Papacy, advocating union both on theological and ethno-historical grounds. Over the course of this chapter, I examine how these historical narratives developed among the learned church elite within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, drawing an ever-increasing number of Orthodox hierarchs into sympathy with Rome, leading to an Orthodox-Catholic dialogue, and ultimately resulting in a synodal proclamation of union in 1596. I further argue that the Union of Brest resulted not from foreign influences alone but from a negotiated agreement forged by the interests, beliefs and prompting of religious leaders from within Poland-Lithuania. Catholic evangelizers born in Poland-Lithuania and educated in Rome combined their native understanding of the region with a Tridentine missionary zeal. These influential churchmen composed a series of polemics intended to address the unique sensibilities and values of their Orthodox countrymen, offering

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[1] Aleksander Brückner, *Encyklopedia Staropolska*, vol 1, (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990), 778

[2] Serhii Plokhy, *The Origins of the Slavic Nations: Premoderns Identites in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 7

practical blueprints for a potential religious union rooted in historical and theological claims of legitimacy.

While pragmatic issues of political power within the state feature prominently as an impetus toward confessional union, so too did the influence of Renaissance humanism with its fetishization of the "ancient."[3] Toward this end, each uniquely reconstituted a pre-schism past, in which the Eastern and Western Churches functioned as one, shared in the knowledge of great patristic authorities, participated in ecumenical councils and sent missionaries to evangelize the still-pagan Europe. This imagined rendering of the past, offered the prospect of utilizing history toward a continuity that could be applied to the present, the future, as well as the past. For these clerical authors, the careful arrangement of historical events looked forward to a confessional (re-)union between the two Churches, specifically because of the legacy of this common past.

The dissemination of a humanist education marked an important connection between Poland-Lithuania, the Italian Peninsula and all of Renaissance Europe, linked by common philosophies, languages and personal relationships. The exchanges, both individual and institutional, cultivated through new humanist modes of education, fostered a powerful historical imaginary that emerged in narrative form between the Council of Trent and the Union of Brest. This emergence was elaborated in both general and specific terms: generally, by educational practices which emphasized ancient textual authorities and specifically through the development of particular strains of new Christian histories which headlined the successive inheritance of authority reaching back to Christ and his Apostles.[4]

In so doing, these pages straddle two interrelated historical spaces. The first is that of a tangible past: the brick and mortar places, kings, popes, patriarchs of the Eastern Orthodox

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[3] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore, (Old Saybrook, CT: Konecky & Konecky, 2003), 203-9.
[4] Jerzy Ziomek, *Renesans*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1998), 34-44.

Church, political assemblies and powerful personalities. I locate the confessional landscape of

Poland-Lithuania and the circumstances allowing for a unique variant of Catholicism, the Greek-

rite Catholic Church, to come into existence there. The second is the historical imaginary of the

"Ruthenian Church," in which Catholic proponents of Ruthenian Orthodox conversion and later,

union with Papal Rome, created detailed histories to illustrate Medieval Kyivan Rus'ian unity

with the Apostolic Capital, citing this as the basis for the legitimacy of an ecclesiastical union.

In just under a century, pro-union Catholic polemicists developed a narrative justification for

Ruthenian conversion rooted in historical, even ancient, continuities. Throughout this work,

while at times the tangible symbols of the past and the constructs of historical imagination are

considered separately, they are very much intended to be engaged with one another. Polemicists

adapted their historical narratives according to their particular historical locations, shaped

contemporary understandings and built upon the works of their predecessors in an implicit and

sometimes explicit conversation of thought. To demonstrate the course of these ideas, I track the

development and deployment of this narrative of historical continuity through four centrally

important Commonwealth polemicists.

　　　Stanisław Orzechowski, a self-described Ruthenian[5] and canon at St. John the Baptist

(Latin) Cathedral in Przemyśl, criticized the standard practice of re-baptizing Orthodox converts.

His pioneering writings on the subject were first published in 1544, just prior to the first session

of the Council of Trent. Predating notions of en masse Ruthenian union with Rome, his polemic

instead articulated a historical argument concerned with facilitating the conversion of individual

Ruthenian souls to the Roman Church. Eparchy wide conversion, let alone the establishment of

a non-Roman Catholic Church, was a concept originated decades later. Orzechowski situated

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[5] Jerzy Ziomek, *Renesans*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1998), 197.
See also: Serhii Plokhy, *The Origins of the Slavic Nations: Premoderns Identites in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 170-173.

Ruthenian Orthodox baptismal practices in a historical context of legitimacy. He argued that the brief East-West union achieved at the Council of Florence served as the most recent (Catholic) affirmation that the Ruthenians, though divorced from Rome alongside the Greeks, were, in fact, free from heresy. This argument broke with the established requirement of a mandatory re-baptism and was based on the assumption that a new throng of individual converts would forsake their Byzantine practices and soon become full and proper Roman Catholics.[6]

Following Orzechowski, I interrogate the works of two Jesuit polemicists, Benedykt Herbest and Piotr Skarga, who composed their imagined histories in the 1570s and 1580s. Unlike Orzechowski, these polemicists were less concerned with individual conversion, offering a more holistic vision of confessional union. In the decades preceding Brest, they urged for a Church-wide Ruthenian "return" to the Catholic fold. Throughout their polemics, they emphasized the historical primacy of the See of Rome, which, they argued, stood at the head of all preceding ecumenical councils and to whom all Eastern Patriarchs deferred. They further argued that the Ruthenian Church, as an entity, was free to break with the ecclesiastical authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, as the Patriarch's traditional ecclesiastical authority was thoroughly compromised under the rule of the Muslim Ottoman Turks. Finally, these Jesuit writers asserted that Ruthenian recognition of Papal authority would come with a validation of Ruthenian liturgical and cultural practices, effectively breaking with Orzechowski's earlier works that pushed for the outright conversion of individual Ruthenians to the Roman Church.

Finally, I examine the works of Lev Krevza (Rzewuski), a Greek-rite Catholic Basilian. Roughly twenty years after the Union of Brest brought the Ruthenian Metropolitanate under

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[6] Kazimierz Chodynicki, *Kościół prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska: Zarys Historyczny 1370-1632*, (Warszawa:Skład Główny, Kasa imienia Malinowskiego – Instytut Popierania Nauki, 1934), 195-200.

Papal authority, Krevza's narrative reflected the transformation of the Ruthenian missionary project. Built upon the intellectual framework of his polemical predecessors, he radically redefined the possibility of imagined historical continuity. Krevza's history naturalized a historical legacy of Ruthenian unity with Rome, as he did the establishment Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic Church, while simultaneously erasing the Union of Brest altogether from his historical narrative. Kyivan Metropolitans who openly professed their separateness from Rome were portrayed as exceptional aberrations from a longue-durée legacy of looking favorably toward the Holy See of Rome.

THE "CRISIS" OF EASTERN ORTHODOXY

In 1453 the Ottoman Turks conquered Constantinople, the Holy See of Eastern Orthodox Christianity, destroying icons, converting the Hagia Sophia (the *Great Church of Holy Wisdom*) into a mosque, killing or enslaving much of the Christian populace and exacting a heavy toll on all Orthodox faithful. Within a matter of decades the Patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem were also subsumed within the Ottoman sphere bringing each of Eastern Christianity's jurisdictional centers under Turkish territorial control and rendering the majority of Eastern Christians subjects of the Sultan.[7]

Orthodox Christianity, as a "Church in captivity"[8] faced a series of challenges in terms of legitimacy, self-determination, and episcopal and financial administration. The Ottomans governed non-Muslim peoples (*dhimmi*) through a system of separate and subordinate courts and

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[7] Prior to the schism in Christendom in 1054, there were five Patriarchates, the so-called pentarchy, first expressed by the Roman Emperor Justinian. These Patriarchates then included: Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria. After the schism and the excommunication of the Roman Pontiff by the Eastern Church, the Ecumenical See shifted to Constantinople and only four active Patriarchates remained; these were all conquered by the Ottomans.
Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1993), 26.
[8] The term was coined by Steven Runciman in his work, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence,* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

internal governors, usually religious hierarchs. Eastern Christians were designated to the "Rum

Millet" (*millet-i Rûm*), a reference to the belief that the Byzantines were inheritors of the Roman

(*Rûm*) Empire. The "Rum Millet," remained fairly autonomous in matters of faith, traditions and

internal legal matters; governed by the Patriarch of Constantinople.[9] However, under the millet

system the prerogative of appointing Patriarchs belonged to the Ottoman Sultan alone and the

purchase of his favor was costly.

Prominent Phanariot families frequently competed with one another for the privilege of

having one of their own named Patriarch. To improve their chances, they offered up extravagant

monetary gifts to the Sultan, all with the hope of securing the coveted office. Once installed,

Patriarchs had to extract additional monies from the millet to maintain the goodwill of the Sultan

and thus their appointment.[10] This practice, while enormously lucrative for the Sultan's coffers,

had a corrosive effect on the prestige, authority and administrative capability of the Patriarchate.

The simoniacal practice of buying the highest office in the Orthodox world, gave the Porte a

financial incentive to remove any installed Patriarch, replacing him with the next highest bidder.

In the seventy-five year period between 1625 and 1700 there were 50 Patriarchs of

Constantinople.[11] As a consequence, the quest for financial resources became an exhaustive

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[9] Non-Muslims also faced increased monetary taxes and a tax collected in terms of people; in the Devshirme (*devşirme*) boys from conquered Christian lands were taken into service of the Sultan and converted to Islam. A further difficulty for the Eastern faithful was the prohibition of all Christian proselytizing, Church construction, and most external displays of religiosity. While Christians were encouraged to convert to Islam, any Muslim who converted to Christianity faced death as an apostate.
Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and the Islamic Tradition*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 49-51.
Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 193-207.
[10] Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence,* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 378
[11] The transfer of power from one Patriarchal administration to the next was rarely a peaceable or cooperative scene. Patriarchs sometimes willingly gave up the reins of power but were more often forced to abdicate, exiled, or even murdered. Yet, at any given time there could be multiple former Patriarchs living within the city, some regaining and losing the office multiple times.

preoccupation of the Orthodox Patriarchal See.[12] Patriarchs sold all priestly benefices,

deservedly eliciting condemnations of simony, while launching fundraising campaigns beyond

the Ottoman sphere into the areas of Eastern and Central Europe.

While the financial burdens of Eastern Christians rose dramatically during the period of

the "Ottoman captivity," the institutional strength of the Church declined. Onetime Greek

centers of learning survived under Ottoman rule, but were unable to offer clerical education

beyond the most rudimentary theological instruction. Most scholars and theologians fled to

Western Europe after 1453 creating a Greek intellectual diaspora and leaving only single

academy operational in Constantinople. As a result the educational level of the clergy serving

within Ottoman dominion and beyond had vastly deteriorated.[13]

Similarly, Orthodox publishing houses were scattered beyond the immediate oversight of

the Patriarchate. Principal locations of Orthodox print in the sixteenth century developed in

Rome, Venice, Vienna, L'viv and Vilnius. Diffused, Orthodox printing capacity was quite low

to the degree of inadequacy when compared to either Roman Catholic or the emerging Protestant

printing enterprises.   In a period of rising confessionalism, the Eastern Church's failure to

Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 189-95.
[12] For literature regarding the status of Orthodox Christianity under the Ottoman rule see: F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans*, 2 vols, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929); N. J. Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula During the Ottoman Rule* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1967); Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968);
Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Georgiades Arnakis, "The Greek Church of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire," *The Journal of Modern History* 24, no. 3 (1952): 239, Timothy Ware, *Eustratios Argenti, A Study of the Greek Church under Turkish Rule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964); Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 9-27.
[13] Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 208-25.

disseminate theological treatises was, according to Borys Gudziak, an institutional disadvantage

for which the Greek Orthodox culture of manuscript distribution "hardly compensated."[14]

Disengaged from the polemic disputations and divisions erupting across Western

Christendom, Protestants and Catholics alike viewed the Eastern Church as a potential ally.

Where Calvinists, Lutherans, Anti-Trinitarians and other Protestant "heretical" religious groups

emerged in hostile opposition to the "apostasy" of Roman Catholicism, Orthodoxy shared

commonalities with each antagonist faith. Eastern Orthodox Christianity and Roman

Catholicism held a common history of unity until the Great Schism of 1054. Despite mutual

suspicion, the two Churches periodically engaged in negotiations to end the rupture. The

prospect of reunion was spurred on not only by the prospect of a united front against the looming

Islamic threat from the east, but also a sense of a common past that included shared Patristic

authorities and ecumenical councils. As a result, the Eastern and Western Churches did not

significantly differ in doctrine, likewise retaining hierarchical organizational structures that

included bishops, ordained priests and a tradition of monastic living. While the fall of

Constantinople thwarted the possibility of a full reconciliation of Eastern and Western Churches,

the Papacy entertained the possibility of regional confessional unions, including those with

Ethiopian, Moldavian, Assyrian (so-called St. Thomas Christians) and Maronite Churches.[15] In

the latter half of the sixteenth century, the Papacy made similar overtures of confessional union

to Muscovy.

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[14] Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 22-3. Also, for a discussion of print in the confessionalization of the Greek-rite see Chapter 3 of this work.
[15] *The Harper Collins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, ed. Richard P. McBrien, (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1995), 295, 818-819, 1237.
See also : Ks.Walerian Bugel, *W Obawie o Własną Tożsamość:Eklezjologia Unii Użhododzkiej*, (Lublin: RedakcjaWydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2000), 88-97.

Conversely, many Protestant reformers stressed the traditions and practices they had in common with Eastern Orthodoxy, particularly the maintenance of a married clergy and vernacular language. To that end, Lutheran theologians from the University of Tübingen, as well as Martin Luther, sent the Patriarch of Constantinople Jeremiah II Tranos (the Great),[16] a Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession and established an epistolary exchange between 1576 and 1581. The Reformers sought an ecumenical dialogue and the support from the historical rival to the Catholic Papacy. With the approval of the Patriarchate, these reformers hoped to undermine the accusations of "innovation" by their detractors, by declaring ties to a Church claiming the continuity of apostolic succession. Martin Luther thus stressed the similarities between Lutheran doctrine and that of Eastern Christians who "believe as we do, baptize as we do, preach as we do, live as we do."[17] Yet while the Patriarch responded cordially, he neither offered support nor conceded any theological agreement between the Eastern Church and the Lutherans. After a series of rebuttals, the Patriarch wrote to the reformers for the last time, asking that they cease correspondence, "go about their own ways" and "write no longer."[18]

The commonalities in religious expression may have served as a basis for conversion within the Polish-Lithuanian state, particularly in Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In fact, conversions from established Ruthenian Orthodox clans to Calvinism and Anti-Trinitarianism were disproportionately large when compared to those drawn from ethnically Polish Catholic nobility. Scholars have offered varying explanations for this fact. Marzena Liedke's work on

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[16] Jeremiah II Tranos held the office of Patriarch of Constantinople from May 1572 to November 1579 then from August 1580 to February 1584 and for the last time between April 1587 to September 1595. While Jeremiah is widely considered to be one of the most successful Patriarchs of the day, his various reigns were interrupted by periods in which he was deposed, excommunicated, beaten, and exiled. His last reign ended with his death in 1595.
[17] Martin Luther, *Luther's Works: Career of the Reformer: II Volume 32*, eds. G. Forell, H. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958), 58.
[18] George Mastrantonis, *Augsburg and Constantinople: The Correspondence between the Tübingen Theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople on the Augsburg Confession,* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Press, 1982), 306.

Orthodox nobility in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania cites the influence of foreign, particularly

Protestant educational institutions, where politically ambitious noble households sent their sons,

due to the absence of similar Orthodox institutions. Another likely reason was the improved

chance of social advancement, through the patronage of Calvinist and Anti-Trinitarian

Lithuanian magnates. Until the reign of Zygmunt III Vasa, royal policy toward the distribution

of state offices was not exclusively tied to confessional allegiance and thus accepting

Protestantism was not detrimental to noble career advancement.[19] Other scholars offer a cultural

explanation, particularly that common practices of faith such as the "absence of celibacy among

the secular clergy, divine service in the vernacular, the congregation of believers under two

species (bread and wine), the essential role of laity in congregation, control over the church

manors,"[20] created a sense of familiarity which eased the transition, or conversion, from

Orthodoxy to either Calvinism or Anti-Trinitarianism.

Over the course of the sixteenth century, the Orthodox Church in Poland-Lithuania found

itself under pressure. From one side, it faced the loss of its most influential adherents to

Calvinism and Anti-Trinitarianism. From the other, it faced a resurgent post-Tridentine Catholic

Church, whose rhetorical prowess, sharpened and refined by polemical exchanges with

Protestants, increasingly exposed the structural and administrative inadequacies of Orthodoxy in

the Confessional Age.[21]

Since the 1413 Union of Horodło, which granted Lithuanian nobility equal rights with its

Polish counterparts, Orthodox nobility were excluded from holding key state offices. This legal

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[19] Marzena Liedke, *Od prawosławia do katolicyzmu: Ruscy możni i szlachta Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego wobec wyznań reformacyjnych*, (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2004), 127-40.
[20] Andrej Kotljarchuk, "Ruthenian Protestants of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Their Relationship with Orthodoxy, 1569-1767," *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 12 (2007), 47.
[21] Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 82.

exclusion, though technically ameliorated by Zygmunt I August in 1572, carried with it a social

burden, which effectively relegated Orthodox subjects to a second-class status. Due to this social

marginalization, Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchs had long been frustrated by their diminished

standing in society. Not only were Orthodox clerical elite excluded from the same political

representation in the Sejm [parliament] as their Catholic counterparts but they were increasingly

deprived of the ability to operate schools, printing houses and even seminaries, all at a time when

the Catholic Reformation was making political gains within the state.[22] As such, the Orthodox

Church in the Polish-Lithuanian state suffered from an inferior *dignitas* in relation to state-

sponsored Roman Catholicism.[23]

In response to these pressures, the Patriarchate in Constantinople, hamstrung by its

Ottoman master, was incapable of providing moral, intellectual or administrative leadership to

their Orthodox coreligionists in the Commonwealth. Compounding Ruthenian frustrations, the

episcopate believed they were undermined by secular interference in church affairs, particularly

by religious brotherhoods. These lay religious organizations, strongly resembling western

confraternities, had originated in fifteenth century in Poland-Lithuania, but by the sixteenth

century grew considerably in both numbers and strength. Generally comprised of Ruthenian

burghers in the cities, they became a vanguard of Orthodox reform, organizing charitable

activities, schools, libraries and printing enterprises.[24] They also functioned outside the

immediate control of local bishops. Many boasted wide-ranging exemptions in their founding

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[22] Antoni Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w państwie Piastów i Jagiellonów*, (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2003), 165.

[23] Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 75.

[24] Antoni Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej,* (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2001), 53.

charters, including stauropegial privileges,[25] which made them answerable to the Patriarch alone thus virtually bypassing the existing ecclesiastical hierarchies. Many Orthodox bishops saw this de-facto autonomy of confraternities as an affront to their episcopal dignity, often resulting in open clashes over land, benefices and church property.[26]

UNINTENTIONAL UNION IMPETUS

In his reforming zeal, the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah II Tranos, may have unwittingly planted the seeds of episcopal resentment toward his authority.[27] In the late 1580s the Patriarch journeyed across the Commonwealth's eastern frontier on a fundraising tour at which time he sought to enact reforms to strengthen the Orthodox Church against the onslaught of rival confessions. Ironically, his actions fundamentally weakened the ties between the Orthodox Holy See and the Orthodox episcopate in Poland-Lithuania. As Ruthenian bishops were aware of the privilege and authority enjoyed by their Latin episcopal counterparts, Jeremiah's extension of new liberties to these lay brotherhoods undoubtedly seemed all the more humbling to blue-blooded clerical elites that were now obliged to share their social and

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[25] Stauropegial exemptions granted to monasteries and religious brotherhoods relieved such institutions from the jurisdiction of a local bishop, making them answerable solely to the Patriarch.
Iaroslav Isaievych, *Voluntary Brotherhood: Confraternities of Laymen in Early Modern Ukraine*, (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2006), 26.

[26] Iaroslav Isaievych, *Voluntary Brotherhood: Confraternities of Laymen in Early Modern Ukraine*, (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2006), 22-9.
Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 147.

[27] Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 200-7.
See also: Bolesław Kumor, "Geneza i zawarcie unii brzeskiej," in *Unia brzeska, geneza, dzieje i konsekwencje w kulturze narodów słowiańskich*, eds. Ryszard Łużny, Franciszek Ziejka, Andrzej Kępiński, (Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych „Universitas", 1994), 29; Stanisław Litak, *Od Reformacji do Oświecenia: Kościół katolicki w Polsce nowożytnej*, (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1994), 68; Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół Wschodni w Monarchii Jagiellonów w Latach 1506-1596" in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 1, pt. 2, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 95-6.

ecclesiastical prestige with burgher "cobblers, tailors and coatmakers."[28] Consequently, they

viewed Jeremiah's confirmation of confraternal liberties as an affront to the historical *dignitas*

and prerogatives of local bishops. Far from relieving episcopal anxieties, Jeremiah's visit

actually strained the ties between his office and the Ruthenian episcopate. As a result, jilted

Ruthenian bishops began to consider seeking alternate means to have their episcopal and noble

dignity respected. Antoni Mironowicz, a historian of the Orthodox Church in the Polish-

Lithuanian Commonwealth, has argued that beyond all other reasons, the conflict between the

Ruthenian episcopate and lay religious brotherhoods was causal in having the former seek union

with Rome.[29]

Jeremiah took several unprecedented, albeit canonical actions in the hope of solving the

Ruthenian crisis. These, however, only further exacerbated the already dire situation. He

deposed the existing Ruthenian Orthodox Metropolitan, Onisifor Divotchka. Apparently, he

came to believe that Metropolitan Divotchka did not uphold such standards of "quality,"

believing him to be both uneducated and indolent, and some have asserted a "bigamist."

Simultaneously, the Patriarch admonished the local clerics to be more diligent in fulfilling their

pastoral responsibilities and consecrated Michał Rahoza as the new Kyivan Metropolitan.

Having subverted Ruthenian clerical will and rebuked Ruthenian clerics, Jeremiah then

supplanted established modes of Ruthenian hierarchy and authority with the installation of the

Bishop of Luts'k-Ostroh, Cyril Terlecki, as the exarch[30] of the Ruthenian Church in the

Commonwealth. This was unprecedented in the Commonwealth. Jeremiah's decision

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[28] Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 161-2

[29] Antoni Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej,* (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2001), 57.

[30] An exarch (Gk. ἔξαρχος), is an ecclesiastical title granted to a bishop by a patriarch. It allowed the said bishop to wield patriarchal authority over a pre-determined jurisdiction (as well as other bishops within the said jurisdiction). Elżbieta Smykowska, *Liturgia Prawosławna*, (Warszawa: Verbinum, 2004), 25

effectively placed a hand-picked cleric above the existing episcopal structure, including that of

the newly-installed Metropolitan, making him answerable to the Patriarch alone.[31]

The Ruthenian episcopate reacted to Jeremiah's reshuffling with a mix of anger,

uncertainty and confusion. The displeasure of the episcopate extended even to Cyril Terlecki,

who nominally gained the most from Jeremiah's establishment of the exarchate. An outraged

Terlecki wrote of Patriarch's maltreatment of the Ruthenian episcopate thus:

> [Jeremiah] has circumvented us, as he has already stricken down one metropolitan while
> installing another, which has been a great misfortune to the man. While doing this,
> [Jeremiah] also established brotherhoods, which will be and already are persecutors of
> bishops.[32]

In fact, so great was Terlecki's outrage, that he assumed a leading role in the pro-union effort.

Terlecki's statement also indicates the deep episcopal anxiety regarding Jeremiah's elevation of

the lay urban confraternities, who were now not only free to obviate the authority of their

consecrated "betters," but openly criticize and possibly depose them as well. Predictably, this

elevation generated inexorable hostility from many members of the Ruthenian Orthodox

episcopate. Gideon Bałaban, the Orthodox Bishop of L'viv (1565-1607), was perhaps the first to

voice his resentment toward the brotherhoods. The conflict flared up into an open feud and for a

moment, Bałaban became the most vocal proponent of a break with Constantinople and union

with Rome. Bałaban relented from his stance on the eve of confessional union and under

pressure from the great Orthodox magnate and patron, Konstanty Ostrogski.[33]

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[31] Oskar Halecki, *Od Unii Florenckiej do Unii Brzeskiej*, vol 2, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo Wschodniej, 1997), 53.

[32] Cited in: Tomasz Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/1525 – 1608): Wojewoda kijowski i marszałek ziemi wołyńskiej*, (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1997), 132
Kempa does not provide details about the larger context of the said letter or to whom in was originally meant for. The original text may be found at: *Акты, относящиеся к истории Западной России*, vol. 3, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1848-1851), 211.

[33] Oskar Halecki, *Od Unii Florenckiej do Unii Brzeskiej*, vol 2, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo Wschodniej, 1997), 59-60.

At first sight, Jeremiah's elevation of lay religious brotherhoods appeared to be a sensible move. These urban confraternities had earned a reputation for the high moral standards of their membership by providing for the material needs of parish churches, engaging in charity work, as well as producing religious literature and providing clerical education. In some instances, these corporations of laymen even selected and appointed clergy to church benefices.[34]

In his study of lay confraternities, Iaroslav Isaevych offered a translated text of the 1586 charter of the Dormition Confraternity in L'viv, which bestowed vast power upon the brotherhood. Isaevych questioned the authenticity of its purported author, the Patriarch of Antioch, Joachim IV, believing the brotherhood may have itself penned the document to further augment their ecclesiastical powers. Claiming exemption from local episcopal authority granted explicitly by the Patriarch of Antioch, Joachim IV, the language of the document is particularly striking:

> We, Joachim (…) grant power to this church Confraternity to reprimand by the law of Christ opponents and to banish all disorder from the Church. (…) If the bishop himself acts against the law of truth and does not manage the Church according to the law of the Holy Apostles and Holy Fathers, corrupting the righteous to injustice, sustaining the hands of the lawless, such a bishop should be deposed, as an enemy of truth." [35]

Predictably, the Ruthenian episcopate frequently clashed with these formidable non-clerical centers of ecclesiastical authority, which actively sought out and were often granted complete autonomy from local bishops.

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[34] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969), 829.
See also: Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół Wschodni w Monarchii Jagiellonów w Latach 1506-1596" in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 1, pt. 2, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 94-7.
[35] Cited in: Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 204.
Iaroslav Isaievych, *Voluntary Brotherhood: Confraternities of Laymen in Early Modern Ukraine,* (Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2006), 23-5.
The original text may be found in the *Monumenta Confraternitatis Stauropegianae Leopoliensis*, ed W. Milikowicz, L'viv, 1895, 139.
In his trek through Ukraine in 1589-90, Patriarch Jeremiah II Tranos, Jeremiah issued a diploma for the Nativity of the Theotokos in Rohatyn and endowed it with rights much like those granted to the L'viv lay religious brotherhood.

During his tour of the eastern Slavic world, Tranos also approved a new Patriarchate in Moscow (1589), as Muscovy was the only fully independent Orthodox-run state of any standing. While this appointment roughly coincided with the dissatisfaction of the Ruthenian episcopate, scholars such as Antoni Mironowicz, are dubious as to its decisive role in rousing pro-union sentiments. The newly created Muscovite Patriarchate thwarted Rome's goal for a larger territorial Orthodox-Catholic confessional union, such as the one envisioned by Pope Gregory XIII, who dreamed of a united Christian anti-Turkish front extending from the Commonwealth into Muscovy. The end of any hopes for a wider Catholic-Orthodox union that encompassed Muscovy ultimately resulted in Brest becoming a uniquely Ruthenian project.[36] The Crown merely echoed Rome's sentiment of regret.

Ruthenian clerics were, however, largely ambivalent about the creation of the Muscovite Patriarchate. The Ruthenian synods of the 1590s indicate that the ongoing localized conflict between the episcopate and lay religious brotherhoods was far more pressing than anything that may have been taking place in the east.[37] Likewise, Borys Gudziak's work on the Union of Brest forcefully rejects the view that the Ruthenian episcopate saw the newly formed Patriarchate as a threat – or, conversely, a potential source of assistance in its time of perceived crisis. The scant literary exchange between Konstanty Ostrogski or the lay urban brotherhoods and Moscow was exceptional, proving, according to Gudziak, that at the end of the sixteenth century, Muscovy "was a backwater that was beyond the immediate horizons of Ruthenian church leaders and their pressing problems." [38]

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[36] Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 24-7.

[37] Antoni Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej,* (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2001), 55- 57.

[38] Borys A. Gudziak, Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 222-3.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

According to such eminent scholars as Heiko Oberman and Steven Ozment, the Catholic Church was undergoing its own internal crisis in the Later Middle Ages and remained in this state of malaise on the eve of the Protestant Reformation. The Papacy was incapable of providing institution-wide leadership it had enjoyed in the days of Pope Innocent III. Abuses of church authority among the episcopate as well as parish clergy were rife, including fiscalism, absenteeism, poor administration and concubinage. According to Steven Ozment, state authorities frequently interfered in internal church affairs and religious devotion gravitated toward "bare external religious observance."[39] Various medieval reform movements, both orthodox and heterodox, sought to address these issues. Indeed, the desire to remedy these pervasive religious inadequacies brought about the parallel development of the Franciscans and Waldensians in the thirteenth century, and the Hussites and advocates of the Devotio Moderna in the fifteenth.

In fact, the Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century sought to build on these Medieval reform movements, offering new solutions for religious renewal. Working alongside this model of decline in Medieval church history, Borys Gudziak has suggested that within the Polish-Lithuanian state in the first half of the sixteenth century, Catholicism and Orthodoxy were both in the midst of an ecclesiastical crisis, plagued by similar problems: an indifferent episcopate, poor education of the parish clergy and lax morals.[40] However, by the middle of the

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[39] Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250-1550*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 204-11, 209 Heiko Oberman, "The Shape of Medieval Thought: The Birthpangs of the Modern Era," *Archive for Reformation History* 64 (1973): 13-33.

[40] Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 78.

sixteenth century, the Catholic Church was able to respond and recover relatively quickly in a way that Orthodoxy could not.[41]

In 1544 Pope Paul III issued a papal bull, "Laetare, Jerusalem" or "Jerusalem, Rejoice," calling for a great gathering of clergy from all corners of Christendom at a small town in the Southern Alps. This council was the materialization of decades of petitioning by Catholic clerics, rulers and reformers for a Church-wide ecumenical assembly. Administrative and moral reforms within the Church had remained an elusive goal since the Fifth Lateran Council in 1515, the last ecumenical council before the confessional rift of the Reformation. There, Catholic reformers urged Catholic religious to refocus their efforts, away from secular politics and toward the mission repairing the broken internal Church life. These reforming factions called for a missionary project, particularly to the newly discovered lands across the Atlantic, as well as a renewed effort of reconciliation with the Orthodox Church in the east. However, conservative voices were fearful of "innovations" and demanded discussions remain in established doctrinal proclamations, codes of ecclesiastical law and institutional structures. These conservative interests prevailed and the Fifth Lateran's tangible accomplishments were negligible.

Within a few months of the Fifth Lateran's conclusion in 1517, Martin Luther challenged not only the established Church institutional organization, but the Catholic Church's very teachings and doctrines as fundamentally detrimental to any project of reform.[42] In the three decades between the close of the Fifth Lateran Council and the Council of Trent, Protestant confessions gained inroads across Western Christendom, threatening the religious dominance of the Roman Catholic Church. Religious strife and bloodshed enveloped much of the Holy Roman Empire, prompting Emperor Charles V and others to call for an ecumenical assembly to broker a

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[41] Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 81.
[42] Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250-1550*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 398-409.

doctrinal compromise and reunite the Christians of Western Europe.[43] The Emperor's desire for

a return to a united Christendom ultimately came to naught.

By the time the first session of the Council of Trent had convened in 1545, the mood was

no longer one of reconciliation, but that of retrenchment. In the successive on-again, off-again

sessions, the Council participants sought to close ranks, undermine skeptics and salvage the

flagging sense of unity among their flock. They demanded internal reforms to prevent clerical

abuses, while standardizing Catholic teachings, doctrine and ritual. In sanctifying their own

position, the Council also attacked these Protestant reformers who had broken with the Church,

decrying them as "dangerous innovators" who violated the sacred and continuous traditions of

the Christian faith based in "the testimonies of approved holy fathers and councils."[44]

The Council codified a litany of ecclesiastical doctrine and dogma. Some of the most

important proscriptions of faith and practice decided at Trent included: transubstantiation,

purgatory, the sacraments, indulgences, justification by both works and faith, the veneration of

the Virgin Mary and the saints, papal primacy, the singular right of the Catholic Church to

interpret scripture and determine faith, and the necessity of an ordained and chaste priesthood.

Additionally, the gathered clerics standardized liturgy, issued a proclamation of faith and a

uniform catechism. Through these, they hoped to touch every corner of Catholic Europe through

the publication of these Tridentine proclamations, the substance and spirit of which became the

cornerstone of their response to the Protestant Reformation.[45]

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[43] The Prince-Bishopric of Trent was located within the borders of the Holy Roman Empire.
[44] Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire*, (London: Burns & Oates, 1977), 9-15.
[45] See: Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trent,* 4 vols. in 5., (Freiburg: Herder, 1948–1975). Vols. 1 and 2 translated by Ernest Graf as *A History of the Council of Trent* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons LTD, 1957–1961), John O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 68.

Trent initiated a challenge to the inroads of "heretical" Protestants on a global scale, with churchmen demanding that the Catholic faith be spread as far as "the other side of the world."[46] The New World of the American continents, Asia and Africa all became fronts of the Catholic missionary campaign. However, the renewed missionary zeal encompassed more than the non-European, "exotic," lands of New Spain, Japan and India. In fact, proselytization by new orders such as the Theatines, Barnabites, Capuchins, Ursulines, Discalced Carmelites and the Society of Jesus was as likely to entail a journey into areas of Europe recently lost to Protestantism as it was to necessitate a sojourn to nearby lands in which variants of Western Christianity were but a minority. [47] Grand missionary enterprises to distant overseas lands may have been billed as ultimate examples of selfless evangelizing zeal to some. Others, however, pointed to opportunities for apostolic missionary activity that could be found on the doorstep of Catholic Europe. "Let us look for India neither in the east nor in the west" wrote Piotr Skarga to a Jesuit colleague in Vienna, "Our true Indies are Lithuania and the countries of the North."[48]

REFORMATION POLITICS IN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH

Historically inhabited by both Catholic and Orthodox Christian populations, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's eastern frontier, Skarga's metaphorical "Indies," had been largely

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[46] R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770*, (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 7.

[47] John O'Malley, for example, described the *Missionskirche*, or the post-Tridentine missionary Church as "a massive export of missionaries (…) for an evangelization often fired by a remarkable religious enthusiasm and, paradoxically, destructive xenophobia" John O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 68.

[48] Non requiramus Indias Orientis et Occidentis, est Vera India Lithuania et Septemtrio
Piotr Skarga, *Listy ks. Piotra Skargi*, ed. Jan Sygański, (Kraków: Nakład Wydawnictwa Towarzystwa Jezusowego, 1912), 55.
See also: Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Zanony Męskie w Polsce XVI-XVIII Wieku," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969), 514.

ignored by Catholic evangelizers since the Council of Florence[49] failed to reconcile Rome and

Constantinople (the See of Orthodox Christianity) in 1439. While the conversion of Eastern

Christians continued to be a general aim of Papal Rome it was the success of the Protestant

Reformation in the Commonwealth that drew Skarga's evangelizing gaze and the renewed

interest in the post-Tridentine Catholic Church.

Largely spared by the Black Death and untouched by the Holy Inquisition, the Polish-

Lithuanian state of the fifteenth century provided a relative safe haven not just for those seeking

refuge from pestilence but for minorities, particularly Jews, escaping the persecution in its wake.

By the sixteenth century, some of the most zealous Anti-Trinitarians, Lutherans, Calvinists and

Bohemian Brethren took refuge in the comparative tolerance of the area's cities, fleeing

confessional upheaval in Western Europe. They streamed into the cities of the Commonwealth

from the Netherlands, Bohemia, France, Silesia, Prussia and as far afield as Scotland,

establishing churches, preaching and publishing religious texts.[50] At its zenith, Protestantism

encompassed more than one-sixth of the nobility. These blue-blooded converts to Calvinism and

Anti-Trinitarianism included members of some of the most wealthy and politically prominent

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[49] The Council of Florence, 1431-1445, was the Seventeenth ecumenical council of the Roman Catholic Church. The ultimate goal of the council was to bring the Eastern Churches into unity with Rome. Representatives of the Orthodox Churches attended the latter sessions, hashing out inter-confessional theological and doctrinal issues of contention. Such issues included: the Procession of the Holy Spirit, the Filioque, the azymes, purgatory, and the primacy of the Bishop of Rome. While several Eastern churches agreed to formal reunification with Rome at Florence, the practical results stemming from the council were negligible. Its importance remains in its intent of unity, the bridging of doctrinal issues and the precedent Florence established for the later advocates of the Union of Brest. For information on the council of Florence see: Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 43-58; Oskar Halecki, *Od Unii Florenckiej do Unii Brzeskiej*, vol 1, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo Wschodniej, 1997), 47-92.

[50] Andrej Kotljarchuk, "Ruthenian Protestants of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Their Relationship with Orthodoxy, 1569-1767," *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 12 (2007): 41-62.

magnate families.[51] The scholar of Polish Christianity, Jerzy Kłoczowski, has even asserted that

the Protestant "movement was so great that it was assuredly close to victory."[52]

Shortly after Martin Luther broke with Rome, the Polish crown sought to limit the spread

of Protestant ideas, though with various levels of zeal and dedication. In 1520, Zygmunt I

(1507-1548) banned the importation and spread of Lutheran tracts, under the pain of banishment

and confiscation of goods. The measure was widely flaunted, with no mechanism for

enforcement. Crown politics played ahead of confessional considerations. In 1525 Zygmunt I

became the first European ruler to sign a treaty with a Lutheran prince, thus approving the

secularization of Prussia.[53]

What is often considered the high water mark of religious toleration in the

Commonwealth came during the reign of Zygmunt I's successor, Zygmunt II August (1548–

1569) the last monarch of the Jagiellonian line. Zygmunt August, no friend to Protestantism,

approved a number of measures limiting "religious innovation" in the Commonwealth.

However, the vast majority of these prohibitions were unenforced symbolic gestures, flaunted

and ignored with impunity. Zygmunt August himself was married to the famously beautiful

Lithuanian Calvinist Barbara Radziwiłł and maintained a close friendship with her brother

Mikołaj, a stanch defender and active promoter of the Reformed creed. At his court, Zygmunt

openly discussed Protestant literature and was said to have pronounced that he was "not a ruler

over people's consciences."[54] At his core, Zygmunt August was a politic parliamentarian with

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[51] While Protestantism, particularly Calvinism, made substantial gains among the noble classes, there is no evidence
that it achieved any kind of penetration into the peasantry. In the Commonwealth, Protestantism was a faith of the
elites. See: Wacław Urban, *Chłopi wobec reformacji w Małopolsce w drugiej połowie XVI w.,* (Kraków: Polska
Akademia Nauk, 1959), 150-3.
[52] Jerzy Kłoczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 100
[53] Stanisław Litak, *Od Reformacji do Oświecenia: Kościół katolicki w Polsce nowożytnej*, (Lublin: Towarzystwo
Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1994), 37-8.
[54] "Nie jestem królem waszych sumień" Though widely ascribed to Zygmunt II August, Stanisław Grzybowski
argues that the quote was actually uttered by the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian Habsburg.

an Erasmian temperament, who sought to avoid doctrinaire confessional strife enveloping

kingdoms to the west and maintain his own hold on power.[55]

To that end, once Protestants had achieved a significant representation in the governing

body of the Sejm[56] Zygmunt August did not act to counter their decrees which undermined the

privileges of Catholic ecclesiastics. In 1555, while Catholic churchmen deliberated at the

Council of Trent, the Peace of Augsburg legalized Lutheranism in the Holy Roman Empire, the

Polish Sejm passed a series of laws securing religious toleration for all dissenting creeds, not just

one. This codification of religious freedom effectively legalized what had been open practice for

decades. The 1555 convocation of the Sejm suspended all prosecutions for blasphemy against

the Eucharist or Trinity, and moved all ecclesiastical charges against laymen into secular courts.

This act bolstered the independent power of the nobility while circumventing and angering both

Orthodox and Catholic clerics.

The most radical act of the 1555 Sejm was the call for a national synod to create a unified

Polish Church. The architects for this Polish ecclesiastical union crossed the denominational

spectrum and included: the Catholic Archbishop of Gniezno and Primate of Poland Jakub

Uchański, the Catholic humanist, scholar and theologian Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski and a

Catholic priest turned Calvinist firebrand in both England and Poland, Jan Łaski.[57] The postulate

of the Sejm called for all Eastern Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholics and Protestant adherents

Stanisław Grzybowski, *Dzieje Polski i Litwy (1506-1648)*, (Kraków:Fogra Oficyna Wydawnicza, 2000), 111.

[55] Stanisław Cynarski, *Zygmunt August* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1988), 83, 85.

[56] The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had a three-chamber parliament comprising the Sejm, the Senate, and the Royal Crown, equivalent to the British Parliament with the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

[57] Known in the English speaking world as "*John Laski*", "*Johannes Alasco*," and "*John a Lasco,*" Łaski was born in Poland but emigrated after he had joined the priesthood, forging friendships with Erasmus and Zwingli. He moved to England and established a Reformed church where he gained significant influence in church affairs during the reign of King Edward VI, even presiding over the excommunication and execution of an Anti-Trinitarian. After the Catholic Mary Tudor ascended the throne he fled England and returned to Poland as an advisor to King Zygmunt II. See: Oskar Bartel, *Jan Łaski*, (Warszawa: Neriton, 1999).

to be united in one state church that mandated a vernacular liturgy, Holy Communion in both species and the right of the clergy to marry.[58]

In order to legitimate this call for confessional union, the Sejm used a series of historical arguments of continuity. They declared that communion in both kinds was "once practiced at the beginning of the history of the Church and as it is now still practiced by the Greeks, the Bulgarians and the Ruthenians, and was permitted by the Council of Basel to the Czechs." Furthermore, the Sejm declared that married priests "used to be practiced in the Western Church" and was still "allowed by the Greeks, Ruthenians and the Bulgarians."[59] The Sejm authorized the King to unilaterally institute the new Polish Church, however, Zygmunt submitted the resolution for papal approval.[60]

The mood in Rome was not conducive toward any sort of religious concession. Pope Paul IV's suspicion and narrowness of vision made him feared and despised both at home and abroad. Indeed, Eamon Duffy has referred to him as the most hated pontiff of the century.[61] Paul IV not only rejected the petition for a national church but, alarmed at the state of religious affairs in Poland-Lithuania, diverted his nuncio, Luigi Lippomano, from the proceedings at Augsburg.[62] Lippomano's arrival came at the behest of Stanisław Hozjusz, Bishop of Warmia (Ermland), representative at Trent and president at its last session, zealous antagonist of

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[58] Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History Of Calvinism*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 257-71.

[59] Quoted in: Jerzy Kłoczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 101.

[60] Janusz Tazbir, *Państwo Bez Stosów*, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1967), 81.

[61] Eamon Duffy, *Saints & Sinners: A History of the Popes,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 216-7.

[62] Accompanying Lippomano on his journey were the first-generation Jesuits Peter Canisius and Alfons Salmeron, who was under orders to survey the Commonwealth for subsequent evangelization.
Stanisław Cynarski, *Zygmunt August,* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1988), 91.
For a more in-depth treatment of Lippomano and his Jesuit companions in Poland-Lithuania, see also:
Jan Korewa, SJ, *Z Dziejów Diecezji Warmińskiej w XVI w.: Geneza braniewskiego Hozjanum*, (Poznań: Księgrnia św. Wojciecha, 1964), 21-51.

Protestantism and driving force behind the Catholic Reformation in Poland-Lithuania.[63] Once

there, Lippomano established a permanent nunciature from which to promote papal polices.

However, Lippomano's own tenure in the Commonwealth reflected a lack of tact and

diplomacy, which, in turn damaged the respectability of his office.[64] As nuncio, he vocally

denounced the practices and peoples of the Commonwealth, referring to Vilnius as "Babylon"

and declaring that the state had many "Armenians, Muscovites, Ruthenians, Tatars, Turks,

Lithuanians, Germans and Italians but few good Christians."[65] He targeted the Catholic

participants in the 1555 Sejm who advocated Church union (particularly Andrzej Frycz

Modrzewski) and demanded Catholic ecclesiasts expel these heretics from their jurisdictions.

Eager to mirror the anti-Jewish policies of his papal master in Rome, he called for the

ghettoization of all Jews residing in the Polish-Lithuanian State. As a foreigner unfamiliar with

local political culture, Lippomano's attempts to influence confessional policy in Poland-

Lithuania came to naught. Even many among the Polish episcopate turned a deaf ear to his

overtures. The Bishop of Cuiavia, Jan Drohojowski, scoffed at his calls, declaring the

Reformation beyond Rome's ability to curtail and Protestant numbers far beyond the ability of

any bishop to reckon with.[66] Lippomano's response was to label Drohojowski and other

uncooperative bishops as heretics.

Convening the Synod of Łowicz in 1556, Lippomano produced and distributed a

"Formula of Faith" which took particular aim at the Protestant (and Orthodox) practice of lay

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[63] Stanisław Litak, *Od Reformacji do Oświecenia: Kościół katolicki w Polsce nowożytnej,* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe KUL, 1994), 20, 50-2, 58-60.
See also: Bolesław Kumor, "Początki Katolickiej Reformy Kościoła w Polsce," in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 1, pt. 2, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 80-3.
[64] Stanisław Cynarski, *Zygmunt August,* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1988), 89.
Bolesław Kumor, "Początki Katolickiej Reformy Kościoła w Polsce," in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 1, pt. 2, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 78.
[65] Quoted in: Magda Teter, *Sinners on Trial: Jews and Sacrilege After the Reformation,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 142.
[66] Janusz Tazbir, *Państwo Bez Stosów*, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1967), 76-7.

reception of communion with both bread and wine. Openly flaunting the legate's decree, during

Easter mass in 1557, King Zygmunt demanded that he be allowed to receive the Eucharist in

both kinds.[67] Lippomano faced further resistance by both the crown and the nobility when he

independently arrested and burned at the stake a certain noblewoman Dorota Łazęcka, along with

three Jews on charges of desecrating the Eucharist.[68] The incident proved to be a final straw for

the legate.[69] Though he maintained the support of Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz and several other

important ecclesiastical figures in Poland-Lithuania, Lippomano ultimately returned to Rome

after only two years, lamenting that the Polish King sanctioned heresy.[70]

King Zygmunt II died without an heir in 1572, signaling the end of the Jagiellonian

Dynasty and of the primogeniture inheritance of the Polish crown. In the same year of his death

thousands of Huguenots were killed by the French crown in the Saint Bartholomew's Day

Massacre. Polish nobility feared a new monarch might usher in a period of similar confessional

strife, particularly as the candidate for the Polish throne, Henri de Valois, was widely suspected

to have played a part in the bloodshed. Fearful for their religious liberties, Protestant nobles,

who held the majority of seats in the Sejm, moved to enshrine their rights to free worship in the

1573 Warsaw Confederation.[71] The Warsaw Confederation ensured religious tolerance for all

free-persons in the Commonwealth, while establishing a mechanism through which nobles would

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[67] Stanisław Cynarski, *Zygmunt August,* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1988), 91.

[68] There is a rift in the historiography pertaining to King Zygmunt II's role in the affair. Magda Teter (see previous footnotes) argues for his collusion and consent. Władysław Konopczyński likewise suggested royal cooperation with the papal legate. See: Władysław Konopczyński, *Dzieje Polski Nowożytnej*, (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1999), 137. However, historians have traditionally depicted Zygmunt as actively opposing Lippomano. A small sampling of such renderings include: Simon Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1918) 37-38; Janusz Tazbir, *Państwo Bez Stosów*, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1967), 92; Stanisław Cynarski, *Zygmunt August* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1988), 91-6.

[69] Janusz Tazbir, *Państwo Bez Stosów*, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1967), 92.

[70] Bolesław Kumor, "Początki Katolickiej Reformy Kościoła w Polsce," in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 1, pt. 2, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 78.

[71] Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 79-80.

elect future monarchs.[72] The measure passed, despite the opposition of many Catholic bishops,

particularly Stanisław Hozjusz, who, echoing Luigi Lippomano's earlier lament, declared that

the Warsaw Confederation had turned the Commonwealth into, "a place of shelter for

heretics."[73] Prior to assuming the throne, Henry de Valois and all subsequent kings swore an

oath to uphold religious tolerance for the noble classes, while acknowledging the right of the

nobility to resist the crown militarily for any violations of that oath.

Three years after the Warsaw Confederation and the watershed period of Protestant

inroads, the devoutly Catholic Stefan (István) Báthory of Transylvania (1576-1586) assumed the

Polish crown.[74] Báthory shared the Tridentine Catholic missionary vision and forged personal

ties to the Papal Nuncio and Jesuit Antonio Possevino (Antonius Possevinus). In the year of

Báthory's coronation, Possevino established the College of St. Athanasius in Rome intended to

educate, and convert Greeks and Slavs of the Eastern Rite. When the Livonian War broke out

between Tsar Ivan IV (the Terrible) of Muscovy and King Báthory of the Polish-Lithuanian

Commonwealth, Pope Gregory XIII granted Possevino the status of a papal legate and sent him

mediate peace. Surprisingly, the intervention by the papacy came at the request of the Tsar

himself, who, faring badly in the campaign sent an envoy to Rome, insinuating that a mediated

peace might incline him toward bringing Muscovy into union with Rome.[75] Allegedly, Ivan IV

never intended to carry through with such a proposition. Undeterred, Báthory refused overtures

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[72] For information on the Warsaw Confederation, see: Janusz Tazbir, *A State Without Stakes: Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (The Kosciuszko Foundation, 1973), 98-112; Gottfried Schramm, "Ein Meilenstein der Glaubensfreiheit. Der Stand der Forschung über Ursprung und Schicksal der Warschauer Konföderation von 1573," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 24 (1975): 711-736; Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland, Volume 1: The Origins to 1795,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 126.
[73] Jerzy Kłoczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 94.
[74] Henry de Valois abandoned the Commonwealth to assume the French crown becoming Henry III of France after his brother (Charles IX) died.
Stanisław Grzybowski, *Henryk Walezy*, (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1980), 122-39
[75] Relations between Possevino and Báthory were initially very tense. The king was unwilling to give up substantial gains achieved against Muscovy in exchange for Rome's promises of a confessional union.
Jerzy Besala, *Stefan Batory*, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1992), 331.

to peace until he had thoroughly routed Muscovite forces.[76] Although willing to sacrifice a

confessional union with Orthodox Muscovy, Báthory nevertheless struck a blow for the Catholic

cause. Having occupied predominately Protestant Livonia, he revoked noble privileges and set

about Catholicizing the region with the help of the papal nuncio, Antonio Possevino.[77]

A key feature of this Catholicization project was Báthory's patronage of Jesuit education.

Indeed, the monarch promoted Jesuit academic institutions across the Commonwealth. Just as

Hozjusz had founded the first Jesuit college in the middle of Lutheran Ermland, Jesuit schools

established during Báthory's reign were primarily located in non-Catholic areas inhabited by

either Protestants or Eastern Orthodox Ruthenians. Under Báthory, Jesuit schools were opened

in Polatsk, Riga and Tartu (Dorpat), the latter two being urban Protestant centers recently

obtained during the Livonian War. Jesuit schools became so renowned for their curriculum, that

Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox from across the Commonwealth traveled to study there. The

crowning jewel among these Jesuit academies lay in Vilnius. In 1579, having secured the

support and financial backing of the king himself, the Vilnius Jesuit Academy was elevated to

the status of a university, thus becoming a key intellectual center of Catholicization in the

region.[78]

At Vilnius, Báthory installed Piotr Skarga as the university's first rector in 1579.[79] Born

Piotr Powęski, Skarga (a pseudonym loosely translated as "accusation" or alternately, as

"complaint") became perhaps the most influential figure of the Catholic Reformation in Poland-

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[76] Possevino published an account of his time in Muscovy during the Livonian War and his unsuccessful attempt to establish an apostolate there. Antonio Possevino, trans. Hugh F. Graham, *The Moscovia of Antonio Possevino, S.J* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977).

[77] Jerzy Besala, *Stefan Batory*, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1992), 399.

[78] Jerzy Besala, *Stefan Batory*, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1992), 258-9.

[79] Jerzy Besala, *Stefan Batory*, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1992), 261.

Lithuania. A moralist, scholar, polemicist and missionary-preacher, Skarga's oratorical prowess and Tridentine orthodoxy made him both adored and reviled.

When King Báthory died in 1586, Skarga threw his influence behind the (successful) Swedish contender to the throne, Zygmunt III Vasa (1587–1632). While high water mark of religious toleration came during the reign of Zygmunt II August, the zenith of the Catholic Reformation came during the reign of Zygmunt III. The newly elected monarch rewarded Skarga by transferring him to the newly established Jesuit college in Warsaw, while bestowing upon him the title of royal court preacher. Jesuit proselytization among nobility, Skarga's influence at court and Zygmunt III Vasa's own dedication to Catholicization produced a period in which the Catholicism made serious gains in the Commonwealth.

Having sworn the *pacta conventa,* promising to uphold the laws of the Warsaw Confederation (including religious toleration), Zygmunt III Vasa was prevented from taking a confrontational stand against Protestantism. Instead, the Polish historian Janusz Tazbir characterized his approach to the Protestant nobility as one characterized by "bribes and persuasion rather than threats."[80] He regularly passed over Protestants when distributing lands and offices, supported the Jesuit missions, while quietly allowing Protestant burghers to be harassed in urban areas.[81]

A JESUIT EDUCATION

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[80] Janusz Tazbir, *Państwo Bez Stosów*, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1967), 139.
[81] Arguably the most significant feat for the cause of Catholicization during Zygmunt III Vasa's reign was the Union of Brest in 1596. The Union of Brest was a compromised version of the goals of the Council of Florence in 1439, which aimed to reunite all the eastern Churches that paid their ecclesiastical homage to Constantinople, thus bringing them under the primacy of the Roman pontiff. Many missionaries in the Commonwealth, particularly Skarga, initiated calls to revisit the issue of union. However, rather than a negotiated union between all of Eastern Orthodox Christianity, this union would encompass only the Eastern rite Christians within the Commonwealth. Supported by Zygmunt III Vasa and his court preacher, Skarga, the Union merged Latin Catholic doctrine with Ruthenian Orthodox traditions, creating the Greek-rite Catholic Church.

The Jesuits cast themselves the vanguard forces of Rome's conversional aims. To those

ends, education was the single most effective Jesuit weapon. Ignatius Loyola, a soldier turned

cleric, along with his followers, "came to see the power of education (…) once you get control of

the youth, train them in right principles, impart to them at the same time an education the equal

or superior of any in Europe, and the whole world is saved for the Church."[82] Loyola's tactical

approach found fertile ground in the Commonwealth's eastern periphery, as privileged Orthodox

Ruthenian sons left these institutions with not only a knowledge of the classical curriculum, but a

powerful and personal experience within the organizational structures of the Early Modern

Catholic Church, its culture and devotional life.[83]

Over the course of the sixteenth century, nobles of Poland-Lithuania gravitated toward

academies featuring a Christian humanist curriculum, including those organized by the newly

created Society of Jesus, as well as the handful of Protestant and Ruthenian schools whose

curriculum mirrored the Jesuit-run academies and colleges. However, the Polish crown's policy

of granting charters exclusively to Catholic institutions ensured that the proliferation of Jesuit-

run institutions greatly outnumbered those of their Orthodox or Protestant counterparts. This

near-monopoly on education facilitated a selective adoption of Renaissance ideals, with

emphasis on subjects and texts that promoted the Jesuits' own ideas regarding religious and civic

virtues.[84]

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[82] William J. McGucken*, The Jesuits and Education: The Society's Teaching Principles and Practice, Especially in Secondary Education in the United States*, (New York: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1932), 9.

[83] Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 8: See also: Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół Wschodni w Monarchii Jagiellonów w Latach 1506-1596," in *Historia Kosciola w Polsce*, vol 1, pt 2, (Kraków: Pallotinum, 1974), 98.

[84] Ludwik Piechnik, SJ., "Działalność Jezuitów Polskich na Polu Szkolnictwa (1565-1773)," in *Jezuici z Kultura Polska: Materiały sympozjum z okazji Jubileuszu 500-lecia urodzin Ignacego Loyoli (1491-1991) i 450-lecia powstania Towarzystwa Jezusowego (1540-1990) Kraków, 15-17 lutego 1991 r.,* eds. Ludwik Grzebień, Stanisław Obirek, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 1993), 243-51.

The particular variant of Renaissance humanism found in the Polish-Lithuanian state differed from its original Italian contour, reflecting the kind of selective adoption found across northern European states and principalities.[85] The export of Italian Renaissance models abroad did not result in a wholesale importation and imitation of what Jacob Burckhardt referred to as "'l'huomo universale' – who belonged to Italy alone."[86] Young Polish nobility, who, in the course of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, traveled to Italian universities and read the writings of Erasmus, selectively adopted particular humanist traits, such as the belief in constant improvement of human institutions through reason and discussion, without necessarily envisioning themselves as the direct descendants of ancient Romans, as the Paduans, Mantuans or Florentines had.[87]

This selective adoption of Renaissance ideals continued on the institutional level. Starting in the late fifteenth century, Cracow University became the leading institutional center of Renaissance humanist thought in the Polish-Lithuanian state. At the height of its prestige in the 1530s, Cracow University became a center of Latin, Greek and Hebrew learning, with a particular emphasis on the study of rhetoric and poetics. A new generation of professors, scholars and alumni emerged from within those medieval walls. These men of learning continued to engage with one another in epistolary debates long after having departed Cracow, fostering an intellectual culture in which contemporary matters of church and state could be resolved via disputation and deference to the ancients, Christian and pagan alike. This Renaissance "republic of letters" included two figures which featured prominently in the early

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[85] Peter Burke, *The Renaissance,* (New York: Palgrave, 1997), 36.
[86] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore, (Old Saybrook, CT: Konecky & Konecky, 2003), 134.
[87] Jerzy Kłoczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 92. Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore, (Old Saybrook, CT: Konecky & Konecky, 2003), 145-6.

phases of the Ruthenian Orthodox ecclesiastical debate, Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz and Stanisław Orzechowski.[88]

Jesuits in Poland-Lithuania enticed Ruthenians to enter their academies through intensive campaigns of good-will, maintaining charitable organizations and offering tuition-free, corporal punishment-free schools open to all confessions. Once enrolled in these schools, the Society acculturated and frequently converted their non-Catholic pupils.[89] The standardization of Jesuit educational institutions while adapting to local languages and customs, accounts for much of the Jesuit success in the Commonwealth as elsewhere in the world. The *De Ratione Studiorum Messanae*, later the *Ratio Studiorum*, although originally conceived in Messina in 1551, became the blueprint for all future Jesuit schools throughout Early Modern Europe, systemizing both the intellectual and spiritual framework of their pedagogical approach and curriculum.[90]

The combination of these factors made Society-run schools wildly popular among noblemen eager to provide their sons with a first-rate education, regardless of confessional allegiance.[91] The desire for a Jesuit education was an imperative for even the most fervently Orthodox nobles. For example, in 1596, the castellan of Bratslav, Wasyl Zahorowski, well known for his devout adherence to Orthodoxy, penned a testament from Tatar captivity, in which he urged his sons to enroll at the Jesuit academy in Vilnius.[92] Zahorowski's last will demonstrates a kind of pragmatic utility toward education, in which the ostensible confessional

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[88] Mariusz Markiewicz, *Historia Polski, 1492-1795* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2002), 249-54.

[89] Tomasz Kempa, "Religious Relations and the Issue of Religious Tolerance in Poland and Lithuania in the 16th and 17th Century," in *Sarmatia Europaea: Polish Review of Early Modern History* 01/4 (2010), 43.

[90] William Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1972), 27-8.

[91] Tomasz Kempa, "Akademia Ostrogska," in *Szkonictwo prawosławne w Rzeczypospolitej*, eds. Antoni Mironowicz, Urszula Pawluczuk, Piotr Chomik, (Białystok: Zakład Historii Kultur Pogranicza Instytutu Socjologii Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2002), 10.

[92] Tomasz Kempa, "Akademia Ostrogska," in *Szkonictwo prawosławne w Rzeczypospolitej*, eds. Antoni Mironowicz, Urszula Pawluczuk, Piotr Chomik, (Białystok: Zakład Historii Kultur Pogranicza Instytutu Socjologii Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2002), 16-7.
Ігор Мицько, *Острозька слов'яно-греко-латинська академія (1576-1636)*, (Київ: Наукова Думка, 1990), 28.

allegiances were outweighed by the civic skills that were increasingly expected of any nobleman willing to participate in the political processes of the Commonwealth.

In the eastern peripheries of the Commonwealth, Jesuit schools held a near-monopoly on secondary and tertiary schooling. The handful of schools successfully established to rival Jesuit institutions and cater specifically to non-Catholic noble sons, frequently adopted the very features that made the Society institutions so renowned and successful.[93] Jesuit schools also promoted a "Catholic world view," that stressed "the knowledge and love of the Creator, through the living of an honest and honorable life, as well as in the arts and learning cultivated for the glory of God."[94] Creating this Catholic world view promoted not just a conversion to Roman Catholicism, but an intensified Tridentine missionary Catholicism. Even students who retained their original non-Catholic confession, their experiences in Jesuit schools often "Latinized" their worldview and engendered lifelong sympathy toward the faith.

For future legislative representatives, emissaries, royal officials and clerics, the skills acquired at Jesuit institutions had very practical applications. The education offered at Jesuit academies and colleges was rooted in a Renaissance humanistic curriculum which included reading and speaking knowledge of Latin and Greek, as well as the study of rhetoric and philosophy.[95] Such skills were not only valuable in an abstract meaning of being an educated, well-rounded nobleman, but also provided politically useful competency in disputation, oration

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[93] For works on Jesuit education and the Ratio Studiorum see: *Ratio Studiorum: Jesuit Education, 1540-1773*, eds. John Atteberry and John Russell, (Chestnut Hill, MA: Boston College University Press, 1999), *The Jesuit Tradition in Education and Missions: A 450-Year Perspective*, ed. Christopher Chapple, (Scranton : University of Scranton Press, 1993); William J. McGucken*, The Jesuits and Education: The Society's Teaching Principles and Practice*, *Especially in Secondary Education in the United States*, (New York, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1932), David J. O'Brian, *The Jesuits and Catholic Higher Education*, (St. Louis: American Assistancy Seminar, 1981), John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).
[94] Stanisław Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół jezuickich w Polsce*, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Księży Jezuitów, 1933), 17.
[95] Andrzej Wyczański, *Szlachta polska XVI wieku*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2001), 58.

and composition of written treatises and letters.[96] Despite the priorities given classical

languages, Jesuits also adapted their curriculum to local demands and necessities. Jesuit

academies far and wide taught modern languages in accordance with their geographical situation.

Accordingly, Ruthenian was added to the curriculum in Vilnius to attract more Orthodox

students. The addition of Ruthenian, as well as the availability of non-Catholic religious services

as an alternative to attending Catholic liturgies, drew in scores of Orthodox students. Once there,

the Jesuit curriculum and peer pressure from once-Orthodox-turned-Catholic classmates

frequently had the effect of convincing many sons of Orthodox nobles into becoming Catholics

themselves.[97]

By the end of the sixteenth century, many of these Jesuit educated and blue-blooded

Ruthenian noble sons were invested with Orthodox episcopal seats. Prime examples illustrating

the prevalence of this noble classical education include no fewer than three successive

Metropolitans of Kyiv. Michał Rahoza attended the Jesuit-run Vilnius University sometime in

the 1570s. At roughly the same time, Hipacy Pociey attended Kraków University prior to his

consecration as the Bishop of Brest - Volodymir (Volyns'kyi). Throughout the 1590s, Józef

Welamin Rutski attended St. Bartholomew's College in Prague.[98] As bishops, their pro-union

activism could not have come about without having acquired a common linguistic, cultural and

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[96] Tomasz Kempa, "Religious Relations and the Issue of Religious Tolerance in Poland and Lithuania in the 16th and 17th Century," in *Sarmatia Europaea: Polish Review of Early Modern History* 01/4, (2010), 4; Andrzej Wyczański, *Szlachta polska XVI wieku*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2001), 58.
See also: Ludwik Piechnik, SJ., "Działalność Jezuitów Polskich na Polu Szkolnictwa (1565-1773)," in *Jezuici z Kultura Polska: Materiały sympozjum z okazji Jubileuszu 500-lecia urodzin Ignacego Loyoli (1491-1991) i 450-lecia powstania Towarzystwa Jezusowego (1540-1990) Kraków, 15-17 lutego 1991 r.,* eds. Ludwik Grzebień, Stanisław Obirek, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 1993), 246.
[97] Tomasz Kempa, "Religious Relations and the Issue of Religious Tolerance in Poland and Lithuania in the 16th and 17th Century," in *Sarmatia Europaea: Polish Review of Early Modern History*, 01/4, (2010), 43-5.
[98] For more on Rahoza, see: Tomasz Kempa, "Metropolita Michał Rahoza a unia brzeska," *Klio*, 2 (2002), 48-100
For more on Pociey, see: Aleksander Jabłonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilańska: Zarys historyczny na tle rozwoju ogólnego cywilizacyi zachodniej na Rusi*, (Kraków, 1900), 21.
For more on Rutski, see: Dymitro Blazejovskyij, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church (861-1990)*, (Rome: Universitas Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1990), 249.

religious currency from their Jesuit education. The Roman Church, its philosophy, practices and history were not mere abstractions for Ruthenian elites but formative influences.

THE THORNY TERRAIN OF PRE-UNION CONFESSIONAL ALLEGIANCES

Some two decades after Cardinal Hozjusz founded the first Jesuit college at Braniewo, Ruthenian nobles were offered a new choice in where to send their sons for a quality education. Around 1576, the Grand Hetman (highest military officer) of Lithuania, Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, quite possibly the largest landholder in the Commonwealth, mobilized his vast resources to establish the Ostroh Academy.[99] Like Jesuit academies, the Ostroh Academy revolved around the classical trivium of (Latin) grammar, rhetoric and logic.[100] Yet unlike most Jesuit colleges, the Ostroh Academy included Old Church Slavonic in its curriculum.[101]

While Jesuit academies had a fixed curriculum, a methodological approach and a staff made up almost exclusively of ordained Catholic clergy, the Ostroh Academy employed a diverse medley of scholars. This motley collection of Orthodox clerics, former Cracow Academy lecturers and traveling literati, varied as greatly in their nationality as in their personal

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[99] The year in which the Ostroh Academy was founded has been subject to debate. Ihor Mits'ko has argued for an earlier date, in the latter half of 1576. More recently, Tomasz Kempa argued for 1585, at which time, Ostrogski's school was granted a permanent monetary foundation that effectively transformed it from a regional school into a tri-lingual academy.
Ігор Мицько, *Острозька слов'яно-греко-латинська академія (1576-1636),* (Київ: Наукова Думка, 1990), 13-15
Tomasz Kempa, "Akademia Ostrogska," in *Szkonictwo prawosławne w Rzeczypospolitej*, eds. Antoni Mironowicz, Urszula Pawluczuk, Piotr Chomik, (Białystok: Zakład Historii Kultur Pogranicza Instytutu Socjologii Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2002), 64-6.
[100] Tomasz Kempa, "Akademia Ostrogska," in *Szkonictwo prawosławne w Rzeczypospolitej*, eds. Antoni Mironowicz, Urszula Pawluczuk, Piotr Chomik, (Białystok: Zakład Historii Kultur Pogranicza Instytutu Socjologii Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2002), 64.
[101] The notable exception to this was in Vilnius where the Jesuits included the study of Ruthenian at their institution. Andrzej Wyczański, *Szlachta polska XVI wieku*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2001), 58.

religious persuasion. Ostrogski and his academy have frequently been cited as key in formulating Ruthenian Orthodox identity.[102]

However, while the Ostroh Academy created a blueprint for future Orthodox centers of higher education, most famously Petro Mohyla's Kyivo-Mohylan Academy in Kyiv, in the late sixteenth century, the circle of scholars and students that revolved around the Ostrogski court were a varied and mixed group of individuals whose views and opinions were sometimes more akin to a polyphonic cacophony, rather than a unified Orthodox harmony.[103] The Ostroh library, which served as a repository of rare Slavonic texts, in addition to Catholic and Protestant volumes, mirrored the variety of scholars that found patronage at Ostrogski's academy. These men of learning included polemical defenders of Orthodoxy such as Damian Nalewajko, the elder brother of the famed Cossack who led an uprising against the Poles in 1595.[104] In addition to his academic duties, Damian was the pastor of the Grand Hetman's Orthodox Church and even served as his personal confessor. Equally renowned throughout the Commonwealth was the future Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lukaris, who purportedly served a brief tenure as the academy's rector. Lukaris' sympathy toward Calvinism eventually earned him the antipathy of Catholics and Orthodox alike. A onetime Metropolitan of Kizikos[105] and an ethnic Greek, Lukaris maintained constant ties with the Papacy and openly sought to convince his noble patron in favor of union with Rome. In addition to Catholic sympathizers, the Ostrogski

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[102] Наталя Яковенко, *Нарис Історії середньовічної та ранньомодерної України*, (Київ: Критика, 2006), 293 Antoni Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2001), 52; Marzena Liedke, *Od prawosławia do katolicyzmu: Ruscy możni i szlachta Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego wobec wyznań reformacyjnych*, (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2004), 52.

[103] Natalia Jakowenko has argued that the term "academy" was employed in its time to not only encompass Ostrogski's school, but also the wider scholarly setting that revolved around Ostrogski's court. Наталя Яковенко, *Нарис Історії середньовічної та ранньомодерної України*, (Київ: Критика, 2006), 209-13

[104] The Nalewajko Uprising will be covered in more detail in the following chapter.

[105] Tomasz Kempa, *Akademia i drukarnia ostrogska*, (Biały Dunajec: Wołanie z Wołynia, 2004), 23 Antoni Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2001), 52.

academy also included openly Catholic faculty. In 1583, Ostrogski wrote to Pope Gregory XIII

requesting two alumni of St. Athanasius' College in Rome. Within a few years, a Greek by the

name Emmanuel Achileos arrived at Ostroh and was promptly put to work as a lecturer.

Although in the aftermath of the Union of Brest the Ostroh academy became synonymous with

anti-union polemics, its faculty and graduates reflected a much more diverse mix of confessional

identities prior to 1596.

Konstanty Ostrogski's own religious affiliation was similarly fluid in this period. A pre-

Brest Ostrogski mulled the idea of confessional union with Rome – provided such was approved

by the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople. He maintained correspondence with the Papacy

on matters of confessional union. At the height of his pro-union sentiments, during a discussion

with Papal Nuncio Alberto Bolognetti in the summer of 1583, Ostrogski allegedly expressed his

disdain for religious conflict and even professed a willingness to give his life for union between

the Eastern and Western Churches.[106] In the course of the 1580s, two of his three sons converted

and thus joined their mother as professed Catholics. Ostrogski's disposition toward union with

Rome may have extended as late as 1593, when he approved the consecration of Hipacy Pociey

as the new Orthodox Bishop of Brest - Volodymir (Volyns'kyi). At this time, Pociey's pro-

union leanings were well known those who were positively inclined toward union, as well as to

those who staunchly opposed it.[107]

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[106] *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 6, 401, "et mostrando (per quanto si puoté giudicare dal volto et dalle parole) un interno dolore di tante discordie fra 'l popolo christiano, disse con molte tenerezza che se potesse con la vita propria comprare l'unione di S. Chiesa, lo faria volontieri et moriria all'hora contentissimo."
(and thus showing great internal pain at the discord among the Christian people, I would say with great tenderness, that if I could, I would lay down my life for unity with the Holy Church, and would do so voluntarily and die happy.)
See also: Borys Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 135.
[107] Oskar Halecki, *Od Unii Florenckiej do Unii Brzeskiej*, vol 2, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo Wschodniej, 1997), 70.

Ostrogski's stand against confessional union hardened only after preliminary meetings of Orthodox bishops at Brest were beginning to take place without him, as the pro-union episcopate became increasingly wary of any and all lay involvement in ecclesiastical affairs. In addition, an epistolary exchange with Alexandrian Patriarch Meletios Pigas, a staunch opponent of any union negotiations with Rome, may have been key to finally placing Ostrogski in the anti-union camp. Pigas' letter to Ostrogski situated the Eastern Church as the established historical Ruthenian faith of legacy and inheritance. Simultaneously, this narrative categorized rival confessions as novel, dangerous and spread about by foreign interlopers:

> We request that Your Highness does not permit the circulation of new thoughts that originate in your eparchies and are spread by the Papists or Lutherans, in order that these do not prove destructive to (our?) forefathers' faith and tradition. [108]

Yet even after the formal conclusion of the Union of Brest in 1596, when the Ostroh Academy became a center of anti-union polemics, the confessional allegiance of its graduates was not a foregone conclusion. The academy was capable of producing an Orthodox Metropolitan like Iov Borecki, along with a small army of Orthodox monastic ihumens [abbots]. It could also produce a well-known Greek-rite Catholic convert, like Melecjusz Smotrycki in 1627.[109]

While a western, particularly Jesuit, education moved many into the pro-union camp, not all Ruthenian Orthodox bishops followed this pattern. For instance, two leading Ruthenian divines became union advocates in the absence of a formal education or even first-hand

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[108] Tomasz Kempa's work on Konstanty Ostrogski cites Pigas' letter to Ostrogski, which was allegedly delivered to the Grand Hetman by Cyril Lukaris and dated March 8, 1594. The original may be found in: *Analecta OSBM, Series II, Sectio III, ed. P. Athanasius G. Welykyj,* (Documenta unionis berestensis eiusque auctorum (1590-1600)); Tomasz Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/1525 – 1608): Wojewoda kijowski i marszałek ziemi wołyńskiej,* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1997), 135.
See also: Antoni Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej,* (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2001), 61.
Stanisław Litak, *Od Reformacji do Oświecenia: Kościół katolicki w Polsce nowożytnej,* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1994), 67.
[109] For an enlightening discussion on the multi-layered identities of Smotrycki, see:
David Frick, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1995), 249-50.

knowledge of Latin. The first instance concerned the Luts'k-Ostroh region. The Orthodox

Bishop of Luts'k-Ostroh, Cyril Terlecki, was consecrated in 1585, at the height of Ostrogski's

support for union with Rome and within a geographic setting that included the Grand Hetman's

residence. If the Ostroh Academy and its humanist curriculum was influential in the Orthodox

bishop's eventual support for union with Rome, scholarly opinion is yet to acknowledge it.

Tomasz Kempa's recent work on Konstanty Ostrogski and his academy acknowledges the

bishop's consecration, yet provides no direct reasons for his eventual support for union.[110] Oskar

Halecki, another seminal Polish historian, alleges that the Orthodox Bishop of Luts'k-Ostroh was

undoubtedly aware of Ostrogski's onetime pro-union sentiments, but ultimately credits the newly

seated prelate's relationship with the local Latin-rite bishop,[111] a leading advocate of union, as

formative. Halecki also suggests that the Latin-rite Bishop's own Jesuit education and

Tridentine ideals may have effectively turned the Orthodox Bishop's familiarity with union

issues into enthusiastic support.[112] As a zealous advocate of union, this Latin-rite divine

facilitated inter-confessional dialogue and sought to debate with the highest Orthodox divines on

matters of faith. Halecki believes that this zeal was causal in bringing the two bishops together

in dialogue, leading to the composition of a seminal draft of the conditions upon which the

Ruthenian Church would be willing to accept union with Rome.[113]

The Orthodox Bishop of Chełm, Dionizy Zbirujski's pro-union sentiments developed

from a still different set of circumstances. The Orthodox eparchy of Chełm was the inheritor of a

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[110] Tomasz Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/1525 – 1608): Wojewoda kijowski i marszałek ziemi wołyńskiej*, (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1997), 98.
[111] Bernard Maciejowski (1548-1608).
[112] Oskar Halecki, *Od Unii Florenckiej do Unii Brzeskiej*, vol 2, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo Wschodniej, 1997), 58-61.
[113] The document composed by the two divines, outlining the preliminary conditions of confessional union, is known as the Torczyn Document. See: Oskar Halecki, *Od Unii Florenckiej do Unii Brzeskiej*, vol 2, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo Wschodniej, 1997), 58-9.
Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 219.

peculiar set of political entitlements claimed as a legacy of the Council of Florence. In 1443,

King Władysław III issued a document affirming that all the rights and freedoms of the

Ruthenian Church would be guaranteed and respected by Polish crown. The King issued this

proclamation of protection in the wake of Florence, during which time the eparchy was

considered fully Catholic. Succeeding Ruthenian bishops of Chełm had on several occasions

presented this ancient document before the Sejm in order to reconfirm their rights and privileges

long after any notion of the Florentine union had ceased to be respected. Consecrated in 1586,

the Orthodox Bishop of Chełm must have imagined himself as the inheritor of a long tradition of

Ruthenian Orthodox bishops who were eager to draw on the legacy of Florence.[114] Oskar

Halecki suggests that in Chełm, as in Luts'k-Ostroh, the presence of a Tridentine reform-minded

Latin bishop may have had a significant influence on the development of a new historical

understanding of not only the Chełm eparchy, but also of the remainder of the Ruthenian

Church.[115] In 1590, four Ruthenian bishops had gathered in Bełz, a city within the borders

Zbirujski's Chełm eparchy. There, while negotiating the finer points of a potential union with

Rome, they issued a proclamation that reflected the tone of Władysław III's 1443 document,

insisting that the ancient privileges granted to the Ruthenian Church be once again recognized by

the Crown. In this way, the intellectual ferment among pro-union Orthodox bishops in the latter

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[114] Oskar Halecki, *Od Unii Florenckiej do Unii Brzeskiej*, vol 2, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo Wschodniej, 1997), 60-1.
Lev Krevza likewise mentions the existence of this document in his time:
Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 52, "Isidor Metropolita do namiestnika Chełmskiego toż pisze / mamy tam na pargaminie Oryginał."
(Metropolitan Isidor wrote of this (i.e., Council of Florence) to the bishop of Chełm. The original parchment resides there.)
[115] Oskar Halecki, *Od Unii Florenckiej do Unii Brzeskiej*, vol 2, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo Wschodniej, 1997), 60-1.
Stanisław Gomoliński became the Latin-rite Bishop of Chełm in 1590.
Wiesław Müller, "Diecezje w Okresie Potrydenckim," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969), 214.

half of the sixteenth century may have given the document a new sense of historical urgency, providing an example of former historical legacies that could be reconstituted for a new purpose.

THE UNION OF BREST AND THE RUTHENIAN GREEK-RITE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The internal discontent among the Ruthenian episcopate had reached its breaking point following Patriarch Jeremiah II Tranos' fundraising tour through the Commonwealth in 1586.[116] The Ruthenian episcopate, hopeful for patriarchal leadership in the midst of an ongoing church crisis, did not receive the guidance they had sought.[117] Immediately following Jeremiah's departure, several Ruthenian Orthodox bishops Hipacy Pociey of Volodymir and Kyril Terlecki of Luts'k petitioned Rome to begin talks which would bring the Ruthenian Orthodox episcopate into union with the Catholic Church. The bishops went to Rome with the blessing and support of the Orthodox hierarchs and acted as their representatives in discussions to negotiate the terms under which they would accept the Roman Pontiff as their spiritual head, thus breaking ties with the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople. The terms of the Union of Brest were negotiated over a period of several years leading up to its proclamation and included parties representing the Papacy, the Ruthenian Orthodox episcopate and the Polish crown.[118]

Negotiations regarding the conditions of union hinged upon two general themes: doctrine and tradition. While the Roman Catholic Church insisted upon doctrinal uniformity, the

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[116] Kazimierz Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska: Zarys historyczny 1370-1632*, (Warszawa: Zakład Głowny, Kasa Imienia Mianowskiego – Instytut Popierania Nauki, 1934), 124-5 Jeremiah's visit and its political and religious implications are further discussed in the following chapter.

[117] Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 206-7.

[118] Key treatments of the Union of Brest include: Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Oskar Halecki, *Od Unii Florenckiej do Unii Brzeskiej*, vol 1, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo Wschodniej, 1997), Kazimierz Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska: Zarys historyczny 1370-1632*, (Warszawa: Zakład Głowny, Kasa Imienia Mianowskiego – Instytut Popierania Nauki, 1934), 263-315; Edward Likowski, *Unia Brzeska (r. 1596)*; Исидор Патрило, *Джерела і бібліографія історії української церкви*, (Рим: 1995).

Ruthenians demanded the maintenance of the ecclesiastical identity of the Kyivan Church, and of all liturgical and ritual practices of their Eastern traditions. Using the agreements established at the Council of Florence a century and a half earlier, they negotiated for a hybrid faith, incorporating Roman Catholic dogma, while maintaining Ruthenian traditions. The Ruthenian bishops were allowed to maintain an earlier definition of the procession of the Holy Spirit,[119] while accepting the Catholic doctrine on purgatory, as well as the primacy of the Papacy.[120] However, the bishops demanded that maintenance of all liturgical practices, the lay reception of the Holy Communion in both species (wine and bread)[121], as well as the maintenance a married secular priesthood.

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[119] The procession of the Holy Spirit, also called the the Filioque, refers to the portion of the Nicene Creed, which originally stated: "We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father." (Lat. "Et in Spíritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem: Qui ex Patre procedit.") However, in the Latin west, the usage "We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father *and the Son*." (Lat. "Et in Spíritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem: Qui ex Patre <u>Filioque</u> procedit.") was first utilized as a response to the Arian heresy, and henceforth, over course of the seventh and eight centuries was frequently used as an accepted part of Western Christian liturgy. Since that time, the Filioque was widely criticised by Eastern Christian divines, who viewed it as a dangerous innovation. Disagreements on the procession of the Holy Spirit were at least partly responsible for the East-West Schism of 1054. In later attempts to heal the divide between the Churches, the procession of the Holy Spirit was a major point of contention at Lyons (1274), Florence (1439) and Brest (1596). See: Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700)*, (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 198-85.

[120] *Analecta OSBM*, Series II, Sectio III, ed. P. Athanasius G. Welykyj, (Documenta unionis berestensis eiusque auctorum (1590-1600)), 68-71, "1. (...) sed eam sequamur, quam in evangelii et sanctorum Patrum religionis Grecae scriptis traditam habemus, nimirum Spiritum Sanctum non ex doubus principiis, nec duplici processione, sed ex uno principio velut ex fonte, ex Patre per Filium Procedere."
(however, we maintain that as in the Gospels and in the writings of the Greek Church Fathers, that the Holy Spirit does not have two origins or a double procession, but comes from one origin, or one source, proceeding from the Father through the Son.)
"5. De purgatorio nullam item movemus, sed volumus docetri as Ecclesia sancta."
(On purgatory we express no doubt, but are willing to be taught by the Holy Church.)
"15.(...) siquidem iam omnes in una Ecclesia et sub regimine union pastoris erimus."
(For as we are all in one Church, we shall have one shepherd.)

[121] Ruthenian bishops did agree to accept the legitimacy of the Latin Catholic communion while insisting on the preservation of their own customs regarding the Eucharist. See: *Analecta OSBM*, Series II, Sectio III, ed. P. Athanasius G. Welykyj, (Documenta unionis berestensis eiusque auctorum (1590-1600)), 68, "3. Sacramenta sanctissimi corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Cristi ut nobis, quemadmodum hucusque usi illis sumus, sub utraque specie panis et vini perpetuis temporibus integre inviolabiliterque conserventur."
(The sacrament of the most holy body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which we have come to celebrated from then until now, be celebrated by us under both species, bread and wine. This ought to be preserved for all times, in its entirety and without violation.)

The issue of a married Catholic priesthood was less contentious in the area of Eastern Europe than in the West. In fact, prior to the Great Schism in 1054 no official ban on clerical marriage had existed. Not until the First and Second Lateran Councils, of 1123 and 1139 respectively, did the Roman Catholic Church demand collective celibacy from its priesthood. This Catholic prohibition on clerical marriage came nearly a century after the East-West split. As such, it had no effect on the established eastern tradition of valuing clerical celibacy, but nevertheless allowing for clerical marriage prior to ordination. The Articles of the Union of Brest reflect this much. Whereas such issues as the procession of the Holy Spirit, the maintenance of a separate and autonomous Greek-rite episcopate and "the maintenance of ancient liberties granted by King Władysław"[122] are all addressed in relatively lengthy paragraphs, the issue of maintaining a married secular priesthood is barely granted one line, "The marriages of priests ought to remain intact, with the exception of those who are bigamists (married a second time after first wife died)."[123]Judging by this relatively sparse treatment, the Ruthenian episcopate was more anxious about potential violation of ecclesiastical governing structures and with receiving legal recognition and protection from the Crown, than they were about abrogation of clerical marriage.

Such an arguably carefree approach toward maintaining a married priesthood within a greater Catholic Church is certainly at odds with the continent-wide divisions over clerical celibacy. Indeed, the practice of clerical celibacy took on highly charged confessional contours during the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century.[124] Protestant reformers harshly

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[122] *Analecta OSBM*, Series II, Sectio III, ed. P. Athanasius G. Welykyj, (Documenta unionis berestensis eiusque auctorum (1590-1600)), 72, "21. (...) libertatibusque et prerogativis a Serenissimo olim piae memoriae Vladislao Rege concessis fruantur et gaudeant."

[123] *Analecta OSBM*, Series II, Sectio III, ed. P. Athanasius G. Welykyj, (Documenta unionis berestensis eiusque auctorum (1590-1600)), 69, "Matrimonia sacerdotalia ut integra constent, exceptis bigamis."

[124] A secondary issue was the issue of communion in both species, a practice shared with many Protestant churches

criticized the established Catholic prohibition on clerical marriage, claiming the monastic

maintenance of a celibate priesthood was fundamentally at odds with Holy Scripture. Marriage

and family life, they stressed, not celibate life in a monastery were the true Christian ideal.

Clerical marriage constituted such an important marker of the new confessional identity that the

first generation of Protestant reformers, including Martin Luther, Andreas Karlstadt and Philipp

Melanchthon all took wives. Henceforth, Catholic priests and monks who openly embraced the

Reformation married to demonstrate their new confessional identity. In this way, Catholics and

Reformers came to define themselves in oppositional terms with particular regard to celibacy and

clerical marriage.[125] However, the issue of a married priesthood was far less contentious in areas

of Europe with a large Orthodox population. The difference in tradition was a product of a

divided, but parallel Church history; far less threatening to Catholics in these locales, serving as

an identity marker of ethnic and historical tradition rather than ecclesiastical discord.

    With these issues of tradition and dogma successfully negotiated, the Greek-rite

Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic Church came into existence on December 24, 1595, when Pope

Clement VIII officially acknowledged the union of the Roman Church within the Orthodox

Church within the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian state. The Union was publically proclaimed

in the fall of 1596 and embraced by all but two Orthodox eparchies (Przemyśl and L'viv) in the

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[126] At a provincial council at the Church of St. Nicholas in

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[125] For information regarding the contending theological and social discourses on marriage in the Era of Reformation, see: Helmut Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400-1600,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 167-178.

[126] *O Jedności Kościoła Bożego pod Jednym Pasterzem i o greckiem i ruskiem od tej jedności odstąpieniu przez Ks. Piotra Skargę, S.J. wydanie szóste oraz Synod Brzeski i Obrona Synodu Brzeskiego przez tegoż Autora, wydanie piąte,* (Kraków: 1885), 235.

The gathered Ruthenian bishops included: The Metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus', Michał Rahoza; the Bishop of Volodymir (Volyns'kyi) and Brest, Hipacy Pociey, the Bishop of Luts'k and Ostroh, Cyril Terlecki; the Bishop of Polotsk and Vitebsk, Herman Zahorski; the Bishop of Pinsk and Turov, Jan Hohoł; and the Bishop of Chełm and Belz, Dionizy Zbirujski. Two bishops did not attend, repudiating the Union at Brest, namely, the Bishop of Przemyśl, Michał Kopystyński and the Bishop of L'viv, Gideon Bałaban.

Brest, the Latin Catholic episcopate together with the bishops and divines of the newly formed

Greek-rite Catholic Church, celebrated the Holy Liturgy and "with the utmost joy and piety,

partook in its most praiseworthy services, offerings and rituals of harmony with the Latin

Mass."[127]

While the Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic Church achieved the status of a state religion,

Orthodox Christians and Protestants had become embattled confessional minorities in the

Commonwealth. The Union of Brest initiated intense confessional antagonism between the

Ruthenian faiths, with the Uniate Church becoming the only legally recognized Eastern Church

in the Commonwealth. The Orthodox were left without legal recognition and many came to

share the Protestant view that Catholics were both a political and confessional threat. So deep

was the division that in 1599 Protestants and Orthodox nobles declared a general political

alliance against the increasing threat of Catholic renewal, moving closer not just politically but

socially as well. Following Brest, the Ruthenian Orthodox polemicists embraced a similar

rhetoric of the Pope as "anti-Christ," their churches existing in the same social spaces, forming a

united political front in the Sejm and cementing alliances with Orthodox-Protestant marriages

both within the Commonwealth and between Protestant Europe and Muscovy.[128]

Both religious camps saw their political fortunes decline in the Commonwealth following

the so-called "Deluge" (1648-1667). Various Protestant groups who looked toward the Lutheran

Swedish invaders for patronage, were treated as traitors once fighting ceased. The Anti-

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[127] *O Jedności Kościoła Bożego pod Jednym Pasterzem i o greckiem i ruskiem od tej jedności odstąpieniu przez Ks. Piotra Skargę, S.J. wydanie szóste oraz Synod Brzeski i Obrona Synodu Brzeskiego przez tegoż Autora, wydanie piąte* (Kraków, 1885), 249, "i tam z Wadykami i Duchowieństwem Greckiego Kościoła, Liturgii św. słuchali i nachwalebnej pnej służby i ofiary i obrządków zgody z łacińską Mszą pełnych, z radością i nabożeństwem zażywali."
[128] Andrej Kotljarchuk, "Ruthenian Protestants of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Their Relationship with Orthodoxy, 1569-1767," *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 12 (2007): 41-62.
See also: Aleksander Brückner, "Spory o Unię w dawnej literaturze, " *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 10 (1898): 587-8
Barbara Skinner, *The Western Front of the Eastern Church:Uniate and Orthodox Conflict in Eighteenth-Century Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia*, (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009), 25

Trinitarian Polish Brethren fared the worst. In 1658, they were formally expelled from the

Commonwealth, the largest number migrating to Transylvania, with smaller groups departing for

Silesia, Royal Prussia and the Netherlands.[129] The Orthodox, having been associated with the

Khmelnytsky Uprising and the Muscovite invasion from the east, were "othered" in a similar

fashion. The division of Ukraine between the Commonwealth and Muscovy in 1667 further

aided the Uniate cause. The cession of Kyiv to Muscovy left the remaining Orthodox in the

Commonwealth without the benefit of a Metropolitan.[130] Royal confessional policy, which

favored religious uniformity, actively promoted the nomination of pro-Union bishops to any

remaining open Orthodox sees. The Orthodox in the Commonwealth endured continued

attempts at evangelization for no more than a few decades following the Deluge. In 1691 and

1700, the last remaining Orthodox eparchies of Przemyśl and L'viv joined confessional union

with Rome.

HISTORICAL NARRATIVES OF CONTINUITY

The Catholic missionary project in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was both a

product of the Catholic Reformation's global evangelizing campaign and Ruthenian Catholic

discursive stratagem wholly unique to its location. Catholic polemicists from Poland-Lithuania

began writing imagined histories of ancestral continuity with Rome decades before the formal

Union of Brest, with the intention of uniting them into a single faith. These histories professed

ancient and longstanding bonds between the Ruthenians and Papal Rome, rendering Catholicism

as the indigenous faith and naturalizing acceptance of Papal primacy. This sacred history

proposed a direct line of inheritance from the founding of the Ruthenian Church to the throne of

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[129] Jerzy Topolski, *Polska w Czasach Nowożytynych (1501-1795),* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza, 1999), 556-7.

[130] Jerzy Topolski, *Polska w Czasach Nowożytynych (1501-1795),* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza, 1999), 555.

St. Peter, in historical union with Papal Rome. Situating Catholicism as the native historical faith, Ruthenian Orthodox clerics came to negotiate with Rome not for a conversion of their flocks, but for a union with Rome preserving Eastern rites, practices and customs.

Catholic polemicists had long used continuity claims to legitimate dogma and again deployed "continuity" to counter Protestant claims, presenting a historical narrative that revolved around periodic church councils and continuity through clerical apostolic succession. At the hierarchical apex of this line of succession was the Roman Pontiff and his claim to the keys of St. Peter. While the Ruthenian project of continuity was decidedly borne out of this Reformation moment in which each confession sought claim to Christ's true Church, it was also distinctive. Unlike Protestants, Ruthenian historiography looked to Church Fathers and Ecumenical Councils as well as the Gospel times and Apostolic Era, using ancestral Ruthenian identity as a legitimating marker. Moreover, while the Ruthenian missionary project bore much in common with Catholic histories, as indeed it was a part of that intellectual strain, it also manifested itself in the unusual way of drawing upon non-Catholic figures in its lineage.

Starting in the sixteenth century, Early Modern Catholicism, confronted by the forces of the Reformation, sought to establish legitimacy through more nuanced, detailed and elaborate histories of apostolic succession and ecumenical councils, thus effectively constructing an unbroken sacred history dating all the way back to apostolic times.[131] Partly in response to rival Protestant church histories, such as Matthias Flacius Illyricus' "Magdeburg Centuries," Cardinal Cesare Baronio composed his own monumental ecclesiastical history, the first volume of which appeared in 1588. The "Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198" or the "Ecclesiastical Annals from Christ's nativity to 1198," developed a history of the Catholic

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[131] Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 273-327.

Church from Christ's birth to 1198 in 12 folio volumes, each encompassing a century. Each of

the twelve folio volumes, composed between 1588 and 1607, affirmed the legitimacy of the

Catholic faith by meticulously placing the Church fathers, councils and affirmations thereof into

a continuous succession from the birth of Christ.[132] Baronio was forthright in the intentions of

his work:

> We shall demonstrate for every age that the visible monarchy of the Catholic Church was
> instituted by Christ our Lord and founded upon Peter and his true and legitimate
> successors, the true Roman pontiffs, and that it is preserved inviolate, religiously guarded
> neither broken nor interrupted but continuous forever.[133]

Baronio's history places the Church into an "inviolate" succession initiated by Christ himself,

and it is the unbroken quality of this line of succession which retrospectively grants the Christ's

blessing to the contemporary Catholic Church.

As Simon Ditchfield's recent work demonstrates, a number of Italian bishops and abbots

who were inspired by Baronio, employed archeology, archival research and critical evaluation of

source materials to compose sacred histories that demonstrated a continued line of existence for

their respective institutions. Ditchfield focused upon the histories of two Italian clerics[134] who

composed their local histories in the first half of the seventeenth century, scouring local archives

to create written narratives intended to protect their local religious customs, transforming

themselves from mere clerics to a local *eruditi* in the process. Some of these historical efforts

were able to recreate lineages back to apostolic times, thereby creating historical legacies which

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[132] Cyriac Pullapilly, Ceasar Baronius: *Counter-Reformation Historian*, (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975) and Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 281.

[133] Cited from: Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 283.
Original appears in the *Ad lectorem* section of: Cesare Baronio, Annales Ecclesiastici, Antwerp, 1609, vol 1: 33

[134] Pietro Maria Campi of Piacenza and Ferdinando Ughelli.

ecclesiastical elites could not easily ignore.[135] These local ecclesiastical communities took it upon themselves to draw up their own sacred histories as means of protecting themselves against not only the threat of "Protestant innovators," but also against the reforming spirit of an activist Tridentine Church, which in its reforming zeal, frequently sought to bring a sense of ordered uniformity to more particular Church units, such as dioceses, parishes, monasteries, or shrines.

While these continental historians to the west of the Commonwealth faced the dual challenge of Reformation "innovation" and Tridentine "standardization," Catholic writers of in Poland-Lithuania faced a third obstacle, the Eastern Orthodox Church and its longstanding and recognized history in the region. What developed from this was the emergence of an incredibly nuanced historical argument of Catholic continuity, underpinning the creation of a uniquely local manifestation of Catholicism, the Greek-rite Ruthenian Catholic Church. Writing in the same historical moment as Ditchfield's subjects, Lev Krevza, a post-Union Basilian Greek-rite Catholic monk, whose residence in Vilnius was far removed from the warm climes of the Italian peninsula, highlighted the local aspect of his history of the Ruthenian Church as particularly important. It was the very indigeneity of Krevza's historical narrative that demonstrated the legitimacy and continuity of his ecclesiastical institution. In this framework, the Metropolitanate of Kyiv was portrayed as the apex of the episcopal structure of the historical Kyivan Church and thus a determining factor in the fate of all the remaining Ruthenian bishoprics and monasteries.

Just as the local Italian history writers of Ditchfield's study, Krevza wrote in a style influenced by and akin to Baronio's "Annales." Temporally, the "Annales" and subsequent works of imitation, extended back into Apostolic times, drawing successive linkages with their respective local institutions. Yet unlike these Italian men of learning, Krevza faced a much more

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[135] Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 319.

daunting task. Whereas the heart of Italy had been safely in the bosom of the Roman Church for centuries, his own Ruthenian Church had only recently accepted the supreme authority of the Pope. Facing pressure from Latin clerics, many of whom criticized Greek-rite Catholicism as deficient in comparison to its Latin-rite sister, as well as from "disuniate" Orthodox, who viewed the acceptance of papal authority as breaking with ancient traditions, customs and lineages, Krevza felt compelled into composing his own Baronian-styled sacred history.[136]

However, the deployment of historical narratives of continuity in an attempt to legitimize and naturalize structures of power, had originated long before these Reformation-era polemicists began to construct their sacred Ruthenian histories. These narrative devices of continuity had a long tradition in medieval histories. As such, Hans Werner Goetz's examination of medieval historiography serves as a valuable touchstone in understanding the processes underpinning Ruthenian sacred histories. For Goetz, Medieval histories were, first and foremost, concerned with a history of salvation. They were concerned with interpretations of historical events as seen through the lens of divine agency and religious tradition, as opposed to verifiable accounts. A large portion of these histories were intended to promote the author's institution, whether a bishopric, church or a monastery in a favorable light, while fostering a kind of divine endorsement through narrative. To accomplish this end, medieval historians drew continuities between their respective institutions and sacred past, often "inventing" origins that were far older than reality might otherwise allow. Historical events were not only worthy of being noted but also could be rewritten and reorganized to achieve a particular end.

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[136] Omeljan Pritsak, "Introduction," in *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), xvi, xlvi-xlvii.
Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 278-85.

Unfortunately, it is not the purpose of this study to exhaustively describe the complexities involved in the nuanced and careful histories of medieval texts. However, in the broadest terms, medieval histories weaved ostensibly discontinuous historical moments into a tapestry of a unified historical narrative intended to bolster particular claims of power and authority. Disparate histories hailing the Rome of the Caesars and a medieval realm ruled by Charlemagne or Otto the Great could be regularized and made continuous by affirming a linear and legitimate succession of direct power. This notion of concept of the *translatio imperii,* or "transfer of rule," acted to fortify a contemporary ruler's claim to legitimate power.[137] The past was filled with sense and meaning that made it applicable to present situations, whether toward the resolution of contemporary problems or proving the validity of one's own position[138]

STANISŁAW ORZECHOWSKI

Despite the proclamation of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which affirmed baptismal validity by anyone whosoever uttered the proper invocation during the act, most secular Catholic divines in the sixteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian state insisted on re-baptizing any Orthodox Ruthenians who desired to become Catholics. This firm stand was formally reconfirmed on two separate instances in the first half of the sixteenth century. The Catholic Archbishop of Gniezno petitioned the Apostolic Capital on behalf of his episcopate to formally insist on a rebaptism requirement for all Orthodox converts. In 1517, just as the fires of the Reformation were beginning to smolder, Pope Leo X approved the request. As late as 1542, Poland-Lithuania's Latin episcopate reaffirmed this papal proclamation at a provincial synod, effectively condemning any clerical subordinates who desired to obviate the Orthodox rebaptism

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[137] Jacques LeGoff, *Medieval Civilization 400-1500*, (New York: Blackwell, 1988), 171-2.
[138] Hans-Werner Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein imhohen Mittelalter,* (Orbis mediaevalis. Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters, (Berlin: 1999), 3-21.

requirement.[139] Yet just as the Reformation was beginning to make inroads into the Polish-Lithuanian state, the contest regarding the propriety of Orthodox religious praxis was becoming the subject of a lively dispute.

The first Reformation-era polemicist to openly challenge the rebaptism requirement was the aforementioned Latin canon from Przemyśl, Stanisław Orzechowski. As an author, Orzechowski was tapping into a sentiment allegedly held by a number of Latin religious orders in the Polish-Lithuanian state, most prominently, the Bernardines.[140] As a self-described Ruthenian, a resident of the frontier on which Catholicism and Orthodoxy coexisted for centuries, in addition to being the (maternal) grandson of an Orthodox priest, Orzechowski possessed first-hand knowledge of Ruthenian Orthodox beliefs and religious practices. In his 1544 "Baptismus Ruthenorum," he argued against the persisting notion that any Orthodox Christian who desired to convert to Catholicism needed to be rebaptized. Within this treatise, he sought to demonstrate the close similarity between Ruthenian and Latin baptismal practices, above all, arguing for the validity of a baptism that was performed in the name of the Holy Trinity.

Orzechowski presented a historical argument for this validity. Alluding to a common patristic past, Orzechowski argued that the Ruthenians had accepted their way of baptizing from the Greeks. "If the Ruthenians are not Christians on the basis of a supposed invalidity of their baptisms," reasoned Orzechowski "then neither Athanasius, nor his ancient contemporaries: Cyril, Methodius, Chrysostom, nor indeed all of Greece was ever Christian."[141] Orzechowski

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[139] Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół Wschodni w Monarchii Jagiellonów w Latach 1506-1596," in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce,* vol 1, pt 2, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 99.

[140] Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół Wschodni w Monarchii Jagiellonów w Latach 1506-1596," in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce,* vol 1, pt 2, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 97.

[141] Stanisław Orzechowski, *Baptismus Ruthenorum : Bulla de non rebaptisandis Ruthenis*, 1544, 18, "si forma baptismi Ruthenis a Graecis tradita rata non esset, non Ruthenos solu christianos non esse, sed ne Athanasios

likewise pointed to more recent historical events. The validity of Orthodox religious beliefs (the Filioque notwithstanding) and practices, including baptism, were reconfirmed at the Council of Florence. Thus, Orzechowski argued, even though the Eastern Church had severed their union with Rome in the aftermath of the Council, it continued to be free from heresy: "It is irrelevant how harshly I judge the Greek people, nor what had transpired in the meanwhile – the work of Eugenius IV was perfection.[142] The Ruthenians are joined with the Greeks and are seen as their vassals. Thus, although the Greeks departed from the Romans, the Ruthenians did not depart very far from the Greeks." Due to their subordination to the Greek Church, the Ruthenians "did not stray far from the Greeks," and thus retained the core beliefs and practices that were confirmed at Florence.[143]

Toward the end of his life, starting in 1563 just as the Council of Trent concluded and still three decades prior to Brest, Orzechowski began correspondence with the Bishop of Ermland (Warmia), Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz. Hozjusz, who had already earned considerable fame for his outspoken defense of papal authority at the Council of Trent, was on the verge of inviting the Society of Jesus to staff a college and seminary in his diocese. Orzechowski's vision of a wider church union encompassing the Ruthenians, Armenians, Wallachians and Muscovites, in which the Papacy would merely maintain an honorary primacy, was far too radical for a staunch proponent of strong, centralized papacy like Hozjusz. The Cardinal, however, responded that the Ruthenians could be welcomed back into the Roman Church as "lost sheep," without surrendering their particular liturgical rites and practices. Nevertheless, continued Hozjusz, the

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quidem illos veteres: neque Chrysostomos: neque Cyrillos,neque Methodios, neque reliquam omnem Graeciam, christianos fuisse."

[142] Pope Eugenius IV presided over the Council of Florence between 1439 and his death in 1445.

[143] Stanisław Orzechowski, *Baptismus Ruthenorum : Bulla de non rebaptisandis Ruthenis*, 1544, 17, "quanque ego arbitrabar hominibus Graecis, ne quid obiiceretur, Eugenii quarti labore esse perfectum. quibus cum sint adiuncti Rutheni, videntur eo proprius abesse a Romanis, quanto hi a Graecis recesserunt minus."

precondition of Ruthenian acceptance of papal authority was beyond negotiation.[144] In the

succeeding decades, Hozjusz's conditions became a prominent feature in Jesuit polemical

arguments advocating Catholic union with the Ruthenian Church.

BENEDYKT HERBEST'S HISTORY OF RUTHENIAN "RETURN"

Hozjusz had long supported Jesuits and many Jesuits in turn, adopted his polemical

arguments for union. In effect, they became the intellectual inheritors of pro-union advocacy

through the advocacy of imagined Ruthenian histories based in continuity and "return." Jesuit

contemporaries Benedykt Herbest and Piotr Skarga articulated a version of Ruthenian history

which promoted an ecclesiastical administrative argument for a Church-wide union with Rome.

Herbest and Skarga, writing just two decades prior to confessional union, diverged in the

particularities of their historical claims, however, their call for union hinged on the same ultimate

conclusions. They argued that the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, as a subject of an

Islamic Ottoman Sultan, exemplified compromised religious leadership. Like Hozjusz, Herbest

and Skarga stressed the primacy of the Bishop of Rome. While their versions of Ruthenian

history were somewhat disconnected, their intent for future union was of a single mind.

There is little doubt that Skarga's works were far more popular than those of Herbest. As

an electrifying preacher at the royal court and the first rector of Vilnius University, his public

prominence assured him a wide readership. Actual print runs for his publications pertaining to

the Ruthenian Church have not been determined. "On the Unity," however, went through

several editions in the Commonwealth, notably in 1577, 1597 and 1610, all of which took place

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[144] Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół Wschodni w Monarchii Jagiellonów w Latach 1506-1596," in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce,* vol 1, pt 2, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 100.

in Skarga's lifetime and the latter editions coming after the Union of Brest.[145] His provocative

writing inspired a number of polemical responses from his confessional rivals. The first of these,

"On the One True Orthodox Faith" was composed in 1588 by an Orthodox cleric from Ostroh

known only as Vasyl, and followed up shortly by "Apokrisis, or a Reply to Books on the Brest

Synod," penned by a member of the Bohemian Brethren writing under the pseudonym

Christophorus Philaleth.[146] Response to Herbest's work is sparse by response. Additionally,

Skarga's work on the Ruthenian Church was reprinted over the course of several decades. There

is no evidence that Herbest's output was subject to the same demand. Nevertheless, the very

existence of Herbest's composition cannot be overlooked. In conjunction with Skarga's treatise,

Herbest helps delineate the specific and evolutionary approach toward continuity employed in

that historical moment.

While Benedykt Herbest's work was less developed than Piotr Skarga's, his histories

nevertheless articulated clear arguments for union. These works, both published in 1586 were

called, respectively, "An Argument of the Roman Church, Respectively for the Ruthenians and

Armenians" (Wiary Kościoła Rzymskiego wywody dla Rusi i Ormian osobliwie) appearing also

as "Brochure, Written for Ruthenian Conversion" (Broszura Benedykta Herbesta, dla Rusi

Nawrócenia Pisaney).[147] Whereas Orzechowski's prose spoke to ecclesiastical Catholic elites to

affect the internal Catholic discourse on Ruthenian Orthodox converts, Herbest was interested in

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[145] Stanisław Załęski, "Wstęp," in *O Jedności Kościoła Bożego pod Jednym Pasterzem i o greckiem i ruskiem od tej jedności odstąpieniu przez Ks. Piotra Skargę, S.J. wydanie szóste oraz Synod Brzeski i Obrona Synodu Brzeskiego przez tegoż Autora, wydanie piąte*, (Kraków, 1885), ix-xv.

[146] Oskar Halecki, *Od Unii Florenckiej do Unii Brzeskiej*, vol 2, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo Wschodniej, 1997), 64.
A reprint of Vasyl's "O Jednej prawdziwej prawosławnej wierze" may be found in:
Русская историческая библиотека, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 601-938.
For more on Philaleth's "Apokrisis abo odpowiedź na książki o synodzie brzeskim," see:
Tomasz Kempa, *Akademia i Drukarnia Ostrogska*, (Biały Dunajec: Biblioteka "Wołania z Wołynia," 2006), 54.

[147] A reprint of the document may be found as: "Broszura Benedykta Herbesta, dla Rusi Nawrócenia Pisaney," in:
Русская историческая библиотека, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 581-600.

a much larger readership. This was evident through both his arguments and his choice of publishing in vernacular Polish. Publishing in Polish, as opposed to Latin, offered the potential for Herbest's work to extend beyond the sphere of Catholic divines, to include Orthodox Ruthenian clerics and influential nobility, as well as aspire to attract the attention of the royal court.

Having lived in L'viv, a city with no fewer than three episcopal seats (Latin, Greek, and Armenian Apostolic), Herbest was concerned not only with the Ruthenian Orthodox he frequently rubbed shoulders with, but also with the members of the monophysite Armenian Apostolic church. Consequently, in his quest for a common religious past with the Roman Church, Herbest provided accounts of the major ecumenical councils. In that way, Herbest focused on Orthodoxy as one large ecclesiastical entity, without any particular attention toward idiosyncratic ecclesiastical entities located within it.

Herbest also spent much of his youth just outside Przemyśl where Catholic and Orthodox peaceable coexistence was a part of the daily fabric of life. So much was this the case that during his extensive journeys in the region in the 1560s, he stayed at the Orthodox monastery of Holy Grace near Staryi Sambir. If he had not been acquainted with Orthodox prayers and liturgies before then, it is quite certain he was thereafter. While at Staryi Sambir he also engaged the Orthodox Bishop of Przemyśl, Antoni Radyłowski, in lengthy discussions of theology.[148] These warm personal experiences, coupled with his deep personal religious convictions may have inspired some of the sentiments he expressed in the otherwise harsh "Broszura." There, Herbest wrote, "I would also not want to neglect the salvation of those who are *unknowingly*

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[148] Hieronim Eugeniusz Wyczawski, "Herbest, Benedykt," in *Słownik Polskich Teologów Katolickich,* vol. 2., ed. Hieronim Eugeniusz Wyczawski, (Warszawa: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1982)*,* 36-38.

separated from ecclesiastical unity."[149] Through these events, he became an inspired supporter

of a prospective Catholic-Orthodox union. Perhaps just as significantly, in 1566, while visiting

L'viv, he met Stanisław Orzechowski, apparently a few months before the canon's death.[150]

Whether Herbest ever managed to exchange ideas with the aged Orzechowski on matters of

confessional union, the modern scholar is left to guess. However, a careful reading of Herbest's

work on Ruthenian union demonstrates the extent of Stanisław Orzechowski's influence on this

Jesuit author.

From the very beginning of the "Argument" Benedykt Herbest is aware that he is

composing a history and propagating his argument of continuity through the arrangement of

historical events. "The finality of this ecclesiastical history" stated Herbest, "I have acquired

from certain respected writers, whom we refer to as Chroniclers and whose Histories will find

confirmation here"[151] Reflecting Hozjusz's correspondence with Orzechowski, Herbest

envisioned his notion of confessional unity as historically rooted in proclamations of Christ and

the apostolic authority of St. Peter, as embodied in the Papacy in his time. Throughout the

"Argument" Herbest was careful to delineate papal participation at the head of each of the seven

Ecumenical Councils, the authority for which was bestowed in patristic times: "The Holy Fathers

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[149] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 482,
"Nie chciałbym zaniedbać zbawienia y tych, ktorzy od iedności kościelney niebacznie są wyłączeni."

[150] Ludwik Kubala, *Stanisław Orzechowski i wpływ jego na rozwój i upadek Reformacyi w Polsce*, (Lwów: Wydawnicto Towarzystwa Nauczycieli szkół wyższych we Lwowie, 1870), 82
In his book, Kubala cites Herbest's travel diary:
"W Przemyślu zastaliśmy St. Orzechowskiego, który pisaniem i przykładem wiele ludzi wiódł do kościoła, z niemałym żalem teraz niedawno zmarłego. Siedział nad St. Hieronimem..."
(In Przemyśl we found Stanisław Orzechowski. His writings and exemplary lifestyle have led many toward the Church. It is with no small sadness we now say he has recently died. At the time, he pored over St. Jerome…).
Unfortunately, Kubala does not provide any specificities regarding where the archival source might actually be located.

[151] Benedykt Herbest, *Wiary Kościoła Rzymskiego wywody dla Rusi i Ormian osobliwie*, (Kraków, 1586), 1 verso,
"a ostatek Kośćielney tey Historiey / z Roku Pańskiego naznaczanie / brałem z pewnych a poważnych Pisarow / ktore Chronologi zowiemy; ktorzy też pewne Historyki, tak Laćińskie iako Greckie / tu potwierdzeniu pisania swego maią."
(the finality of this ecclesiastical history as well as the marking of the years of Our Lord, I have taken from certain respected writers, whom we refer to as Chroniclers, whose Histories will find confirmation here.)

have all ceded the foremost place at all Synods to the Roman Bishops: all because that throne was delegated from Saint Peter the Apostle."[152] Since the Eastern Church drew upon the theological authority of these seven ecumenical councils, Herbest's narrative subverted Orthodox claims in favor of the continuity of Pontifical authority.

However, much like Orzechowski, Herbest limited his imagined history to episcopal relations between Rome and Constantinople. Despite the titles of his treatise, both titles of which contain the word "Ruthenian," Herbest continued to treat Orthodoxy holistically, making the Byzantine Greeks the key actors of his historical narrative. In Herbest's sacred history, the Ruthenian Church is entirely tied to the Greeks, with no room for any historical autonomy of their own.[153] The historical fate of the Ruthenian Church is thus shown to be directly tied to the history of the entire Eastern Church, with Constantinople as its representative. Instances in which the Ruthenians could have been shown to act of their own historical volition are rendered insignificant, lost in the grander narrative arc of Greek – Roman interaction. Herbest's treatment of two important Ruthenian historical events is particularly striking. Prince Vladimir's conversion, cited in the text as 990, is shown as having taken place "under disobedience" to Rome.[154]

In the narrative of the Primary Chronicle, Vladimir's emissaries, sent out to find a new faith for his vast realm, are offered a choice between accepting Byzantine or Roman variants of Christianity. Upon returning to their master, the emissaries speak unfavorably of Latin

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[152] Benedykt Herbest, *Wiary Kościoła Rzymskiego wywody dla Rusi i Ormian osobliwie*, (Kraków, 1586), 2 verso, "RZYMskim Biskupom / na wszystkich Synodziech poszadnych / Oycowie S. Wszystcy wszędzie dawali mieysce naprzednieysze: a to dlatey mianowaney Katedry S. Apostoła Piotra."
[153] A notable example of this may be found in the closing section of the "Argument…":
Benedykt Herbest, *Wiary Kościoła Rzymskiego wywody dla Rusi i Ormian osobliwie*, (Kraków, 1586), 12 verso.
[154] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 598. "Rusnacy przysnali na wiarę pod posłuszeństwem [875] y pod nieposłuszeństwem [990] viną kościelną przyjęli [1440]."
(The Ruthenians converted to the faith under obedience [875] and under disobedience [990] accepting ecclesiastical union [1440].)

Christianity, their priests and ceremonies. In contrast, they are enraptured by what they witnessed during Byzantine liturgy. For Vladimir, the choice is a foregone conclusion, which Herbest accepted at face value. Yet this acceptance by Herbest has real consequences for his narrative. With one stroke, any attempt at constructing a sacred history of the Ruthenian Church is negated. The baptism of Vladimir, the key sacred figure in establishing the regional legitimacy of the Ruthenian Church, is cast as a negative. For Herbest, the Ruthenian Church has no legitimate origin of its own.

Herbest also argued that the Ruthenians accepted union with Rome in 1440 while under the pastoral care of "Isidor, a Greek metropolitan of Kyiv, a holy and learned man. He brought our Rus' along with Moscow toward ecclesiastical union [1440]. Upon this, Władysław, the king of Poland and Hungary granted liberties to their (i.e. Ruthenian) clergy [1443] the very same kind that the clergy of the Roman church still make use of." [155]

Aside from this note about a royal extension of clerical liberties to Ruthenian clergy and the baptism of Vladimir, Herbest seems almost unconcerned with the Ruthenian Church as a separate historical entity. Herbest viewed Orthodox Ruthenians as a mere extension of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, historically tied to whatever decisions the Patriarchate made. After a paragraph describing Isidor's post-Florentine exploits in Ruthenia and Muscovy, Herbest's narrative returns to Constantinople and the impending Turkish threat that looms over it. The victory of Mehmed the Conqueror, the smoldering ruins of Constantinople and the death of the last Byzantine emperor are the concluding events in Herbest's history. The century long gap between the fall of Constantinople and Herbest's own time is akin to a post-divine judgment

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[155] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 596, "Isidorus, rodzaiu Greckiego Kijowski mitropolit święty a vczony człowiek. Ruś naszą z Moskwą wiodł do vniey kościelney [1440] do kthorey gdy Ruś przystała, Władysław krol Polski y Węgierski dał też wolności [1443] ich przełożonym duchownym, ktorych duchowni kościoła Rzymskiego vżywają."

afterlife: static and unchanging. According to Herbest, the Greeks are suffering their just

punishment for rejecting union with Rome. The Greek Church, although still functioning as an

institution, exists in a kind of limbo, neither completely extinguished nor capable of history-

making autonomous action. For Herbest, the history of the Greek Church ceases entirely when

"the Turk appoints the Patriarch and the Archimandrites"[156] In Herbest's world-view, history is

cyclical, in which the Greeks (and the Ruthenians that stand beside them) are the biblical Jews of

old.

> When God wished to punish the Jews while they were still in his good graces, he gave
> them prophets. Now that the Jews are in the midst of God's ire, they have no prophets.
> So too are the Greeks the Ruthenians that stand beside them. God has taken everything
> away from them. They have no memory.[157]

The Greeks, having rejected the Papacy, are as the Jews who rejected Christ; both stand outside

of history, without "memory" and therefore their grand narrative is no longer being written. And

yet, for Herbest, the Ruthenians (and Armenians) stand apart from the historical Greeks and

Jews. Since neither suffers under the yoke of the infidel, their alienation may still be remedied,

as Herbest alludes to in his concluding prayer: "Lord Jesus, have mercy on the erroneous and in

your mercy bring them to the one common fold, under one shepherd, Peter, as established by

you."[158] Perhaps Herbest hopes that the autonomy of action denied to the Ruthenians in the

course of his narrative can be remedied in the future, should they choose to recognize the

headship of the Roman Papacy.

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[156] Benedykt Herbest, *Wiary Kościoła Rzymskiego wywody dla Rusi i Ormian osobliwie*, (Kraków, 1586), 11 recto,
"Od tego czasu Turek iuż daie Patryarchy / a wszystkie z Czerńców."
[157] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 597,
"Bog Żydy gdy w łasce karał, dawał im proroki: teraz iż w gniewie są Bożym, proroków nie maią. Także też
Grekom, y Rusi naszey przy nich, Bog wszystko odiął. Nie maią (...) pamięci."
[158] Benedykt Herbest, *Wiary Kościoła Rzymskiego wywody dla Rusi i Ormian osobliwie*, (Kraków, 1586), 11 recto,
"PAnie IESU tedy racz się na obłędnymi zmiłować / y przwiweść ie do twey Owczarnie iedney / pod iednego
Pasterza od ciebie stanowionego Piotra: AMEN."

Decrying its failure to remain in a sacred historical continuity with the Roman Church,

Herbest closes the "Argument" with a page-long denunciation of the Ruthenian Church. Labeled

on the margin as "Ruthenian foolishness and errors," Herbest's diatribe harkened back to the

discourse prior to Orzechowski and the beginning of the sixteenth century when even the validity

of Ruthenian Orthodox baptism was considered suspect.[159] "From the perspective of the

Sacraments," Herbest alludes to the Ruthenian practice of baptism, "they kill the souls of little

ones," perhaps because these children were initiated into a church of apostasy and, therefore,

damnation. The validity of other sacraments performed by the Ruthenians hardly fare better:

"they have no Episcopal Chrismation, know nothing of proper Absolution, perform acts of

idolatry before the Lord's Body and in Marriages lend themselves to Adultery."[160]

Consequently, contemporary readers may have easily drawn the conclusion that Herbest viewed

the Ruthenian Church as one in need of *re-conversion*, thereby closer to the Protestant

inhabitants of the Commonwealth, than to *reunion* of a sister church which fell into a momentary

lapse from unity with Rome. While Herbest initially offered a reasoned gesture of historical

continuity, as these invectives make clear, his history was ultimately one that admonished

sinners in the vernacular in the hope that they might realize their error and come to salvation.

PIOTR SKARGA: EVANGELIZER, POLEMICIST AND ARCHITECT OF THE UNION OF BREST

Piotr Skarga, Benedykt Herbest's contemporary, fellow Jesuit and resident of the Polish-

Lithuanian Commonwealth, also composed a Polish-language Ruthenian sacred history at this

time. However, Skarga's history differed in both its fundamental approach and conclusions.

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[159] Benedykt Herbest, *Wiary Kościoła Rzymskiego wywody dla Rusi i Ormian osobliwie*, (Kraków, 1586), 11 verso, "Ruskie głupstwo y Błędy."

[160] Benedykt Herbest, *Wiary Kościoła Rzymskiego wywody dla Rusi i Ormian osobliwie*, (Kraków, 1586), 11 verso, "Z strony też Sakramentów / Dziatek małych Dusze zabijają / nie maią Biskupiego Bierzmowania / ani wiedzą co to iest porządne Rozgrzeszenie / przy Ciele Pańskim dopuszczaią się Bałochwalstwa / w Małżeństwach dopuszczaią iawnego Cudzołostwa."

Rather than chastising Ruthenians for the sin of "schism," Skarga's history was a political bid for

their favor.   In fact, all evidence points to Skarga as the first Catholic polemicist of his age to be

truly concerned with a particular, or as Oskar Halecki calls it, "regional" union, limited to the

Orthodox inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Ambitions toward a more

inclusive universal union were to ultimately follow once a regional union was successfully

achieved.[161] While Skarga was well-known for his fiery rhetoric, particularly against

Protestantism, his Ruthenian history was careful, respectful and even addressed directly to the

Ruthenians themselves. For Skarga, uniting the Ruthenians with Rome was paramount in his

defense against the "heretical" Protestant incursions.

Like Herbest, Piotr Skarga's narrative history of continuity was influenced by his

location not only in time but also in place, where Orthodox and Catholics peacefully shared the

same civic space. Skarga's narrative response to that interaction was palpably different.

Whereas Herbest sought to convert all "sinners" of the Eastern Church, Skarga aimed principally

at Ruthenians, becoming one of the chief architects of the Union of Brest in 1596. Between

1571 and 1588 Skarga served in the capacity of a preacher and an educator in several places of

inter-confessional interaction, most notably in L'viv and Vilnius. Apparently, while preaching in

Vilnius, his sermons attracted a considerable audience of the "Greek religion," many of whom

not only attentively listened, but requested that the sermons be set in writing. The fundamental

cause for the composition of his polemic is not merely a vague concept of Christian unity – it is

the salvation of souls via a formal union with Rome.[162] In fact, while the bulk of his life's work

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[161] Oskar Halecki, *Od Unii Florenckiej do Unii Brzeskiej*, vol 2, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo Wschodniej, 1997), 199.
See also: Ks.Walerian Bugel, *W Obawie o Własną Tożsamość:Eklezjologia Unii Użhododzkiej*, (Lublin: RedakcjaWydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2000), 61-87.
[162] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 224-5, "Patrząc na sromotne rozerwanie ludu chrześcijańskiego tych zwłaszcza czasów naszych opłakanych (...) serdecznie się użalić i zasmucić musi, iż w takich niezgodach dusz, Krwią Bożą odkupionych, bez lidzby ginie."

consisted of anti-Protestant polemics, he wrote his earliest published piece, a history of the

Ruthenian Church, entitled "On the Unity of the Church of God," (O iedności Kościoła Bożego

pod iednym Pasterzem) during this time. Written in 1577, over the course of the next half

century "On the Unity" would become a seminal text in Catholic-Orthodox relations in the

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, providing a blueprint for a confessional union with Rome.[163]

Skarga's work bore as much in common with Herbest in the construction of historical

continuity as it differed in tone, purpose and conclusion. Both placed great importance on

Greek-Latin relations, common ecumenical councils, elevation of papal authority and the

legitimacy granted through narratives of continuity. Yet unlike Herbest, Skarga was content to

break with a strictly Byzantine-oriented narrative of Ecumenical Councils and Patriarchates,

engaging with Ruthenian history as a discrete entity. Toward this end, he devotes an entire

chapter to the conversion of the Slavs, arguing that geographic proximity ultimately determined

whether a particular *natio* accepted baptism from Rome or from Constantinople.

While Herbest denounced recurrent Greek heresies in his sacred history, Skarga's

condemnation was far more relevant to the specific condition of the Ruthenian Church. In citing

a historical pattern of Eastern heresies, Herbest derisively noted that, "all of these errors have

Greek names for it is the Greeks that begat them and persisted in them."[164] Skarga's polemic

was even less flattering in its description of the Byzantine Greek Church. However, in a gesture

of departure from Herbest, Skarga situated the Ruthenians as unfortunate victims of Greek

ecclesiastical policy. In creating Greek perpetrators and Ruthenian victims, Skarga focused

(Looking at this pitiful state of the Christian people being torn apart, especially in these tearful times, one must sincerely be remorseful and saddened at seeing countless souls living in disagreement lost, after having been redeemed by divine blood.)

The title of the actual text is: Piotr Skarga, *O iedności Kościoła Bożego pod iednym Pasterzem*, (Vilnius, 1577).

[163] Tadeusz Grabowski, *Piotr Skarga: Na Tle Katolickiej Literatury Religijnejw Polsce Wieku XVI, 1536 – 1612*, (Kraków: Nakład Akademii Umiejętności, 1913), 277.

[164] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 588, "Greckie imiona tym błędom dano, iż się w Grecyey wszczynali y tam trwali."

much attention on Prince Vladimir's active search for a new creed. Having taken the advice of

his envoys into consideration, Vladimir's decision was ultimately swayed by the splendor of

Greek visual arts. Skarga attributes his choice to a kind of barbarian simplicity that was over-

appreciative of exterior beauty, rather than philosophical wisdom:

> These (envoys) were simple and crude, since they only observed the external decorations
> of churches and paintings, which to them appeared more splendid and ornate among the
> Greeks. Thus, they choose to stand by the Greeks. At this time, the paintings and
> decorations of the Romans were old and faded by the years.

Skarga goes on to note that the more glamorous Greek decorations were due to a heretical

iconoclasm that had taken place earlier, the aftermath of which required a completely new set of

paintings and decorations.[165] "Had Vladimir's envoys arrived in Greece earlier," argued Skarga,

"when the Greeks dwelled in heresy and schism, expelling and burning images from their

churches, surely they would not have adopted their ceremonies."[166] The very folly of the Greeks,

i.e. destroying their ancient iconography and needing to build anew, was then the inspiration for

Vladimir's approbation.

Through this observation, Skarga may be intentionally playing with the trope of "Greek

trickery," a stereotype that originated in ancient Rome, but remained fashionable well into Early

Modern times. According to Dimiter Angleov, the Byzantines of Skarga's time were frequently

portrayed as effeminate, unwarlike, wealthy, perfidious and, above all, scheming.[167] Taking

these stereotypes into consideration, Skarga believed that there was an underlying cause to

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[165] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 386,
"Ktorzy iako prości a grubi, gdy tylko na stroie zwierzchowne y malowania kościołów y obrazow patrzyli, a u
Grekow świetnieysze a ozdobnieysze widzieli, z Greki przestać woleli. Na on czas v Rzymian obrazy y malowania
były stare y laty zbotfiałe."
[166] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 387,
"By byli ci posłowie Włodzimierzowi mało co przedtym do Grecyi przyjechali, (gdy heretyctwie i
odszczepieństwie będąc czas nie mały obrazy z Kościołów wyrzucali i palili) pewnieby byli ich ceremonij nie
obrali."
[167] Dimiter G. Angelov, "The Making of Byzantinism," in *12 February 1999, The First Annual Kokkalis Graduate
Student Workshop, Harvard University, 17 August 2009.*
.<http://www.hks.harvard.edu/kokkalis/GSW1/GSW1/01%20Angelov.pdf>

Vladimir being seduced by "exterior beauty" of the Greek churches. Referring directly to the iconoclast controversy, Skarga argued that in Vladimir's time "Roman images and paintings were old, wilted by age and time." "The Greeks," continued Skarga, "burned all their images and paintings just prior to that (i.e., Vladimir's) time, only to return to them with great desire after the Seventh Council, producing new and excellent (images) embellished with paints and detailed artwork."[168]

While Herbest was at best ambiguous regarding Vladimir's acceptance of pre-schism Christianity from Constantinople, Skarga emphasized that the Ruthenians "were baptized while the Greeks solidly stood by the Roman capital."[169] In itself, this historical detail may serve as a legitimizing factor for the Ruthenians, at least from the standpoint of a Catholic apologist. However, Skarga failed to follow up Prince Vladimir's choice with any suggestion of Ruthenian self-determination as its own ecclesiastical province, functioning autonomously outside of Constantinople and its patriarchal authority to speak for the Eastern Church. A key exception was Skarga's treatment of the Council of Florence in 1438, which briefly reunited the Eastern and Western Churches. Skarga gives centrality to the Kyivan metropolitan Isidor, a key participant in the Council, who later carried the letter of union to the "Ruthenian nations." In this instance, Skarga acknowledges a vocal, self-determinant Ruthenian ecclesiastical entity within the Eastern Church, as personified its energetic metropolitan and his pro-union activities. By outlining the friendly reception of Isidor's message in Poland-Lithuania, and contrasting it with the hostile encounter in Muscovy, Skarga also differentiated between those Ruthenians who

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[168] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 387, "Na on czas u Rzymu obrazy i malowania były stare, i laty a starością zwiotszałe; (bo ich nie palili ani wymiatali nigdy z Kościołów) a Grekowie mało przedtym obrazy wszystkie i malowania popaliwszy, z wielką je zasię po siódmym Zborze chęcią, jako gdy się co zgubionego najduje, wracali, i nowe a świetne stawiali, na farby się i misterne malarze przesadzając."

[169] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 387, "dobrą ś. katolicką wiarę przyięli, y w ten czas, gdy Grekowie mocnie stolicy Rzymskiey, iako głowy swey, trzymali."

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accepted the union (i.e., under the rule of the Polish king), and those who rejected it (the

Muscovites):

> For some time he [Isidor] preached and brought these Ruthenian nations which are under the rule of the Polish king and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania into holy union. But when he came to Moscow (for Moscow at this time did not have a metropolitan other than one in Kyiv), he, who was the bearer of Christ's peace, was seized and placed in prison for preaching union and the peace of Christ, which they called heresy.[170]

Indeed, it appears that within Skarga's polemic, Isidor is the saintly figure that clearly Vladimir

is not. Whereas Vladimir was little more than the leader of a rough and crude nation, far from a

glorious founder of new Christian realm, Isidor is a martyr-like figure, silently suffering and

anticipating a martyr's death that is diverted only by a divine intervention:

> For this divine truth and for Christian unity, in which he walked which like a righteous apostle of Christ and of which he was not ashamed of, and would deny it neither in prison nor while sitting in shackles. Instead, he humbly and meekly suffered, like a martyr of Christ. He prepared himself for death, for he heard that they aimed to kill him. However, like St. Peter, he was divinely freed from prison by the power of angels.[171]

Saintliness aside, Skarga's Isidor is a lonely, isolated figure. Like Herbest, Skarga said nothing

of Isidor's predecessor or any successors who desired to build on the legacy of Florence.

Barring this last example, perhaps the most solid proof of an absence of a sacred history of the

Ruthenian Church is his exhortation regarding a Roman-Kyivan union:

> O Ruthenian nation (...) return to these old holy Greek fathers, which lived in unity with the universal Church and the apostolic capital.[172]

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[170] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 457-8, "Przez nieiaki czas Ruskie te narody ktore są pod krolem Polskim y w wielkim księstwie Litewskim, do iedności ś. przywodził y nauczał. Ale gdy do Moskwy (bo Moskwa w ten czas nie miała inszego metropolita, iedno Kijowskiego) przyiechał, tenże Chrystusow pokoj przynoszący (...) poimany był i na srogie więzienie do Moskiewskiego posadzony o to, iż iedność y pokoy Chrystusow ktory oni kacerstwem zwali przynosił i odpowiedał."

[171] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 458, "Co on dla tey prawdy Bożey, dla iedności chreściańskiey, s ktorą iako prawy Chrystusow apostoł, chodził i ktorey się nic nie wstydził, ani w sprośnym więzieniu i okowach siedząc zaprzał, skromnie y pokornie iako Chrystusow męczennik cierpiał. Y na śmierć sie za to vmrzeć gotował, bo słyszał iż go zgubić chcieli. Lecz, iako Piotr ś., anielską mocą z więzienia wybawiony od Boga był."

[172] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 460, "Narodzie Ruski (...) wroć się ty do onych ś. oycow starych Greckich ktorzy w iedności powszechnego kościoła y stolice apostolskiey żyli."

Despite his discussion of the baptism of Vladimir or the role of a Kyivan metropolitan in the

Council of Florence and proclamation of union specifically to a Ruthenian and Muscovite

audience, Skarga harkened back to the patristic times of the ancient Greek Church Fathers, long

before there was a Ruthenian Church.

Skarga's narrative arc was far longer than Herbest's, carrying the theme of Ruthenian

suffering under Greek authority and because of "Greek trickery" as a fairly constant narrative

thread. In fact, Herbest's history fell into silence in the aftermath of the failed union after

Florence and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. Skarga's history continued, following

the arc of Ruthenian decline. Prince Vladimir, noted Skarga, was seduced by Greek artistic and

ceremonial beauty that was only recently restored after the Iconoclasm. Skarga also accused the

Greek Church of a more notorious falsehood:

> The Greeks have greatly cheated you, o Ruthenian nation, for while they have given you
> access to the holy faith, they have withheld the gift of their Greek tongue. Instead, they
> have allowed you to use this Slavonic, that you may never come to proper reason or
> learning. (...) This is how errors arise, when the blind lead the blind.[173]

Skarga's assertion is that the Ruthenians were seduced by Greek art and ceremony, but, in a twist

of irony, they had been led astray by not being taught Greek by their Mother Church. Skarga

decried this for depriving Ruthenians of knowledge of a classical language of learning and

proper understanding of theology. To this end, he argued that Slavonic was laden with the

deficiencies of vernacular tongues, lacking the kind of elaborate and diverse verbiage to

accommodate abstract ideas.[174] However, unlike Herbest, Skarga did not entirely negate

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[173] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 485-6, "Temu wielce cię oszukali Grekowie, narodzie Ruski, iż wiarę ś. podaiąc iężykać swego Greckiego nie podali. Aleć ba tym Słowieńskim przestać kazali, abyś nigdy do prawego rozumienia y nauki nie przyszedł. (...) Stąd nieumieiętność y błędy bez końca powstaią, gdy ślepi ślepe wodzą."

[174] Stanisław Obirek, "Teologiczne podstawy pojęcia jedności w dziele ks. Piotra Skargi O jedności Kościoła Bożego," in *Unia brzeska, geneza, dzieje i konsekwencje w kulturze narodów słowiańskich*, eds. Ryszard Łużny,

Ruthenian liturgical idiosyncrasy. Far from the acerbic tone of his counterpart, who declared

Ruthenian baptism was responsible for, "killing the souls of little ones," Skarga offered a more

cautionary note:

> O Ruthenian nation, the things that count are not those of ceremony, with which and
> without which faith can exist. It is not about singing "alleluias," nor about the holy water
> (as the Greeks tell us), nor about the longer or shorter fasts, nor about beards grown long
> or trimmed. It is about matters serving the holy faith, which must be professed for the
> sake of salvation, and without which there can be no healthy learning or the unity of faith.
> It is about one faith and one confession, one heart and one mouth, which ought to be
> among all the Christians of the world.[175]

Skarga may have been scathing toward the use of Slavonic as a language of learning, but he said

virtually nothing regarding its liturgical value. When viewed within this context, Skarga's tone

offers reassurance, rather than condemnation:

> You need not fear, oh Ruthenian nation, for your Greek liturgies and rites. In this union
> with God's church, you will not lose them. Instead, you will bestow upon them ever
> greater ornamentation and vivacity.[176]

Instead of focusing on unsettling differences, Skarga emphasized a vision of confessional union

that held nothing but advantage for Ruthenians. He cautioned and admonished the Ruthenians

not to take example from the "quarrelsome and disobedient Greeks" and "dwell in the latter's

errors and schismatic ways." [177] In his penned lamentations, Skarga recounted the former days of

Ruthenian unity with Rome and decried the now, "pitiful state of the Christian people being torn

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Franciszek Ziejka, Andrzej Kępiński, (Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych
„Universitas", 1994), 193.

[175] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 477-
8, "Zwierzchnym ceremoniam y obrządkom więcey dufaią niźli trzeba. (...) Tu, iako baczysz narodzie Ruski, nie
licza się rzeczy te ktore ku ceremonyam, to iest ku temu, na czy wiara nie należy, służą, z czym y bez czego wiara
być dobra może. Nie idzie tu o śpiewanie alleluiey, ani o święconą wodę (iako nam Grekowie zadaią), ani o
dłuższe, albo krotsze posty, ani o brody zapuszczone, albo podstrzygane, ale o rzeczy wierze ś. służące, ktore
wyznac na zbawienie potrzeba, i bez ktorych zdrowa nauka y cała wiara nie pomoże, a o ktorych iedna wiara y
iedno wyznanie, iedno serce y iedny usta być maią między wszystkimi na świecie chrześciany."

[176] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 494,
"A tak się tobie narodzie Ruski o twoie nabożeństwa y obrządki Greckie bać nie trzeba! W tym ziedoczeniu z
kościołem Bożym nie vtracisz ich, ale ie ozdobisz y ożywisz sobie na zbawienny pożytek."

[177] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 477-
8, "aby upor burzliwych a nieposłusznych Grekow uznawszy, odszczepieństwa y błędów ich nie naśladowali."

apart, especially in these tearful times. Indeed, who would not feel remorse and sadness at seeing

so many (Christian) souls living in disagreement and falling into perdition, especially after

having been redeemed by (Christ's) divine blood."[178] Drawing upon the event of Christ's

crucifixion as redemption by divine blood and the common historical bond that it established

since Gospel times, Skarga asserted that a return to union was owed to the Ruthenians as a kind

of holy inheritance. In order to entice them to claim their birth right, Skarga offered more than a

vague concept of Christian unity. Instead, he urged a formal union with Rome on the basis of the

Council of Florence. Upon returning to Rome, the Ruthenians would be blessed with access to

languages of learning and the literary bounty they entailed along with a simultaneous respect for

their ritual differences, no matter how much they differed from those he recognized as his own:

> In this union, there need be no fear for your Greek ceremonies and rites. (…) In its
> variety (without discord) the Church of God is like a Queen, dressed in many colours and
> adorned with varied precious stones and pearls. In her garden, she has herbs and trees,
> foliage and flowers of all kinds, all equally graceful and pleasing. In the Latin Church,
> there are various ceremonies, some in bishoprics, some in monasteries. In Milan, some
> celebrate the holy Mass in the Roman rite, others in the rite of St. Ambrose, and the
> Church joyously sees and permits this, so long as there is no difference in faith, and the
> unity of the Church is not shattered.[179]

Skarga's metaphor of the Roman Catholic mother church as a queen, like the Holy Mother,

Queen of Heaven is one that is both seductive and comforting, perhaps echoing the oratory he

had been famous for as a court preacher. Bereaved Ruthenian children could be welcomed by

the loving embrace of a mother church offering a fruitful bounty of riches. There is "no need to

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[178] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 224-5, "Patrząc na sromotne rozerwanie ludu chrześcijańskiego tych zwłaszcza czasów naszych opłakanych (...) serdecznie się vżalić i zasmucić musi, iż w takich niezgodach dusz, Krwią Bożą odkupionych, bez lidzby ginie."

[179] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 492-3, "Bo Kościół Boży rozlicznością (bez sprzeciwności) przybrany jest jako Królowa, w farby szat i kamieni a pereł rozmaitych. W ogrodzie swym ma zioła i drzewa, liścia a kwiatów rozlicznych, a wszystko wdzięcznych a miłych. W Łacińskim Kościele najdują się rozmaite Ceremonie, to w Biskupstwach, to w Zakonach. W Medyolanie jedni Mszą świętą obyczajem Rzymskim, drudzy obyczajem Ambrożego św. sprawują, a przedsię Kościół św. rad widzi i dopuszcza, byle się tym różna wiara nie czyniła, a jedność Kościoła świętego nie targała."

fear,"[180] wrote Skarga, for Ruthenians would find not just solace but absolute respect and enrichment in this union.

Where the Greek Church had forsaken the Ruthenians to cultural sterility and spiritual barrenness, the garden of the Roman Church promised the "joyous" cultural, spiritual and intellectual flowering of the Renaissance. While both Herbest and Skarga extended their histories of the past into projections of the future, they imagined very different possibilities. Herbest envisioned a contrite, penitential Ruthenian (and Armenian) return to Rome, in which divine grace and forgiveness were the ultimate reward. Skarga, while far from denying the divine benefits of such a union, also offered a more positive, pragmatic and politic vision, which included learning, respect for tradition, as well as worldlier, political benefits. Where Herbest wrote the history of Eastern Churches as stagnated since the fall of Constantinople and damned until under Rome, Skarga clearly believed that the best chapter of a Ruthenian sacred history was yet to be written. In so doing, Skarga eschewed notions that Ruthenians would be abandoning the faith of their forefathers.

LEV KREVZA'S PARTLY SUPPRESSED UNITY

The 1596 Union of Brest fulfilled Skarga's aspiration for confessional union and ushered in a new phase of historical ecclesiastical constructions asserting sacred continuity. The principal architect of this new historical vision was Lev Krevza. A Basilian Father and a first generation Uniate (Greek-Rite Catholic), Krevza wrote in the revolutionary historical moment following the Union of Brest. The Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic Church was a nascent addition to Christendom and a pioneering creation at that. As pioneering polemicists are wont to do in the

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[180] *Русская историческая библиотека*, vol 7, (C. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 494, "bać nie trzeba."

face of potential instability, Krevza built upon the imagined histories of past writers to offer a new and radical narrative for his present circumstances.

Krevza also took inspiration from a new model of ecclesiastical histories, foremost among which was Cardinal Cesare Baronio's monumental "Annales Ecclesiastici," which he cites in his work.[181] Drawing heavily from the works of Skarga, Krevza's polemic spoke to a different audience and a different world, one already shaped by the Union of Brest. Krevza's work, like the preceding Ruthenian ecclesiastical histories, was published in Polish, ensuring a wide readership among lay and ecclesiastical social elites. Unlike his polemical predecessors, Krevza intended his words be read by the "disuniate" members of the Orthodox clergy and high nobility, those who purposely rejected the union.[182] Whereas Skarga's "On the Unity" has been credited as fundamental in orchestrating the Union of Brest, Krevza's "Defense of Church Unity" resulted in a large number of converts from among those who initially did not accept the proclamations of the 1596 council.[183] According to Dorotei Lecykovych, the head of the beatification committee for Josaphat Kuntsevych[184] in 1628, the "Defense of Church Unity" was

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[181] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 33, 126, "Barroni wypisuie y powiada... / Według Barroniusza roku pańskiego 1008..." ("Barroni" writes and informs... / According to Barronius, in the year 1088...).

[182] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 89, "Wieksza nie rowno część przeciwników jest taka którzy chwalą Cerkwie Ruskiey z Rzymską w samey rzeczy iedno sposob iey ganią mowią bowiem że starszy naszy nieporządnie do niey przystąpili." (The majority of (our) opponents are those who praise the union of the Ruthenian and Roman Church in itself, but condemn it saying that our elders did not properly affect it.)
According to Zbigniew Wójcik, Krevza is probably making reference to lay opponents of the union, stating that: by simplifying the issue, it is not inappropriate to state that "after the Union of Brest we are forced to encounter, on the one hand, a hierarchy without the faithful, on the other, the faithful without a hierarchy."
See: Zbigniew Wójcik, *Wojny Kozackie w Dawnej Polsce*, (Kraków: KAW, 1989), 22.

[183] Alphonse Guépin, *Un apôtre de l'union des églises au XVIIe siècle. Saint Josaphat et l'église greco-slave en Pologne et en Russie.* vol. 1, (Paris, 1897), 183.

[184] Josaphat Kuntsevych (ca. 1580-1623) was a formative figure in the immediate aftermath of the Union of Brest. Having received a Jesuit education in Vilnius, he joined the Holy Spirit monastery. While in Vilnius, he met Uniate Metropolitan Józef Welamin Rutski, with whom he collaborated to reform Ruthenian monasticism, becoming, himself one of the founding members of the Order of St. Basil the Great (OSBM). In 1618, he was consecrated as the new Uniate Bishop of Polatsk; his zeal resulting in many converts but as many enemies. While visiting Vitebsk, he was murdered by a mob of Orthodox burghers, who then desecrated his body and dumped it into the Dvina River.

distributed specifically to reinforce a discursive link that emphasized the ancientness of the

dealings between the Rus' and Rome.[185]

Krevza's historical treatise functioned to strengthen, legitimize and mythologize Greek-

rite Catholic identity through a sacralization of Ruthenian history. In creating this sacred past,

Krevza also created silences. Narratives, by their very nature, "are made of silences" and the

nature of Krevza's silences are revealing.[186] While exhaustively connecting Ruthenian history to

Roman Catholicism from apostolic times to the Ruthenian union with Rome, he nonetheless

omits, in toto, mention of the Union of Brest. Such was Krevza's intent, to naturalize the

profound restructuring of religious authority and order by creating a history anxiously denying

its novelty. Krevza was an inheritor of an intellectual genealogy establishing narratives of

continuity in Ruthenian history, but it was Krevza's radical rendering of the past that took hold

and characterized the intellectual framework shaping this historical moment.

When compared to Piotr Skarga, substantially less is known about Lev Krevza's life.

Even his name is subject to question: on the printed title page of his "On the defense of Church

Unity, or the proofs by which it is shown that the Latin and the Greek Church ought to be united"

his name is displayed as a declension of "Leon Krevsa."[187] The author of this text was probably

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In 1642, due in large part to Rutski's efforts, he was beatified by Pope Urban VIII. His cult was widely propagated by the Basilians which he originally helped to reorganize. In 1867, he was canonized by Pope Pius IX.
See: Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół Unicki w Polsce w latach 1596-1696," in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 1, pt. 2, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 296, 302-3

[185] Bohdan Struminsky, "Introduction" in *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija,* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), l.
See also: Stefan Rohdewald, "Medium unierter konfessioneller Identität oder polnisch-ruthenischer Einigung? Zur Verehrung Josafat Kuncevyčs im 17. Jahrhundert." in *Kommunikation durch symbolische Akte. Religiöse Heterogenität und politische Herrschaft in Polen-Litauen*, ed. Yvonne Kleinmann, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Velag, 2010), 271-90.

[186] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 152.

[187] The Polish title is displayed as: "Obrona Iednosci Cerkiewney, abo Dowody ktorymi sie pokazuie iż Grecka Cerkiew i Lacinska ma być ziednoczona." Krevza's name on the same page appears as a genitive: Przez Oyca LEONA KREVSE, Archimandrytę Wilenskiego."

born sometime around 1569 as Lavrentij Rzewuski, from a noble Ruthenian family. Lev's

grandfather, who apparently suffered from crooked ears, was given the name "Krzywouszy,"

which Lev himself adopted. Sometime around 1603, while a student at the elite Collegium

Graecum in Rome, he became known as "Kreuza", the Slavic Krzywouszy being too trying on

Italianate tongues. After a ten year stay, Krevza is said to have left Rome with the title of

master of theology from the prestigious Collegium Graecum.

These years in Rome must have been formative for the way Krevza eventually conceived

of his history of the Ruthenian Church. Krevza's decade-long stay in Rome just after the Union

of Brest (roughly beginning in 1603 and concluding in 1613) coincided with Baronio's tenure at

the Vatican Library and the volume-by-volume publication of the first edition of the "Annales,"

beginning in 1588 and concluding in 1607. Omeljan Pritsak suggests that the kind of historical

synchronism pioneered by the Lutheran historian Mathias Flacius Illyricus in the "Magdeburg

Chronicles" (1539-1541) and in Cesare Baronio's "Annales Ecclesiastici" (1588-1607) was

already well established in Krevza's time. While in Rome, Krevza must have been at least aware

of the periodic publication of successive volumes of the "Annales." In 1604, the publication of

volume XI even caused a political incident, as the Habsburgs took offense at Baronio's assertion

that eleventh century Papacy had granted suzerainty of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily not to

the Habsburgs' ancestors, but to the Normans![188]

Upon his return to the Commonwealth, Krevza joined the newly formed Greek-rite

Catholic order of St. Basil the Great, working alongside Metropolitan Welamin Rutski[189] and

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Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), i.

[188] Omeljan Pritsak, "Introduction," in *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), xvi, xlvi-xlvii.

Simon Ditchfield*, Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 278-85.

[189] Rutski will feature prominently in the next several chapters, particularly "The Apostolic Imprint."

Josaphat Kuntsevych.[190] Shortly thereafter, Krevza served as the archimandrite of the Holy

Trinity Monastery in Vilnius. Holy Trinity not only served as the leading center of Uniate

intellectual thought, but also played the role of a seminary to train a new generation of priests.

In 1617, Krevza's, "On Defense of Church Unity" was finally published.[191] Intended as a

polemical work defending the Union of Brest, Krevza chose to provide a much more expansive

and, like the Italian clerics inspired by Baronio, a very locally oriented sacred history in the

"Defense of Church Unity." It seems little wonder that at the heart of this project lay the idea of

apostolic succession. As writers of history may have sought to legitimize a contender for the

throne through imaginatively constructed genealogies back to ancient monarchs, so too did

Krevza seek to legitimize the Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic Church through a sacred history

charting its holy inheritance back to the Apostolic Era. Perhaps in a nod to Skarga's

ecclesiastical genealogy, Krevza repeated three points that the Jesuit originally outlined in his

"On the Unity." At the pinnacle of Krevza's historical imaginary stood Christ, who, according to

the gospel of Matthew, named Saint Peter as his successor on earth. Saint Peter was then

followed by orderly line of successors, in the form of the Roman Popes.[192] A central third point

was the claim that the Rus' was baptized before the Greeks while the Greek and Roman

Churches were in schism. Lastly, the Union of Brest, the name of which Krevza avoids

altogether, was simply the most recent reaffirmation of a common ecclesiastical legacy.[193]

Since tradition, precedent and continuity were crucial legitimizing factors in the

confessional struggles in Early Modern Europe, it was not sufficient for Krevza to merely accept

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[190] Bohdan Struminsky, "Introduction" in *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), xlviii-xlix.
[191] Edward Ozorowski, "Kreuza-Rzewuski, Wawrzyniec Leon," in *Słownik Polskich Teologów Katolickich*, vol. 2. ed. Hieronim Eugeniusz Wyczawski, (Warszawa: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1982), 425-6.
[192] Matthew 16:18, "And I say to thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."
[193] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), ii-iii.

the most recent union with Rome as a re-conversion. Intent on proving the time tested validity of his Church, Krevza stated that "to be in unity is not an innovation, but something ancient."[194] Yet how to demonstrate the ancientness of an institution that only recently (re-)affirmed its obedience to the Papacy? Since Krevza could not delineate an unbroken line of continuity in his succession of Ruthenian Metropolitans, an ancient union-oriented spirit, as opposed to unbroken continuity became Krevza's benchmark of legitimacy. Instead of making reference to apostasy or schism, he referred to the permutations in the fabric of unity between the baptism of Vladimir and the Union of Brest as periods of "partly suppressed unity."[195]

Seeking to construct his ecclesiastical history on a firm foundation, Lev Krevza carefully outlined the origin of the Ruthenian Church. He traced this beginning back to the baptism of the Rus'. Resorting to sacred numerology, Krevza demonstrated that it took no less than three attempts before the Rus' could be baptized as a people. He traces the first baptism Cyril and Methodius' mission to the Slavs. The second baptism he attributes to the conversion of Olga. Finally, the third involves a "common baptism" which Vladimir accepted at Chersonesus.[196]

According to Krevza, the absence of a capable clerical corps condemned these initial attempts. Cyril and Methodius' mission to the Slavs failed to take root because, "these few Christians soon disappeared, because it seemed they had no shepherds."[197] This clerical shortage, according to Krevza, resulted from a crisis of leadership, due to "the turmoil which (the

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[194] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 126, "toć nie nowina być w iedności, ale starożytność."

[195] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), iii, "tę iedność ... zatłumioną."

[196] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 54, "Ostatni a powszechny krzest / przyięty iest od Włodzimierza / wnuka Olgi w Chersonie."

[197] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 54, "że podobno Pasterzów nie mieli."

schismatic) Photius had then caused in Constantinople."[198] Olga's conversion, despite her personal piety, likewise failed, since the early Rus' "did not have teachers"[199] to help instill learning.

Krevza's account of the two unsuccessful historical baptisms of the Rus' may be read as a projection of the state of the Ruthenian Church before the Union of Brest. Undoubtedly aware of the role of lay religious brotherhoods in Church reform and their challenge to episcopal authority and dignity, Krevza reflected on the dangers of a church without bishops acting as shepherds. Likewise, the cited absence of absence of teachers could be read as reflecting the urgent need for an active, educated parochial clergy, the kind aspired to by the pre- and post-Union Ruthenian Church. Lastly, his reference to the Photian turmoil in Constantinople could be read as an allusion to the crisis of the Ecumenical Patriarchate under contemporary Turkish rule, during which seat was left to the whim of the Porte's religious politics. Krevza's account of this incident is pregnant with allusions to historical events in and around his own time. Cyril and Methodius circumvented Patriarch Photius and sought approval directly from the Papacy in order to "bring the faith to the Slavs."[200] For those familiar with Pociey and Terlecki's mission to Rome just prior to the Synod at Brest, the event may have strengthened the historical justification for foregoing deference to the Patriarchate and appealing directly to the Papacy.

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[198] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 54, "dla zamieszania które pod ten czas czynić począł Fociusz w Konstantynopolu."

[199] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 125, "podobno też y Uczycielów nie miała."

[200] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 54, "wielkim dowodem iest sprawa świetych Apostołow naszych Słowieńskich Metodego y Cyrilla / ktorzy pod ten czas gdy się Fociusz w Konstantynopolu buntował przeciw Papieżowie / po błogosławieństwo iezdzili do Rzymu (...) wysyłani byli ieszcze (...) do kraiow Słowieńskich / dla nawracania ich na wiarę."
(A great proof of this (i.e., Papal primacy) is the matter of our holy Slavic Apostles, Cyril and Methodius, who, at a time when Photius in Constantinople revolted against the Papacy, sought out blessings in Rome (…) they were sent (…) to Slavic countries to convert them to the faith.")

In addressing the third baptism of the Rus', Krevza demonstrated the centrality of Vladimir as the patron saint of the Ruthenian *gens*. Unlike the baptism of his grandmother, Olga, the third baptism is not merely one of Vladimir the individual, but one of an entire people (gens). Furthermore, it was undertaken entirely *at the secular ruler's initiative*. In this way, the centrality of the baptizing patron saint's ruler was confirmed. Echoing Skarga, Krevza portrayed Vladimir as an active agent choosing a particular *rite* within the same Christian faith, as opposed to being a passive recipient of a new creed.[201] This has an important significance for Krevza himself, as he was eager to demonstrate his allegiance to union with Rome as a conscious choice, tying the Ruthenian return to Rome not as imposed, but freely chosen. This statement of free-will and self-determination was important as the Greek-Rite Church faced scrutiny from both advocates of Orthodoxy and the established Roman Church. A well-articulated historical precedent offered a narrative of legitimacy for the Ruthenian Greek-Rite Church's existence. As the historical and legitimate legacy of the Ruthenian people, this discourse provided a rhetorical defense to barbs from either side.

Having established the origins of the Ruthenian Church, Krevza sought to prove its historical legitimacy by demonstrating the apostolic succession of its Metropolitans. Even though the Ruthenian Metropolitanate was suffragan to the See of Constantinople, Krevza attempted to demonstrate that even though the Greeks broke with Rome, "the Rus' knew little

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[201] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 124-5, "Ostatni a powszechny chrzest / przyięty iest od Włodzimierza wnuka Olgi (...) a za iego powodem wszystkiey Ruskiey ziemie. (...) Iż w Jedności ś. na on czas była Cerkiew Wschodnia z Zachodnią (...) ten troiaki krzest Ruś w iedności ś. z Kościołem Rzymskim przieła."
(The final baptism was of Volodymir, grandson of Olga, and with him, the entire land of the Rus' (...) for the Eastern and Western Churches were in unity at the time, thus when Rus' accepted its triple baptism, it did so in unity with the Roman Church.)

about this and, on the contrary, were often not subordinated to the patriarchs."[202] Consequently,

since the Ruthenian Church was frequently not aware of the schism between Rome and

Constantinople, their potentially dangerous sin of schism was alleviated through their ignorance

of the events transpiring between the two episcopal sees. By performing this kind of Jesuit-like

casuistry, Krevza (himself a member of the new Jesuit-inspired Basilian order) sought to

demonstrate that an absence of a sustained contact between Kyiv and Rome did not necessarily

preclude Kyivan allegiance to the Papacy, even in times of a continued east-west schism. More

importantly still, Krevza dispelled the kind of narrative that had been promoted by his Jesuit

polemical predecessors. Accordingly, Ruthenians were not merely historically passive underlings

of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Instead, Kyivan Metropolitans could act independently of and,

like Vladimir, the founder of the Ruthenian Church, actively choose the Roman Papacy as their

ecclesiastical master.

In order to promote his argument of "partly suppressed unity," Krevza attempted to

demonstrate that instances of schism between Rome and Kyiv were something of a historical

aberration. His vision of a historical march toward union was one in which the Ruthenian

episcopate played the key role. This emphasis on episcopal activism reflected the Ruthenian

bishops' attempt to marginalize the role of the lay religious brotherhoods and Orthodox nobility

who, in Krevza's time, played a key role in Orthodox religious life. Making clerics the heroic

protagonists and omitting lay religious figures, effectively cut the latter from the religious

narrative of the Commonwealth. Since the Union of Brest was initiated and brought to

completion by bishops, Krevza obviously had an interest in making the episcopate the chief

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[202] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), ii, "y choć się potym Cerkiew Grecka od tey jedności oderwała, Ruś mało o tym wiedziała y czasem często Patryarchom nie podlegała."

actors of in his sacred history of the Ruthenian Church. To this end, Krevza proceeded to

enumerate the successive Metropolitans of Kyiv from the very establishment of that episcopal

seat. In doing so, he attempted not only to demonstrate the historical continuity of the episcopal

institution, but, more importantly for his historical argument to prove that only a small fraction

of the Kyivan metropolitans were *consciously* in schism with Rome.

In Krevza's narrative, the origin of the Ruthenian Church as an institution began with the

consecration of Michał, a Greek, as first Kyivan Metropolitan, consecrated in the year 1000. His

installation took place during the tenure of Patriarch Nicholas Chrysoberges.[203] Within Krevza's

scheme, these non-Ruthenian episcopal origins are not at all problematic, since at this time the

Patriarchate had not yet broken with Rome.

Echoing Skarga, Krevza argued that historical events like the baptism of the Rus' and the

installation of the first Kyivan bishop did not merely place the Ruthenians in the bosom of the

Greek Church, but that of the "Universal Church" and its promise of collective salvation: "Since

we are (all) Christians, it is not this church nor that church that has authority over us, but the one

Universal Church which contains all of these."[204] It must be noted that this step was at least as

fundamental to Krevza's sacred history as his account of the baptism of Vladimir, since it

pointed to the very origins of a Kyivan Metropolitanate, without which the conversion of the

Ruthenians would have been as abortive as the first two baptisms of the Rus' which have been

described above. Once again, Vladimir's baptism was deemed successful not because it

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[203] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 56, "1. Pierwszy Metropolita od Patriarchi Mikołaja Chrysowercha około Roku 1000. Ruskim narodom podany był imieniem Michał Greczyn rodem ten przyiachawszy do Kijowa z inszemi Episkopami Ruś trzcił y Episkopy po pewnych mieyscach stanowił."
(The first Metropolitan came from the Patriarchate of Nicholas Chrysoberges circa year 1000. He was introduced to the Ruthenian nation as Michał, a Greek. Having arrived in Kyiv with other Bishops, he baptized the Rus' and seated Bishops in certain places.)
[204] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 70, "Z tad żesmy Chreścianie Cerkiew do nas ma prawo nie ta nie owa ale Cerkiew która w sobie zawiera te i one."

converted a ruler, indeed, such a success was already accomplished through the conversion of Olga, but precisely because it encompassed the entire *gens ruthenorum*, and followed it up with a lasting episcopal seat capable of establishing and caring for its own suffragan bishops while managing the ecclesiastical affairs of the Ruthenian Church as a whole. The absence of such an establishment would have rendered the newly converted Ruthenians as nothing more than perpetual recipients of outside missionary activity, consistently incapable of managing the spiritual lives of their laity. Once again, Krevza hints at the importance of a Kyivan Metropolitanate, separate from Constantinople, divorced spatially and administratively from the historic conflicts between the two great seats of the Eastern and Western Churches. Although tangential to Herbest and Skarga, the role of Vladimir and the baptism of the Rus' eventually served as an important starting point for Krevza's later arguments regarding the Kyivan Metropolitanate's ability and legitimacy in making its own choices.

It was in his description of the fourth Kyivan Metropolitan that Krevza began to construct sacred history of the Ruthenian Church that could appear to his detractors as no longer purely Orthodox, but one implying a pro-Roman stance. He does this by demonstrating that consecration by and allegiance to the Patriarch on behalf of the Kyivan metropolitans was not consistently maintained. Perhaps the most famed of Kyivan Metropolitans, Ilarion, seated in 1051, was portrayed as being ordained at the behest of Prince Iaroslav Vladimirovich by a council of bishops in the Church of Hagia Sophia in Kyiv, expressly without the blessing of Constantinople. According to Krevza, this decision was the result of the 1054 schism that had erupted between the Greek and Roman Churches during the reign of metropolitan Teopempt,

following which, "Iaroslav refused to have a Greek metropolitan obedient to the patriarch."[205]

Krevza stated it was possible that Iaroslav may have intentionally "distanced himself from the

Patriarch, having been informed of the schism."[206] What Skarga offered as a potential

explanation for Iaroslav's obviation of Patriarchal authority, Krevza made certain in his

narrative. He justified the legitimacy of the succeeding Metropolitans, who, on the one hand

severed ties with their founding ecclesiastical superiors in Constantinople, while at the same time

not necessarily maintaining a continued contact with Rome, the most senior of the five ancient

Patriarchies. Hence, the matter becomes one of episcopal organization and unfolds in the

following manner: as a suffragan of Constantinople, Kyiv was taken to be traditionally under the

care of the Patriarch. However, if the Patriarch were to turn in any way apostate, its suffragan

metropolitanates maintained the right of appealing to the *primus inter pares* among Patriachates:

Rome. This point was further clarified in Krevza's list of Kyivan metropolitans following the

1054 schism.

In the intervening period between the reign of metropolitans Griorgi (1068, successor to

Ilarion) and Onisifor Dziwoczka (1578, immediate predecessor of Michaił Rahoza who presided

over the Union of Brest in 1596) there were 40 metropolitans.[207] These ranged from being

outright in union with Rome, being favorable to union, under the Patriarchate, or just uncertain in

their leanings. Krevza pointed to 15 of these as ranging from being in union with Rome to not

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[205] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 56, "Jarosław po śmierci Teopempta Iarosław Xsiążę Ruskie nie chciał miec Greka Metropolita posłuczeństwa Patryarchowego."
[206] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 56, "Może y to być że ten Xsiążę dowiedziawszy się o odszczepieństwie odraził się od Patriarchi."

[207] The last metropolitan listed in Krevza's text is Ipati Pociey. Seated in 1599, he was the reigning Uniate metropolitan of Kyiv at the time of Krevza's writing.
Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 65-66.

being in communion with the Patriarch.[208] What Krevza sought to demonstrate was not a

continuous apostolic succession from the baptism of the Rus' to the contemporary Metropolitan,

Hipacy Pociey. Instead, his interest clearly lay in establishing a persisting tendency of

independence from the Patriarchate among a considerable portion of the Kyivan metropolitans,

many of whom expressed outright support for a closer relationship with Rome.

It would seem that Krevza organized his list of Metropolitans to show two large groups

of Rome-leaning clerics. Included were those favorably disposed toward union with Rome and

those considered to have actually accomplished the task of union. The first of these stretched out

for much of the thirteenth century, the second for nearly all of the fifteenth.[209] I will demonstrate

that in addition to different temporal lengths, he also attributes them to be of differing degrees of

integrity.

The first group of Rome-leaning Metropolitans (1225-1307) centered upon the Latin

conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and the establishment of the Latin Patriarchate, followed by

the Second Council of Lyon in 1274. Krevza commented that as long as the Latins held

Constantinople, none of the Metropolitans of Kyiv, save one, obeyed the Ecumenical

Patriarch.[210] Michael Paleologus recovered Constantinople for the Greeks in 1261. Yet for

Krevza's narrative, this did not prove to be a setback. The Emperor was the chief force behind a

Greek union with Rome, which lasted as long Michael Paleologus was alive. It was broken only

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[208] These include: 8) Efrem (1092), 13) Kliment (1146), 15) Ioan (1170), 19) Kiril (1225), 20) Kiril (1230), 22) Kiril (1250), 23) Maksim (1283), 26) Aleksy (1364), 29) Grigorey Cemiwlak (1415), 30) Isidor (1437), 31) Grzegorz (1442), 32) Misail (1474), 34) Iona Hlezna (1482), 35) Makary (1490), 36) Josef Sołtan (1497)
Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 57-65.
[209] The first group encompasses: 19) Kiril (1225), 20) Kiril (1230), 22) Kiril (1250), 23) Maksim (1283)
The second cluster encompasses: 29) Grigorey Cemiwlak (1415), 30) Isidor (1437), 31) Grzegorz (1442), 32) Misail (1474), 34) Iona Hlezna (1482), 35) Makary (1490), 36) Josef Sołtan (1497)
[210] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 58, "Wyiąwszy iednego tylko Metropolite, żaden z Ruskich Metropolitanów nie słuchał Patryarcha Greckiego."

once his son Andronicus ascended and expelled the Greek Uniate Patriarch, John Beccus.

Granted, Krevza said almost nothing about an active Ruthenian participation in this thirteenth

century union project. However, he did point to two preceding figures, Kliment (1146) and Ioan

(1170) who actively leaned toward Rome. Ioan was said to have actually sent a letter to Pope

Alexander III, "declaring his love and friendship."[211] According to Krevza, the Ruthenian

Church was capable of occasionally turning apostate, yet had the capacity to redeem itself

through succeeding waves of Metropolitans faithful to Rome.

Krevza's narrative suggests that the Kyivan Metropolitanate became more aware of its

ability negotiate its relationship with the Papacy as centuries progressed. The first historical

group of Metropolitans (1225-1307) is largely assumed to have been in communion with Rome

due the installment of the Latin Patriarch and a later-formalized union at Lyon. In this instance

Krevza believed that none of these clerics sought union via their own volition.[212] This is in

striking contrast to the second group of Metropolitans (1415-1516). This group begins with 29)

Grigorey Cemiwlak (or Tsamblak) (1415), who actively sought union with Rome by "sending a

letter to the German Council of Constance and asking it to consider a congress at which the unity

of the Greek and Latin Churches could be considered."[213] Despite the fact that his efforts did not

actually come to fruition, Krevza described Cemiwlak as the most active Kyivan Metropolitan

until his time, since none of his predecessors matched his efforts of finding rapprochement with

the Papacy. Just as importantly, Krevza believed Cemiwlak was motivated not by external

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[211] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 58 *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 58, "Iest list iego w prawiłach napisany od Papieża oświadczając mu miłość i uprzeymość swoie."

[212] 15) Ioan (1170) is the one important example of a metropolitan who, as noted above, is described by Skarga to have actively sought union with Rome.

[213] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 61, "Pisał i do Konstantieńskiego Soboru Niemieckiego y prosi ich aby obmyślali o ziezdzie na którymby mogła się naprawić iedność. Mówi Kronika Moskiewska że go Aleksander Witold posłał do Rzymu, starać się o iedność."

pressures, but acting of his own free will, further emphasizing the independence of action by the Kyivan Metropolitanate and reflecting Krevza's own beliefs about the enactment of a free and unforced union with Rome in his own time.

Tsamblak's activities were demonstrated as an important precedent to those of his successor, Isidor (1437), who actively participated in the Council of Florence in 1439, and whose efforts resulted in a lasting union of the Ruthenian Church with Rome. In his paragraph on Isidor's reign, Krevza once again stressed the historical independence of the Kyivan Metropolitanate. Krevza described the aforementioned Metropolitan's trek to Moscow at the conclusion of the Florentine Council and his proclamation of the union as having been met with great hostility. With his life threatened, Isidor opted to flee to Kyiv. Yet according to Krevza, this was only a partial setback. The union may have failed to encompass Muscovy, yet it remained in effect within the Ruthenian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian state.

In this instance, a striking contrast may be noted between Skarga and Krevza in their treatment of Isidor. As had been demonstrated earlier, Skarga, himself an author of a Polish language collection of Saints' Lives, portrayed Isidor's life as a saintly personality. As in a saintly hagiography, Skarga systematically emphasized Isidor's persistence, suffering, and salvation from worldly danger through divine intervention. Krevza's account, on the other hand, appeared almost dispassionate, stripped of miraculous elements. Krevza, described Isidor as simply having fled following his imprisonment by the Muscovites, whereas for Skarga, "like St. Peter, he [Isidor] was divinely freed from prison by the power of angels."[214] Perhaps Krevza's intent in rendering Isidor dispassionately arises from his quoting strictly Slavonic sources, which

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[214] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 62, "uciekł do Kijowa."
Русская историческая библиотека, vol 7, (С. Петербург: Археографическая комиссия, 1872 – 1927), 458, "Lecz, iako Piotr ś., anielską mocą z więzienia wybawiony od Boga był."

he claims to do in the very beginning of his polemic.[215] However, the result of this more sober

depiction pointed the attention more strictly on the succession of Kyivan metropolitans. In the

post-Union Ruthenian historical moment, establishing a direct line of succession may have been

more immediately desirable than a claim of legitimacy through miracles.

According to Krevza, Isidor's legacy came to fruition under his successor, Grzegorz

(1442). The roots of independence from Constantinople lay with the consecration of Grigorey

Tsamblak (1415). However, it was Grzegorz whom Krevza credits with having created a

Ruthenian Church wholly separate from Muscovy, his tenure marking a parting of common

ecclesiastical ways between Muscovy and the Kyivan Rus'. From this point on, Kyiv and

Moscow began maintaining separate Metropolitans, the former Uniate, the latter "disuniate" [i.e.,

Orthodox who refused union with Rome]. At the same time, Krevza marked Grzegorz's tenure

as significant for Kyivan independence from Constantinople. When the city and the seat fell to

the Turks in 1453 the Greek union with Rome effectively ended. Despite this, Krevza declared

that the Ruthenian Church continued to function in communion with Rome for at least another

60 years. In this period, he argued, the Metropolitans made a conscious choice toward continued

ecclesiastical unity. For Krevza, proof of this lay in an episcopal letter sent from Kyiv to Rome.

Apparently composed during the reign of Mysail (1474), it was simultaneously signed by

Makary (1490), the next successive Metropolitan.[216] Makary apparently made his own mark on

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[215] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 3, "Czego wszystkiego za pomocą Bożą księgami samymi słowieńskimi dowodzić chcemy."
(All of this we wish to prove with God's help through the sole use of Slavonic books.)

[216] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 63, "32. Roku 1474. Metropolit Misaił (...) za iego czasu Poselstwo Ruś do Papieża Syxta 4. wyprawiła list do tego Papieża w druk iest podany do którego podpisał się Misaił z inszemi Duchownymi y świeckiego stanu Pany Ruskiemi z tego listu znać że Metropolit ten y wszystka Ruś za naywyszszego Pasterza miała."

Kyivan ecclesiastical independence, harkening to a precedent established earlier by Grigorey

Tsamblak, as Krevza goes on to explain:

> And so the Patriarchal envoy Josaphat complained that our Bishops consecrated Metropolitans without these previously having taken a blessing from the Patriarchs. They answered: we did this out of necessity, as was initially done by our brother Bishops when they installed Metropolitan Grehory Cemiwłat (Tsamblak) under the Grand (Duke) Witold.[217]

In stating this, Krevza affirms the historical legacy and therefore legitimacy of the Kyivan

Metropolitanate to make ecclesiastical decisions independent of the Patriarch. Krevza stressed

this theme of a tendency toward Ruthenian historical independence in several instances,

foreshadowing the Union of Brest's validity.[218] When viewed within this larger context, Krevza

argues that the absence of regular contacts with the Patriarchate constituted de-facto autonomy of

the Ruthenian Church. Thus, he states that Josaphat, the Patriarchal envoy, was convinced by

Kyiv's "we did this out of necessity" argument, since he concludes the exchange by stating "then

you have done well, for sometimes the law needs to change out of necessity."[219]

Pro-union activity on the part of the Kyivan Metropolitanate finally came to an end with

the ascension Iona in 1516. Union activity did not stay dormant long, for mere decades hence, it

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(32. Year 1474. Metropolitan Misaił (...) During his time, the Ruthenians sent a mission to Pope Sixtus IV, a letter to this Pope has (also) been rendered into print. It was signed by Misaił along with other Ecclesiastics and secular Ruthenian Lords. From this letter it is known that this Metropolitan and all of Rus' had the Pope as (their) supreme Shepherd.)
Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 64, "35. Roku 1490. Metropolit Makary (...) ten był w iedności podpisał się do listu onego zwysz pomienionego pisanego do Papieża Syksta."
(35. Year 1474. Metropolitan Makary (...) was in unity (and) signed the abovementioned letter to Pope Sixtus.) *Lev*

[217] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 64, "Tamże narzekał poseł Patryarchowski Iosafat na tuteyszych Episkopow że stanowili Metropolity nie biorąc od Patryarchow błogosławieństwa przedtym. Oni odpowiedzieli żesmy to powiada z potrzeby uczynili, co i pierwey czyniła bracia nasza Episkopi gdy przy Wielkim X. Witoldzie postawili Metropolita Grehorego Cemiwłata."

[218] Krevza points out the dangers of traveling through the region: When this Macarius was traveling to Kyiv, he was decapitated by Tatars in the village Strycholewy on the Pripet. His retinue was sold into slavery.
Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 64, "Ten Metropolit Makary gdy iachał do Kiiewa / we wsi Strycholewach nad Prypiecia od Tatarow ścięty iest / a czeladz w niewola pobrano."

[219] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 64, "Dobrzeście uczynili / gdyż dla potrzeby zakon się czasem zmieni."

was revived by Michaił Rahoza. Rahoza was consecrated as Metropolitan in 1588 and an active

participant in the local synod that instituted the Union of Brest in 1596. In comparison to the

first 40 metropolitans, Krevza was strangely glib regarding the three predecessors to Rahoza,

mentioning nothing but their names and year of ascension.[220] If there was any reason for this,

other than the author's lack of desire to besmirch recent Metropolitans the memory of whose

tenure might still be fresh, we are not informed.

However, when this glibness regarding the last few metropolitans is viewed alongside

Krevza's decision to say nothing about the actual Synod at Brest, a picture of deliberate

historical erasure emerges. Indeed, since throughout his treatise Krevza is most concerned with

establishing historical continuities, whether through lines of metropolitans or ecumenical

councils. Of the latter, Krevza stated that "among the greatest proofs of this faith which we

proclaim and teach to others are the Ecumenical or General Councils. He who does not accept

them falls under an anathema that is cast directly by Christ."[221] Consequently, Krevza

deliberately shifted away from the novel event that took place at Brest some twenty years before

the time of his writing. Instead, he focused on the more ancient and lofty Council of Florence,

establishing a historical precedent. Likewise, Krevza deliberately directed attention away from

an event that involved the participation of a provincial episcopate, toward one that included the

uppermost representatives of the East and West Churches. Such was the difference between the

legacies of Brest and Florence. For Krevza, the acceptance of union with Rome was not a recent

act of conversion; it was a re-assertion of a much longer, historically outlined march toward

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[220] These are: 41. Iona Protasowicz (1568), 42. Ilia Rucza (1577), 43. Onisifor Dziewoczka (1578),
Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard
University Press, 1987), 65.
[221] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard
University Press, 1987), 49, "Miedzy naygłownieyszymi dowodami tey wiary ktorą wyznawamy y drugich uczemy
są Sobory Wsieleńskie abo powszechne kto tych nie przyjmuje w klatwę wpada ktora iest wprzód od Chrystusa
Pana włożona."

Rome. In the last chapter of his polemic, devoted strictly to establishing a historical continuity,

Krevza sought to put to rest any further accusations of religious novelty and in so doing came the

closest to breaking his silence of mentioning the Union of Brest by name:

> The majority of (our) opponents are those who praise the union of the Ruthenian and
> Roman Church in itself, but condemn it saying that our elders did not properly affect it,
> chiefly because it was without the patriarch of Constantinople, their superior, who should
> have been consulted or at least considered. We give the following reply: this might have
> been done if we had embarked on something new, which had never been done before.
> But the decision was made by the ecumenical Council of Florence, to which bishops,
> metropolitans, and even patriarchs are subordinated.[222]

In acknowledging the precarious situation of the Greek-rite confession, as a novel Church born

onto the world stage, Krevza anxiously upholds its legitimacy by asserting its non-novelty.

HISTORICAL SILENCES OF UNION

Ironically, Krevza's treatise, written to secure and strengthen the union signed at Brest,

created a purposeful and meaningful silence relating to the event itself. Michel-Rolph Trouillot's

theoretical work interrogates the mechanisms of power through which representations of the past

are created and ascribed meaning. Accordingly these representations are always relational and

unavoidably influenced by the maker's culturally and historically rooted subjectivity. However,

Trouillot noted, that it was the very "production of specific narratives," through which "history

reveals itself."[223] Krevza's imagined history, both stressing a sacred continuity to champion the

advances of union and erasing the moment of that union's creation, is, consequently, imbued

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[222] *Lev Krevza's Obrona iednosci cerkiewney and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's Palinodija*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 89, "Wieksza nie rowno część przeciwników jest taka którzy chwalą Cerkwie Ruskiey z Rzymską w samey rzeczy iedno sposob iey ganią mowią bowiem że starszy naszy nieporządnie do niey przystąpili. A w przod że bez Patriarchi Konstantynopolskiego starszego swego ktorego w tym dołożyć się a przynajmniey poszanować było potrzeba. Na to tak odpowiadamy. Byśmy rzecz nową iaka przed tym nie była wszczeli mogłoby to mieć mieysce. Ale ta rzecz od Soboru powszechnego Florenckiego iest uchwalona ktoremu Episkopowie, Metropolitowie y sami Patryarchowie podlegaią."

[223] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History,* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 25.

with tremendous symbolic meaning. It was the silence, not the written text which highlighted the degree to which Krevza believed the Ruthenian Orthodox who refused to accept the Union at Brest posed a threat. Writing the very name of the union, bringing that moment into collective memory, was too frightening a prospect for Krevza to entertain, such was the fragility on which it stood. Innovations, especially those addressing matters of conscience, had the potential to be violently contested. Krevza erased just such a moment of recent history, and instead, turned toward a mythic past not so easily disputed.

Controlling and disseminating versions of this mythic and unbroken past held a vast potential for the future of Ruthenia. Through the imagined landscape of the Ruthenian past, the future of the Greek-rite Catholic Church was pronounced as legitimate, respectable, and time-honored. Indeed, while Krevza wrote of a holy inheritance he too was the inheritor of an intellectual tradition, a genealogy stretching back centuries and encompassing all of Christendom. Framing historical continuities was a polemical art form, preoccupying the confessional era landscape. More than that, it was practical art form, employed in the task of making change not only acceptable, but also palatable.

The inscription on the painting reads:

R.P. Petr, Skarga
Soc. IESU, 3ti, Col:
legii Vilnensis, 1m9
Neo institutæ Aca:
demiæ et Univer:
sitatis Rector A.D.
1580. Vir generis
clariße, vitæ sancti:
monia Aplico zelo,
doctrinæ præstantia,
editisq, variis doctri:
næ zeli et Sanctita:
tis suæ monumentis

Clarißim9 obiit Craco:
viæ 1612. 27. Sept.

Image 2.1 Piotr Skarga, S.J., (1536-1612), (circa 1612), author unknown.
Skarga shown in a pose pioneered by Albrecht Dürer in his 1514 "St. Jerome in his study"
engraving. On the left is an inscription of Skarga's credentials, including his rectorship of the
Jesuit College at Vilnius and his "devotion to the zealous defense of doctrine." On his right are
the symbols of his academic rectorship including a red biretta (signifying doctorate of theology),
gown, scepter and ring.

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Map 2.1: Confessional Makeup of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, circa 1580.
(From *Kościół w Polsce: wiek XVI-XVIII*).This map of the Commonwealth illustrates not only its religious pluralism, but the distribution of religious denominations. Protestants (red) are the majority faith in the western regions bordered by Reformation Europe. In the heart of the Commonwealth, Catholics (white) are the predominant faith. Orthodox Christianity (black) is most prominent along the eastern hinterlands.

Map 2.2: Confessional Makeup of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, circa 1772.
(From *Kościół w Polsce: wiek XVI-XVIII*).Displaying the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the eve of the first partition, the map demonstrates the successes of the Catholic Reformation by the latter half of the eighteenth century: Protestantism (red) has ceased to exist outside a few towns along the Vistula and northern Livonia, while Orthodoxy (black) has largely been replaced by Greek-rite Catholicism (white).

CHAPTER 3: THE APOSTOLIC REFLECTION: CONFESSIONALIZING THE UNIATE PRIESTHOOD

Orthodox clerics in all but two bishoprics in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, those of Przemyśl and L'viv, agreed to join confessional union with Papal Rome at Brest in 1596. While the Union of Brest marked the creation of the Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic Church, it also initiated a Greek-rite campaign to legitimate their faith and regulate adherence. The previous chapter explored the origin of a narrative of imagined historical continuities linking Christ and his Apostles to the Papacy and Eastern Church Fathers, creating an episcopal model of historical succession. The remaining chapters will locate the evolution of that narrative "on the ground," as the two hold-out bishoprics of Przemyśl and L'viv turned Catholic. Though these bishoprics have received comparatively little scholarly attention, their historic opposition to union makes them critical to understanding the overall project of Ruthenian Catholicization. Using synodal proclamations, pastoral letters, visitations, lay supplications and ecclesiastical court records, this chapter will focus upon continuity narratives deployed by the high episcopate of Przemyśl and L'viv, materially reorganizing clerical ranks, centralizing ecclesiastical hierarchies, disciplining individual clerics and enhancing the importance of the Church through the establishment of an elevated and separate clerical estate.

At the center of this chapter are the eparchies of Przemyśl and L'viv, beginning, respectively, with the tenures of Bishops Innocenty Winnicki (1679 -1700) and Józef Szumlański (1667-1708). Shortly after being consecrated to their Orthodox sees, each swore a secret oath of

obedience to the Papacy. Thereafter, during their concurrent tenures as crypto-Catholics, they

clandestinely worked to burnish their episcopal gravity, subordinating all remaining clerics in

their territorial sphere to their authority, while seeking to enhance the status of the priestly office

by reforming clerical behavior. These reforms silenced potential opposition from amongst the

clerical ranks in the years prior to Przemyśl and L'viv formally proclaiming union with Rome.

Simultaneously, they indicated a successful effort in instituting a clearly defined ecclesiastical

hierarchy and a disciplining of clerical subordinates by episcopal authorities, all at a time when

the secular state was undergoing decentralization and decline.

Like the Catholic polemicists who used continuity as a means of legitimizing union,[1]

Bishops Winnicki and Szumlański drew upon imagined histories of authoritative continuity to

promote clerical obedience to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Narratives promoting the maintenance

of apostolic truth and succession functioned to supplant existing noble patron-client relationships

as well as familial ties of kinship which traditionally allowed a provincial Ruthenian parish priest

to secure and maintain his post. The discursive deployment of a historically sacralized

relationship, in which the clerical office was transmitted from one set of consecrated hands to

another, sought to cement obedience to the paternalistic authority of the episcopate. These

narratives, deployed on the diocesan level, placed clerics into the very fabric of historical

continuity, situating the present into a time as sacred as the past, declaring bishops to be the

inheritors of Christ's discipleship, functioning in their own time as the apostles had after Christ

ascended into heaven.

The discourse of reform in Przemyśl and L'viv hinged upon the idea of apostolic

succession and selective narratives of mimicking the actions of sacred personae from the past.

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[1] See Chapter 1 of this dissertation, "Towards a Sacred Ruthenian History: Narrative Creation, Continuities, Discontinuities, Silences and Erasures."

Both bishops employed a metaphor of a mirroring, portraying their own endeavors as reflections of deeds performed by Christ and his Apostles. For example, Winnicki's term "podobnyk'" encapsulates the relational concept employed in both eparchies. Most often translated as "reflection," or "mirror" as in "clerics are a reflection of the Apostles,"[2] the original Ruthenian usage created a connection with a sacred past in which the idealized lives of the Apostles served as a model for clerical conduct. Reciprocally, the clergy themselves were portrayed as reflections of their Apostolic predecessors; the former being subordinate to Christ, the latter to their respective bishops. This episcopally propagated idea sought to perpetuate a continuity of clerical authority, representing a kind of celestial reciprocity, a reflection of the divine order on earth. When viewed in this manner, "the Apostolic reflection" affirmed the sacrality of the Church hierarchy even down to the parish level, by inserting all legitimate clerics, past, present and future, into a line of continual apostolic succession.[3]

CONFESSIONAL POLITICS AND THE EMERGENCE OF ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS AS "OTHER"

Following the Union of Brest, the Orthodox Church in the Commonwealth found itself in a difficult position. Due to royal support for union, it ceased to exist as a legal entity as its former authority was handed over to Greek-rite Catholic divines. The reign of Władysław IV Vasa resulted in a temporary restoration of its former status. However, by the eighteenth century, its episcopate had lost control of nearly all of its former eparchies to its Uniate rivals.

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[2] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 86-7, "Єстесь апостолскїй подобникъ."
(You are an apostolic reflection.)

[3] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 86-7, "Єстесь апостолскїй подобникъ, понеже апостоли свѧтїй в послꙋшенствѣ, в послꙋшенствѣ, в покорѣ и в терпеиїй жили, и ты такоже жити маешъ."
(You are an apostolic reflection, for the holy apostles also lived in obedience, in purity of heart, in humility and suffering – as you too ought to live in this manner.)

By the latter half of the seventeenth century, the remaining Orthodox in the Commonwealth, having lost their episcopal hierarchy to the Union, found themselves increasingly turning toward the Moscow Patriarchate (and its successor, the Holy Synod) for leadership and protection.[4] This, in turn, had the added detriment of casting Orthodoxy as "the other," a confession politically beholden to a foreign power.

Institutionally, the monarchy of the Commonwealth was far weaker than its predominately dynastic European counterparts to the west. Starting in 1573, it effectively ceased to be a hereditary office. Thereafter, each newly-elected candidate swore to uphold a series of noble privileges, including the right of religious dissidents to be left in peace. Only then did the official coronation take place. This, however, did not presuppose that these elected monarchs ceased to play an influential role in religious affairs. In an age when patronage determined individual political fortunes, royal favor came with tangible benefits, which the Crown unabashedly employed toward the expansion of the state faith. Rather than rely on forced conversions or strong-handed confessional policies utilized elsewhere in Europe, the Polish Crown employed a model of confessionalizing their lands based in royal patronage, particularly via the distribution of key offices and the prestige these public honors granted.[5]

The elected and constitutionally limited kings of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth largely followed the course of a promoting non-coercive confessional uniformity, offering social elites political incentives for conversion to the official creed. Matters of personal conscience aside, a noble subject who had converted to Catholicism could expect financial incentives, royal military protection, legal recognition and, at least theoretically, the same social estate as his

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[4] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce: wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969), 784-5.
[5] Mariusz Markiewicz, *Historia Polski 1492-1795*, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2004), 39-40
Jerzy Topolski, *Polska w Czasach Nowożytnych (1501-1795),* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza, 1999), 553.

Latin-rite counterpart.[6] The absence of the Crown's favor also had tangible consequences, as

without the protection of the king, a non-Catholic noble could be left politically isolated,

marginalized to obscurity and existing outside the politically-active sphere of his fellow nobles.[7]

While the Polish-Lithuanian state of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century enjoyed

unprecedented religious toleration and peaceful coexistence,[8] the Union of Brest marked a

moment of intensified antagonism.[9] Ruthenians who remained Orthodox and those who became

Greek-rite Catholics demarcated the boundaries of inclusion and "otherness." Indeed, the

Christian faithful of the Commonwealth began to conceive of confessional affiliations in

opposition to one another at this time; Eastern Churches divided into Orthodox and Greek-rite

Catholic and Latin Catholics defined themselves oppositionally in terms of rite.[10] The

terminology used by Catholics post-Brest" "Uniate," Ruthenians in union with Papal Rome, and

"disuniate," Ruthenian dissenters refusing union, spoke to the fractious nature of Brest. These

hardening of religious lines at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, illustrated the

advance of what Barbara Skinner calls "confessional polarity" in the Commonwealth and which,

over time, demarcated the lines of religious alliances, exclusions and faith based violence.[11]

Civil strife arose concurrent to negotiations at Brest, with the Nalewajko Uprising (1594-

1596). While the impetus for uprising was not religiously based, Konstanty Ostrogski used the

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[6] Marzena Liedke, *Od prawosławia do katolicyzmu: Ruscy możni i szlachta Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego wobec wyznań reformacyjnych*, (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Białostockiego, 2004), 199-200.

[7] This was the complaint of Khmelytsky who began a Cossack uprising in 1648 because the crown, supported by Catholic Polish nobles, refused to defend his property and personhood from attack on the basis of his Orthodox Christianity.

[8] Jerzy Topolski, *Polska w Czasach Nowożytynych (1501-1795),* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza, 1999), 96-102.

[9] Jerzy Topolski, *Polska w Czasach Nowożytynych (1501-1795),* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza, 1999), 128-9.

[10] For information regarding the religious situation in the Polish-Lithuanian state prior to the Union of Brest, see the Introduction portion of this work.

[11] Barbara Skinner, "Khmelnytsky's Shadow: The Confessional Legacy," in *Citizenship and Identity in a Multinational Commonwealth: Poland-Lithuania in Context*, 1550-1772, eds. Karen Friedrich, Barbara M. Pendzich, (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 149.

opportunity of unrest to solicit help from the (Orthodox) Cossacks. At the behest of Ostrogski, the Cossacks assailed pro-union advocates most notably in Luts'k, where they robbed and ransacked the estates of several principal architects of the Union of Brest. Despite the relatively modest extent of this uprising, historian Serhii Plokhy believes it tainted confessional relations in the Commonwealth as Catholics began disparagingly referring to Orthodox Christians as, Nalyvaikoites (*nalyvaikivtsi*) which, "associat[ed] nobiliary and burgher Orthodox circles entirely loyal to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with rebellion against the state."[12] As Catholics conflated the minority Orthodox populations with *nalyvaikivtsi,* (and later, with Khmelnytsky's pro-Muscovite Cossacks) they also placed Orthodox Christianity in oppositional terms to the Polish-Lithuanian state.[13]

The Union likewise politicized the Ruthenian nobility and led to their increased activity in local dietines (*sejmiki)*.[14] In 1599 a coalition of Orthodox and Protestants[15] met in Vilnius, and agreed to mutual cooperation in defending liberties of worship and independent church administration.[16] The Orthodox nobility and religious brotherhoods lobbied successfully for the right to nominate the archimandrite (abbot) of the Kyivan Caves Monastery, which eventually became the center of anti-union opposition. The Kyivan Caves Monastery also headed the organization and confessionalization of the Cossacks, especially after many gained entry the Kyivan religious brotherhood. Thereafter, the notion of "defending Orthodoxy as the faith of

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[12] Serhii Plokhy, *The Cossacks and religion in early modern Ukraine*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 104-106; Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: a history*, 2nd.ed, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988) , 114.

[13] Jerzy Topolski, *Polska w Czasach Nowożytnych (1501-1795),* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza, 1999), 554.

[14] Наталя Яковенко, *Нарис Історії середньовічної та ранньомодерної України*, (Київ: Критика, 2006), 233-9

[15] For information on Protestants in the Commonwealth see: George H. Williams, "Protestants in the Ukraine during the Period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2.1-2 (1978): 41-72, 184-210. A classic piece of scholarship on the subject is: Janusz Tazbir, *Państwo bez stosów*, (Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, 2000), available in English as: Janusz Tazbir, *A state without stakes: Polish religious toleration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, (New York: Kościuszko Foundation, Twayne Publishers, 1973).

[16] Antoni Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Białostockiego, 2001), 70.

their forefathers" became a key feature of Cossack credo.[17] Catholics, both Latin and Greek-rite, looked upon the strange alliance of Protestants, Cossacks and Orthodox with wary disdain.

Where the Nalewajko Uprising fed Orthodox-Catholic suspicion, the Khmelnytsky Uprising of 1648 created all-out hostility, fundamentally altering both the boundaries of the Commonwealth and the confessional antagonisms therein. Bohdan Khmelnytsky, believing that the crown failed to protect his rights because of his Orthodox faith, launched a violent uprising in the territories of modern-day Ukraine. Khmelnytsky railed against the "pernicious Union [of Brest]," demanding the destruction of the Greek-rite faith and soliciting aid from Muscovy based in their shared Orthodox confession.[18] The Orthodox Cossacks reviled the Jewish administrators of Polish noble estates as much as the Catholic landlords themselves, targeting the Polish Catholic, Ruthenian Uniate and Jewish populace, as well as their places of residence, worship and economic sustenance.[19] By the cessation of hostilities and Bohdan Khmelnytsky's death in 1658, the vast majority of the Polish szlachta (nobles), Catholic priests, royal officials and Jews in the area of modern-day Ukraine had either fled or had been slaughtered.[20]

Moreover, the 1654 Treaty of Pereiaslav, allied the Ukrainian Cossacks with the Muscovite Tsar. This treaty, in turn, led to the Russo–Polish War (1654–1667), in which the

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[17] Władysław Serczyk, *Na dalekiej Ukrainie: Dzieje Kozaczyzny do 1648 r.*, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1984), 175-82.

[18] Barbara Skinner, "Khmelnytsky's Shadow: The Confessional Legacy," in *Citizenship and Identity in a Multinational Commonwealth: Poland-Lithuania in Context*, 1550-1772, eds. Karen Friedrich, Barbara M. Pendzich, (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 151-2.

[19] For information on the Jews during the Uprising see: Gershon Hundert and Gershon Bacon, *The Jews in Poland and Russia: Bibliographic Essays*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press,1984; Joel Raba, *Between Remembrance and Denial: The Fate of the Jews in the Wars of the Polish Commonwealth During the Mid-Seventeeth Century as shown in Contemporary Writings and Historical Research,* (Boulder, CO, 1995); Frank Sysyn "The Jewish Massacres in the Historiography of the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising: A Review Article," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 23.1 (Summer 1998): 83-9; Bernard D. Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland: A Social and economic History of the Jewish Community of Poland from 1100 to 1800,* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1972); Simon Dubnov, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: The Jewish publication society of America, 1916).

[20] Frank Sysyn, "Seventeenth-Century Views on the Causes of the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 5.4 (December 1980): 430-66.

Commonwealth lost vast territorial areas to the Orthodox State of Muscovy and the Crown

agreed to cede the Luts'k eparchy to an Orthodox bishop (returning to union in 1702).

According to the Treaty of Pereiaslav, the Muscovites retained the authority to intercede on

behalf of their Orthodox brethren in the Commonwealth, deepening suspicions toward the

Orthodox minority left within the Polish-Lithuanian state. During this time of protracted internal

uprisings and external invasions, now known as "The Deluge," the predominately Catholic

nobility increasingly came to regard Orthodox Christianity as the confession of a dangerous and

subversive "other" allied with the interests of the Muscovite enemy, rather than representative of

the Commonwealth. [21]

Throughout this period of confessional strife and external invasions, the pro-Union cause

reached its nadir. Despite the fact that King Jan II Kazimierz Vasa (1609-1672), a former Jesuit

and Cardinal, ruled the Polish-Lithuanian state, a series of costly defeats at the hands of

Cossacks forced him to make serious concessions to the established Orthodox Church. Roughly

at the time of the Union of Hadziacz (1658), which sought to overturn Brest altogether, the

Orthodox controlled as many as ¾ of all eastern-rite parishes.[22] However, the Cossacks' military

and political gains at the height of the seventeenth century failed to produce lasting results.

Divisions among the leadership, leading to the eventual collapse of the Cossacks as a military

and political force, prevented the agreements at Hadziacz from actual implementation.   This

victory turned crisis virtually ensured that any revival of an eastern-rite Church would take place

along Uniate lines.[23]

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[21] Jerzy Topolski, *Polska w Czasach Nowożytnych (1501-1795),* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1999), 554-8.

[22] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce: wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969) , 851.

[23] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969) , 852.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, the Orthodox remaining within the Commonwealth fell in an unprecedentedly vulnerable position. The 1667 Treaty of Andrusovo (*Rozejm w Andruszowie*), which ended the Russo-Polish War, ceded Kyiv and all territory east of the Dnieper River to Muscovy. The transfer of the Orthodox Kyivan Metropolitanate from Constantinople to Moscow further weakened the standing of Orthodoxy within the Commonwealth as their Metropolitan, who no longer resided within the borders of the Commonwealth, became the subject of a foreign monarch.[24] The territorial loss removed a significant portion of the Orthodox population from the Commonwealth and those remaining within the Polish-Lithuanian state became politically marginalized, their numbers progressively dwindling.[25] The sarmatization as well as the Catholicization of Ruthenian nobility,[26] left the Orthodox religious movement without its major political and military proponents.[27] Competing with an officially privileged Greek-rite Catholic Church, the Orthodox of the Commonwealth could only look to oft-enemy of the Commonwealth, Muscovy, as an advocate of their interests and liberties.[28]

Over the course of the seventeenth century, Catholic magnates, educated at Jesuit and Piarist institutions and immersed in a religious culture that impressed confessional identity, increasingly looked toward their non-Catholic compatriots with suspicion. According to Janusz Tazbir, in the aftermath of the Deluge, non-Catholic creeds were viewed as antithetical to an

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[24] Antoni Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Białostockiego, 2001), 207.

[25] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce: wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969), 785.

[26] Janusz Tazbir, "Sarmatyzacja katolicyzmu w XVII wieku," *Studia Staropolskie* XXIX (1970).

[27] Hanna Dylągowa, *Dzieje Unii Brzeskiej (1596 – 1918),* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Interlibro, Warmińskie Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 1996), 25.
See also:Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969) , 852.

[28] Antoni Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Białostockiego, 2001), 199.

emerging Polish Sarmatian identity, which identified with Catholicism alone.[29] These "heretics"

and "schismatics" were no longer seen as harmful to the state, society and the nation as a whole,

they represented an inferior category of peoples, unfit to be called "Poles."[30] In lawmaking

bodies, whether in the lower-chamber *Sejm* or the upper-chamber *Senat*, the nobility were able to

forward legislation that provided incentives for clergy to turn toward Union, while limiting

political options for those who had remained Orthodox. By 1667, the *Sejm* passed ordinances

that effectively freed all clergy in Union with Rome from military obligations. Conversely, in

1676 laws were passed which forbade Orthodox in the Commonwealth from open contact with

the Patriarch in Constantinople. This effectively disarmed once-powerful lay religious

brotherhoods, where opposition to the Union was especially strong. Simultaneously, it abolished

their exemptions from local episcopal authority, thus further bolstering the power of bishops over

their own eparchies.[31] By the eighteenth century, the combination of sustained royal patronage,

legislative limitations and cultural transformations among the nobility allowed Greek-rite

Catholicism to become the dominant eastern-rite confession in the Commonwealth. Only the

eparchies of Przemyśl and L'viv remained in the Orthodox fold.

    Jan III Sobieski, who ruled the Commonwealth in the final quarter of the seventeenth

century, was unabashed in having his religious sentiments reflected in royal policy. From a

purely political standpoint, Sobieski also knew the benefits of marginalizing a religious group

that increasingly looked eastward for political patronage. As much as the promotion of the

Catholic faith was royal policy, it was also necessitated careful negotiation and subtlety, as

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[29] Janusz Tazbir, *Państwo bez stosów i inne szkice*, (Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, 2000), 233.
Jerzy Topolski, *Polska w Czasach Nowożytynych (1501-1795)*, (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1999), 538.

[30] Jerzy Topolski, *Polska w Czasach Nowożytynych (1501-1795),* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1999), 548.

[31] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969) , 852-3.

Article IX of the Treaty of Pereiaslav gave Muscovy the sanction to intervene on behalf of the Commonwealth's Orthodox population. While Jan III Sobieski moved to secure and stabilize the borders of the Commonwealth, the state he inherited had already suffered massive territorial, population and economic losses from the rising power to the east, the most significant of which was the formal cession of Kyiv to Moscow. Projects of confessionalization had to tread lightly lest they offend the Commonwealth's powerful Orthodox neighbor to the east.

In order to halt confessional bloodshed in the Holy Roman Empire, the motto of "cujus regio, ejus religio" became the mantra of religious allegiance in the aftermath of the Peace of Augsburg. The confession of secular princes, whether Catholic or Lutheran, automatically determined the religious makeup of the lands over which they ruled. Variously defined, the process of confessionalization of Early Modern Germany was more than coercive social disciplining. It also included a creative process of acculturation, which aided in the state in molding its peasants and burghers into obedient subjects.[32]

Yet unlike their counterparts to the west, the Roman Catholic nobles of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were largely indifferent to the confessional identity of the rustics residing on their lands. A Roman Catholic noble living in the eastern half of the Commonwealth was perfectly content with hearing Latin mass on Sunday, while endowing a new Orthodox parish for his Ruthenian peasants. In fact, in the sixteenth and much of the seventeenth century nobles often preferred to found Orthodox churches because of both their lower administrative costs and the absence of a superseding ecclesiastical hierarchy that might compete with their own influence.[33] Due to chronically weak Ruthenian Orthodox episcopal administrative structures,

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[32] R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation Central Europe 1550-1750*, (New York: Routledge, 1989), 89.

[33] Józef Półcwiartek, *Z badań nad rolą gospodarczo-społeczną plebanii na wsi pańszczyznej ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, (Rzeszów: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Rzeszowie, 1974), 81, 85.

the founding nobles frequently constructed new churches, appointed priestly candidates, collected and re-distributed various church taxes, thus effectively turning parish finances into a part of their larger personal estate.[34]

Since these parish clerics fit directly into the pattern of noble patronage, the secular nobility scarcely had an interest in promoting a strong, independent Ruthenian clerical estate. The aftermath of the Cossack Wars severely weakened politically relevant Orthodox institutions. Independent-minded religious brotherhoods declined and over the course of the seventeenth century, Orthodox magnates increasingly abandoned the faith of their forefathers for Catholicism, which, through pressures and privileges, the Crown was eager to promote.[35] The prerogative of appointing Orthodox bishops was perhaps the most effective tool of royal confessional policy. Over the course of the seventeenth century, a new generation of Ruthenian bishops (notably in Chełm, Przemyśl, Luts'k and L'viv) had the Crown to thank for their appointment. The political position of these newly appointed Greek-rite bishops was buttressed by royal acknowledgement that they represented the official Catholic creed of the state, which, in turn, allowed them to fill the void left by Orthodox nobles and urban religious brotherhoods. Having accepted union with Rome, the Ruthenian episcopate moved to centralize their power and authority, curtailing lay initiative in ecclesiastical administration, priestly formation and devotional life. A discourse of clerical legitimacy, articulated as the inheritance of a sacred office, consistently underpinned this centralizing campaign.

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[34] Józef Półcwiartek, *Z badań nad rolą gospodarczo-społeczną plebanii na wsi pańszczyznej ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, (Rzeszów: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Rzeszowie, 1974), 80. Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969) , 822.

[35] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969), 843.

PRZEMYŚL AND L'VIV IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In 1596, at the Synod of Brest, the Orthodox bishops of every eparchy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, with the exception of Przemyśl and L'viv, agreed to confessional union with Rome.[36] These episcopal sees, separated by less than 100 km, stood in the central, southernmost region of the Commonwealth, east of Kraków and just north of Moldavia and the Habsburg Empire. Today, these cities straddle the Polish-Ukrainian border, Przemyśl in

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[36] Signing the Union of Brest were the Metropolitan of Kyiv (residing at Vilnius), Michał Rahoza, as well as bishops representing the eparchies of: Volodymir (Volyns'kyi), Luts'k, Polotsk, Pinsk and Chełm.
Hanna Dylągowa, *Dzieje Unii Brzeskiej*, (Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Interlibro: Warmińskie Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1996), 18-9.

Map 3.1: Map of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1634.

southeastern Poland and L'viv in northwestern Ukraine. There, both cities sustain thriving

populations of Greek-rite Catholics and Orthodox Christians as well as Roman Catholics.

During the negotiations over potential union with Rome (circa 1596) these southern

eparchies were headed by Bishops Michał Kopystyński (d. 1609) of Przemyśl and Gedeon

Bałaban of L'viv (d. 1607). Ironically, in the years preceding Brest, both Kopystyński and

Bałaban were among the most enthusiastic supporters of confessional union with Rome.

Bałaban first declared his intent to join in union after a calamitous meeting with the Patriarch of

Constantinople in 1586. The Patriarch rebuked Bałaban for fomenting discord between ordained

clerics and lay confraternal brotherhoods in his eparchy. Finding such chastisement an affront to

his episcopal dignity, Bałaban reacted with open hostility toward both the brotherhoods and the

Patriarch, thus instigating his initial desire for negotiation with the Papacy.[37] Until just a year

before the Council at Brest, in 1596, Przemyśl and L'viv were solidly on the path toward union

with Rome. In December of 1594 both Bałaban and Kopystyński went so far as to sign a letter

of commitment to the cause of union.[38] By January of 1595, Bałaban called for a gathering in his

eparchy of L'viv where he and others signed a pledge of obedience to Papal Rome from which

"the Patriarchs unwisely departed after the Florentine Council."[39]

However, by the summer of 1595, both Bałaban and Kopystyński renounced their former

intentions and in a dramatic turnaround, vociferously protested against a prospective

confessional union. Scholars attribute this sudden shift in allegiance to the influence of

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[37] Borys Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 210.

[38] Borys Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 220.

[39] Quoted in: Borys Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 223; Serhii Plokhy, *The Cossacks and religion in early modern Ukraine*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 79.

Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski,[40] a prominent Orthodox magnate, once a convinced supporter of

union. In 1595, Ostrogski circulated an open letter asserting his (changed) stance in opposition

to union, outlining the reasons for his hostility. Envisioning himself as the leading defender of

Orthodoxy in the Commonwealth, Ostrogski moved to strengthen anti-union support by

brokering a deal between Bałaban and the L'viv Brotherhood. This eased hostilities in the L'viv

eparchy and Ostrogski gained a political ally in Bałaban. By July of 1595, Bałaban began

officially protesting against the coming union, even alleging that pro-union signatures were

collected under false pretenses. Within a matter of months, Kopystyński similarly declared his

opposition to union, ostensibly also yielding to pressure from Ostrogski.[41]

In 1596 as pro-union Orthodox bishops gathered to celebrate union, anti-unionists

including Bałaban and Kopystyński held their own synod at the opposite side of Brest. Each

gathering faction condemned the other. The Greek-rite "uniates" anathematized Bałaban and

Kopystyński, who had joined in the anti-union gathering alongside a peculiar mix of anti-

Trinitarians, Calvinists, several prominent Orthodox Ruthenian magnates and gentry,

representatives of lay Orthodox confraternities, the Archimandrite of the Kyiv Cave Monastery,

a representative of the patriarch of Constantinople, as well as Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski

himself. During this meeting, opposing clerics issued a decree deposing the Uniate (Greek-Rite

Catholic) bishops from their posts, calling upon King Zygmunt III Vasa to uphold the ancient

rights and privileges of their Church. The Crown, tacitly supportive of a long-term project of

confessional uniformity along Catholic lines, remained supportive of union.[42]

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[40] For more information on Ostrogski see: Tomasz Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/1525 – 1608): Wojewoda kijowski i marszałek ziemi wołyńskiej.* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1997)
[41] Serhii Plokhy, *The Cossacks and religion in early modern Ukraine*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 79.
[42] Borys Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 239-242; Serhii Plokhy, *The Cossacks and religion in early modern Ukraine*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 83-4.

Przemyśl and L'viv remained the only holdouts to the Union of Brest in 1596, becoming the frontline of Uniate expansionist aims and Orthodox determined entrenchment. Pro- and Anti-Union bishops each claimed to be the rightful administrator of the eparchies. L'viv, though personally administered by loyal Orthodox bishops[43] was also claimed by two successive Uniate Metropolitans, Józef Welamin Rutski and Rafał Korsak, both of whom included "Bishop of Halych" in their official titulature.[44] Since the two men tended to reside in Vilnius, the seat of the Uniate Metropolitanate, distance and lack of influence among local elites largely prevented them from making tangible efforts to enforce their authority.

Similar disputes over episcopal authority resulted in violent clashes in Przemyśl. Over course of the seventeenth century, Uniate-Orthodox tensions were played out on an already fraught landscape of political, personal and clan discord. In 1596, the Orthodox Bishop of Przemyśl, Michał Kopystyński, refused to follow the lead of his metropolitan in accepting Union with Rome. Kopystyński lived out his tenure virtually unchallenged from Uniate rivals. His death in 1610, however, resulted in the appointment of a pro-Union candidate, Atanazy Krupecki.[45] In response, local pro-Orthodox factions quickly nominated their own candidate. Without appropriate executive authority to enforce them, legal avenues and formal complaints filed at local dietines (sejmiki) did not provide a satisfactory long-term resolution. As such, an episcopal candidate who may have legally been awarded a benefice also needed to have the

Oskar Halecki, *Od Unii Florenckiej do Unii Brzeskiej*, vol 2, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo Wschodniej, 1997), 232-5.

[43] These included: Gideon Bałaban (1565-1607), Jeremiasz Tysarowski (1607-1641), Arseniusz Żeliborski (1641-1662), Atanazy Żeliborski (1663-1666).
Dymitro Blazejovskyij, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church (861-1990),* (Rome: Universitas Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1990), 231-2.

[44] Dymitro Blazejovskyij, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church (861-1990),* (Rome: Universitas Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1990), 268.

[45] Kazimierz Chodynicki, *Kościół prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska: Zarys Historyczny 1370-1632*, (Warszawa:Skład Główny, Kasa imienia Malinowskiego – Instytut Popierania Nauki, 1934), 404.

financial resources and brute muscle to claim that which had been awarded "by right." Thus, whereas Krupecki enjoyed royal support in his position as the rightful eastern-rite bishop of Przemyśl, locally, his position far from secure.

Almost immediately, he incurred the wrath of the local Orthodox gentry, who not only threatened his personal safety, but also fomented discontent among the parish clergy. The parish clergy refused to pay the financial obligations owed by a cleric to his bishop, striking a blow to episcopal coffers. Outside the relative safety of his cathedral, Krupecki's support was tenuous at best. While attending a local sejmik in Sudowa Wisznia (Судова Вишня), Krupecki was confronted by a band of Orthodox gentrymen with drawn sabres, while his servants were met with a hail of musket fire, sending the bishop into flight back to Przemyśl. Over the course of several decades, Krupecki's eparchy remained in turmoil, with local factions engaged in skirmishes, sieges and armed storming of opposing churches and monasteries.[46]

As Krupecki's vitality and health declined, the aging bishop appointed Prokop Chmielowski, a graduate of the Jesuit college at Braniewo and archimandrite of Dubno as his coadiutor. Krupecki had been grooming Chmielowski to seamlessly succeed him as the bishop of Przemyśl. In the turbulent times of the seventeenth century, long-term episcopal plans of succession had little hope of realization. Taking advantage of this period of transition, the newly consecrated Orthodox Bishop of Przemyśl, Antoni Winnicki, himself the son of a locally significant Ruthenian family, secured the following of local gentry. With their support he gathered a private army and in May of 1651 successfully stormed the Przemyśl cathedral. Stunned, the already sick and elderly Krupecki died the following day.[47]

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[46] Władysław Łoziński, *Prawem i lewem: Obyczaje na Czerwonej Rusi w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Iskry, 2005), 246.

[47] Władysław Łoziński, *Prawem i lewem: Obyczaje na Czerwonej Rusi w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Iskry, 2005), 255.

For the next thirty years, Winnicki secured his position at Przemyśl, not only by successfully fending off Uniate rivals but also proactively vying to secure formal control over the neighboring eparchy of L'viv as well as the Metropolitanate of Kyiv, having been named by the Crown as the interim administrator of both.[48] Toward the end of his life, Antoni Winnicki effectively controlled the entire Przemyśl eparchy, which under his watch remained firmly Orthodox.[49] Royal policy, though rarely a pillar of strength on the provincial level, proved influential enough to thwart his wider ambitions.

In 1667, as the exhausting two-decades long Deluge was beginning to wind down, King Jan Kazimierz Vasa sought to stabilize the treacherous confessional landscape along the eastern frontier of the Commonwealth. To this end, he filled ecclesiastical vacancies with military men who had proven their loyalty to the Crown, particularly during the campaigns against Muscovy and the invading Tatars. One key appointment was the 1667 establishment of Józef Szumlański as the Bishop of L'viv.[50] However, even as the administrator of the L'viv eparchy, Antoni Winnicki had no intention to simply hand over St. George's Cathedral and the revenues it allowed him to collect, even to a fellow Orthodox co-religionist. Having once taken the Przemyśl cathedral by force, Antoni Winnicki's fortunes had now reversed. On a spring night in 1668, Józef Szumlański himself stormed the L'viv cathedral in order to claim what royal authority had granted, local nobility had acknowledged and Orthodox churchmen from Constantinople to Iași formally recognized.[51] The once triumphant Winnicki now barely escaped

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[48] Dymitro Blazejovskyij, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church (861-1990),* (Rome: Universitas Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1990), 239.

[49] Beata Lorens, *Bractwa cerkiewnie w eparchii przemyskiej w XVII i XVIII wieku*, (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Universytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2005), 21

[50] Władysław Łoziński, *Prawem i lewem: Obyczaje na Czerwonej Rusi w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Iskry, 2005), 266-7.

[51] In 1667 Józef Szumlański secured King Jan Kazimierz Vasa's nomination, the following year he was elected by the local nobility gathered at Zhidachiv, consecrated by Metropolitan Sofron of Philippolis at Iași and declared to be the rightful Bishop of L'viv by the Patriarch of Constantinople.

with his life, ironically, after having bribed one of Szumlański's soldiers with a golden chain that signified his episcopal authority.[52]

With relative peace and stability restored in the Commonwealth, Antoni Winnicki's fortuned further declined in the last decade of his life. Although in 1665 he managed to secure a royal nomination to become the Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyiv, the newly elected King Jan Sobieski effectively ignored it, awarding its administrative duties to Józef Szumlański, as a gesture of gratitude for loyal service.[53] When Antoni finally passed away in 1679, King Sobieski was about to nominate the warring cleric's nephew, Innocenty, as the new Bishop of Przemyśl. Yet where Antoni was a stalwart defender of Orthodoxy, Innocenty's policies in Przemyśl eventually put the eparchy firmly into the Catholic column.

THE APPOINTMENTS OF JÓZEF SZUMLAŃSKI AND INNOCENTY WINNICKI

The 1666 death of the Orthodox Bishop of L'viv, Atanazy Żeliborski, presented King Jan Kazimierz Vasa with an opportunity to appoint a union-sympathizing bishop. Here, two claimants petitioned the king for appointment to the L'viv eparchy. Both candidates successfully procured the support from differing Orthodox Patriarchs: Antoni Winnicki (not to be confused with his nephew Innocenty Winnicki) had the backing of Jerusalem, whereas Józef Szumlański's claim was upheld by Alexandria and Constantinople. Antoni Winnicki, who, since 1650 held the post of the Bishop of Przemyśl, also served as the administrator of a vacant L'viv bishopric. His political connections extended from the Mediterranean to Moscow. Prior to winning support

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Dymitro Blazejovskyij, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church (861-1990),* (Rome: Universitas Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1990), 233.

[52] Władysław Łoziński, *Prawem i lewem: Obyczaje na Czerwonej Rusi w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Iskry, 2005), 270.

[53] Dymitro Blazejovskyij, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church (861-1990),* (Rome: Universitas Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1990), 239.

from the two abovementioned Patriarchs, he successfully obtained the title of Archimandrite of

Univ, in addition to administrative authority over the Orthodox Metropolitanate of Kyiv. His

ambition of becoming Metropolitan came within a hair of realization. Unwavering in his

adherence to Orthodoxy, Antoni Winnicki kept correspondence with Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich,

which won him a large monetary contribution from Muscovite coffers.[54] In the end, however,

ambition, money and influence were not enough to overcome royal confessional politics.

With memories of war against Orthodox Cossacks and Muscovites still fresh, King Jan

Kazimierz Vasa favored Józef Szumlański, due to his established, albeit then still secret, pro-

Union tendencies.[55] Szumlański first made a secret private confession of Catholicism in 1677.

He followed this up with another in 1681, this time in the presence of the king, the papal nuncio,

as well as religious and secular personalities from the region.[56] Thanks to the support of the king

and powerful local nobles, Józef Szumlański controlled the L'viv eparchy uncontested until his

death in 1708.

The sheer size of Antoni Winnicki's personal ambitions outstripped the temporal bounds

of his own lifespan. Eager to have a say in the appointment of his successor to the Orthodox see

of Przemyśl, Bishop Antoni Winnicki, petitioned King Jan III Sobieski for the appointment of

his nephew, Jan Winnicki. To ensure a smooth transition of power, Bishop Antoni wanted a

kinsman to first serve as the coadjutor, or auxiliary bishop of Przemyśl, with a right of

succession after Antoni's death. Jan was a close familiar of the king, served at his court and on

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[54] Dymitro Blazejovskyij, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church (861-1990),* (Rome: Universitas Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1990), 226.

[55] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969) , 854-855; Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół Unicki w Polsce w latach 1596-1696," in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 1, pt. 2, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 317.

[56] Dymitro Blazejovskyij, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church (861-1990),* (Rome: Universitas Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1990), 269; Tadeusz Śliwa, "Wezwania cerkwii diecezji lwowskiej obrządku wschodniego na przełomie XVII i XVIII wieku," in *Polska-Ukraina 1000 Lat Sąsiedztwa*, vol 5, ed. Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy w Przemyślu, 2000), 10.

military campaign against the Turks. His mother was a Catholic and Jan studied at a Jesuit

college in his youth. [57] His credentials were impeccable and he came from a noble family that

was well known and respected in the region. Sobieski quickly agreed to the appointment.

As a condition, the twenty-five year old candidate had to make a secret confession of the

Catholic faith, with the hope of a formal proclamation sometime in the future. [58] As a respected

member of the local nobility, Winnicki's consecration was met with strong approval from both

the gentry and the religious brotherhoods. Being a layman, Jan could not claim his see without

first becoming a monk. He promptly reported to the Univ Monastery, where his relative,

Barlaam Szeptycki, having also secretly professed his Catholic faith, served as abbot. There, he

took the monastic name Innocenty.[59] In 1679, following the death of his uncle, Innocenty was

consecrated the Bishop of Przemyśl by Józef Szumlański, who was already serving as the crypto-

Catholic Orthodox Bishop of L'viv. For over a decade Winnicki himself presided over his

eparchy as a crypto-Catholic, quietly taking steps to consolidate his position and ease the way

toward a public proclamation of union with Rome. The Przemyśl eparchy formally turned

Catholic twelve years later.

Just as Ruthenian bishops had negotiated the terms of the Union of Brest almost a century

before, so too did Winnicki and Szumlański negotiate the terms of their eparchial unions. This

agreement established a number of ecclesiastical particularities and a roadmap for the eparchies

in the coming years. In 1681, the same year they made their clandestine confession of faith,

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[57] Stanisław Stępień, "Biskup Innocenty i Jego Dzieło" in *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 13-14.

[58] Elżbieta Piwowar, "Pierwszy Synod Unicki Eparchii Przemyskiej (1693)," in *Polska-Ukraina 1000 Lat Sąsiedztwa*, vol 1, ed. Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy w Przemyślu, 1990), 157-8.

[59] Stanisław Stępień, "Biskup Innocenty i Jego Dzieło" in *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 14-15.

Winnicki and Szumlański first negotiated the points of union with the then-serving Greek-rite

Catholic Metropolitan, Cyprian Żochowski. The final demands were then submitted as part of a

document entitled "Points of agreement" to the Papal Nuncio Optius Pallavicini. The provisions

were in no way exceptional from those originally agreed upon at Brest and included: the lifting

of all taxes levied against Ruthenian bishops and monasteries,[60] the subordination of all

monasteries and religious brotherhoods with stauropegial exemptions[61] to the local bishops, the

bishop's liberty to select candidates for priesthood, along with an examination of their

qualifications, a prohibition on the (heretofore assumed) inheritance of benefices by parish

priests, an establishment of diocesan seminaries, and the free access to education for Greek-rite

youths wishing to study at colleges and academies within the Commonwealth.[62] In addition to

these points, Winnicki and Szumlański both insisted on a "crypto-Catholic" period of time

between their private confessions of allegiance to the Papacy and an open and public

proclamation of union with Rome, which would allow them to consolidate their authority as

bishops and subordinate the clerical corps to their authority. The memories of warring bishops

and defiant clergy were still fresh.

As one may note, the "Points of agreement" prominently featured mechanisms to

strengthen the episcopate's sway over all Greek-rite clergy and lay confraternities in their

respective eparchies. As I will demonstrate later in this chapter, this drive to centralize power

and authority, bolstered by a narrative of the apostolic origins of episcopal paternalism, became

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[60] The Catholic Church (by this time, of the Latin, Greek and Armenian rite) was exempt from taxation, as the officially recognized creed of the Commonwealth.

[61] Stauropegial exemptions granted to monasteries and religious brotherhoods exempted such institutions from the jurisdiction of a local bishop, making them answerable solely to the Patriarch.

[62] Борис І. Балик, *Іннокентій Іван Винницкий*, (Рим: Видавництво О.О. Василіян, 1978), 115-8.

See also: Stanisław Stępień, "Biskup Innocenty i Jego Dzieło" in *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 15-6.

the foundation from which the bishops extended their influence into the quotidian activities of the parish clergy and the predominately rural laity.

"THE BISHOP WILL KEEP WATCH," THE NEW EPISCOPAL IDEAL

For years, Winnicki and Szumlański publically upheld the image of faithful Orthodox bishops, suffragans of the Metropolitan in Kyiv and leaders of the Orthodox community of Przemyśl and L'viv. Secretly, they were Catholics, loyal to the Roman Pontiff, working at the behest of the Catholic Crown to supplant Orthodox Christianity and Catholicize their flocks. While the historical record shows many accounts of people adhering to different faiths in public than in private ("crypto"), the scenario usually arises when religious convictions and beliefs are in conflict with the dominant faith, and in a hostile confessional environment,[63] this was not the situation with Winnicki and Szumlański whose religious loyalties were in accordance with, and known by, the most powerful figures in the Commonwealth. Instead, this outward appearance of loyalty to Orthodoxy reflected the bishops' desire to create a window of time during which they could implement important changes without rousing suspicion prior to announcing union with Rome. Principal among these reforms were the elimination of various rivals to their ecclesiastical authority, and the centralization of episcopal control over clerical.

During their crypto-Catholic years, Winnicki and Szumlański initiated a phase of covert preparation of their eparchies for an eventual public proclamation of union. They advocated for Tridentine style reforms including a centralized clerical hierarchy, which specifically entailed the subordination of all autonomous and semi-autonomous ecclesiastical institutions such as lay

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[63] For example, in his work on the inquisition, Edward Peters routinely uses the prefix "crypto" in reference to conversos who, at the time of persecution by the Spanish Inquisition, remained "crypto-Jews." He likewise points to "crypto-Buddhists" and "crypto-Hindus" whom the Portuguese Inquisition sought to ferret out in Goa. Edward Peters, *Inquisition*, (Berkekely, CA: University of California Press, 1989), 98-9.

religious brotherhoods, monasteries and all remaining secular clergy to their authority as local

bishops. However, as supposed representatives of the Orthodox faith, Winnicki and Szumlański

could neither openly admit to modeling their eparchial reforms upon Catholic organizational

structures, nor overplay their hand by too forcefully pressing ahead with their long-term goals.[64]

In the Polish-Lithuanian state, the Orthodox episcopate of the sixteenth and seventeenth

century maintained a loosely connected, highly autonomous hierarchical structure which lacked

strong mechanisms for oversight,[65] where even maintaining a reliable number of parishes was a

challenge. According to Zdzisław Budzyński's study of pre-union parish structures in the

Przemyśl eparchy, Orthodox documentation of parishes is so inadequate, that secular

administrative tax records must be relied upon to establish any reliable number of parishes. The

ecclesiastical documents that do exist mention almost nothing regarding the founding of new

churches or establishment of new parishes.[66] Local lay authorities almost always nominated a

priestly candidate to fill an open benefice, usually the son of the incumbent priest. This act of

fathers bequeathing their benefices to sons produced a system of quasi-dynastic officeholders,

who owed their station to heredity and benefices to the good will of local lay patrons, much more

than their supposed spiritual superiors. Whereas Roman Catholic priests frequently competed

for plum benefices, the hereditary nature of the Ruthenian priestly office, lack of a formalized

model of priestly training outside of parochial schools,[67] and absence of episcopal requirements

for education, perpetuated a kind of clerical apprenticeship in which fathers instructed sons in the

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[64] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969), 854.

[65] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969), 808.

[66] Zdzisław Budzyński, "Sieć parafialna prawosławnej diecezji przemyskiej na przełomie XV-XVI wieku: Próba rekonstrukcji na podstawie rejestrów podatkowych ziemi przemyskich i sanockich." in *Polska-Ukraina 1000 Lat Sąsiedztwa*, vol 1, ed. Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy w Przemyślu, 1990), 136-7.

[67] Kazimierz Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska: Zarys historyczny 1370-1632*, (Warszawa: Skład Główny, Kasa imienia Malinowskiego – Instytut Popierania Nauki), 144, 182.

basics of liturgy and pastoral care.[68] A mechanism to determine the moral and spiritual fitness of

such a potential heir fell to the local lay patron, virtually obviating episcopal judgment on the

matter. Securing a benefice seemed little more than a transaction. In his capacity, the bishop

ordained the chosen nominee, issued the appropriate liturgical linens (*antymins*) and collected a

customary fee for the service. Since the thirteenth century, the parish priest was responsible for

the payment of a yearly sum (*kunica, stołowy, katedratyk*) to the bishop, as a sign of his

submission to episcopal authority. While bishops collected these funds with some regularity,

parishes located in far-flung corners of the eparchy or in geographically difficult terrain were

able to avoid these payments all together.

Aside from these periodic monetary exchanges, steady contacts between the bishop and

the parish priest were very limited. As mentioned, the typical pre-Union Ruthenian parish priest

felt the authority of the local lord patron (*collator*) or the village commune (*gromada*) much

more keenly than that of his bishop.[69] One of the most telling aspects of episcopal distance from

parish life comes from a virtual absence of prohibitions on the erections of new parishes and

construction of new churches. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, local nobility had a

material interest in establishing new parishes, as it allowed them to extract additional funds from

the parishioners, effectively combining parish finances with those of the lay patron. Roman

Catholic bishops frequently blocked a nobleman's desire for a parish of his own, often citing the

intended benefice as insufficient to support a parish priest. Not only are such episcopal refusals

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[68] Roman Pelczar, *Szkolnictwo w miastach zachodnich ziem województwa ruskiego (XVI-XVIII w.)*, (Rzeszów: Wydawnicto Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1998), 222.
[69] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969), 820.

absent from Ruthenian Orthodox episcopal archives, the only records confirming the founding of new parishes and endowing benefices originate from local lay authorities.[70]

The first steps toward limiting lay influence in parochial affairs took place only in the aftermath of Brest, with the adoption of Tridentine canonical and institutional structures. This administrative transformation remained slow and uneven across eparchies, becoming church-wide policy only at the 1720 Synod of Zamość. That said, archival evidence demonstrates that individual bishops attempted to institute a new sense of ecclesiastical legality, while seeking to marginalize lay patronage on the parish level.[71]

In the years preceding their respective eparchial unions, Winnicki and Szumlański worked to subvert this model of filial loyalty and lay patronage by discursively situating bishops as fathers to clerical subordinates and establishing the merits of strict patriarchal control and oversight. They issued a series of letters to their clerical subordinates. These letters sought to establish a more intimate relationship between the high episcopate and lower clergy by initiating a (unidirectional) dialog between bishops and subordinate parishes, extoling the virtues of deference to the hierarchy and demanding obedience. While Winnicki and Szumlański's exhortations were repeated and adamant, (initially) they had limited ability to enforce their will. Instead, their epistles served a twofold function. First, they established precedence for the active role of a bishop. During the tenures of previous bishops, local parishes effectively functioned outside episcopal authority; the post-union bishops of Przemyśl and L'viv assumed a much more

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[70] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969), 822-3.

[71] In his study of parish life in the Orthodox eparchy of Przemyśl, Zdzisław Budzyński refers to the absence of an episcopal role in parochial affairs as "niejurydyczność," or "non-juridicality," pointing to a lack of legal mechanisms through which episcopal authority could be regularly felt at the parish level.
Zdzisław Budzyński, "Sieć parafialna prawosławnej diecezji przemyskiej na przełomie XV-XVI wieku: Próba rekonstrukcji na podstawie rejestrów podatkowych ziemi przemyskich i sanockich" in *Polska-Ukraina 1000 Lat Sąsiedztwa*, vol 1, ed. Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy w Przemyślu, 1990), 136-7.

interventionist role. This intervening period of Winnicki and Szumlański's crypto-Catholic

reforms, offered a bridge between two very different models of episcopal administration.

Secondly, the content of the letters affirmed the sanctity of the clerical hierarchy by placing it

into a sacred history beginning with Christ's relationship with his apostles and continued,

unbroken, by the clerics who uphold his church. Their rendering situated the act of obedience by

priests to bishops as one akin to Saint Peter obeying Christ. This rendering simultaneously

declared clerics as inheritors of Christ, protectors of the faith and participants in a sacred time

instituted by Christ and upheld continuously through history.

Winnicki and Szumlański's negotiation of the episcopal image was, both

methodologically and in substance, based upon the Catholic Tridentine reforms pioneered in the

latter half of the sixteenth century by the Milanese Bishop Carlo Borromeo (1567-1584). The

Borromean model was predicated upon absolute moral and administrative discipline. The bishop

was meant to hold inviolate authority, and serve as an exemplar of dignity and a moral example

to clergy and laity alike. The moral purification of the episcopal office or at the very least the

purification of the episcopal image, legitimated the enhanced powers it enjoyed under these

reforms. Ultimately, Borromean reform projects hinged upon the moral disciplining of

subordinates through enhanced judicial powers, and only secondarily interested in rooting out

heresy.[72]

By the time of Winnicki and Szumlański's tenure, Borromeo had been canonized and his

centralizing projects become a source of emulation by reform-minded Catholic bishops for

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[72] Adriano Prosperi, "Clerics and Laymen in the Work of Carlo Borromeo," in *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, eds. John Headley, John Tomaro, (Washington: Folger Books, 1988), 113-6, 119.
Simon Ditchfield, Liturgy, *Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 95.

nearly a century.[73] In reforming the clerical office, Borromeo and his reform-minded successors

such as Winnicki and Szumlański, sought to create a respected clerical estate, distinctive from

the secular world but influential because of the respect afforded to the office. Borromeo's

reforms demanded, above all, a renewed sense of episcopal dignity, in which the bishop, always

residing in his episcopal see,[74] wielded a supreme and unchallenged spiritual and administrative

jurisdiction. This jurisdiction included a curtailing of many established privileges cherished by

the parish clergy, monastic houses and lay quasi-religious institutions, all in the name of

improved clerical discipline and pastoral care of the flock.[75] Through these reforms the bishops

wielded sufficient power to alter the behavior of subordinates through provincial synods,

visitations and use of the episcopal court to correct and sometimes coerce.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, Borromeo's brand of episcopate-centered

ecclesiastical reform became well known to a new generation of Polish Latin-rite bishops, many

of whom traveled to Italy to familiarize themselves with the newest trends in ecclesiastical

reform and diocesan administration.[76] Beginning in the 1570s, two decades before the Union of

Brest, a significant number of these Latin bishops bore responsibility for creating a renewed

urgency for a confessional union between the Roman and the Ruthenian Churches.[77] Over the

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[73] Elisabeth Gleason, "Catholic Reformation, Counterreformation and Papal Reform in the Sixteenth Century," in *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600*, vol. 2, eds. Thomas Brady, Heiko Oberman, James Tracy, (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), 336-7; Giuseppe Alberigo, "Carlo Borromeo between Two Models of Bishop," in *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, eds. John Headley, John Tomaro (Washington: Folger Books, 1988).

[74] A frequent problem of the Catholic episcopate prior to Trent, as well as that of Ruthenian Orthodox bishops, was absenteeism and pluralism, frequently resulting from claims to multiple church benefices. Clerical titles were sometimes little more than honorifics in which the office holder had no say, or interest, in the day to day administration of his area.

[75] R. Po-chia Hsia, *The world of Catholic renewal 1540-1770,* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK: 1988), 113.

[76] Wiesław Müller, "Diecezje w okresie potrydenckim" in *Kościół w Polsce, wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy, ZNAK, 1969), 113-4.

[77] Such proponents included bishops: Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz, Bernard Maciejowski and Jan Dymitr Solikowski. See: Wiesław Müller, "Diecezje w okresie potrydenckim" *Kościół w Polsce, wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy, ZNAK, 1969), 216.

course of the century leading up to the tenures of Winnicki and Szumlański, the Borromean

model of episcopal living and diocesan administration had become an accepted model of

episcopal structuring for both Latin and Greek-rite bishops in the Polish-Lithuanian

Commonwealth.

Among the first generation of Greek-rite Ruthenian bishops to embrace Borromean style

reforms, no prelate was more influential than Józef Welamin Rutski,[78] who served as

Metropolitan from 1611 until his death in 1637.[79] Rutski reformed Greek-rite monastic houses

using Discalced Carmelite and Jesuit rules as models. He gathered many of the loosely

organized monastic houses, placed them directly under the authority of a single general abbot,

who, in turn, answered to the Metropolitan alone. The mission of Orthodox Ruthenian monastic

life had traditionally revolved around an abandonment of the world, a dedication to prayer and a

focus on the sanctification and salvation of the self. Under Rutski, the new Greek-rite Basilian

Fathers were to dedicate themselves to the pastoral care of souls, effectively transforming from a

contemplative to an active order.[80] Rutski envisioned the Basilians as a kind of novitiate for

future Ruthenian metropolitans, bishops, educators and administrators.[81] Those Basilians who

were talented enough to be groomed for the episcopate, were sent to the Greek College in Rome,

or, at the very least, some other illustrious Catholic educational institution in Europe.

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[78] Rutski was born into a Calvinist family and converted to Latin-rite Catholicism in his young adulthood. He studied at St. Bartholomew's College in Prague under Jesuit schoolmasters, completing his education at Greek College in Rome in 1603. See: Dyrmitro Blazejowskij, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church, 861-1990*, (Rome: Editiones Universitatis Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1990), 249.

[79] Rutski served as coadjutor (assistant to a serving bishop) starting in 1611 and was formally consecrated at the Greek-rite Catholic Metropolitan of Kyiv in 1614.
Dyrmitro Blazejowskij, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church, 861-1990*, (Rome: Editiones Universitatis Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1990), 249.

[80] O. Isydor Patryło, OSBM, "Zakon Bazylianów po Unii Brzeskiej," in *Polska-Ukraina 1000 Lat Sąsiedztwa*, vol 4, ed. Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy w Przemyślu, 1998), 164-7.

[81] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969) , 885.

Rutski's approach toward reforming Ruthenian monasticism informed the way he viewed the ideal role of the episcopate. In his "Regulae Episcoporum" or "Rules for Bishops," Rutski put forth a model of a "bishop-monk." While he did not call for extreme fasts or mortification of the flesh, Rutski advocated for a bishop that understood his place in the hierarchy, possessed a sense of spiritual calling, lived a lifestyle that was abstemious in relation to the resources reaped from his benefice, while conducting himself in a manner that was as exemplary on the inside as on the outside. In this way, a bishop had an obligation to be obedient to the dictates of his metropolitan, just as a monk was bound to obey his abbot.[82] Acknowledging the decision-making role of any bishop, Rutski insisted that anyone wishing to govern others "first and foremost ought to be able to govern himself," thereby demonstrating himself to be not only a paragon of personal abstemiousness, but also of prudent management of the material resources of his own benefice. He further warned against the office being granted to anyone who "did not merit the office with a spiritual life through frequent meditation, purity of soul and practice in virtue."[83] In other words, he criticized the established mode of episcopal appointment, in which lay political patronage virtually assured consecration and the material fruits of a well-endowed benefice, with little regard for the necessary spiritual qualifications.

Throughout the sixteenth century, Ruthenian episcopal appointments functioned as rewards for devoted service to the state, thus acknowledging secular, rather than spiritual

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[82] *Археографическій Сборник Документов Относящихся къ Исторіи Сѣверозападной Руси*, vol 12. (Вильна: Типографія А. Г. Сыркина, 1900), 202, "Obedientiam praestabit in omnibus hierarchae suo metropolitae." (Obedience to their metropolitan shall be demanded of all hierarchs.)
See also: Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969), 886.
[83] Józef Welamin Rutski, "Regulae Episcoporum," in *Археографическій Сборник Документов Относящихся къ Исторіи Сѣверозападной Руси*, vol 12. (Вильна: Типографія А. Г. Сыркина, 1900), 201,
"Primo igitur antequam omnia curabit semet ipsum, (...) nisi quis illud mereatur vita spirituali, hoc est frequendi meditatione, puriate animi et exercitatione in virtibus, praesertim ad statum ipsius pertinentibus."

qualities of the eventual appointee.[84] Indeed, an Orthodox episcopal appointment and the

benefice it provided were treated no differently than landed fiefdoms granted by the generous

hand of the king. The Crown frequently nominated such loyal laymen as "Bojarin" (member of

lower nobility) Hlib Korsak to the see of Polots'k or Jona Borżobohaty Krasiński as the Bishop

of Luts'k. The spiritual qualifications of the candidate were deemed so irrelevant by the Crown

that for a period of time, Krasiński held his post without any formal consecration, over the

complaints from the Metropolitan himself.[85] While details regarding the type of service that

ultimately led to a high clerical appointment are not easily discerned by the source material, the

notions of civic and military virtue (*virtus*) as codes of an exemplary nobleman find frequent

mention in the literary works of the period. For instance, the poet Andrzej Radawiecki

exemplified this definition of noble virtue as service in his written work:

> You look upon your father (...) who stands in armor, wears a helmet, wields a lance and a
> military baton. He musters the army in the field (of battle) and disperses the enemy. He
> counsels on state affairs, for the faith and the fatherland he willingly and honorably bears
> his breast and carries his head.[86]

The combination of noble virtues of military valor and patriotic service, rewarded by the

granting of episcopal benefices through royal largesse, was periodically criticized by Orthodox

polemicists and urban confraternities.[87] Post-Union, it was more urgently recognized as

antithetical to a project of ecclesiastical renewal in which bishops were to hold initiative.

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[84] Kazimierz Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska: Zarys historyczny 1370-1632*, (Warszawa: Skład Główny, Kasa imienia Malinowskiego – Instytut Popierania Nauki), 144, 173-4.

[85] Dymitro Blazejovskyij, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church (861-1990)*, (Rome: Universitas Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1990), 206, 193-4.

[86] Czesław Hernas, *Barok*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1998), 93,
"Patrzysz na ojca twego (...) a on we zbroi, w szyszaku, z kopią, z buławą, a on w polu wojsko szykuje, nieprzyjaciela gromi, o ojczyźnie radzi, dla wiary, dla ojczyzny chwalebnie piersi swe i głowę ochotnie niesie."

[87] Kazimierz Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska: Zarys historyczny 1370-1632*, (Warszawa: Skład Główny, Kasa imienia Malinowskiego – Instytut Popierania Nauki), 174-5.

Rutski's narrative represented an attempt to redefine the meaning of "virtue" to suit his episcopal ideal, while differentiating it from the idealized code of behavior intended for all men of noble birth in the Commonwealth.[88] In order to restore and cultivate the dignity of the episcopal office, Rutski defined "virtue" not in terms of masculine military gallantry, but of morally irreproachable conduct that served as an example to all of the bishop's subordinates.[89] In this way, the benefice over which a bishop presided was not merely a temporal reward to be used for personal enrichment, but an opportunity to exemplify prudence, charity and good stewardship to lower clergy who held parochial benefices. Acknowledging that a benefice was a temporal resource of a spiritual institution, as opposed to a personal fiefdom, Rutski exhorted bishops to use church benefices not as its master, but as its caretaker.[90]

Rutski's episcopal ideal, in which a bishop was aware of his place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, did not merely extend upward, toward the Metropolitan, but also downward, toward his sacerdotal subordinates. Indeed, a prime reason for his advocacy of a new ideal of episcopal "virtue," was grounded in a belief that external behavior of superiors needed to provide a model of proper conduct for the remainder of the clergy. For all its importance, this model of affecting clerical behavior coexisted with a more active measure. Taking direct influence from Borromeo, Rutski advocated surveillance of the parish clergy, particularly through regular visitations, delegated to trusted men in his retinue. An appointed visitor (*protopopas*) was granted the

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[88] For an in-depth discussion on the concept of "noble virtue" in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, see: Jan Stanisław Bystroń, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawnej Polsce wiek XVI-XVIII*, vol 1, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1994), 165-8.

[89] Józef Welamin Rutski, "Regulae Episcoporum," in *Археографическій Сборник Документов Относящихся къ Исторіи Сѣверозападной Руси*, vol 12. (Вильна: Типографія А. Г. Сыркина, 1900), 201,
"Vita episcopi exterior esse debet ejusmodi, ut exemplo sit vitae aliorum, qui ipsi subsunt."
(The external life of a bishop ought to be of such a state, that it is exemplary to all who are subordinate to him.)

[90] Józef Welamin Rutski, "Regulae Episcoporum," in *Археографическій Сборник Документов Относящихся къ Исторіи Сѣверозападной Руси*, vol 12. (Вильна: Типографія А. Г. Сыркина, 1900), 203,
"Exterior autem paupertas in hoc consistet, ne proventibus ecclesiasticis utantur tanquam domini, sed tanqua administratores."
(External poverty consists of this: treating church income not as a lord might, but as a caretaker.)

authority to visit his designated deanery (*decanatus*) and in the name of the bishop, to make

certain that priests were actually present in their benefices and were active in performing their

duties.[91] Indeed, a fundamental transformation of the office of an Orthodox *protopopas*

following Union, entailed equating it with that of the Latin-rite dean (*decanus)*, making it a more

useful tool of episcopal surveillance through routine visitations of priests in their parishes.[92]

This episcopally delegated, regularized surveillance of subordinates did not merely extend to

external appearance, such as clerical dress, presence of proper religious books and diligent and

proper performance of religious rituals. Rutski also insisted that the visitors question priests on

the state of their "God-fearing consciences" and their "knowledge of doctrine," the details of

which were to be diligently reported back to the bishop:

> The [bishop] will keep watch over the priests in his diocese, making certain that they
> fulfill their duties. This undertaking will entail a yearly review of his diocese, taking
> account of that the priests are of God-fearing consciences and of sufficient learning on
> doctrine, ministry and way of life. The visitors will faithfully indicate the details of this to
> their bishop. The designated [visitors] will likewise keep watch as to whether all [priests]
> are present in their [assigned] churches, and that they tirelessly persevere in performing
> the appropriate liturgy, keeping proper dress, necessary church books. They will also
> make certain that all clerical duties are fulfilled, particularly those in front of the altar, but
> especially those relating to the Body of Christ.[93]

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[91] Józef Welamin Rutski, "Regulae Episcoporum," in Археографическій Сборник Документов Относящихся къ Исторіи Сѣверозападной Руси, vol 12. (Вильна: Типографія А. Г. Сыркина, 1900), 205,
"Decanus seu protopopas quotannis bis scribet ad episcopum de parochiis et eclesiis, quae in ejus decanato existant, ut episcopus scire possit, quid ubique per ejus episcopatum fiat."
 (The dean, or the "protopopas" will twice-yearly inform the bishop, in writing, about the pastors and churches that are present in his (assigned) deanery. This is so that the bishop may know about the "what and where" taking place under his oversight.)

[92] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969), 811.

[93] Józef Welamin Rutski, "Regulae Episcoporum," in *Археографическій Сборник Документов Относящихся къ Исторіи Сѣверозападной Руси*, vol 12. (Вильна: Типографія А. Г. Сыркина, 1900), 205,
"Attendet, ut sacerdotes, in ejus dioecesi existentes, satisfaciant, muniis propriis. Idicirco opus erit inspectione nimirum, ut quolibet anno mittat lustratum per totam suam dioecesim sacerdotes timoratae conscientiae et sufficientis scientiae, qui capta legitime notitia de doctrina, ministerio et vita cujuslibet sacerdotum fideliter episcopo significent. Idem lustratores attendent, ut omnia in ecclesia plene adsint, quae persolvendo sacris praestandoque cultu divino serviant, tam vestitus, quam libri ecclesiastici, utque omnia munda sint, praesertim in altari, sed prae omnibus, ut sacrosancta Corporis X-ti mysteria munda asserventur."

Submission and surveillance became part of the accepted Greek-rite clerical relationship, ensuring a more abstemious episcopate and a more respected clerical office.

In his study of the Catholic Reformation in France, Jean Delumeau employed the term "Christianization,"[94] which he defined, in part, "as shaping the mores and beliefs of those who were still uninformed." This undertaking entailed a new effort to evangelize the lay masses, which, in turn, became possible only once the episcopate decided to surveil the parish clergy more closely than they previously had been.[95] This early phase of Delumeau's Christianization, during which the episcopate sought tighter control of their institutional subordinates, correlates with Rutski's vision of a re-instituted clerical hierarchy, as it does to state of the eparchies of Przemyśl and L'viv in the period of the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth century. Within the two eparchies, episcopal documents demonstrate that reform of the clergy was much more of a concern than, to paraphrase Delumeau, shaping the mores and beliefs of the uninformed laity.[96]

"YOU ARE TO INFORM ME," DEANS AS EPISCOPAL INSTRUMENTS

Some scholars have come to regard the acculturation of rural areas, as more aptly considered a process of clericalism, or clericalization.[97] This was a two-step project aiming to displace popular religious practices in rural areas by encouraging the view that priests were necessary preconditions for ritual sacrality; essentially supplanting popular religious practices or co-opting them into acceptable forms of devotion. Secondly, clericalism sought to establish the

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[94] While Delumeau used the term "Christianization" subsequent scholarship has tended to use the term "acculturation" for his thesis. See the introductory chapter of this work.

[95] Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire*, (London: Burns & Oates, 1977), 180.

[96] Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire*, (London: Burns & Oates, 1977), 180.

[97] Silvana Seidel Menchi uses the term "clericalization" and "Christianization" interchangeably. See: Silvana Seidel Menchi, "Characteristics of Italian Anticlericalism" in *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds., Heiko Oberman, Peter Dykema, (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 271-82.

support of lay parishioners by disciplining the often unruly behavior of parish priests.[98] Forty

years after Rutski's death, Winnicki and Szumlański, as the first generation of Przemyśl and

L'viv to accept the primacy of Rome, both actively promoted a process of clericalism; a vision of

a historically-based dignity and authority of their episcopal office and clerical obedience and

discipline.

Bishops in the Commonwealth presided over eparchies significantly larger than European

Christendom to the west, rendering direct control and supervision much more challenging. The

physical deployment of episcopal representatives could serve as a means of communication

between parish and episcopate and since the thirteenth century Latin Catholics had employed the

use of deans[99] for this purpose.[100] By the late sixteenth century, and as a result of the

centralizing focus of the Council of Trent, the Latin Catholic Church in the Commonwealth

implemented a project to reform deaneries. These reforms limited the autonomy of the deans

and instituted strict rules for attendance at synods, parish visitations, record keeping, and the

dissemination of the pastoral letters which were becoming popularized.[101]

While deans existed in Orthodox Christianity, it remained a highly autonomous and self-

regulating institution in the seventeenth century, providing little in the way of communication

between parish and episcopate. Moreover, the deans held great prerogatives within the church

structure. As late as 1666, Kyivan Metropolitan and L'viv administrator Antoni Winnicki

employed an ihumen, or abbot of a monastery, as a go-between between himself and the

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[98] Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 229. See also: Marc R. Forster, *Catholic revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550-1750*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001) and Philip T. Hoffman, *Church and community in the diocese of Lyon 1500-1789*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).
[99] An adaptation of the Latin "decani," cited in Early Modern Polish texts as "dziekanie," appearing contemporaneously in middle Ukrainian as: наместники, протопопове, протопресвутери, десятоначальнки.
[100] Jerzy Kłoczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 37-8.
[101] Jerzy Kłoczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 138-139.

cathedral chapter of deans without so much as a mention of their role in the distribution of a pastoral letter: "Having determined the date of selection among yourselves, you are to inform me through the Reverend (…) you are to inform me via (…) the abbot of Liśnica, in order that I may issue the proper circular letters."[102] Moreover, direct episcopal visitations were extremely rare for the Eastern Churches of the Commonwealth, both Uniate and Orthodox. While the Uniate Metropolitan Józef Welamin Rutski reportedly conducted visitations in the Volhynia region as early as 1628, there is scant evidence to the extent of the visitation with regard to scope, time, or area. In the Przemyśl and L'viv eparchies, Orthodox Metropolitan Piotr Mohyla also conducted a visitation of the Kyivan Metropolitanate sometime in the first half of the seventeenth century. This effort, however, directed principally upon the fiscal health of parishes, focusing on parish clergy as a potential source of episcopal revenue.[103] In essence, the visit was a means of fundraising.

The respective tenures of bishops Winnicki and Szumlański, established defined guidelines for clerical conduct. To that end, each moved to restructure and consolidate their immediate subordinates, the network of deans. Through the visitations of deans, episcopal authority could put such guidelines intro practical implementation. In both eparchies, the dean vicariously performed the episcopal duties a bishop was unable to. Whereas the episcopate determined the project of clerical reform, it was up to the deans to actually see it implemented. As such, deans became the visible face of an otherwise distant episcopate, reminding the parish clergy of the hierarchy that existed above them and the duties and obligations they were to

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[102] *Собори Львівскої Епархіï XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 87, "Jeżeliby zaś dla krotkości czasu debita praw iey nie mogła być frequentia, consultum mi dać zdaie, abyscie Wasze M(ości) P(anowie) spelnić o inszym wczesnieyszym electiey terminie między sobą postanowiwszy, mnie o o nim przez W(ielebnego) o(yca) Sylwestra Iwanowskie(g)o, ihumena lisnicskiego, znać dawali, zebym powtornie , iako nayprędzey mogł rozkazać wydac vniwersały."
[103] Andrzej Gil, *Chełmska diecezja unicka 1596-1801. Dzieje i organizacja*, (Lublin: Instytut Europy środkowo-wschodniej, 2005), 134.

perform. During the tenures of Winnicki and Szumlański the role of the deans was largely to convince the parish clergy of the merits of reform through spiritual arguments regarding episcopal primacy. However, subsequent bishops extended the authority of the deans to coercively enforce their decrees, surveil priests in their parishes and punish clerics who dared step out of line.

To promulgate this consolidation, Bishop Innocenty Winnicki applied a language of continuity to his reform of the cathedral chapter in Przemyśl. The cathedral chapter (Lat. *capitula*, Pol. *kapituła, krylos*) was a body of prelates, most of whom simultaneously bore some kind of responsibility for individually assigned deaneries.[104] Declaring the chapter to be in a "collapsed state," he promised to end this cycle of decline as, "we have tried to lift it out of ashes and return it to its pristine form." [105] Dedicating his tenure to the reinstitution and reestablishment of a "return to pristine form" in no way insinuated endowing the cathedral chapter with the same prerogatives it once held over the person of the bishop; at one time the chapter and not the Polish Crown decided who would become their next bishop. Instead, Winnicki offered a narrative in which their ecclesiastical body had fallen out of continuity with the established practices of Christ's Church. Through his ascension and subsequent proclamation of Union with Rome, Winnicki proclaimed that a new cycle of reform was in the process of being initiated, for "we have judged just and proper to institute this correction of custom and better spiritual government." [106] According to Ludomir Bieńkowski, Winnicki's

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[104] Witold Bobryk, *Duchowieństwo unickiej diecezji chełmskiej w XVIII wieku*, (Lublin: Instytut Europy środkowo-wschodniej, 2005), 90.

[105] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 41, "Iako same Capitulum Cerkwie Kathedralney Przemyskiey także upadłe, prawie e cinneris resuscitari & ad pristina reduci Forma usiłowaliśmy."

[106] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998),

program of resurrecting the cathedral chapter never truly materialized in its intended form.[107]

Instead, Winnicki focused on turning prelate deans into useful tools of episcopal oversight.

A decade before his formal proclamation of Union with Rome, Winnicki convened a

provincial synod at Przemyśl in 1681, from which emerged an instructional tome on the

maintenance of an assortment of spiritual matters. Over the course of seventeen chapters, it

spelled out the moral and administrative duties of deans during visitations. In order to ensure the

moral standard of the parish clergy, the dean was charged to verify that the clerics under his care

had an external confessor, "before whom each could cleanse his soul."[108] Winnicki stated that

the deans were not only to instruct their clerical subordinates, but also provide a moral example

in the practice of more frequent auricular confession. This type of moral example, he posited,

would make the parish clergy comfortable with using the dean as a confessor in urgent situations.

Furthermore, the ready availability of a designated confessor significantly narrowed the

possibility of performing the Holy Service, and the associated handing the body and blood of

Christ, while not in a state of grace. Regardless of the confessor, Winnicki instructed deans to

keep a record of the frequency of priestly confessions, as well as the availability of spiritual

services to the laity by the clergy, and the level of lay knowledge in basic prayers and tenets of

faith. Sadly, any systematic way of determining the efficacy of Winnicki's ambitious goals to

shape clerical behavior has been irreparably compromised by the destruction of source materials

during World War II.

41, "Tak y te Korrekte zwyczaiow y lepszego in Spiritualis Rządu, z konsensem całey Dioecesij, za rzecz słuszną sądziliśmy."

[107] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w." in *Kościół w Polsce : wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969), 905-6.

[108] Єпископ Інокентій Винницький, *Катихисіс або бароковий душпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Супровідні статті й упорядкування Володимира і Дениса Пилиповичів, 2007), ark. 33 recto, "перед ним совѣст свою нащо наичасти ѡчищати (...) вби Сщенниси всѣ парохіалны сповѣдъ такъже ɣ него часто ѡдправлали."

Just a year before Winnicki's synod, Bishop Józef Szumlański issued a letter to the deans entitled, "Mirror for the Clearer Vision and Easier Understanding of the Faith." In this letter of 1680, Szumlański delineated his vision of episcopal control over parish clergy through the use of deans:

> Each dean ought to always present the confessors from his deanery at the yearly episcopal synod. In this, he should state which priest had confessed twelve times a year, this being, once a month. At the synod, each named cleric ought to, in good conscience, bring before the bishop testimonies from his confessor, staring how many times he had confessed. A confessor ought never grant absolution for sins which he has no authority to absolve, as they can only be absolved by the bishop. Should a confessor have the authority to absolve from such sins, he ought not forget where such authority had originated from. [109]

Szumlański's "Mirror" reflected Tridentine structures of hierarchy and obligation toward the office of the deans which included the yearly synod. As part of their duties in their respective parishes, deans were to verify that local clerics had up-to-date liturgical books, maintained records of baptisms, marriages and funerals, as well as performed Eucharistic rituals in a canonical manner. However, like the Latin Catholics of the Commonwealth, they were also mandated to attend the yearly synod and make frequent reports to the episcopate, ensuring that communication functioned both from the episcopate and to the episcopate. Piotr Wawrzeniuk's pioneering work also demonstrated Szumlański's utilization of the ecclesiastical court to suspend, punish and correct an offending cleric before allowing him to return to the parish.[110]

While Winnicki and Szumlański began the process of centralization and episcopal communication with their parishes, a thorough, universal, routinized and formulaic outline of

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[109] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 3, "Кождыи ѿт(е)цъ протопопа зъ своеи протопопіи нехаи презентуетъ сповѣдникомъ на соборѣ завше дорочномъ єп(иско)п(с)комъ, которыи с(віа)щенникъ сповѣдалъса до року разовъ дванадцатъ, на кождомъ м(ѣса)ци по разу. (...) не маючи владзы на то даннои собѣ."

[110] Piotr Wawrzeniuk, "Violence Among the Parish Priests" *Forschungen zur osteuropäisches Geschichte* 71 (2007): 237.

what a visitation ought to look like was not finally realized until the Synod of Zamość in 1720.[111]

At Zamość, the Uniate hierarchy codified the specific requirements and duties of deans, outlining

a punitive mechanism that threatened fines, incarceration or removal from benefice, depending

on the degree of infraction.

By the 1740s, the overwhelming majority of parish clergy had been ordained post-union,

and their experience as clerics always included active communication with their bishop and dean.

Having established a narrative of righteous episcopal authority, the episcopate believed this new

crop of parish priests would be more amenable toward Uniate reforms. Accordingly, the

episcopate implemented a far more rigid system of expectations, surveillance and punishment.

In addition to the extension of episcopal presence through visitations and other interactions with

the deans, a parish priest could expect to be called up to the episcopal residence for various

reasons. Attendance at diocesan synods was mandatory. There, the authority of the dean over

the parish priest was ceremonially performed in front of the bishop. Deans were to publically

present parish priests from their deanery in front of the bishop, as well as explain any absentees

who were unable to attend.[112] Wayward clerics who violated episcopal decrees could also expect

to directly and personally feel episcopal power to coerce. For example, documents from the

tenure of the bishop of L'viv Atanazy Szeptycki (1715-1746) demonstrate a wide range of

coercive and punitive measures:

> In accordance with the Synod of Zamość, the esteemed parish priests are ordered to
> instruct the people in the Catechism and Christian learning. Should any priest, without
> cause, decide to forego the catechism, he ought to pay 10 złoty to the church coffer for
> each infraction. This, the deans are ordered to diligently watch over. Any who, having

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[111] Andrzej Gil, *Chełmska diecezja unicka 1596-1801. Dzieje i organizacja*, (Lublin: Instytut Europy środkowo-wschodniej, 2005), 135.

[112] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 3,
"Кождыи под винами ѿ(е)цъ протопопа повинен ѡзнаймити своемү еп(иско)п(о)ви, если когѡ за слүшною
не бүдетъ на помѣстномъ соборѣ, повиненъ под сүменемъ повѣдати."
(Each dean ought to inform his bishop if any priest is absent, with good reason, from the synod. This he should do in good conscience.)

foregone the catechism, chose not to fulfill the designated punishment, these shall be suspended via the order of the dean. Deans ought not lift the suspension until the amount is paid.[113]

As agents of the episcopate, deans were tasked with the maintenance of standardized episcopal messages reaching the laity, while clerics tasked with disseminating this message to their flocks.

PRE-UNION REFORM STRATEGIES

Narratives of sacred continuity, both legitimizing and naturalizing reforms, underpinned particularly the crypto-Catholic, episcopally sponsored project of clericalization, centralization and Catholicization. Winnicki and Szumlański expended a great deal of energy deploying narratives which portrayed the local bishop as a historical, paternalistic authority figure over his presbyters. Over the course of the next few decades, with succeeding bishops, this narrative extended to a direct episcopal authority over the subordinate parish priests while simultaneously seeking to elevate the station of the parish priest as one that was historically distinct from the predominately peasant laity. This elevation entailed not only a sacrality that supposedly had been established by Christ, granted to the Apostles, handed forth to the present episcopate to be finally bestowed upon the parish priest, but also one of personal conduct, moral discipline and physical appearance. By the middle of the eighteenth century, this notion of clerical elevation had become such an ever-present feature of parish life that the laity themselves became tools of surveillance of the parish priest. The archival record demonstrates that the laity, whether in the form of the village council or individual parishioners, had come to expect the presence of parish priest to perform liturgy, hear confessions or dispense last rites. However, as demonstrated by

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[113] *Собори Львівскої Епархіï XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 269, "Według synodu Zamojskiego, po parochiach Wielebni parochowie katechizmu y nauki chrześcijanskiey w niedziele y święta uroczyste ludzi nauczali (...) y ktory bez przeszkody w niedzielę lub święto uroczyste katechizm opuscił, za kozdy raz powinien dać do karbony cerkiewney zł 10, czego xięża dziekani pilnie mają przestrzegać. I ktoryby opusciwszy katechizm rzeczony, kary nie chciał wypełnic, takowego xiądz dziekan ma władzę suspendować, y od suspensy doputy nie absolować, poki nie zapłaci."

reports in episcopal visitations and letters of supplication to the bishop's chancery, the very same parishioners showed few qualms about criticizing their local priest for transgressing the codes of conduct that had become expected of them.

Winnicki and Szumlański began their reform efforts in the latter half of the seventeenth century, during their crypto-Catholic tenures. While biographies sometimes suggest that the impetus for reform was political opportunism rather than a sense of true religious calling, ultimately such distinctions are immaterial relative to the vigor and results of their reform projects.[114] The presence of the Papal Nuncio, representatives from the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, other crypto-Catholics and the express desire of King Sobieski could scarcely have allowed these bishops to deviate from their prescribed course once installed as bishops; their actions must have been followed closely by interested parties even prior to official union. Cloaked in the guise of continuity, their narratives and messages proclaimed that their crypto-Catholic reforms were both in keeping with time-honored traditions and a reflection of unaltered divine will.

Towards this end, the crypto-Catholic Bishops Innocenty Winnicki and Józef Szumlański used synods and pastoral letters to disseminate a narrative of sacred history and a holy inheritance into the parishes under their authority. They based this history upon the premise that the priesthood was initiated by Christ himself and that divine will continuously blessed and sustained the office. The priesthood represented the inheritance of both a tangible office and an intangible sacrality linking priests through time with Christ, the Apostles, and Church Fathers. In linking the priesthood and the priestly hierarchy to a divine ordering, their rhetoric extended the sacred time of Apostolic Era into the present; conferring unimpeachable legitimacy to the

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[114] Mikołaj Andrusiak, *Józef Szumlański, pierwszy biskup unicki lwowski (1667-1708)*, (Lwów: Nakład Towarzystwa Naukowego w Lwowie, 1934), 110.

episcopal authority and heralding obedience as a sacred act tantamount to bowing before Christ. Moreover, their histories situated the continuity of this hierarchy and the sacrality of their episcopal office from its inception, unbroken into the present. In other words, they asserted that the reforms stemming from their episcopal see were not innovations, but continuations of a divinely ordained system of governance. This narrative had pragmatic aims: inspiring clerics to self-discipline their behavior in response to the sacrality of the office, making them more pliant towards the will of their bishops and perhaps most importantly, establishing contact between the office of the bishop and priests of the oft-remote parishes within their eparchies.

The upsurge of synodal activities during the tenures of Winnicki and Szumlański highlight their strategies to confessionalize. As Orthodox and then Greek-rite Catholic bishops, they convened synods on a semi-regular basis to foster an image of clerical solidarity, maintain ties between the episcopal office and its subordinate clergy, as well as demonstrate an ongoing dialogue between the clergy and the rest of the faithful.[115] Following each synod, bishops issued pastoral letters which were then sent out to each constituent parish. Winnicki and Szumlański likewise sought to transform the very concept of a synod to correspond with their goals of centralizing episcopal power and authority. Traditionally, in accordance with the ecclesiology of the Eastern Church, since synods take place with the guidance of the Holy Spirit, their conclusions could not be pre-determined, nor could the convening bishop use the synod as a platform for his own agenda. However, according to Ihor Skochylas, once an eparchy accepted union, the synodal agendas were almost always planned in advance and harmonized with the will of the bishop, all but removing any possibility of opposition by the attending clergy.[116] This

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[115] Ihor Skoczylas, *Sobory eparchii chełmskiej XVII wieku: Program religijny Slavia Unita w Rzeczypospolitej*, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2008), 16.
[116] Ihor Skoczylas, *Sobory eparchii chełmskiej XVII wieku: Program religijny Slavia Unita w Rzeczypospolitej*, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2008), 63.

effectively allowed diocesan synods to become the launching pads for episcopal projects of centralization, clerical disciplining and increased oversight.

Prior to the tenures of Winnicki and Szumlański, diocesan synods were infrequent in the two eparchies. In the thirteen decades prior to Szumlański's tenure in L'viv, a mere fifteen synods were held there, with at least six of these relating to the business of electing a new bishop.[117] This number increased dramatically during his tenure and became a yearly event post-Union. During the years of his forty year tenure Szumlański held twelve synods, nearly equaling the number in the previous one-hundred thirty years; of course none of which pertained to the election of a new bishop. In fact, eight of Szumlański's convocations were pre-union, indicating his attempts to centralize authority, enhance interaction with the parish episcopate and establish support for union were a long-term processes. Diocesan synods in the Przemyśl eparchy were convoked somewhat less frequently. Under Winnicki's tenure, only two were held: in 1691 and 1693, but remained relatively frequent over the course of the following century.[118]

While synods brought subordinate clerics to the episcopal courts of Winnicki and Szumlański, the print medium functioned to disseminate their words throughout their rural parishes, acting, alongside visiting deans, as extensions of their authority. Wolfgang Reinhard points to the printing press as a crucial mechanism for confessionalization in the period following the Reformation.[119] Starting in the latter half of the sixteenth century, this mechanism

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[117] Fifteen synods were recorded between the years 1535 and 1666. However, it should be noted that gaps exist in the record, notably in 1540, 1550, and 1570. Synods with the intent of electing a new bishop were recorded in 1535, 1549, 1569, 1607, 1641 and 1667. See: Ігор Скочиляс, "Історичний Нарис," in *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), cxxxiv-cxlii.

[118] Ihor Skoczylas, *Sobory eparchii chełmskiej XVII wieku: Program religijny Slavia Unita w Rzeczypospolitej*, (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2008), 19.

[119] For a description of Reinhard's seven mechanisms for confessionalization, see: Wolfgang Reinhard "Was ist katholische Konfessionalisierung?" in *Wissenschaftliches Symposion der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte,* eds. Wolfgang Reinhard, Hans Schilling, (Gütersloh: Gütersloh Verlagshaus, 1995), 426; Wolfgang Reinhard, "Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters." *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 10 (1983), 263.

was at work in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth. Borys Gudziak cites the lack of wide

scale printing as an institutional weakness in the Orthodox Church in Poland-Lithuania, leaving

it vulnerable to evangelization by rival faiths.[120] According to Jan Zbigniew Słowiński, the

episcopal project of Catholic catechizing in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between 1568

and 1772 resulted in the production of no fewer than seventeen different Polish-language

catechisms, not including the various reprints and follow-up editions. All were printed within

the borders of the Commonwealth, in such diverse locations as Cracow, Poznań, Vilnius, L'viv,

and by the eighteenth century, in Warsaw.[121] Of the seventeen, three were intended specifically

for Greek-rite Catholic readership.[122]

Particularly starting in the latter half of the seventeenth century, Greek-rite Catholic

clergy became susceptible to the same winds of sarmatization and polonization as the nobility.

Uniate catechetical literature, reflecting this trend, was printed predominately in Polish. Print

runs for any book were small by western standards, rarely exceeding a thousand copies.

However, in instances where the demand outstripped the available supply, additional editions

were printed.[123] Upon becoming familiar with the text himself, the parish priests then rendered

the message contained therein comprehensible and relevant to the overwhelmingly illiterate

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Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment ," in *The Counter-Reformation*, ed. David M. Luebke. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999), 391-395.

The seminal study on the influence of the printing press is: Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

[120] Borys Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 106-10.

[121] Jan Zbigniew Słowiński, *Katechizmy katolickie w języku polskim od XVI do XVIII wieku*, (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2005), 129-42, 164-208.

[122] These included: Epitome, abo krótka nauka kapłanom ruskim..., Supraśl, 1700; Katechizm Albo nauka Chrześciańska w Krotce ku pożytkowi Dusz ludzkich Zebrana, Supraśl, 1744; Nauki z Ewangelii na niedziele i święta Kościoła Greckiego w unii z Kościołem Rzymskim zostającego..., Vilnius, 1752.
See: Jan Zbigniew Słowiński, *Katechizmy katolickie w języku polskim od XVI do XVIII wieku*, (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2005), 167, 193-6.

[123] Jan Stanisław Bystroń, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawnej Polsce wiek XVI-XVIII*, vol 1, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1994), 400.

Ruthenian laity.[124] The importance of this new wave of printed materials specifically for Greek-rite Catholic clergy cannot be overstated, as this marked a first concerted effort to disseminate established church teachings in order to correct the "ignorance of doctrine... often informed by folk customs, nature-related myth and their attendant cults" of the laity and even many among clergy.[125]

In fact, the catechizing nature of Uniate print, produced with episcopal oversight and promoting a largely standardized episcopal agenda, stood in contrast to the religious texts available to pre-union Orthodox clergy. Unlike their Polish language Catholic counterparts, printed Orthodox texts tended to remain liturgical in nature. They included various versions of the Apostol, Oktoich, Časoslov, Psaltir or the Služebnik, books that were tied to celebrations within the liturgical calendar. Furthermore, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the vast majority of these texts were produced at the behest of lay patrons, religious brotherhoods, monasteries or the Metropolitan in Kyiv. Productions initiated by local bishops were few indeed. Taking both of these factors into consideration, evidence for a locally-based Orthodox project of catechization taking place within the Commonwealth, is currently scant.[126]

Furthermore, Orthodox literature failed to gain any kind widespread penetration into rural areas, making it relatively scarce outside Ruthenian urban centers. Manuscript copies of Ruthenian texts could cost as little as ½ the monetary amount for the same book in printed form and, according to one scholar, this "willingness of buyers to pay more for printed books than for

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[124] Maria Barbara Topolska, "Mecenasi i drukarze ruscy na pograniczu kulturowym w XVI-XVIII w.," in *Prawosławne oficyny wydawnicze w Rzeczypospolitej*, (Białystok, Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2004), 44, 49-50.
[125] Borys Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 113.
[126] Zoja Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, "Drukarstwo cyrylickie w Rzeczypospolitej," in *Prawosławne oficyny wydawnicze w Rzeczypospolitej*, (Białystok: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2004), 20-3.
Piotr Chomik, "Typografie monasterskie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVII-XVIII w.," in *Prawosławne oficyny wydawnicze w Rzeczypospolitej*, (Białystok: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2004), 77-104.

manuscripts proves that imprints already were considered more authoritative and prestigious than handwritten volumes."[127] As such, the production of printed Cyrillic texts within the Commonwealth was less concerned with making texts more widely and cheaply available, instead, it provided such documents with an authoritative gravity that hand-copied manuscripts did not possess.

It is in this context that the use of printed materials by Józef Szumlański and Innocenty Winnicki must be understood. While serving as crypto-Catholic bishops, their use of print was more in keeping with western confessional usage, than that of existing Orthodox tradition. The two bishops were less concerned with distributing liturgical literature, focusing instead on publishing texts that reinforced hierarchical structures, while shaping clerical conduct. Especially in its early phase at the turn of the century, this enterprise also entailed the marginalization of entities that rivaled the episcopate in religious influence. For example, while the L'viv Confraternity operated one of the more prolific printshops in the Commonwealth, Józef Szumlański chose to establish his own printing press in the same urban space. This effectively circumvented the L'viv Brotherhood. Confraternities and the episcopate had long been at odds with one another. By avoiding any reliance on this historical rival, Szumlański was relatively free to pursue an unfettered campaign of disciplining and evangelizing clerics within his diocese, while enhancing his own prestige in the process.

To the west, Innocenty Winnicki also bypassed the smaller confraternal printshop in Przemyśl, tapping into his personal connections at the Univ Monastery. Although Univ was located some 150 kilometers east of Przemyśl, Winnicki's crypto-Catholic relative, Barlaam Szeptycki, served as its archimandrite. In this instance, reliability of production trumped

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[127] Iaroslav Isaievych, "The book tradein eastern Europe in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.," in *Consumption and the World of Goods,* eds. John Brewer, Roy Porter, (London: Routledge, 1993), 386.

distance. Ultimately, the value of print over manuscript, in addition to the increased capacity for production, must have aided in their decision to go to such great lengths to distribute printed materials. Print conferred a gravitas, a weight of authority as well as legitimacy; these were the very ideals that defined Józef Szumlański's and Innocenty Winnicki's projects of strengthening the authority of their episcopal sees.

"A REINTRODUCTION OF AN ORDER TOO LONG IN DESUETUDE"

Prior to their public declarations of union with Papal Rome, Innocenty Winnicki and Józef Szumlański began promoting the merits of clerical reorganization into molds which more accurately reflected Tridentine Catholic structures of authority and praxis than to the more decentralized, more loosely defined Orthodox model of ecclesiastical governance. To this end, the bishops deployed carefully crafted religio-historical narratives of continuity circumscribing the clerical office, priestly behaviors and expectations therein. These narratives belied the reforming nature of Winnicki's and Szumlański's pastoral injunctions, portraying them as a continuation of Christ's will and established dictates. In fact, Winnicki and Szumlański insisted that their letters were mere reiterations of long-established "proper" practice. Clerics, they asserted, should already be abiding by such proscriptions, for this was in keeping with Christ's will as interpreted from Apostolic times into the present; the bishops were not reforming practice, priests have simply fallen into the habit of "forgetting" proper codes of clerical behavior and place in hierarchy. Therefore, clerics not adhering to these ancient and continuous principles were judged to be in a state of historical rupture, separated from Christ through their actions and thus in need of amending their conduct. As one may observe, this narrative mirrored Lev Krevza's previously mentioned sacred history, in which union with Rome by the Ruthenian Church was not an innovation, but a return to proper ecclesiastical order.

The parallel discursive campaigns of Przemyśl and L'viv underscored the unity of the confessional projects therein both administratively and rhetorically. The difference between Winnicki and Szumlański's approaches hinged more upon style than substance. Where Winnicki spent only the first twelve years of his tenure as a crypto-Catholic, from 1679 to 1691, Szumlański did not proclaim union until 1700; nine years after Winnicki's decree and twenty years into his tenure in L'viv.[128] In fact, Szumlański considered Winnicki's decision to proclaim union in 1691 as premature and rebuked his timing as brash and imprudent.[129] Szumlański was methodical, prolific in his use of synods and pastoral letters, and exacting in the details of his reforms. After publically proclaiming union, he would also be a draconian force to be reckoned with. Szumlański's synods and pastoral letters were consistent, numerous and each directly asserted the righteousness of his pastoral instructions as rooted in the legitimacy of historical continuities. Perhaps due to the fact that Winnicki's printing press was located at some distance from his actual seat of power and this mode of distribution therefore less immediately available, the consistency of his publishing activities is sparse. Nevertheless, his pastoral activism far exceeded that of the episcopal predecessors of his eparchy. Where Szumlański's prose was methodical, Winnicki's tended towards more flowery and symbolic rhetoric. Minor differences aside, the confessionalization of Przemyśl and L'viv were mirror processes.

As performative texts, [130] pastoral letters did not merely convey particular representations of history; they sought to create a new reality with the histories they chose to offer and how they

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[128] Winnicki was Bishop of Przemyśl from 1679 to his death in 1700. He proclaimed union 12 years into his tenure in 1691. Szumlański was bishop of L'viv for 30 years, from 1668 until his death in 1708. He proclaimed union in 1700.
Dymitro Blazejovskyij, *Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church (861-1990)*, (Rome: Universitas Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1990), 233, 240.
[129] Antoni Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Białostockiego, 2001), 232.
[130] Performative utterances are statements which surpass mere description, instead, they have transformative textual agency. Such declarations create the reality they describe or the belief therein. The concept of performative

chose to symbolically represent them. Central to this goal was the establishment of a personal

bond between the author and the reader. By representing these bonds as sacral and continuous,

they also fostered a more direct mode of communication and a more immediate relationship and

familiarity. In strengthening the episcopal bond, Innocenty Winnicki and Józef Szumlański

employed similar rhetorical strategies, albeit with prose reflecting differing sentiments of

authorship. Winnicki's epistle from 1684, entitled "Priests Ought to Preach Virtue" and

Szumlański's "Metrika," from 1687, situated episcopal authority as conferred by Christ,

perpetuated unbroken through time and the structures of the Church. Each avowed, therefore,

that the subsequent pronouncements contained within their letters were merely the reflection of

the unaltered will of Christ:

> As Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ roamed the earth for thirty and three years and in
> order to prepare our salvation, suffered terribly, died and rose again on the third day,
> descended into hell where he liberated the souls of saints, for forty days before his
> ascendancy into heaven, he preached to his holy students and apostles about the Kingdom
> of God. (…) On earth he instituted three spiritual states according to divine law:
> archbishops, bishops and presbyters. (…) In his place he instituted St. Peter as his
> Highest Pastor, and thereafter his successors. As St. John Chrysostom teaches us,
> "respect – says he – your archbishop as you would God the Father, your bishop as God
> the Son, and the presbyter as you would the Holy Spirit." I write this letter to you, my
> brethren, in order to remind you of your duties, and in accordance with your ordination,
> demonstrate this before your eyes. For the Holy Spirit was given to you during your
> ordination, when you were led into the clerical state by the hand of your bishop, and there
> you pledged your vows before God. – Innocenty Winnicki, 1684 [131]

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utterances was introduced by J. L. Austin in his *How to do Things With Words*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962) and
has been developed as a conceptual tool by Jacques Derrida, John Searle, and Judith Butler. Quentin Skinner's,
Visions of Politics: Regarding Method (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) applied this specifically for
historical writing, looking for issues of power underpinning these statements.

[131] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis,
Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998),
85, "Поневажъ Господь Богъ и Спасъ нашъ Ісѹсъ Хрїстосъ един ъ сый Свѧтыѧ Тройца,тридесѧтъ и
полчварта лѣта на землиспасенїе наше творѧчи страсть болнѹю претерпѣлъ, оумерый и воскресый во третый
день, сошедъ во адъ, и дѹши свѧтыхъ высвободилъ, и м днїй предъ вознесенїемъ своимъ на земли своѧ
всѣми свѧтыми, ѿ ада воскресшими, на небо вознесесѧ, на земли три станы дѹховныи по горнемѹ чинѹ
зоставилъ, то естъ, Архиерейскїй, Епископъскїй, (…) а на мѣсци своемъ пастирѧ верховнаго, свѧтагѡ Петра,
и по немъ его настѹпниковъ, Архїереѡвъ пасти свое словесное стадо порѹчилъ, а ижъ оучитъ насъ свѧтый
Іѡаннъ Злотоѹстый чтите, мовитъ, Архїепіскопа іако Бога Ѻтца, а Епіскопа іако Бога Сына, а Пресбитера
іако Бога Дѹха, зачимъ той троыакїй станъ, Бога бо тройци единаго фьгѹрѹетъ, прето до васъ днесь тое
посланїе мое, честнїй Пресбитери, пишѹ, и вамъ списма свѧтого вашѹ повинностъ припоминаю, и ведле

And therefore "we", the abovementioned bishop, responding to apostolic teaching, are issuing this new booklet, entitled "Metrika," from our newly-founded printshop at the L'viv Cathedral. In it, we neither state nor write anything new, other than what has already been said by Christ's Apostles, the Holy (Church) Fathers and the Church Councils. All this we have also proclaimed from the first year of our episcopate, which has been granted to us by the power and anointing of the Holy Spirit. All this, too, has always been said at the provincial as well as general councils in a most mild and encouraging fashion, to you, our ever faithful deans, our faithful priests and reverent deacons: May each remain in the state that he was called to be in.– Józef Szumlański, 1687 [132]

In parallel structures of rhetoric, they traced the continuity of Christ's tangible plan as one taught by Christ to his apostles, upheld by his chosen successor of Saint Peter, reiterated by John Chrysostom and embodied by the episcopal relationship. Their rendering declared that episcopal authority was not an innovation, but a reiteration of Christ's institution; reaffirmed again and again through the Apostles, Church Fathers and Ecumenical Councils. The inheritance of this authority of Christ as mediated through the ages, bestowed upon specific dictates contained within their letters a heightened sense of legitimacy.

Winnicki's historical narrative was far more evocative than Szumlański's, symbolically placing clerics who obeyed this priestly hierarchy, into the historical continuum of the divine. Winnicki's use of a symbolic language created sacral continuities, mapping sacred time into the present and sacred space onto episcopal documents. Winnicki ordered the temporal and physical spaces of the sacred and worldly planes into a continuous flow of divine provenance.

вашей хиротонїй на очи показую. Коли вамъ свѧтый дѹхъ, мовитъ, презъ рѹкоположенїе былъдаваный гды на станъ, свѧщенническїй ѿ епіскопа ставлены есте были, тогды то есте Богѹ слюбовали албо рачей присягали."

[132] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 226, "Сегѡ ради стосѹючисѧ, и мы єпископъ выжей менованный, до наѹки апостолскѡи, з новоѹфѹндованнѡи тѵпографїи нашей катедралной Лвовскѡй, ащеи новѹю книжницѹ, рекомѹю МЕТРИКА, изꙁдаемъ на свѣтъ, но ничтоже в ней ново измышлѧемъ и пишемъ, но всѧ іаже исперва ѿ ап(о)с(то)лѡв Х(ристо)вых(ъ) и Св(іа)тыхъ Ѿ(е)цъ, в н(а)ше наказꙁанїе преднаписашасѧ и Ц(е)рквѣ Б(о)жіей Соборнѣй предана быша, и іаже мы сами ѿ першаг(о) рокѹ еп(и)с(ко)пства н(а)шего, по даной нам ѿ Дѹха Св(іа)т(а)гѡ бл(а)годати и власти, іакѡ на помѣстных, такъ и на енералньныхъ собѡрах всегда вамъ, Пречестнїе наместници, Чес(нїе) свіащенници, вл(а)гоговеннїе діакѡни, предлагахомъ и кротцѣ м(о)лѧще оучихомъ: Да койждо пребѹдетъ въ томъ, въ немже ест зван."

Temporally, his apocryphal rendering placed central importance upon Christ's institution of the episcopal hierarchy, the narrative placement of which curiously followed Christ's death and resurrection. In fact, Winnicki placed the establishment of the "spiritual ranks" within the Church between Christ's liberating souls from hell and ascending into the Kingdom of Heaven. Physically, the tripartite arrangement of Church hierarchy into "archbishops, bishops and presbyters" alluded to the Holy Trinity, which Winnicki stressed outright, quoting St. John Chrysostom who said, "respect (…) your archbishop as you would God the Father, your bishop as God the Son, and the presbyter as you would the Holy Spirit."[133]

Both bishops called for obedience through their narratives of continuity, as indeed their reform projects hinged upon a centralized episcopal power and authority. Winnicki went so far as to sacralize the structures of hierarchy, depicting the episcopal hierarchy as agents of Christ's authority, but also as his instruments imparting sacrality and embodying a Christ-like essence: "For the Holy Spirit was given to you during your ordination, when you were led into the clerical state by the hand of your bishop, and there you pledged your vows before God." Obedience, Winnicki claimed, was owed to the bishop not just for the status of the office, but in gratitude for receiving the blessing of the holy clerical state. Later in "Priests Ought to Preach Virtue," Winnicki avowed that:

> To this bishop, whom you have sworn to always have as your superior, you owe love and respect, just as the Holy Apostles had in regard to Christ. You are to attend a synod of priests yearly, obtain the holy oil for baptism of children and likewise obtain spiritual teachings which you then hand onto your flock, while living in agreement with your priestly ordination (…) Do not forget me, your shepherd, in your prayers. For I have

[133] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 85, "оучитъ насъ свѧтый Іѡаннъ Злотоүстый чтите, мовитъ, Архїепіскопа іако Бога Ѡтца, а Епіскопа іако Бога Сына, а Пресбитера іако Бога Дүха."

drawn your current state from the Holy Scriptures and because of this, I demand of you respect for your own priestly state.[134]

Winnicki's narrative demanded submission as a necessary precondition for both entry into the sacral office instituted by Christ and acts fundamental to continuing within it. Claiming the authority of a shepherd over his flock, Winnicki metaphorically compares the episcopate to Christ, as outlined in the Gospels. The parable of the Good Shepherd in John 10:1-16 offers one of the most historically recognizable images of Christ. As the righteous protector of his flock, he is also the leader to whom they look to be guided safely into the kingdom of heaven as Christ says he is "the door of the sheep" through whom souls are saved.[135] Through this parable, Winnicki reaffirmed the image of bishops as Christ's proxies, acting effectively as the "door" to the priestly office. In this way, clerics owed the bishops respect and were encouraged to seek out their counsel.

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[134] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 85, 88, "Ктомү слюбили есте епископа своего за головү мѣти, любовъ къ немү и боѧзнь, iако Апостоли свѧтїи ко Хрїстү мѣли, на соборъ дүховный на кождый рокъ ходити, миро свѧтое длѧ крещенїѧ дѣтей и наүк ү дүховною брати, и своимъ ѡвцамъ подаватиб и во всемъ ведле харїтониїи жити (...) и мене пастырѧ своего въ молитвахъ, иже емъ твой станъ тобѣ выложилъ з писма свѧтого, зачимъ пилне тѧ жадаю, своемү станү їерейскомү досить чини."

[135] John 10: 1-16, "In all truth I tell you, anyone who does not enter the sheepfold through the gate, but climbs in some other way, is a thief and a bandit. He who enters through the gate is the shepherd of the flock; the gatekeeper lets him in, the sheep hear his voice, one by one calls his own sheep and leads them out. When he has brought out all those that are his, he goes ahead of them, and the sheep follow because they know his voice. They will never follow a stranger, but will run away from him because they do not recognize the voice of strangers. Jesus told them this parable, but their failed to understand what he was saying to them. So Jesus spoke to them again: In all truth I tell you, I am the gatekeeper of the sheepfold. All who have come before me ate thieves and bandits, but the sheep took no notice of them. I am the gate. Anyone who enters through me will be safe: such a one will go in and out and will find pasture. The thief comes only to steal and kill and destroy. I have come so that they may have life and have it to the full. I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep. The hired man, since he is not the shepherd and the sheep do not belong to him, abandons the sheep as soon as he sees a wolf coming, and runs away, and then the wolf attacks and scatters the sheep; he runs away because he is only a hired man and has no concern for the sheep. I am the good shepherd; I know my own and my own know me, just as the Father knows me and I know the Father; and I lay down my life for my sheep. And there are other sheep I have that are not of this fold, and I must lead these too. They too will listen to my voice, and there will be only one flock, one shepherd."

Szumlański made similar claims of authority and leadership in his pastoral letters, though stated in a more straightforward and less figurative manner. He called on clerics to remember their oaths of deference to their eparchial heads:

> For all not only newly but also previously ordained presbyters as well as deacons it is necessary to remember to make an oath before God's high altar, in order to count himself a member of this (priestly) state (...) Thus let them not forget that which they pledged to God and to us, the shepherds (i.e., bishops). You have pledged, oh priest, before God to keep the proper faith with all the holy works to be faithful and to not be unfaithful. Recall the holy Apostle James, who said thus "what use is there, oh my brother, when one has faith but one does not have works. Can his faith exist? A faith that has no works is dead.[136]

In offering the words, "remember," "recall" and "not forget," Szumlański suggests the continuity of his authority and injunctions even in the passages where he does not explicitly trace its historical precedence. Instead, Szumlański's rhetoric situates his policies, himself and the entire clerical state into the framework of accepted ecclesiastical continuity, while accordingly placing all challengers on the outside of that notion of continuity. Moreover, like Winnicki, he also compares the episcopal office to one of a shepherd to a (clerical) flock. In deploying the image of Christ and then harkening to the words of the apostle James, Szumlański offers an ancient legitimacy and consistency to his decrees.

Winnicki's rhetoric also belied the reforming nature of his project, and later the confessional change, from Orthodox Christianity to Greek-rite Catholicism altogether. In 1693, just two years after declaring the Przemyśl eparchy in union with Rome, or Greek-rite Catholic, Winnicki issued his "Confession of Orthodox Faith." This document outlined a renewal of

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[136] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 227-8, "Аже кождомȣ, не тилько ново, але из давна посвіащенномȣ презвитерȣ и дїаконȣ, конечне потреба на свой клѧтвенный ѡбѣть, на свою присѧгȣ, пред Б(о)ж(е)ственнымъ престолом выконаннȣю памѧтати. Да койждо въ немъ же званъ, въ томъ и да пребываетъ (...) не запоминали того , що Б(о)гȣ и намъ, пастыревиб съ клѧтвою ѡбѣщали. Обѣщал есиб, ѡ іерею, Б(о)гȣ вѣрȣ правȣю, съ всѣми бл(а)гими дѣлы, бȣдижъ вѣренъ, и не вывай невѣренъ. Памѧтай ап(о)с(то)ла свіатагѡ Іакѡба, ѡ тымъ такъ мовѧчогѡ: Каѧ полза братїе мѡи, аще вѣрȣ глаголет кто имѣти, дѣлъ же не иматъ, еда можетъ вѣра сп(а)сти егѡ. Вѣра бо аще дѣлъ не иматъ, мертва ест ѡ себѣ"

hierarchical ecclesiastical order, couching it in a narrative of returning to a sacred past that had

been lost through neglect. Most strikingly, he continued to use the term "Orthodox":

> For all these (church estates) mentioned above, there will be a reintroduction of an order
> which has been in desuetude for far too long. Let it be proclaimed that all churches
> originally established by their mother churches, as if borne of them, ought to show proper
> deference and be subservient to their elder heads. Let this apply to matters of Holy
> Service, walking in processions, observing of Holy Days, as well as attending to Holy
> Places and all other matters pertaining.[137]

The intent of this undertaking was not merely to extend ecclesiastical discipline to affect a

project of church reform; it aimed to retain a hold on a continuity narrative despite its

conversional nature. In so doing, Winnicki employed a discourse of continuity rooted in the

corporeal language of motherhood, "all churches originally established by their mother churches,

as if borne of them, ought to show proper deference and be subservient to their elder heads."[138]

Linking obedience and subservience with parental deference, Winnicki used metaphor to present

a continuity claim as one as sacred and longstanding as motherhood.

For all the metaphorical value of this statement, Winnicki may have also been attempting

to annul any claims of exemption from local episcopal authority by individual parishes. In this

moment immediately following Winnicki's declaration of Union, the subordination of various

religious and quasi-religious institutions to their bishops was still a contested issue. Not only did

religious brotherhoods and monastic houses often consider themselves exempt from episcopal

authority, but Winnicki was likewise concerned about the existence of parishes that either

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[137] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis,
Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998),
63, "A za tym tychże będzie dzieło longa desuetudine, cale zapomniany reindukować porządek, w tym aby a
matricibus Ecclesis, ktore się z Osiadłości ktoregokolwiek Miasta Miasteczka y Wśi ufundowały, drugie cerkwie
potym wystawione, y iakoby od tey starzey sporządzone, miały iako of Starszey Głowy dependentia, Tak w
Nabożeństwie, chodzeniu z Processiami, pod czas Uroczystości, na miejsca Święte, iako y w sporządzeniu innym."
[138] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis,
Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998),
58, "aby a matricibus Ecclesis, ktore się z Ośiadłości ktoregokolwiek Miasta Miasteczka y Wśi ufundowały, drugie
Cerkwie potym wystawione, y iakoby od tey starszey sporządzone miały od Starszey Głowy dependentia."

answered to powers other than that of their local bishop. As was the case with stauropegial religious confraternities, it was not unheard of for individual parishes to deliberately seek out such charters of exemption. For example, during his 1653 journey to Moscow, Paul of Aleppo, the assistant to the Patriarch Macarius of Antioch, noted that: "Whenever our Lord, the Patriarch, consecrated a new church, he was asked for a document of confirmation that included his seal and signature."[139] Viewed in this context, Winnicki was not only trying to disabuse parish priests of the notion that they answered to local lords or the village commune, he likewise sought to abolish any previously issued immunities issued by episcopal authorities outside of the eparchy.

In L'viv too, episcopal discourse emphasized historical continuity with a sacred past while calling for a strengthening in the clerical ranks. Bishop Józef Szumlański had a different manner of speaking from his counterpart in Przemyśl; far more prescriptive in his clerical directives and unemotionally direct in continuity claims. Rather than employing flowery language and philosophy to convince his diocese of the merits of historical continuity, Szumlański preferred to state his point repeatedly and with a confidence of expression that defied retort: "We are neither proclaiming nor saying anything new. In the beginning all was written by the apostles of Christ and by the holy fathers and passed on through the councils of the Church of God."[140] In fact, Szumlański reaffirmed this idea of continuity, bodily reenactment and a holy inheritance of authority several times in this same 1687 letter.

"HAVING ACCEPTED OUR PARENTAL AUTHORITY..."

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[139] Maria Kowalska, *Ukraina w połowie XVII wieku w relacji arabskiego podróżnika Pawła, syna Makarego z Aleppo: wstęp, przekład, komentarz*, (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986): 88-9.

[140] *Собори Львівскоï Епархіï XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 226, "но ничтоже в ней ново изꙑышлѧемъ и пишемъ, но всѧ іаже исперва ѿ ап(о)с(то)лѡв Х(ристо)вых(ъ) и Св(іа)тыхъ Ѽ(е)цъ, въ н(а)ше наказанïе преднаписашасѧ и Ц(е)рквѣ Б(о)жіей Соборнѣй предана быша."

In addition to circumventing the authority of the local lord, the episcopate of Przemyśl and L'viv sought to limit the sense of inherited entitlement to a priestly benefice, if not to eventually break it altogether. While the Roman Catholic Church had demanded universal celibacy for its priesthood, avoiding the potentially thorny issue of benefices becoming inheritable fiefs for priestly sons, the Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic Church maintained the right of marriage for its secular clergy. Medieval Roman Catholic theologians and high episcopate, entirely celibate themselves, routinely advocated for an all-celibate clergy. For example, at the Second Lateran Council in 1123, Pope Innocent II proclaimed: "Since they ought to be in fact and in name temples of God, vessels of the Lord and sanctuaries of the Holy Spirit, it is unbecoming that they give themselves to marriage and impurity."[141] Starting with Martin Luther, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt and Philipp Melanchthon, a clerical rejection of the Roman Church in favor of just about any reformed creed involved a public decision to take a wife. In this way, Protestants and Catholic traditions regarding clerical marriage defined themselves and their practices oppositionally.

However, the Greek-rite Church was a hybrid of the two quasi-parallel faiths of Orthodoxy and Catholicism and there is scant evidence to support the same kind episcopal of unease with clerical marriage in the Commonwealth, which had a long tradition among Orthodox, and then Uniate married priests.[142] Although not being allowed to marry, Early Modern Roman Catholic clergy in the Commonwealth tended to enjoy a higher material standard of living, better education, while garnering greater societal recognition and *dignitas* than their

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[141] Katherine Crawford, *European Sexualities, 1400-1800*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 65.
[142] For futher information regarding Uniate and Orthodox marriage in the priesthood see also chapters 1 and 2 of this work.

wedded Orthodox or Greek-rite Catholic counterparts.[143] Where post-Tridentine Roman

Catholic reformers strove to snuff out any remnants of concubinage and incontinent parish

clergy, the increasing professionalization and disciplining of Greek-rite Catholic priesthood in

the Commonwealth necessitated a formal acknowledgement of clerical wives and children. As a

result, the Greek-rite Catholic episcopate developed a very cursory set of rules for the clerical

household. Unlike in the Latin-rite, Greek-rite episcopal documents are almost entirely silent on

matters of priestly sexuality. These regulations predominately addressed issues of inheriting

clerical benefices by priestly sons.

Regulation of clerical inheritance by priestly sons went hand in hand with the episcopal

desire to mold a new clerical estate, one conscious not only of its social identity, but also its

place within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In 1681, the Uniate Metropolitan, Cyprian Żochowski,

demanded that the episcopate's autonomous liberty in selecting candidates for the priesthood be

legally recognized; the corollary to which was the prohibition of the automatic inheritance of

benefices by priests' sons.[144] The role of tradition and precedent in the inheritance of benefices

remained a major obstacle to such grand episcopal aspirations. Unlike in the Latin-rite Catholic

Church, the tie between a benefice and secular patronage was particularly strong in the

Ruthenian Church. This traditional bond was further cemented by a 1647 *Sejm* decree, which

stipulated that no benefice could be claimed by a cleric without a prior agreement of the noble

landowner, referred in the documents as the *collator*. Witold Bobryk states that father-to-son

inheritance was not only a part of longstanding tradition, but also bolstered by the concept of *ius*

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[143] Józef Półcwiartek, *Z badań nad rolą gospodarczo-społeczną plebanii na wsi pańszczyznej ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, (Rzeszów: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Rzeszowie, 1974), 8, 84-5, 87.

[144] Stanisław Stępień, "Unia kościelna w diecezji przemyskiej za rządów biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego," *Przemyslia Christiana*, vol 7 (1997), 109-10.

naturale, or natural law, in which the son rightfully inherited whatever property was once held by his father.[145]

Józef Szumlański's discourse was particularly dedicated to the project of reorienting priests from a hereditary identity and loyalty, to those affixed within the patriarchal structures of the episcopate. He charged any layman contemplating holy orders should, "before anything else, first evaluate himself and determine whether he is capable of living in a spiritual manner in a way that befits a spiritual (priestly) state."[146] Szumlański referenced Luke 14:25 -35 and the parable of discipleship, in which Christ cautions his adherents to give great forethought, as to their devotion and readiness to give up all before following in his footsteps; a holy calling rather than an inherited title. In this way, Bishop Szumlański performed dual work in the realms of both the political and the practical. Politically, he affirmed the legitimacy of his call for reform, linking the priesthood to a sacred past of Christ's apostles and situating the priesthood in that holy genealogy. Practically, Szumlański offered a tacit critique of the clergy as having taken their orders too lightly and suggested that the remedy for this deficiency lay with heightened episcopal control over clerical selection, thus creating a new, yet simultaneously "restored" ideal of a parish priest.

A prospective candidate for priesthood, Szumlański wrote, must "come to the bishop and lay his conscience bare if he desires to enter this illustrious priestly state."[147] Szumlański thus demanded inward reform of the clerics as well as outward, and in both the episcopal head was to

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[145] Witold Bobryk, *Duchowieństwo unickiej diecezji chełmskiej w XVIII wieku*, (Lublin: Instytut Europy środkowo-wschodniej, 2005), 107.

[146] *Собори Льві̇вскоі̇ Епархії̇ XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 226, "Въ первыхъ. Ктоколъвекъ зъ людей свѣцкихъ прагнетъ стану д(у)ховногѡ, св(іа)щенникмѡъ альбо дїаконом зостати, то повиненъ таковый напервѣй самъ себе разсудити, аще возможетъ д(у)ховный санъ духовнѣ провадити."

[147] *Собори Льві̇вскоі̇ Епархії̇ XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 226, "ѡт єпископа назначенагѡ , и тому повиненъ всегѡ житїѧ своегѡ сумене ѡткрыти, и на розсудокъ єгѡ подати, и єсли той оузнаетъ єгѡ быти достойна сана їере(й)скаго."

be the judge of the worthiness of subordinates. Moreover, by situating the priesthood as a calling

rather than a hereditary title, the episcopate subordinated the familial claims to the priest and his

office and reaffirmed those of the episcopal hierarchy. It was for this reason of episcopal loyalty

that *popovichi*, or priestly sons aspiring to a clerical career, were called to appear in front of the

bishop, present educational credentials and swear an oath of allegiance in person that was

certified by an official document produced by the episcopal chancery. The oath of allegiance,

moreover, symbolically cast the bishop-cleric relationship in terms of a father-son relationship:

> Priests who do not fulfil as necessary the proper liturgies, the blessed deans should take
> them for week long schooling in holy service. Should they refuse, they fall into our
> displeasure. These priests, who can be found in our eparchy having been placed there
> through improper ordination and who have not accepted our parental authority
> ["usynovlenie" – literally, the transformation into a son] and are not under our pastoral
> authority and have not accepted our teachings, these we submit to the curse of the holy
> and godly Church Fathers until they finally receive our blessing (the lifting of
> excommunication). [148]

Patriarchal authority was not only a requirement for the priesthood, excommunication the

punishment, but presbyters were made into the spiritual children of the bishops; supplanting

parental deference with the adoption of the bishop as father.

Despite episcopal recriminations to the contrary, a parish-level sense of continuity pushed

back against ecclesiastical control of benefices long after Winnicki and Szumlański's tenures. In

1752, the Bishop of Przemyśl, Leon Szeptycki, received a letter of supplication from the

Chodowice (*Ходовичі*) village commune (*gromada*). This letter sought to undermine the efforts

of a priest, Father Sztefan, from installing his son in the local parish church, the letter intimating

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[148] *Собори Львівскоï Епархіï XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 99,
"Св(іа)щенници которïе в целебрацïи несүт перфекти, повин(н)и Велебнïи ѿцеве намесникове таковыхъ на
седмичное набоженъство брати. Тому, ежелибы сіа спротивлïали, тим самимъ небл(а)гословенïю н(а)ш(е)му
подпадают. Тïе зас, которïе зна(й)дүютсіа въ епархіи н(а)шой бүдүчи ѿ неналежитых рүкоположен(н)ым
пастыревъ, а үсыновленïіа нашего не воспрïали, тих всѣхъ кліатвѣ С(віа)тихъ и Б(о)гоносных Ѿ(е)цъ
преподаемъ, донелѣже не получат нашего бл(а)гословенïіа."

that the episcopate favored the choice of Father Sztefan's son.[149] Instead, the village faithful

recognized the parish deacon and son of the last deceased pastor as the proper owner (*possessor*)

of the benefice and thus its rightful heir.[150] Personal familiarity with the candidate, his family, or

even just his surname could mean the difference between the successful installation of a

potentially less qualified priest and an utter rejection of a seemingly model cleric in accordance

with the highest episcopal standards. Indeed, for the duration of the eighteenth century, the

priestly profession remained highly nepotistic, in which the son inherited from his father.

Studies have generally confirmed that this remained the custom in the latter half of the

eighteenth century.[151]

The agency of the laity in determining their parish priest tended to favor familial

continuity. That said, a priestly son that lacked the proper qualifications was no more welcome

than an unfamiliar cleric imposed from the outside. In such cases, the village commune

frequently petitioned their bishops for the removal of undesirable priests or priestly candidates.

In 1763, the Bishop of Przemyśl received a supplication letter from Trepcze, a village whose

priest, Father Mohelnicki, had transferred to a neighboring parish, bequeathing his former

benefice to his stepson (*pasierb*). The village council was clearly dissatisfied with the stepson,

claiming that ever since Father Mohelnicki had "abandoned them three years ago" they were

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[149] ABGK 142:81:54, "iak uważamy ze podobnę WX Sztefan Chce Swego iuż Syna Insztalowac na mieyscu Jego my Cała Gromada na to nie pozwalamy."
(we have become aware that, similarly, Father Sztefan desires to install his son in his (ie, the deacon's) place, which we, the entire commune, refuse to permit.)

[150] ABGK 142:81:54, "My uboga gromada Chodowicka zkładamy pokorną supplikę do Nog, a upraszamy pokornie za (_) Diakiem Chodowickim naszym, że iako iest z Antenazow Possesorem Chodowickim y iest wygodny Cerkwi Swiętey y nam Gromadzie."
(We the poor Chodowice village commune put forth this humble supplication before your feet, pleading humbly for our (current) deacon. He is the (proper) holder of the benefice of Chodowice and is suitable for the Holy Church as he is to us, the commune.)

[151] Witold Bobryk, *Duchowieństwo unickiej diecezji chełmskiej w XVIII wieku*, (Lublin: Instytut Europy środkowo-wschodniej, 2005), 137-43.

"without any other clergyman in his place."[152] As such, the benefice was being occupied by a

man "of most ill repute" and "a great drunkard to the point where it is difficult to fully express

the extent of his transgressions and bad virtues." Moreover, while the author did not specify the

month of his letter, he did make it a point to note that, "since Christmas, New Year and the Three

Kings no liturgy has been recited inside the church."[153] The commune's plea demonstrated their

desire not only for a cleric that was of the proper moral character, not only one that was capable

of leading worship, but one that the community knew to be ordained. Despite the fact that Father

Mohelnicki had left behind a legally adopted son (as the term *pasierb* insinuates) to take over his

former benefice, the commune refused to so much as acknowledge him as a priest, pointing out

that they were effectively "without a clergyman."

Ideals of respectability, morality and obedience upholding the continuity of Christ's

Church, reverberated for the entire clerical household. At its core, the Uniate episcopal project

one in which bishops sought to regulate and order priests within the framework of the

ecclesiastical patriarchal hierarchy; defined at each level by a relationship of authority and

submission. Clerical wives were, on the one hand, regarded as an extension of their husbands;

the apostolic notion of husbands and wives becoming "one flesh,"[154] inseparable and co-

defining. On the other hand, wives were mapped onto the landscape of power as subordinates to

their clerical husband; as their husbands were subordinates to the episcopate. The episcopal

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[152] ABGK 142:81:111-113, "wsi Trepczy wikarego wielebnego X. Mohelnickiego ze tam drugie dla siebie miał Beneficium a mi nabożenstwa często niemiwasmy bo na miejscu swoim inszego Duchownego niezostawiał, a teraz od Lat trzech nas porzuciwszy."
(the Reverend vicar Father Mohelnicki has a second benefice, while we have no worship in any great frequency. In his place, he left behind no other clergyman, when he abandoned us three years ago.)

[153] ABGK 142:81:111-113, "ktory to Popowicz niesławek tak wielki, Pijak, y trudno występkow, y złych cnot Jego opisac gdyz y na Boze Narodzenie, Nowy Rok, Trzech Krolow (_) w Cerkwi zadne nieodprawiało się."
(this priestly son of ill fame is such a great drunkard and so full of bad virtues, that the extent of his detriments is difficult to put into writing. During Christmas, New Year and the Three Kings, no liturgy was recited in the church.)

[154] 1 Corinthians 6:16

discourse placed the clerical wife onto the spectrum of sacral continuity and submission, even as the bishops anxiously pushed priestly wives to the margins. Wives, like parishioners and nobles, were members of the laity, standing outside of direct episcopal oversight. Yet wives had the unique potential to influence parish level ecclesiastical finances, policies, and teachings, to say nothing of the parish priest himself, far more directly and in a far more quotidian manner than the episcopate could ever hope. Moreover, the tradition of inheriting benefices meant they were also potentially the mother of a future priest within the same parish. Priestly wives' liminal position, outside the priestly estate and yet intimately involved within it, had the potential to conflict with the episcopal vision of a vocation-based priesthood, chosen and led by the bishops themselves.

Ultimately, the clerical household highlighted the two competing views of continuity; the episcopal discourse of the priestly inheritance of Christ's church and the long-held tradition of familial inheritance of parish churches. It was in this context of struggle for parish control and life that episcopal discourse of the clerical wife must be understood. Indeed, while the Confessional Age reinscribed women's lives into the structures of patriarchy across European Christendom, the Greek-rite Catholic episcopal discourse toward clerical wives was particularly unsympathetic. The Uniate episcopate situated the clerical wife outside the kind of idealized presence that typified the discourse of Protestant Europe's "holy household" and the expectations of a Lutheran "hausfrau" or the Calvinist "helpmeet."[155] Instead, while the bishops of Przemyśl and L'viv repeatedly warned against wifely interference in administering a benefice, their immorality and the necessity of binding them to the authority of their husbands, they remained silent on models of clerical wives' piety or household expectations. Silence, in fact,

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[155] For works interrogating the Protestant conception of the holy household see: Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled*: *Family Life in Reformation Europe,* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1983) and Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

characterized their demand for clerical wives and their expectations of her contribution toward

creating, sustaining and upholding notions of a clerical estate. The episcopate referred to priestly

wives in terms of negations, wives must "not:" participate in the administration of benefices,

interfere in parish finances, dress immodestly, act immodestly, visit profane spaces, be at the

church without their husbands or attend religious rites with their husbands. The discourse of

increased visibility for clerics coincided with calls to silence and render invisible the priestly

wife.

    As the consecrated inheritors of Christ's Church, the episcopate demanded that clerics

alone administer their office and serve as the Church's representative; not the extended members

of the priestly household. In 1684, still seven years before he declared L'viv in union with

Rome, Szumlański attacked financial impropriety in the very specific terms of familial

misconduct:

> The earnings from benefices are owed only to someone with holy orders or the deacon
> which are constantly in service of the local church all other persons on church ground
> regardless of if they are priest's relatives or their eventual successors ought not dare
> interfere with church income. They are not to be let on church grounds but are to be
> removed. If anyone gives to the priest more than is owed for a service that is a
> praiseworthy thing. However, the priest ought not dare demand a higher amount lest he
> lose his parish.[156]

With these exhortations for financial regularity and obedience, Szumlański situated himself

within both the Borromean-style prohibitions for a morally upright clergy and notions of

clericalism which, in essence, protected that parish from the vagaries of local priests. However, it

was also a critique of the clerical family and the lay handling of ecclesiastical funds. Szumlański

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[156] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 95, "которыхто доходовъ самые тылко посвѧщенные особы, и дѧкъ который ѡуставичне слѹжащїй церкви ѡучастниками быти маютъ, а нишїи на грѹнтахъ церковныхъ то естъ на поповствахъ зостаючїи iако то покревные поповскїе, и сами поповичове не слѹжащїи на церкви не маютсѧ интересовати до жадныхъ дѹховныхъ доходовъ, а на ѡстатокъ и до грѹнтовъ церкви Божой належачихъ не маютъ быти прїймованы, але ѿдалены."

insisted that priest's relatives not administer church finances and be "removed" from church grounds. The admonition to prevent relatives on church premises was likely meant not only as a prohibition against lay presence in the space of the inner sanctum or involvement in ecclesiastical rites, but also against a lay administration of benefices and the tangible wealth associated with them.

A 1769 supplication letter from a village commune complaining of their priest mentions just such an occurrence of familial participation in neighboring Przemyśl:

> In the church [the priest] refuses to maintain a deacon in the church so that he wouldn't have to fulfill the obligations owed to the village council. Instead, he conducts the divine service and all other forms of worship with his daughter. This he does very early in the morning so that many people from the village council are unable to participate due to the early time of day.[157]

Interestingly, the village commune's evidence of clerical impropriety did not center upon the female-ness of the priest's assistant, but that the priest was not adhering to his obligations to the village laity. Gender norms of the village aside, the episcopate would have been acutely uneasy of familial, particularly female, ecclesiastical involvement for it ran counter to their patriarchal centralizing mission. Preventing the scenario of extra-clerical administration of rites may have inspired Szumlański's call to prevent clerical families from attending community celebrations where the priest performed service:

> In many places, the honorable parish priests have become accustomed to attend the baptisms, wakes and other celebrations of their parishioners in the company of their wives, children and entire households. In this, they've become burdensome. As such, the honorable deans are entrusted with the authority to prevent this abuse and punish each infraction with a fine of five grivna.[158]

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[157] ABGK 142:81:174, "Diaka do Cerkwi trzymac niechce, aby mu powinnoscią z gromady należącey nie dawał, ale z Corką swoią nabozeństwa y Służbe Bozą odprawia, yto bardzo rano ze wiele ludzi z gromady słuzby Bozey niesłucha ato przez poranieszie się z Nabozeństwem."

[158] *Собори Львівскоï Епархіï XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 278, "Poniewaz po wielu mieyscach W(ielebni) parochowie parochianom swoim przez to, że u nich na chrzcinach, stypach i innych okkazyach z żonami, dziećmi y cała familią domową bywać zwykli, są onerosi, przez to committur P(rzewielebnym) dziekanóm, ażeby oni his abusus przestrzegali, za każdy raz pięcią grzywnami fisco applikowac się mającymi, karali."

Szumlański went beyond merely constraining familial participation in administering religious rites and ceremonies, barring clerical families from attendance altogether. As with episcopal proscriptions against attending taverns and marketplaces, the fact that prohibition against attending baptisms and wakes by members of the priest's household were often repeated, demonstrates their lack of full effectiveness.

The episcopate exhibited acute anxiety toward clerical widows, who lived outside of patriarchal control yet claimed church benefice or participated in its administration. Judging by the content of episcopal letters in the eighteenth century, the episcopate viewed this matter with far greater unease than the public conduct of still-married priestly spouses. For example, in 1750, Bishop Leon Szeptycki, warned against priestly widows' persisting involvement in parish affairs:

> With much discontent we hear, that in some vacant parishes, priestly widows remain. Not content with merely occupying church lands for lengthy periods, they make claims to church taxes, as if they rightfully belonged to them. For these, they even make repeated demands that serving parish vicars hand them (i.e., the funds) over, thus meddling [in church affairs].[159]

Widows were not only accused of continuing to collect church revenues for their own use, but of holding ecclesiastical property. Such "meddling" by the priestly widow disrupted the continuity of ecclesiastical power structures, as well as the financial coffers of the church.

Indeed, widows inhabited a contentious position within the framework of the parish and familial claims of inheritance. In 1740, Father Theodor Pasławski of the village Chotyniec, filed a suit against Anna, the widow of the parish co-pastor, Father Dymitr. Father Theodor

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[159] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 274-5, "I to nie z ukontentowaniem słyszemy, że po niektórych parochiach wakuiących pozostałe po kapłanach wdowy, nie kontentuiące się tym, że na gruncie cerkiewnym of iakiego czasu siedzą, ale ieszcze do akcydensów cerkiewnych, iakoby w samey rzeczy od onych należeli y im przez wikariuszów oddawane bydz powinni, wtrącaią się y o nie upominaią się."

complained to his bishop that Anna's husband died four years earlier yet she continued to

administer the parish "as if it were her own, performing no useful service to the Church and

paying no assigned fees or taxes to the episcopal see." In fact, she was able to gain the favor of

both the *gromada* and the collator, the nobleman responsible for founding the benefice. Father

Theodor wanted his own son, Jacenty, then deacon and due to receive Holy Orders to become

co-pastor. Anna, however, used her support within the parish to block his posting, and thus

prevent Father Theodor's son from eventually inheriting the office. The complaint does not

reveal whether Anna's actions stemmed from a personal vendetta, or whether she was acting to

ensure the eventual appointment of her own son.[160] Remarkable, however, is the extent of lay

agency in determining parish ecclesiastical decisions; the priestly widow, village council and

nobleman each with traction over parish control. Circumventing this lay power was, in large

part, the root of episcopal anxieties and the impetus for their centralizing campaign.

    While politic widows like Anna were able to garner local support and thus maintain

status and standing within the parish, most priestly widows fared worse. Indeed, whatever status

they may have held while married to the parish priest ended once they were widowed. Without

the support from the benefice, particularly by a son old enough to assume his father's office,

widows could find themselves impoverished and on the margins of society. Episcopal

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[160] ABGK 142:26:8 recto-8 verso SUPPL, "oskarżał się W.O. Theodor Pasławski Paroch Chetyniecki tak na Annę Wdową Nieboszczyka W.O. Dymitra Comparocha przed tym swego, to ażpomieniona Anna wdowa już rok Czwarty iak grunta poswiętnego Zagonero cztyny uzywa niesłusznie zadney posługi Cerkwi S. nieczyniąc ani tez Katedra tyle ex ead sorte quovis Anno płacąc, iakoteż na Jacentego Pasławskiego Diaka ad pleno Chotynieckiego y Syna tego Pana (...) verbis laesivis onego traktuie nieiako kapłana ale bardziey niż Swiecką osobę (...) O Prezentę sub sole u J.W. Pana Kollatora ubiega się (...) Gromadę fomentuie adsekuracyię kasze sobiedać obiecuie iako od pogrzebow tylko po groszy dwanascie brac będzie."
(Father Theodor Pasławski, Parish Priest of Chotyniec accuses Anna, the widow of the deceased Father Dymitr, the onetime co-pastor. The abovementioned Anna the widow, is using the consecrated ground improperly, fulfilling no purpose to the church, paying funds to the cathedral up to now. Likewise, she treats the rightful deacon Jacenty Pasławski of Chotyniec and the son of the said gentleman (i.e., Father Theodor) with crude words, not as one would a priest but more as one would a lay person. (...) She seeks sole possession of the benefice from the Lord, (...) foments the village council, demanding protection for herself, promising that she will conduct burials for only 12 groszy.)

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supplication letter records are full of priestly widows begging for material relief from the eparchy, claiming that upon the husband's death, they had been left with no shelter and no resources for either for themselves or for their young children. While the widow Anna of Chotyniec was, at least for a time, able to find protection and political support from other lay forces, the widow Anna of Lipne followed the far more common pattern of the priestly widow. Employing the discourse of ecclesiastical paternalism, this widow wrote to the Bishop herself, and "fell at his feet" to aid her after the death of her "lifelong companion, Father Alexi the parish priest of Lipne."[161]

  The episcopal efforts to discipline the priestly wife and household were very much in keeping with the general tenor of Uniate discourse in the Commonwealth. The Synod of Zamość in 1720 sought to settle and streamline such issues of contention within the Ruthenian Church. Directed by the Papal nuncio and under the watchful eye of the Office for the Propagation of Faith and the Papal legate, the synod codified a myriad of confessional doctrine and praxis. Yet, despite its encompassing scope, clerical wives were only mentioned in passing at the Synod. Echoing both the episcopate of Przemyśl and L'viv and Eastern Orthodox Christianity, the Synod demanded clerics dispense with unfaithful wives, lest they portray the parish priest as ultimately incapable of maintaining order in his own household: "Since he who cannot manage his household can hardly be capable of caring for his church. (…) If he has a wife who lives in obvious adultery, let him send her away. Otherwise, he ought not dare perform his priestly duties."[162] Unfaithful wives were usually "sent away" to female monastic houses, alternately,

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[161] ABGK 142:81:155, "Ze wsi Lipney Anna Uciemięzeniu wsi rostowie zo stająca po zmarłym Xiędzu Alekseju Parochu Lipianskim a przyjacielu dozywotnim, Upada pod nogi Wasze."
(From the village of Lipne,I, Anna the oppressed, currently residing in the village of Rostów following the death of Father Aleksej, Pastor of Lipne, my lifelong companion. I fall at your feet.)

[162] MANSI 35, 1514, "Quia vero diligentem eccelsiae curam habere vix potest, qui domui suae praeesse nescit (i) hinc eos hortatur sancta synodus, ac paterne monet, ut familiam suam mysteria nostrae fidei doceant, & ac bonos mores accendant. Uxorem si quis habet notorie adulteram, dimittat; alioquin ministerio fungi non audeat."

back to their fathers in instances where they originated from priestly families.[163] Otherwise, the

synod merely required that deans inquire whether the parish priest was actively caring for the

spiritual lives of his household dwellers, whether they lived a "Christian life," were cognizant of

the basic tenets of the faith and whether they participated in household prayers in the morning

and evening.[164] At its core, the Synod was less preoccupied with the role of the clerical wife and

more concerned with her reflection upon the reputation of the priestly office.

"RECALL THIS TEACHING OFTEN," CLERICAL DISCIPLINING AND THE PERILS OF DIVINELY ORDERED HISTORY

At the opposite end of an obedient and righteous priesthood preserving Christ's teachings

and maintaining his church, were disobedient, recalcitrant clerics, set apart from grace. As

submission reflected divinely instituted order, disobedience produced historical rupture and

demarcated clerics outside the priesthood initiated by Christ. Continuity, as articulated by the

Ruthenian episcopate, assumed not only temporal but spatial qualities wherein Christ's Church

was constant, unchanging and immemorial but from which individual clerics could be separated

through dissonant behaviors, lifestyles and beliefs or dwelling in profane physical spaces which

separated them from the legacy of Christ's priesthood. Bishops Innocenty Winnicki and Józef

Szumlański situated their calls for morally disciplining clerical behavior and praxis in terms

which belied reform and heralded the reconstitution of an elapsed state of grace. To this end,

their unique spatiotemporal discourse also had a longstanding intellectual tradition in the

Commonwealth as outlined by Metropolitan Józef Welamin Rutski and aimed to establish

normative boundaries of priestly identity. They called for the Ruthenian clergy to inwardly and

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[163] Witold Bobryk, *Duchowieństwo unickiej diecezji chełmskiej w XVIII wieku*, (Lublin: Instytut Europy środkowo-wschodniej, 2005), 136.

[164] MANSI 35, 1528, "An suorum domesticorum habeat curam, ut christianam vitam ducant, rudimenta Fidei sciant, & orationes quotidianas mane & vespere absolvant? / An pueros, & puellas mysteria fidei, orationem Dominicam doceat saltem diebus Dominicis, an habeat sermonem ad populum, an Festa, & jejuna denunciet?"

outwardly project the image of a righteous priestly estate, living at all times within a moral framework that befit their social and spiritual status.

While both Szumlański and Winnicki employed a discourse of inward purification, Winnicki's rhetoric was particularly forceful. Winnicki instructed his readers to engage with the text in a way which would bring Christ, Peter, the apostles and John Chrysostom[165] "before their eyes." This visualization of sacral figures and events through ritualized readings removed the temporal separation between the Apostles and the reader, allowing them immediate access to this distant past through re-enactments of sacred histories. Winnicki's letter itself became a means of that kind of contemplative re-enactment of a sacred past: as Christ instructed his apostles, so too did Winnicki instruct his subordinates. Just as the Apostles received the Holy Spirit during Pentecost, Winnicki's clerical audience were also sanctified by the words of their bishop. Just as St. John Chrysostom produced letters to instruct the clergy, so Winnicki followed in the footsteps of his worthy antecessor by exhorting the parish clergy to love and obey their superior. The letter acted as a textual reflection of continuity but also became an instrument though which clerics could preserve the continuity of Christ's Church by reinscribing the holy bonds of authority, supplication and discipline.

While there is scant evidence to the reception of these epistles, they were clearly intended to affirm the structures of ecclesiastical hierarchy through ritualized readings of the bishop's

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[165] Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 85, "Поневажъ Господь Богъ и Спасъ нашъ Ісүсъ Хрїстосъ един ъ сый Свѧтыѧ Тройца,тридесѧтъ и полчварта лѣта на землиспасенїе наше творѧчи страсть болнүю претерпѣлъ, оумерый и воскресый во третый день, сошедъ во адъ, и дꙋши свѧтыхъ высвободилъ, и м днїй предъ вознесенїемъ своимъ на земли своѧ всѣми свѧтыми, ѿ ада воскресшими, на небо вознесесѧ, (...) а на мѣсци своемъ пастирѧ верховнаго, свѧтагѡ Петра, и по немъ его наступниковъ, Архїереѡвъ пасти свое словесное стадо поручилъ, а ижъ оучитъ насъ свѧтый Іѡаннъ Злотоүстый чтите."

(As Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ roamed the earth for thirty and three years and in order to prepare our salvation, suffered terribly, died and rose again on the third day, descended into hell where he liberated the souls of saints, for forty days before his ascendancy into heaven, he preached to his holy students and apostles about the Kingdom of God. (…) In his place he instituted St. Peter as his Highest Pastor, and thereafter his successors. As St. John Chrysostom teaches us...)

words. In closing, Winnicki advised his subordinate clerics to, "read this teaching every Friday and recall it often."[166] The weekly recitation of pastoral letters imbued them with a sacral quality beyond mere informational decrees, situating them as devotional objects to be utilized in cyclical, ritualized weekly acts. Simultaneously instructive, outlining codes of conduct and behaviour, the letters were also depictive, relating interpretative biblical stories as vehicles for insight into divine knowledge. Selecting Friday as the day when all clerics in the Przemyśl eparchy should recite the bishop's words "communalized" the ritual process by initiating an eparchy-wide ceremony of reinscribing clerical bonds of subordination to a common episcopal head, thus cementing notions of a united and distinct clerical estate.

Intertextual connections to an apostolic and patristic history of the clergy promoted this idealized image of a distinct and elevated priesthood. Well aware that the benefits of belonging to a clerical estate might be interpreted as valuable solely in a tangible, worldly definition, Bishop Winnicki cautioned that although "priestly titles and names may be great"[167] they need to be understood in their spiritual capacity as well. Toward this instructive end, he outlined a series of thirty allegorical representations of the clerical state. His prose aimed to inspire a sense of pride in the priestly office itself, elevating the parish priest's standing within the community, the respect he garnered and his identity first and foremost as a member of this clerical estate. In so doing, Winnicki's allegorical rhetoric wafted between the corporeal and spatial:

> Each of you priests is an (…) Eye in the Body of the Church; a road leading up to heaven; an elevation or a hill that rises from the earth and looks to the heavens; the mouth of God bringing peace to the world; an apostolic imprint, for as apostles lived in obedience, purity, humility and suffering, so you too ought to live; you are a feeder of the

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[166] Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 98, "А сїю наүкү на кождый пѧтокъ читай, и на то часто памятай."

[167] Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 86, "бо титүлы албо имена Іерейскїи сүтъ великїе."

church, like the captain of a ship, who ferries Christians from this tumultuous sea of life to the other coast, that heavenly city of Jerusalem; you are the fount of the Holy Spirit, possessing the water of life that flows from God the Father and the Son, which grants eternal life and entry into the Heavenly Kingdom.[168]

Just as with the promotion of hierarchical discipline, episcopal letters employed vivid imagery that drew upon a biblical past. Referencing the Sermon on the Mount[169], the Acts of the Apostles, Christ's walk on water[170] and the so-called Water of Life Discourse[171], the parish priest was portrayed as an important instrument; a tool for enacting God's will.

There was a further purpose behind Winnicki's claim of a historically grounded, sanctified clerical estate. Winnicki condemned Ruthenians for having created a rupture from the blessed continuity of Christ's Church as evidenced by the bloody and horrific events in recent Ruthenian history. Winnicki's tenure as bishop followed the period of Polish history known as "the Deluge," heretofore mentioned in terms of bloody inter-confessional clashes. Winnicki used the subject of the "Deluge" as cautionary tale not unlike the Genesis flood, in which divine wrath was set upon an impious and disobedient populace until a moment of repentance. He warned of further disasters unless clerics heeded his admonitions. In his letter, Winnicki recites a litany of calamities that defined the history of the Commonwealth in at the midpoint of the seventeenth century: invasions by Swedish, Muscovite and Transylvanian foreigners, raids by Tatar and Cossack barbarians, and the hunger and pestilence that decimated the remaining survivors. Right

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[168] Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 86, "Кождый з васъ священникъ есть (...) Ꙗко тѣлү церковномү (...) Пүть албо дорога до неба приводѧщаѧ (...) Єстесь холмъ албо пагорокъ из землѣ до неба смотрѧчїй (...) Єстесь оүста Божіѧ даючи покой свѣтү (...) Єстесь апостолскїй подобникъ, понеже апостоли свѧтїй в послүшенствѣ, в послүшенствѣ, в покорѣ и в терпеиїй жили, и ты також жити маешъ (...) Єстесь кормитель церковный іако іакого корблѧ стырникъ препроважаючи хрїстїѧнъ з сего бүрливаго житейскаго морѧ на ѡнүю сторонү до небескаго града Іерүсалимү (...) Єстесь источникъ свѧтаго дүха, маючи водү живүю ѿ Бога ѡтца и Сына истѣкаючүю, и во животъ вѣчный до царства небескаго въводѧчүю."
[169] Matthew 5-7.
[170] Matthew 14:22-33, Mark 6:45-52 and John 6:16-21.
[171] John 4:10–26.

down to employing the word "deluge" (*потоп*), Winnicki cited this recent catastrophe as an

indication of divine wrath, where man and nature acted as God's scourge for a nation's sinful

living:

> And since our nation had been seized by great idleness and disobedience, due to which evil multiplied and resulted in great lawlessness in the world, the anger of God was brought upon the earth. This, in turn, brought fire, sword, invasion by foreigners and barbarians, war, flood, hunger and in the end, poisoned air and sudden death brought about by terrible angels – all this came from God. Because of this, begging for God's forgiveness, I demand that each of you priests judge his own conscience. (...) If each of you priests is the light of the world, do not create darkness in the world because of your disobedience. [172]

The "great idleness and disobedience in our nation" (literally "the desire not to listen"), set

Ruthenians apart from sacred history, since, without proper guidance by clerics, the people

turned away from "righteous" living and incurred the wrath of their God. Moreover, Winnicki

situated himself as a mediator between the parish clergy and divine will, in which role he, as a

father of errant children, begged God's forgiveness. Winnicki thus presented more than a

warning to clerics who chose to obviate his episcopal authority, or were lax in adhering to his

new model of parish clergy. He situated his own knowledge of proper practice as divinely

sanctioned and rendered their obedience to episcopal authority key to forestalling another

episode of divine retribution.

The subtext of Winnicki's narrative of recalcitrant subordinates and divine retribution

became both a means of legitimizing the introduction of his reforms, while simultaneously

providing a mechanism for enforcing them. Winnicki situated the state of clerical sloth and

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[172] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 87, "А ижъ великое безчинїе и не послушанїе въ нашомъ народѣ роду взяло, а за оумноженїе злости беззаконїеся на свѣтѣ оумножило, которое гнѣвъ Божїй на землю навело, огнь, мечъ, нашествїе їноплеменникъ, варваръ, потопъ, голодъ, и на остатокъ, моровое повѣтря, и з нимъ наглая смертъ, посланїе аггелы лютыми, то все ѿ Бога на народъ за грѣхи людскїи пришло, прето благаючи Бога за грѣхи кождого зъ васъ священника, жадаю, абысте себе самаго кождый осудили. (...) Єжели кождый з васъ священникъ естъ свѣтомъ сему свѣту, не чинѣтежся своимъ непослушенствомъ тмою."

disobedience as having consequences for the entire Ruthenian nation, allowing the laity to stray

from the continuity of God's grace and causing God to turn from the Ruthenian people. The

contemporaneous Polish-language literature was replete with so-called "Moralia," or historicized

cautionary tales against disobeying the divine, specifically employing the recent horrors of the

Deluge as a metaphor for God's judgment.[173] For example, Bernadine preacher Antoni

Stefanowicz, in his 1676 sermon "The Opus of Mankind's Salvation" (Dzieło Zbawienia

Ludzkiego), explicitly connected the Deluge with God's punishment for the sins of the nation.[174]

Situating Ruthenian history in relational terms of unity and opposition with God's kingdom, also

positioned God as an active agent in human affairs, rather than a theoretical or theological

abstraction. Accordingly, an omnipotent God knew who was acting in fellowship and true union

with Christ and who acted in opposition.

This omniscient divine gaze was meant to offer a means of establishing an ever-present

mode of disciplining the priesthood. God's wrath in the form of the Deluge had left a very

tangible mark upon the physical landscape of the Commonwealth and the episcopate hoped, the

potential threat of collective punishment on earth combined with the clergy's role in averting

such a disaster through a corrective impact on the laity, would elevate the clerical sense of duty

and devotion to their office. Similarly, just as Winnicki was attempting to inspire the clergy to

assume a salutary role for the whole of society, also pointed to their duty to save individual

souls, leading them either to the salvation of heaven or letting them fall into the damnation of

hell. Here too, clerical obedience to the episcopate was of key importance:

> First of all, you have promised during your ordination to study God's law day and night.
> Through this, the Holy Spirit made you prophets, and so you vow to open heaven to all
> good Christians, and (open) hell to all who are disobedient. Toward this end, you have

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[173] Piotr Chmielowski, *Historya literatury polskiej : od czasów najdawniejszych do końca wieku XIX*, (Warszawa: Granowski i Sikorski), 94-5.

[174] Czesław Hernas, *Barok*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1998), 399.

taken upon yourselves to be preachers of Christ's gospel not according to the body but according to the spirit. You have also deigned to learn from your bishop and from the Holy Scripture how to be obedient and how to live a holy life.[175]

Winnicki saw clerics in terms of prophets and preachers, who continuously admonished the laity and took an active role in their spiritual lives. As a sacred and learned estate, they were more than merely members of a profession, cursorily performing religious ceremonies on Sundays or high holy days. They were expected to serve in their office, not to secure physical comfort, but because of a sense of spiritual calling. That sense purpose and sense of calling, was then cultivated within the historical framework of the Scripture and the ongoing clerical relationship with the bishop: "if you are the doorkeeper, listen to the door; the door being Christ for he is the gate. If you are the keymaster, listen to the highest Apostle Peter and his successor the bishop as you would the heavenly keymaster."[176] For Winnicki, the fate of the laity, collective and individual, was contingent on the parish priest faithfully fulfilling his role in the church hierarchy. The Bishop of L'viv, Józef Szumlański, echoed this sentiment, concluding his pastoral epistle with the injunction that, "I end this letter with the words of this holy prophet [King David] by saying these holy words to you 'accept this teaching lest you anger the Lord for his is the power and the glory. Amen."[177]

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[175] Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 85, "Напродъ присѧгали есте прї своемъ посвѧщенїи оучитсѧ закону Господию въ денъ и въ ночи. Зачимъ дꙋхъ свѧтый починилъ васъ пророками, иже ѡбѣцꙋете добрымъ хрїстїѧномъ небо ѡ творити, а злымъ и непослꙋшнымъ пекло. Ктомꙋ поднѧлистесѧ быти проповѣдниками еѵангелїи хрїстовой, и не ведлꙋгъ тѣла, але ведле дꙋха оучитсѧ, ѿ епископа и списма свѧтого, и послꙋшними быти, и въ любви хрїстовой свѧтовливе жити."

[176] Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 87, "Єсли естесь дверникъ, слꙋхайже дверей, то естъ Хрїста, бо ѡнъ естъ дверъ. Єсли естесь ключаръ, слꙋхй же верховнаго Апостола Петра, его настꙋпника Єпископа іако небесного ключника."

[177] *Собори Львівскоï Епархіï XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 236, "ѿт словесъ ц(а)рствꙋюшагѡ прор(о)ка Д(а)в(и)да, такъ и кончꙋ егѡ з тымъже прор(о)ком с(ѵіа)тымъ, егѡ с(ѵіа)тыми словы до васъ мовѧчи: Прїймѣте наказанїе, да не когда прогнѣваетъсѧ Г(о)с(по)д (ѱ(а)л(ом) в.). Ємꙋже честь и держава вѣчна. Аминь."

The possibility of an internalized system of control carried significant possibilities for an episcopate that was geographically removed from the immediate oversight of their subordinate parishes. This sense of internal surveillance had the potential to be both self-enforcing and self-perpetuating; clerics might willingly give themselves over to what Michel Foucault described as a "self-offering" to the system of the divine gaze: "a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorization to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself. A superb formula: power exercised continuously and for what turns out to be minimal cost."[178] The external but invisible gaze of the divine meant to manifest as internalized self-restraint.

Józef Szumlański extended the gaze of surveillance, declaring the watchful eyes of the world to be always upon clerics. In 1687 he issued a pamphlet called Metrika in which he warned against a number of improper [worldly] clerical diversions such as riddles, fairy tales, superstitions and "womanly stories."[179] Szumlański further warned the clergy to refrain from public mockery and disrespect that priests were, allegedly, in habit of publically disparaging one other.[180] These scornful practices in the context of the gaze of wider society upon this distinct estate of priests had an immediate impact on their respectability. Proper public behavior, according to Szumlański, could win the "graciousness of nobles, respect of village councils, and love from us, your pastoral masters."[181] To this end, he employed the Apostles and Church

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[178] Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977,* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 155.
[179] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 233, "не вѣрте жаднымъ забобонамъ и бабским баснемъ."
Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст., (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 235, "Празднословѧтъ многѡ, байки собѣ побѣдаютъ, загадки вымышлѧютъ."
[180] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 235, "Еденъ другогѡ зневажаетъ, альбо єденъ з другогѡ безстȢднѡ насмѣваетъсѧ."
[181] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 233, "можете оу пановъ ласкȢ, повагȢ и оу громадъ и парохїѧнов своихъ пошнованье, и оу насъ пастырѧ, и по насъ бȢдȢчихъ пастырїей любовъ собѣ зиднати."

Fathers to extoll his vision of a righteous priesthood, asking the reader to recall (*памѧтай*) the types of cleric each of these demanded. For example, St. Paul is said to have wished for a clergy that was modest, not quarrelsome, quiet, pious, and above all, sober.[182]

While moral behavior could win respect, the inverse was said to occur when clergy conducted themselves in a manner unbecoming their status. Bishop Szumlański dedicated a full third of his 1687 pastoral letter to the virtues of sobriety and the censure of inebriation[183] declaring to inebriate priests that the eyes of the world are upon them: "the infidel Jews laugh at you, the peasants lampoon you, the nobles look at you with little respect, and those of the Orthodox Rus' that are of any respectability are embarrassed by you, while we, your bishops are heartbroken upon hearing this."[184] Szumlański's specific claim of surveillance and its repercussions were manifold, manifesting a kind of hierarchy ranging from the "infidel" Jewish other, to the peasant laity, to the nobles, to any "respectable" Ruthenian people. Bishops were situated as spectators with a God's eye vantage and pain, as a father grieving a prodigal son. More than symbolic, this ubiquitous scorn could also have tangible consequences. As the lay "people of the Orthodox Rus'" were also members of individual parishes, their mockery meant that they had no clerical guidance and scorned their assigned representative of the Church.

The "other" in the form of the "infidel Jew" stood at the base of Szumlański's hierarchy, serving as a kind of foil to the priestly ideal. Szumlański's depiction of Jews (represented as

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[182] *Собори Львівскоï Епархіï XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 228, "Хочетъ Павелъ с(віатій) св(ia)щенника мѣти цѣломγ дренна, благоговѣнна, честна, γчителна, не бїйцγ, не сварлива, але кротка, тоестъ ѡпатрногѡ, ѡхендожного, ростропногѡ, встыдивогѡ, кγ наγеню способногѡ, скромногѡ, незвдливогѡ,тихогѡ, побожногѡ;найпервѣй, еднакъ, всегѡ тогѡ трезвейнагѡ."

[183] *Собори Львівскоï Епархіï XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 228, "Водрост засъ, альбо чγйность ѡвшеки потребγетъ трезвости."

[184] *Собори Львівскоï Епархіï XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 231, "а то длѧ тогѡ же сѧ невѣрнїи жидѡве зъ тогѡ насмѣваютъ и порγгаютъ, зъ посполства мнѡгїи соблазнѧютъсѧ, панѡве въ легком поваженю маютъ, Правѡславнаѧ Рγсь иле оуважный и поважнїи люде за то встыдаютъсѧ, а намъ, пастыревѣ, слышачи то, сердце болѣзнγеть."

antagonists through history because of their denial of Christ's divinity) laughing at inebriate priests was straightforward condemnation, intended to shame priests into sobriety and virtue. The episcopate tacitly expected priests to embrace a feeling of spiritual superiority towards this religious "other" in their midst. This, in turn, would inspire the clergy to amend their errant behaviors in ways which would set them apart from and above a reviled "other." Szumlański's reference had direct biblical parallels in the mockery of Christ by the Sanhedrin in a series of historical events leading up to the Crucifixion.[185] This re-enactment of Gospel-era laughter and mockery effectively accused drunken and disorderly priests of standing in opposition to the Messiah of the Gospels: whereas Christ suffered indignity having been innocent of any crime, the priests (as Christ's representatives) were mocked for transgressions they willingly committed.

The "Jew," moreover, carried an association with profane and worldly spaces[186] posing material dangers for the fiscal solvency of the benefice. Jews in rural areas of the Commonwealth often managed the local nobleman's tavern, acted as money lenders and were occupied in mercantile exchange of goods.[187] In his study on the Przemyśl diocese, one scholar suggested a direct connection between drunkenness and priestly indebtedness. According to his study, habitual drinking and the frequent visits to the local tavern resulted not merely in indebtedness, but financial obligation to the Jewish tavern caretaker. In instances of debt, it was not unusual for priests to pawn liturgical plate until the debt was repaid. Church property, transferred as collateral into the hands of a Jewish tavern keeper was an intolerable proposition,

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[185] Matthew 26, Mark 14, Luke 22, John 18.

[186] See: John D. Klier, "Christians and Jews and the 'Dialogue of Violence' in Late Imperial Russia" in *Religious Violence Between Christians and Jews: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives*, ed. Anna Sapir Abulafia (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 163, and John-Paul Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside During the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Ukrainian Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, eds. Peter J Potichnyj and Howard Aster (Edmonton, Alberta, Canada: Canadian institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1990).

[187] Jan Stanisław Bystroń, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawnej Polsce wiek XVI-XVIII*, vol 1, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1994), 71.

albeit one relatively commonplace.[188] In part, fear of insolvent benefices drove Szumlański to warn priests against frequenting taverns and marketplaces, thus keeping company with "rude" peoples who inhabited those profane spaces.[189] This warning was repeatedly echoed by Winnicki's and Szumlański's episcopal successors who decried the dangers of priestly indebtedness and the use of church equipment as loan collateral to the Jews. The Jewish "other" thus became inextricably linked with temptation and opportunity for sin. Such could act as a potential slippery slope resulting in economic greed and envy, gluttonous (drunken) sloth and idle lust, as well as wrathful violence that frequently erupted at taverns and marketplaces, particularly once under the influence of drink.

Concern over clerical drinking was cited in episcopal letters with great frequency, strongly suggesting that it was the most pressing behavioral problem which Greek-rite Catholic bishops sought to root out. Winnicki decried the sin of drunkenness as an act which both polluted the office and separated wayward clerics from the ministry of Christ's Church, established by the Apostles and Church Fathers. In his 1685 *Catechism*, Winnicki ordered drunkenness as a subcategory of gluttony, one of the seven deadly sins. As such, he categorized it as a mortal sin, which, if unconfessed, threatened eternal damnation. In his *Catechism*, Winnicki asks: "Is gluttony a mortal sin?" responding: "Indeed, it is a grave sin, for it leads to an act of forgetting God."[190] Such an act of "forgetting God" through an excess of drink, threatened to create a rupture with the continuity of God's plan. Forgetting (*запоминаине*) God separated clerics from the eternity of grace, but more than that, the repercussions of drunkenness could

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[188] Józef Półcwiartek*, Z badań nad rolą gospodarczo-społeczną plebanii na wsi pańszczyznej ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej w XVI-XVIII wieku,* (Rzeszów: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Rzeszowie, 1974), 170 .

[189] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 231, "въ коорчмах зъ посполитыми людми не засѣдали (...) на торги не издили."
(they (priests) ought not sit in taverns with common people (...) ought not ride to markets.)

[190] Єпископ Інокентій Винницький, *Катихисіс або бароковий душпастирський сад,* (Перемишль: Супровідні статті й упорядкования Володимира і Дениса Пилиповичів, 2007), ark. 72 recto, "Ѡбжирствѡ (...) Єсть ли грѣхомъ смертелнымъ? Єсть, и тѧжкимъ абовѣмъ в запоминане Б(о)га приводитъ."

lead to subversion of divinely instituted hierarchical ordering, in which children disobeyed

parents and wives disobeyed their husbands, as Winnicki warned, declaring: "disobedience

[separates] parents from children and wives from husbands."[191] Countering this discourse of

forgetting, Winnicki urged clerics to turn attention to, gaze or reflect upon (*оуважене*) the

sacred past in which Christ figured as an example of abstemiousness, while the austere Church

Fathers routinely sought to tame the desires of the flesh: "Gaze upon the great restraint of Christ,

our Savior. His fast, against the gluttony of Adam. Reflect upon the great restraint of the Holy

Fathers, who mortified their flesh with suffering and willingness."[192]

Winnicki's *Catechism* was also an *imitatio Christi* (Latin for the imitation of Christ),

entailing the grace-based conforming of one's entire life to Christ's, rather than merely

reproducing his actions. Such a goal found explicit expression in the Pauline epistles,[193] and

since then, both Eastern and Western Christianities have held this imitation of Christ's life as a

central theological goal. Accordingly, Winnicki's *Catechism* made particular claims upon

morality in terms of Christ's life and embodying that sacred history. The text of the Catechism,

according to Winnicki, was not one man's proclamation but a repetition of Christ's true and

unaltered words. As such, the act of reading Winnicki's *Catechism* was one of sacred reiteration,

while living by its prescripts was to bodily walk in the footsteps of Christ.[194] Echoing Saint

Augustine, Winnicki contrasted Christ's moderation and self-restraint with Adam's abandon,

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[191] Єпископ Інокентій Винницький, *Катихисіс або бароковий душпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Супровідні статті й упорядкування Володимира і Дениса Пилиповичів, 2007), ark. 72 verso, ”Непослоушеньствѡ родичѡвъ, ѿ дѣтей, и ѿ женъ моужемъ.”

[192] Єпископ Інокентій Винницький, *Катихисіс або бароковий душпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Супровідні статті й упорядкування Володимира і Дениса Пилиповичів, 2007), ark. 72 verso -73 recto, ”оуважене великои стремѧжливости Хр(ис)та Збавителѧ нашегѡ. За ѡбжирство Адамово доситъчиннѧчого. Оуважене с(віа)тых воздрежниковъ, ѡстрыи встремежливости которые распѧли тѣло свое, съ страст(іа)ми, и похо(іа)ми.”

[193] *The Harper Collins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, ed. Richard P. McBrien, (San Francisco: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995), 654.

[194] Денис Пилипович, “Катихисіс еп. Інокеннтія Винницького в богословському контексті епох,” in Єпископ Інокентій Винницький, *Катихисіс або бароковий душпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Супровідні статті й упорядкування Володимира і Дениса Пилиповичів, 2007), 59.

committing the first sin of mankind and the fall from the perpetual grace of Eden.[195] This break

with God's law created a profound rupture in the continuity of grace for all of mankind; mankind

fell, unredeemed until Christ and his institution of order brought human history back into the

sacral grace of God. It was in this context too, that Winnicki charged clerics to follow in the

path of Christ always remembering his will and staying in the light of eternal grace; rather than

following Adam who forgot God's mandate, falling from grace and into the world.

Szumlański too employed the concepts of "remembering" and "forgetting" to instill his

mandates for sobriety. "Remembering" oriented the cleric towards the continuity of the divine,

while engaging with the gluttony and weakness of alcohol was an act of "forgetting" Christ;

drunkenness was not only a profane pursuit, it was a conduit to a series of other sins, a root for

all other evil.[196] In his *Metrika*, he avowed that "a drunkard loses his memory and willingly

makes himself stupid for which Saint John Chrysostom judges the drunkard as sinful,

unfortunate, miserable and beyond mad."[197] Inebriation caused a loss of senses, but the

drunkard, Szumlański claimed, was "beyond mad" because, "a drunkard will die in his drunken

state without remembering, without remorse over his sins and thus is unable to save himself

[from damnation]."[198] Inebriation by a cleric was an act of willful departure from the sacrality of

his office, his duty, the grace of God and the blessed continuity of Christ's church. To illustrate

the dangers of intoxication, Szumlański offered a warning to any parish priests who might dare

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[195] Денис Пилипович, "Катихисіс еп. Інокеннтія Винницького в богословському контексті епох," in Єпископ Інокентій Винницький, *Катихисіс або бароковий душпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Супровідні статті й упорядкування Володимира і Дениса Пилиповичів, 2007), 96.

[196] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 228, "пїѧнство – мати и корень всемꙋ злꙋ."
(drunkenness – the mother and root of all evil.)

[197] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 229, "Пїѧница памѧть тратитъ и ѡвезꙋмлѧетъсѧ добровольне, длѧ чогѡ Златоꙋстый св(іа)тый пїѧницꙋ ѡкаѧнѣйшимъ, нещасливимъ, мѣзернѣйшимъ, над бѣсноватогѡ сꙋдитъ."

[198] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 229, "пїѧница же, аще оꙋмретъ въ пїѧнствѣ безъ памѧти, безъ скрꙋхи и жалю за грѣхи, спастисѧ не можетъ."

to become intoxicated in the middle of the night. Such a cleric, unable to stand on his own legs, would fail in his solemn duty to come to the aid of a dying parishioner. "Let no one," warned Szumlański, "because of your drunkenness, die in such a circumstance, [that is] in mortal sin without [benefit of] confession, without absolution. Oh priest, know and be certain that you will be made to answer for his perdition [which is given] from your hands."[199] In his capacity as a dispenser of sacraments, Szumlański argued, a drunken priest was more than a threat to his own soul, he was a danger to the salvation of each member of the parish community.

Early episcopal efforts to limit clerical drinking and likewise curb clerical access to profane spaces associated with alcoholic consumption often figured at the top of the agenda. Considering how frequently these admonitions were repeated by the bishops of Przemyśl and L'viv who succeeded Winnicki and Szumlański, the problem of intoxication remained a major episcopal concern. In fact, excessive drinking and the accompanying violence it produced, were by far the most common lay complaints about parish priests. In his recent essay on clerical violence in the L'viv eparchy, Piotr Wawrzeniuk argued that priestly use of physical force was a way of communication and interaction between the parish priest and the laity.[200] However, evidence from episcopal admonitions, visitation records and lay letters of supplications strongly suggests a strong perceived link, both on behalf of the episcopate and lay villagers, between priestly intoxication and violence, in which use of physical force resulted from alcohol-fueled impulsiveness rather than deliberate communication of social superiority. Wawrzeniuk's argument that parish priests could hardly be expected to act in accordance with the episcopal

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[199] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 231, "Нехай же тамъ кто зъ таковых припадкѡвъ оумрет въ грѣхү смертельном безъ сповѣди, безъ раздрѣшенїѧ, а за твоимъ, ѡ їерею, пїѧнствомъ, вѣдай же, вѣда(й) запевне, же згиненѧ егѡ зъ рүкъ твоих ѿ тебе реквѣровати бүдүтъ."

[200] Piotr Wawrzeniuk, "Violence Among the Parish Priests" *Forschungen zur osteuropäisches Geschichte* 71 (2007): 235-41, 249.

agenda in the short run, due to the fact that they were close, both socially and mentally, to the

rural laity certainly finds reflection in visitation documents well into the late eighteenth century.

That said beginning in the tenures of Winnicki and Szumlański, the episcopate began to combat

clerical violence and drunkenness not only through increased surveillance and punishment, but

also through the use of narratives sacralizing and historicizing the dignity of the priestly office.

Despite episcopal demands for sobriety, the problem of clerical drunkenness remained a

problem well into the eighteenth century. In 1759, the Górna Bronica (*Брониця*) village council

in the Przemyśl eparchy issued a formal complaint with regard to their parish priest. It alleged

that Father Bazyli "having been drinking at the tavern, return[ed] home to cruelly beat his wife."

Then, "after midnight, he creat[ed] an uproar amidst houses."[201] In one colorful incident, upon

exiting the tavern the drunken priest took notice of a barrel that once held vodka but which had

been subsequently filled with salt. Unaware of its content, the priest sought to break the cast

open by throwing it violently upon the ground. Witnessing this spectacle, the Jewish proprietor

and a man named Iacek Dubiak seized the priest, called him a derogatory name and forced him

not only pay for the damaged merchandise but publically apologize for the incident.[202]

This incident exemplifies the problematic nature of the vice of drink for an episcopate

trying to mold an image of a respectable clergy. Not only did Father Bazyli act improperly,

drawing the scorn of his flock, but such behavior undermined the order and authority the

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[201] CDIAL 142:81:72-5, "w karczmie piec a przyszedszy dodomu zone swoią okrutnie bicy pomiędzy chałupy populnocy Gwałt robi."
(having been drinking at the tavern, he returns home to cruelly beat his wife. After midnight, he creates an uproar amidst houses.)
[202] ABGK 142:81:72-5, "upijawszy się w karczmie iednego czasu y wyszedszy yz karczmy na podzienie a beczka soli stała pod karczmą to iest zydowska yz siniawy z X Bazyli porwawszy beczkie rozbił oziemie a przyszedszy Iacdebiak y zyd iak nie kaplana prem nazywal y publicznie musial zaplacic y preprosic."
(Having gotten drunk in the tavern at one time, he left the tavern, stepping toward the foundation. There, next to the tavern, stood the Jew's barrel of salt, which once held vodka. Father Bazyli, having grabbed the barrel, struck it against the ground. Jacek Debiak and the Jew immediately called the priest a ? for which he had to publically pay and apologize.)

episcopate worked to foster. Father Bazyli's drinking bout at the tavern impugned the dignity

and respectability of the priestly image, belying the perception of a separate and respectable

clerical estate. Attempting to remedy just such incidents, Bishop Winnicki called for deans to,

"find out about the life of each of his priests, how he behaves at home, whether he is sober, (...)

whether he is present at unnecessary places and frequent feasts." [203] Winnicki's prose did not

directly assert a causal connection between intoxication and violence. However, by the time of

the 1720 Synod of Zamość, where, amongst a slew of church customs and canons, the Church-

wide policy on drunkenness and violence was outlined, the connection between the two was

inseparable: "Drunkenness, through which quarrels, fights, wounds and other injuries, to say

nothing of debauchery, originate among rude peoples, ought to be resisted with all will. With

this in mind, this holy Synod forbids the (priestly) attendance of taverns, feasts and libations with

peasants (...) under the pain of suspension of office."[204] Beyond the sin of inebriation, the

presence of a cleric in such profane spaces of the peasantry was now a perversion of his elevated

station; one that destabilized order instead of preserving it.

The episcopate's prohibition upon priestly attendance of immoral spaces like

marketplaces and taverns was underway for three quarters of a century by the time of Father

Bazyli's "drunken barrel" encounter in 1759; the persistence of which had clearly become a sore

point for the episcopate of Przemyśl and L'viv. In 1740 Bishop Atanazy Szeptycki of L'viv

seemed almost exasperated by the issue:

It has been decreed and commanded a long time ago, that clergy ought not wander around

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[203] Єпископ Інокентій Винницький, *Катихисіс або бароковий душпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Супровідні статті й упорядкування Володимира і Дениса Пилиповичів, 2007), ark. 36 verso, "также повиненъ довѣдоватисѧ ω житіи кож(дого) д(ү)ховного своего іакъ сіѧ справүемъ в домү чи трезво стати чи (...) на непотребнй мѣсцах и бесѣдах частых не вываютъ."

[204] MANSI 35, 1515, "Ebrietatem, a qua rixae, caedes, vulnera, ac caeterae injuriae, ac flagitia, praesertim in rudiori populo proficiscuntur, omni studio vitent; quod ut facilius praesent, sancta synodus ipsius inhibet frequentationem propinarum, ac comessationes & compotationes, cum rusticticis potissimum ibidem fieri solitas, sub poena suspensionis."

markets and marketplaces with their wives. Nor should they attend taverns, thus maintaining their priestly modesty. Taking once again this prohibition into account, the deans are to watch over this, and send any violators to the cathedral for a two-week prison sentence, having taken other infractions into account as well. Should the deans show favor in this toward any violators, they themselves will be subject to the same penalties, thus ensuring that both will undergo punishment. [205]

Clearly, despite episcopal condemnation, drinking and trading remained common enough habits amongst the priesthood prompting the bishop to instill a "get tough" policy. The bishop promised a two week incarceration in the L'viv Cathedral for transgressors. Interestingly, the episcopal language also suggests an anxiety toward the full cooperation of the deans, promising them an equal punishment if they failed to report offending priests.

DRUNKENNESS, VIOLENCE AND "WHOREDOM"

At its worst, priestly violence extended beyond the profane space of the tavern, into the sacred space of the church itself. Village councils and, less frequently, individual parishioners petitioned the episcopate to curtail the violence committed by parish clerics. For all the episcopally promoted discourse about avoiding marketplaces, taverns or festivities, episodes of violence taking place within the consecrated space of the church were by no means less frequent than those reported elsewhere. For example, a village council from the Sanok area accused one Father Jan Boczyński of the Czyszcze parish of being unable to control his passions, beating his faithful even during holy services, from which a parishioner lost two teeth.[206] In this particular

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[205] *Собори Львівскої Епархіï XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 264, "Dawno także y to iest postanowiono y przykazano, żeby duchowni po targach y jarmarkach z zonami nie włoczyli się, do karczem nie uczęszczali, y we wszystkim modestyi kapłanskiey przestrzegali. Co y teraz reassumuiąc zakazuie, aby Przewielebni xięża pilnie tego przestrzegali y wykrocznonych do katedry na dwoniedzielny karceress z odprawieniem innych motyfikacyi odsyłali. Inaczey iesliby się przeciwko ktoremu kapłanowi mieli conniventer, sami o to doniesieni we dwoie karę odniosą."

[206] ABGK 142:81:68-70, "Ze Tenze (_) Xiądz Nasz Teraznieyszy Paroch nie pohamowany będąc w Pasyach Nawet w Cerkwi Swiętey biie nas y kaliczy (__) ze az dwa zęby wybił."
(This current Priest of ours, having no restraint for his passions even in the holy church, beats and hurts us, to the point of knocking out two teeth.)

instance, the Father Jan had little need of actually tramping to the tavern. Having refused to offer the sacramental absolution until a proper "incentive" had been provided, he only relented when liquor was brought before him by apologetic villagers.[207]

Similarly, an unnamed parishioner from Stańcze village, wrote a letter of supplication to his episcopal superior, complaining of clerical maltreatment. His letter alleged that the parish priest, Father Stefan Hrywan, having "chased away" his lawful wife, was committing adultery with his own sister-in-law, the miller's daughter. When the man publically protested the immorality of his parish priest, Father Hrywan retaliated by brutally beating him on at least three occasions. The most problematic of these encounters took place in the village church, where the parishioner confronted Father Hrywan during liturgy. "Because of the whoredom (*kurewstwo*) he had been committing with the milleress," wrote the supplicant, "I inquired while in the Holy Church: 'Why are you committing sodomy[208] with your sister-in-law?'"[209] Father Hrywan, clearly affronted by this public revelation, violently and repeatedly struck his lay accuser, punctuating the blows with "ugly utterances."[210] Not content with the punishment he meted out during Mass, the parish priest was unceasing in his vengeance. At some point after the incident, Father Stefan orchestrated a raid on the man's house at which time he was badly beaten in the

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[207] ABGK 142:81:68-70, "spowiedzi słuchać niechciał az go przekupili Nosząc do niego gorzałkę na przeprosiny." (He refused to listen to confessions, until he had been bribed. They (the parishioners) had to bring vodka to him as a form of apology.)

[208] 'Sodomy' in this context was meant to infer a sexual practice deemed unnatural in the Early Modern Slavic context and has no association with modern constructions of the term. In this case, consanguinity by marriage would have rendered the coupling incestuous and therefore an act of "sodomy." See: Eve Levin, *Sex and Society in the World of the Orthodox Slavs, 900-1700*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 197-9.

[209] ABGK 142:83:73, "wraz z miełniczką robił kurewstwo (...) Iasie o to opomniał w Cerkkwi Swiętey naco robisz Sodomia z z bratową swoią."

[210] ABGK 142:83:73, "a un sie Porwał bić mnie tamze w Cerkwi S. z wymowami brzytkymi."

presence of his children.[211] Finally, having enlisted the help of his brother, Father Stefan beat his accuser so severely that he needed three weeks to recover.[212]

The supplication letter served a twofold function. First, it stood as a plea from a parishioner whose priest violated the established code of behavior. Father Hrywan shattered the bonds of sexual propriety, while profaning the sacred time of holy service, halting his highest religious duties only to mete out an injury to a parishioner. Secondly, the supplicant author begged for protection from a rogue priest usurping the status of a noble in claiming the right to enact violence because of an injured sense of pride and honor. The so-called noble raid (*zajazd*) against an offending party was a popular way of resolving tensions between blue-blooded neighbors in the Commonwealth. It involved an armed attack upon the residence, a meting out of physical punishment, sometimes kidnapping, ending in some form of forced restitution. The only way to halt such acts of lawlessness was to place oneself under the patronage of a more powerful lord.[213] In his supplication to the bishop, the author of the letter was undoubtedly not only complaining about Father Hrywan's immoral conduct but also requested some form of protection against the continued threat of physical violence.

Episcopal courts demonstrate that local bishops usually had sufficient muscle to haul in unruly priests to their residence, have them tried and imprisoned. That said, bishops tended to have limited resources to personally coerce unruly bands of brigands and misbehaving provincial noblemen. In those instances, it was the bishop himself who sought to take advantage of his own networks of privilege, requesting the protection of an armed representative of the Crown. In one

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[211] ABGK 142:83:73, "Przez nabiegu nadum muy (...) bicia mnie Samego y dzieci moich Przed ktorymi Iuz niemoge Swoich Uciskuw Wytrzymac."
(Due to the raid on my house, (...) the beatings inflicted upon me and my children, before whom I can no longer live under such persecution)
[212] ABGK 142:83:73, "Przez miełniczke trzeciraz bił mnie z brate Swoim tęze przetą com lezał trzy niedziele."
(Over this milleress, he beat me a third time, with his brother. Because of this, I was down for three Sundays.)
[213] Jan Stanisław Bystroń, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawnej Polsce wiek XVI-XVIII*, vol 2, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1994), 301-2.

such instance, just after declaring union with Rome, Bishop Józef Szumlański wrote a letter of

complaint to Crown Hetman Stanisław Jabłoński decrying the treatment of a parish priest in the

village of Małe Dzieduszyce (*Малі Дідушичі*) by a local nobleman, Jan Daniłowicz.[214] For an

otherwise unknown reason, Daniłowicz conducted an armed raid to seize a group of village

residents. Seeking sanctuary, the pursued men took refuge in at a parish church, in which their

brother served as the local Greek-rite Catholic priest. Writing to the Hetman, Szumlański wrote:

> I inform you, meanwhile, of the terrible crime and use of force against my priest, a
> Uniate, perpetrated by the honorable Daniłowicz, the starosta of Borki, in Małe
> Dzieduszyce. The starosta of Borki sent his men against the blood brothers of the parish
> priest of Małe Dzieduszyce. He ordered the kidnapping of the priest, who, at the time,
> was standing at the altar during celebration (of Mass). He then ordered that the priest be
> given a hundred lashes, instructing him to tell where his brothers are hiding, to which the
> servants responded that they were locked inside the church. The honorable lord starosta
> took to his horse with his men, ordered the church opened with axes. They (the men
> inside) took courage, held fast to the altar, asking for mercy. With no respect for the
> altar, the men charged through the royal doors,[215] knocking over everything in the
> process, including, oh horror, the consecrated species. The (starosta's) disrespectful
> servants, paying respect to neither God nor the Blessed Sacrament, dragged these people
> around, stomped on them with their feet, pulled them out through the royal doors,
> whereupon they were beaten, abandoned and left for dead. Thus ended this criminal act.
> [216]

This kind of invasion of church space, abuse of clergy and sacrilege to the consecrated species

usually carried considerable state mandated penalties. Winnicki's appeal to the Grand Hetman,

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[214] Jan Daniłowicz, holder of the title "starosta Borecki." His wife was the original owner of the Małe Dzieduszyce village. The title of starosta, in this case, refers to a county level royal official.
Jan Niesiecki, S.J., *Herbarz Polski*, vol. 3, (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Heartler, 1839), 20.
[215] The Royal Doors are the centrally located, two hinged doors within the iconostasis, the wall of icons that separates the sactuary from the nave of the church interior. Since the Royal Doors lead directly to the altar where the Eucharistic species are consecrated, they may be passed through only by ordained clergy. The Royal Doors usually remain closed, with the exception of certain times during liturgy.
[216] CDIAL 132:1152, "Donosze przytym straszny criminał y gwałt kapłana unita moyą ktory perpetravit Jm. Danilowicz Starosta Borecki (...)w Małych Dieduszycach (...)Starosta Borecki na bracią rodzoną Kapłana Małych Dzieduszyc posłał do Cerkwi ludziey swoich, y od Ołtarza Kapłana stawaiącego na celebracią porwac kazał, a do dworu zaprowadzonego temu Kapłanowi dac kazał sto kijow, zawołał polyw (?) a bracia tei w opagdzie są, odpowiedziała czeladz, ze w Cerkwi zostali y zamkneli sie Jpan Starosta Borecki wpadły sam nakonia z ludzmi swemi, cerkiew siekierami kazał otworzyc, oni nie boięta do Ołtarza uchwyciwsz sie Ołtarza S: miłosierdzia wołali bez respektu tedy carskiemi dzwiami zołtarza Panskiego wszystko zrzuciwszy venerabile na ziemie rozsypawszy horrendum? swawolna czeladz nic na Pana Boga ani na S: Sakrament nierespektowawszy wlekła tych ludziey, nogami deptała, dzwiami carskiemi wywlekli, zabiali, y zaumartwych porzuciwszy criminał ten skączyli."

or, the King's highest General was charged with maintaining this order. One can only assume that Szumlański was demanding the matter be treated as if it had transpired in a Latin-rite sacred space, especially as he concluded his complaint: "At no time in dis-union did our clergy suffer so much, as they do now in Holy Union."[217] Episcopal letters constantly reiterated the need for parish priests to cease behaving like rustics, whether through their dress, occupation, or the company they kept. Considering that corporal punishment was usually reserved for unruly peasants, the bishop must have found the lashes inflicted upon one of his subordinates a particular sign of wanton disrespect for the clerical estate.

PROFESSIONALIZING THE PRIESTHOOD

Just as the episcopate sought to bar clerics from profane spaces, they also sacralized the priestly body itself, ascribing the continuity of Christ's church upon clerical life and image. To this end, the episcopate demanded priests adopt a uniformity of specialized dress, strict protocols for hygiene and cleanly appearance, adhering to behavioral norms that mirrored the gentry rather than the burghers or peasantry. Moreover, the bishops stressed the mutually reinforcing relationship between the internal space of a priestly soul and the external space of a priest's appearance. Mindful of the reflection and influence one has upon the other, bishops urged their subordinate ecclesiasts to foster a holistic sense of piety for themselves, their churches, and their flocks: keeping their minds untainted by avoiding heretical texts, studying episcopal decrees and the Scriptures, adhering to standardized clerical dress codes, caring for the altar and cemetery, and faithfully teaching their parishioners prayers to renew their faith such as the Ten

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[217] CDIAL 132:1152, "czego in disunione nidgy sie nie cierpiało duszpasterstwo, teraz in sancta cierpiec musi unione."

Commandments, Our Father, Hail Mary and the Creed. [218] In this way, the episcopate was

concerned with the respectability not only of the priestly body and soul, but the respectability of

the spaces a priest inhabited or controlled. Ultimately, this vigilance and regulation was meant to

confer an autonomous and esteemed social status for the ordained; priests standing as respected

teachers to the peasantry, elevated above them, and recognizable to the world. This

distinctiveness and visibility aimed to command an authority equal to the Latin Catholic

priesthood.

To visually communicate the idea of a cohesive and elevated priesthood sharing common

praxis, doctrine, purity of heart and faith, the episcopate demanded uniformity of external

appearance. The priestly body was a contested space of symbolic meaning, upon which the

outward symbols of religious life could be inscribed, dually commanding status and submission

to the sacral hierarchy of the Greek-rite Catholic faith. Declaring the link between the internal

purity of the heart and the external purity of appearance, Bishop Szumlański, mapped sacred

space upon the priest himself, declaring that "the priest ought to always but especially when on

his way to serve in the Holy Church, wear proper clerical garb, one that is never spattered."[219]

Tarnished clothing dually imparted the image of a soul besmirched by sin and that of a peasant,

wearing smocks stained by the mud or dung intrinsic to manual rustic labor. By declaring that

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[218] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 85-6, "Ктомꙋ поднѧлистесѧ быти проповѣдниками еѵангелїи хрїстовой, и не ведлꙋгъ тѣла, але ведле дꙋха оучитсѧ, ѿ епископа и списма свѧтого, и послꙋшними быти, и въ любви хрїстовой свѧтовливе жити (...) грѣховъсѧ выстерѣгати, ѡдѣжꙋ долгꙋю чорнꙋю мѣти, книг геретицкихъ нечитати, ѡлтаръ, церковъ, цмынтаръ чисто держати, тѣло Божїе въ оуцтивости мѣти (...) парохїан своихъ іако старыхъ и молодыхъ Ѿтче нашъ, Богородице Дѣво, Вѣрꙋю во единаго Бога, и Десѧтера Божїѧ приказанѧ оучити."
(Toward this end, you have undertaken to become preachers of Christ's Gospels, not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. From the bishop and the Holy Scripture you have sworn to live in obedience and holiness in Christ's love (...) abandoning sin, wearing black clothes, not reading heretical books, keeping the altar, cemetery and church pure, respecting the Body of Christ (...) teaching the parishioners, both old and young, the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed and the Ten Commandments.)
[219] *Собори Львівскоï Епархіï XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 236, "свіащенникъ завше, а ѡсобливе гды до Ц(е)ркве Б(о)жои на слꙋженїе идетъ, на собѣ мѣти сꙋкманꙋ пристойнꙋю, не захлѧпанꙋю."

priests ought to wear untarnished clothing, Szumlański sought to visually distinguish the priesthood from their peasant and burgher flock. Bishop Winnicki likewise insisted on clear external identity markers of a priestly caste, warning priests not don gray and to eschew fur and felt hats; as both were the custom of rustics.[220] The Synod of Zamość in 1720 reiterated such demands for visible symbols of a distinct clerical estate, "Furthermore, since from external dress the state of the soul can be seen, every (priest) is to dress in a manner that is the opposite from that which the peasants are accustomed to, that being black and longer in length."[221] Dress provided a visual marker of hierarchy and identity, immediately communicating social markers, defined social roles, status and expectations.

Moreover, for the cleric the constant awareness of his external appearance served as a reminder of internal faith and the duties of the office, reinforcing proscribed behavioral norms. In order to maintain the spotlessness of their garments priests could not engage in the behaviors the episcopate sought to discourage such as drinking and manual labor. Bishop Szumlański connected priestly dress to a greater narrative of clerical cleanliness, embodying a dimension that was simultaneously spiritual and corporal. "Let him have a combed head and beard," Szumlański continued, "as well as washed hands, trimmed nails and even moustache, if covering the mouth, may be trimmed without impediment to conscience."[222] According to Szumlański, cleanliness, whether in public or before the altar, was not vanity but representative of both a priest's state of grace as well as his social standing. Even the issue of footwear was not avoided

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[220] Єпископ Інокентій Винницький, *Катихисіс або бароковий душпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Супровідні статті й упорядкування Володимира і Дениса Пилиповичів, 2007), ark. 37 recto, "если д(ү)ховниї при зволитою собѣ носіат ѡдеждү чи не в күчмахъ албо в магеркахъ албо в инших свѣцкихъ шепках сѣракахъ ходіат."

[221] MANSI 35, 1513, "Praeterea cum ex ornamento exteriori interior animi compositio appareat. (f) quisque usatur habitu diverso ab eo, qui rustici solent, nigro scilicet, et longiori."

[222] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 236, "головү и боролү оучесанүю, рүки оумытїи, паʒүри ѡбрѣзанїи, ба и оусы если въ которогѡ сүтъ великїи навѣслыи на оуста, могүтъ быти беʒъ сүмнѣнїѧ пристриженїи."

in Szumlański's 1687 *Pravoučenie*. Priests were instructed to wear shoes, free of dirt, not cheap

equivalents constructed of wood or wicker – the most likely footwear of choice for the common

Ruthenian rustic. For religious services, priests were to wear appropriate slippers. The quality

of the footwear, as well as the differing variety intended for ordinary as well as holy spaces, may

have been beyond the means of most parish clergy.[223]

Repeated prescriptions for donning on specialized clothing and episcopal insistence that

priests identify as a part of a distinct clerical estate proved particularly successful, even if at

times to a fault. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the propagation of the new image of

the Greek-rite parish priest as well as an increasingly frequent association with wealthier, more

fashion conscious Latin-rite clergy, resulted in the desire to participate in conspicuous

consumption of not only specialized garments, but also fashions that separated a free man from

the peasant. In the eighteenth century, the nobility as well as the noble-born episcopate donned

fashionable clothes, wigs and jewelry.[224] Having acquired an expensive fashion sense that

accompanied their position and new clerical consciousness, eighteenth century Greek-rite

Catholic bishops chided subordinate clerics, not for clothes which were too modest, but for their

immodest embellishments. Visiting deans were to take note of these transgressions, resorting to

admonitions and monetary fines whenever necessary:

> From now on all priests must maintain the necessary order and propriety regarding their
> clothing, footwear and hairstyle. We further prescribe that all deans maintain diligence
> and effort in taking note that priests do not publically wear slippers, German boots,
> collars or robes in the latest fashion with buttons all the way to the bottom (of the

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[223] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 234, "и ѡбѹваѧ на ногахъ нехай бѹдетъ чистое, и не дегтѧное, анѣ ходаки, або постоли и личанїи, але ѡвшеки боти, альбо принамнѣй сандалїѧ папѹцѣ повинеиъ св(ia)щенникъ кождый мѣти до слѹженїѧ особнїи, и прочаѧ."
(May the footwear on his feet be clean, not besmirched or shoddy, or wicker. Instead, they should be boots, or at least flat-soled felt, which every priest can wear to religious service separately, and so on.)

[224] Jan Stanisław Bystroń, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawn ej Polsce wiek XVI-XVIII*, vol. 2, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1994), 424-5.

garment). For each (infraction), they are to fine (the violators) five grivnas on the spot, with no return of funds.[225]

Episcopal concern for public mockery for an untamed, rustic and disheveled priesthood had clearly given way to the fear of derision for excess.

A 1744 reiteration of Synod of Zamość by L'viv bishop Atanazy Szeptycki demonstrated the precarious balance between proper clerical dress and excessive attire. Priests were to dress in a long black garment, as befitting the clerical estate, "like those that the Roman clergy wear." Whoever was found to be wearing clothes that were not black, such as furs in wintertime, risked possible confiscation by a visiting dean, who then had the authority to sell the garment and use the proceeds as alms for the poor or redistributed for church purposes."[226] Some forty years later, Atanazy's eventual successor, Piotr Bielański, actually sought to employ clerical dress as a sign of episcopal approval of any who sought the priestly office. The garment itself was considered invalid unless it was first blessed through a recitation of prayer by the episcopal cantor and then delivered directly from the bishop's hands.[227]

The contestation over clothing and aspirations to Latin Catholic social standing had a deeper implication than mere negotiations over dress between bishop and cleric. While the episcopate urged the Ruthenian parish clergy to dress more like Latin clerics, a tangible gap in the standard of living continued to differentiate the two rites. In his detailed study of the

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[225] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 283, "Aby od tych czas wszyscy kapłani w stroiu, to iest w odzieży, w obówiu, spuszczaniu włosów, należyte ochędóstwo y przyzwoitość stanu swego zachowali. Zalecamy Przewielebnym x(ieżom) dziekanom w tym pilność y staranie, żeby wielekroć którego, mianowicie mieyscu publicznym y ludnym zastrzegą, nie w trzewikach, lub bótach niemieckich, nie w kołnierzyku lub w sukni z teraznieyszą modą z guzikami do dołu zrobioney (...) za każdy raz irremmissibiliter na pięć grzywien in suum commodum skarali."

[226] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 36, "Їереи въ одежах, станови дѹховномѹ присойных, римским їереѡмъ подобных, чорныхъ и долггихъ повинны чинно ходити. А которїй би в(ъ) иныхъ, а не чорныхъ, албо подчасъ зими въ кожѹхѹ где показалсѧ съ таковыхъ одежди тіе власнїи ихъ протопресвѵитери власть маютъ здоймовати, продавати, и грошѣ на оѹбогихъ албо церквей потреби роздавати."

[227] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 284, "Ażeby Nayprzewielebnieysi officyali żadnemu do stanu duchownego aspirującemu konsensów nie wydawali , któryby wprzod przez poświęcenie vъ Чинъ Четца od nas sukienki kleryckiey nie otrzymał."

Przemyśl diocese rural clergy, Józef Półcwiartek stressed an economic rivalry between secular clergy of the Latin and Greek rite. The latter, with fewer economic privileges and much smaller benefices sought to maintain external appearances equal to their Latin counterparts. Półcwiartek demonstrated that Uniate pastors were endowed with comparatively small benefices, entitled to lower mandatory taxes owed to the pastor, as well as more modest incomes from the so-called *iura stolae*, or the fees charged for spiritual services such as baptisms and burials. Półcwiartek's study of the Przemyśl diocese puts the disparity of available economic resources in a stark contrast. While the average Latin-rite benefice measured 171.26 morgen (approximately 98 ha), the typical Greek-rite benefice extended to a mere 36.98 morgen (21 ha).[228] Thinner sources of revenue, to say nothing of taxes, obligations and even punishments from which Latin clergy were entirely exempt, may have inspired Greek-rite clergy's desire to at the very least externally match western clerics.[229] Yet, this external mode of dress had a very tangible monetary cost. While scholarship has not indicated a causal relationship between high Uniate clerical expenditures and financial impropriety, a corollary relationship between the two is palpable in the archival record.

As the episcopate increased its calls for a less exalted manner of clerical dress, court documents began to emerge charging clerics with pawning church property. For instance, in 1740, the village council of Krokowice brought a case against its own parish priest, Father Stefan Hermanowicz. Father Stefan allegedly pawned some large silver altar lamps to Father Hryhory Dobrzański, the parish priest at Hrojnice (?). According to the testimony, Father Stefan refused to heed the urging of the village council to return the lamps to the church, leaving them in the

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[228] Józef Półcwiartek, *Z badań nad rolą gospodarczo-społeczną plebanii na wsi pańszczyznianej ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej w XVI-XIX wieku*, (Rzeszów: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Rzeszowie, 1974), 79.

[229] Józef Półcwiartek, *Z badań nad rolą gospodarczo-społeczną plebanii na wsi pańszczyznej ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, (Rzeszów: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Rzeszowie, 1974), 8.

hands of Father Hryhory for three years. The court ultimately determined that Father Hryhory

was to immediately return the lamps to the Krokowice parish, at the pain of suspension. For

having the audacity to trade in ecclesiastical objects, he was fined seven grivnas, which was to be

paid to the Przemyśl cathedral by Sunday. One can only assume that he received no

compensation for the lamps. Father Stefan, who had originally pawned the lamps, faced a

potentially more daunting punishment. He was charged with "acting in violation of the public

confession and oath made at his consecration."[230] Upon reinstalling the two lamps, Father Stefan

was ordered to report at the Przemyśl cathedral in order to serve his two week incarceration

sentence. Clearly, the episcopally mandated narrative of clerical dignity echoes in Father

Stefan's condemnation: his crime did not merely consist of giving away church objects, but in

fundamentally breaking an oath taken before his episcopal superior, thus denying the validity of

the sacred bonds of that relationship.

    Legitimating their own authority while disciplining the clerical ranks, the bishops of

Przemyśl and L'viv outlined a narrative continuity of Christ's divine order on earth. The

unbroken ecclesiastical inheritance of the "Apostolic Imprint" framed their calls for radically

reforming subordinate ecclesiasts into Uniate and Latin-rite structures of organization even

before their eparchies officially recognized the primacy of Rome. While the episcopal discourse

was one of ecclesiastical control mediated through narratives of apostolic truths and sacral

continuity, the voices from within the diocese reveal that power, submission and autonomy were

negotiated. The chapter which follows will track this negotiated process of confessionalization

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[230] ABGK 142:26:8 verso SUPPL , "WO Pozwany przeciwko protestyi y przysiędze swoiey przy konseckracyi, postompił."
(The accused had acted contrary to the public confession and oath made at his consecration.)

and reform on the parish level of the Greek-rite Catholic eparchies of Przemyśl and L'viv, examining the confessionalization of devotional practices and worship.

Image 3.1: Józef Szumlański, Bishop of L'viv (1667-1708), artist unknown.
(From *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* 121). Szumlański is portrayed in a *podriasnik*, or extra-liturgical garb. His head is covered with a *pileolus*, a skullcap of late medieval western origins, used to signify episcopal honors.

Image 3.2: Innocenty Winnicki, Bishop of Przemyśl (1679 -1700), artist unknown.
(From *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, ii). Winnicki
is portrayed wearing liturgical dress. His head is covered by an Oriental *mitra* (mitre) with an
omophorion (the equivalent of a Latin pallium) clad over his shoulders. In his left hand, we
wields a liturgical *zezl'*, a pastoral staff typical of Eastern Churches, in which the usual serpents
have been replaced with a leaves resembling a vine. The *mitra*, *omophorion* and *zezl'* all
symbolize the pastoral authority of a bishop.

Image 3.3: A presbyter from the L'viv eparchy, from Józef Szumlański's 1687 "Metrika". (From *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.*, 243).

SYNODUS PROVINCIALIS
RUTHENORUM

Habita in Civitate Zamoſciæ Anno MDCCXX.

SANCTISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO

BENEDICTO PP. XIII.
D I C A T A.

ROMÆ, MDCCXXIV.

Typis Sacræ Congregationis de Propagandâ Fide.

SVPERIORVM PERMISSV.

Image 3.4: Frontispiece of the proclamations of the Synod of Zamość, printed in Rome in 1724 by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

Map 3.2: Greek-rite Catholic Eparchies in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, circa 1772. (From *Kościół w Polsce: wiek XVI-XVIII*). The map demonstrates the density of the parish in Greek-rite Catholic parishes. The densest eparchies (Przemyśl and L'viv) contained parishes of roughly 20 km², while the sparsest (Vilnius) were 100 km² and over.

CHAPTER 4: BY THE MERE SIGHT OF SUCH SPLENDOR:
THE EUCHARIST AS AN OBJECT OF LAY CONFESSIONALIZATION

The preceding chapters have engaged with the creation of the Ruthenian Greek-rite

Catholic confession and the means through which the episcopate sought to confessionalize the

clerical ranks. The pages which follow attempt to answer a more challenging question: "in what

ways did the *laity* of the Przemyśl and L'viv eparchies come to experience this new Ruthenian

Greek-rite Catholic confessional identity?" Whereas the source base of the previous chapters

suffered from the centuries of political instability and intermittent warfare encompassing Poland-

Lithuania, answering the binding question of this chapter poses far greater challenges in terms of

employing a written record. The rural laity of seventeenth and eighteenth century Poland-

Lithuania penned few documents and even fewer remain intact or accessible in archives. Yet the

question remains hugely important, particularly in the task of interrogating the

confessionalization of the largely rural Early Modern Greek-rite Catholicism.

Indeed, while inter-confessional theological debates were distant concerns for the rural

laity in parishes across Przemyśl and L'viv, the outgrowth of these polemical disputes tangibly

altered their religious experiences, devotional lives and visual surroundings. In the decades

following eparchial union with Rome at the turn of the eighteenth century, their rituals,

sacramental practices, church interiors and cherished religious celebrations began to change,

reflecting the projects of confessionalization propagated by their episcopate. Near-universal in

its centrality to Christian faiths, the Eucharist became a principal locus through which religious authority and identity were communicated by Greek-rite Catholic elites. The celebration of the Eucharist, as the ritualized depiction of the Christ's Last Supper, death and resurrection, resonated with sacred and historical meaning. As Greek-rite Catholic practices slowly parted from their Orthodox roots, the consecrated species became both an affective point of meditative spirituality and an object of visual adoration reordering the method of lay worship, church aesthetics and personal modes of piety into confessionally distinct visual, cultural and emotional structure.

Narratives of invented continuities legitimated the reforms underpinning the process of social disciplining, easing resistance to their implementation. Disseminated by the episcopate through visitations, pastoral letters, standardized sermons, catechisms, education, religious iconography and liturgy these reforms reshaped and confessionalized the Ruthenian religious landscape. Historical representations put forward by the episcopate declared a continuous line of Catholic faith and of faithful believers, fostering both a sense of shared religious community among Ruthenian parishioners and with an imagined community of faith which transcended the generational divide, situating them into a historical tradition reaching as far back as the Apostolic Era. Moreover, by delineating who sat within this sacred and continuous historical space and participated in this particular visual and ritual culture, confessional differentiation hardened between Greek-rite Catholics and rival denominations.

"A PRAYER ADDRESSED IN CHRIST," EUCHARISTIC SACRALITY FROM THE APOSTOLIC ERA TO THE REFORMATION

Eucharistic theology was the fault line upon which many churches divided during the fractious period of the Reformation, remaining a hallmark of confessional differentiation

thereafter. Catholic and Protestant reformers elaborated upon their doctrinal positions regarding the Lord's Supper in hostile opposition, cementing those positions into defined communities of believers. Informed by both Tridentine Catholicism and Byzantine Orthodox Christianity, Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholicism held a more complicated confessional situation, straddling Eastern Christian liturgical traditions and Tridentine Catholic dogmatic prescriptions. Yet, like various denominations across Central and Western Europe, their characteristic practices regarding Communion hinged not only on theologically grounded ritual expressions, but also upon historical claims of legitimacy. In fact, throughout the Confessional Age, differing Christian denominations made it a priority to historically legitimate their own, highly varied ways of celebrating the Lord's Supper, frequently laying claim to being the true inheritors of traditions and practices of the "primitive church" of the Gospel and Apostolic times.

According to modern scholarship, in the Apostolic Era, the celebration of Christ's Last Supper in the form of the Eucharist remained at the heart of liturgical worship in both the East and the West.[1] More than commemorative, the Last Supper was ceremonially re-enacted in these early Christian communities. Believers reaffirmed their faith by ceremonially receiving the body of Christ, signifying the Holy Spirit coming down upon the assembled faithful and binding them into a covenant with God. The ritualized participation in this recreation of Christ's Passover Meal (the Last Supper) involved the taking, blessing and distributing of bread and wine, which were then consumed by the gathered faithful.[2]

From the Patristic Era into the turn of the first millennium, differences evolved between Eastern and Western conceptions of the meaning and importance of the Eucharist and its

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[1] Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 144.

[2] Maxwell E. Johnson, "The Apostolic Tradition," in *The Oxford History of Christian Worship*, eds. Geoffrey Wainwright, Karen B. Westerfield Tucker, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 44-5.

celebration. Eastern Christians held that that the importance of the Eucharist was in its quality as

food and drink, nourishing and renewing the soul. The miraculous transformation of the

Eucharist was not to be directly witnessed by the laity. In fact, the Eucharist was never meant to

be "seen" through physical eyes in Eastern churches. Indeed, this emphasis on the unseen

resulted in the iconostasis, a wall of religious images intended to visually separate the priests

consecrating the Eucharist from the rest of the laity. Shielding the consecrated species from

view came directly from the conceptualization of the Eucharist as the bread and wine of heaven.

As such, it could reveal nothing to the sense of vision.[3]

Both Eastern and Western Churches believed that the Eucharist truly changed into the

body and blood of Christ. However starting in the seventh century, the two ecclesiastical

communities began to differ on the manner and significance of that transformation meant and

how this was to be elaborated in devotional practices. The Western interpretation of the

Eucharist was one in which emphasis was increasingly placed not on its consumptive quality, but

on the re-enactment of Christ's sacrifice.[4] By the early ninth century, the practice of reserving

the Eucharist outside of liturgical time, that is, keeping it on the high altar when no communal

prayer was recited within the church interior, became common practice at many western

European monasteries.[5] Not only was the Eucharistic transformation witnessed by the

congregation, but the placement of the Eucharist was meant to draw their gaze and inspire awe

and contemplation. Conversely, the Orthodox ceremony utilized the iconostasis to obscure the

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[3] John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1979), 204.
[4] Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2003), 264.
[5] John A. Hardon, SJ, *The History of Eucharistic Adoration: Development of Doctrine in the Catholic Church*, (Oak Lawn, IL: CMJ Marian Publishers, 2003), 3.

laity's view of the transformation of the Eucharistic wafer and to provide an alternate focus

through which the divine mystery could be understood and venerated.[6]

Following the East-West Schism of 1053, the theological and devotional rift regarding

Eucharistic practices widened further. The doctrine of transubstantiation was first made dogma

during the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, based in the Aristotelian thought that underscored a

transformation *in substance* of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Whereas

Eastern Orthodoxy looked upon the Eucharist as an *act*, "a prayer addressed 'in Christ' to the

Father and accomplished through the descent of the Holy Spirit,"[7] the Medieval western Church

increasingly conceived of the Eucharist as a both a consumptive act and a venerative *object*. So

precious and sacred was the Eucharist, it needed to be protected from abuse, loss, spillage or

decay.[8] The fragile features of the Eucharistic wafer exemplified this subtle yet important

differentiation between Eastern and Western theology. Eastern Churches used leavened bread to

"symbolize the *animated* humanity" and believed that "the Latin use of azymes implied... the

denial that Jesus had a human soul."[9] What might seem an inconsequential difference to the

uninitiated was to believers a religious marker that distinguished proper practice of the Orthodox

community from those of the Latin "schismatics'" to the west.

While these issues of high theology were rarely contemplated or even fully understood by

the laity, the ideas themselves had practical implications for the development of devotional

practices and religious expressions. For instance, the heightened sacrality of the Catholic

Eucharist resulted in the priest taking communion in "both kinds," bread and wine, while the

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[6] John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1979), 204.

[7] John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1979), 207.

[8] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 38.

[9] John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1979), 204.

laity were only permitted to receive the latter, lest the precious liquid be spilled by clumsy rustic hands. In high and late Medieval Latin churches, the elevation of the body and blood of Christ became the spectacular height of liturgy, a moment of visual adoration for all gathered, but who otherwise physically received the only the consecrated bread once a year, during Easter.[10] In the later Middle Ages, Catholic theologians frequently debated the value of access to Communion through eating (sacramental reception) versus seeing (ocular or spiritual communion).[11] Over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the emphasis on the moment during which the consecrated species became the body and blood of Christ, frequently resulted in a substitution of ocular communion in place of sacramental reception.[12] Communing visually entailed not merely looking, but looking beyond the visible.[13]

The hallmark of this visual adoration of the Eucharist in Latin Catholicism was the Feast of the Corpus Christi, which came into being in 1246 at the behest of the bishop in Liege. Though at first celebrated locally, Corpus Christi's popularity spread quickly. Less than two decades later, Pope Urban IV proclaimed it a universal feast of the (Western) Church.[14] Corpus Christi brought about a new visual method of Eucharistic veneration in which the celebration of the Eucharist uniquely did not require its consumption. Starting in the late fourteenth century, the consecrated host was placed into a monstrance, a vessel usually made of precious metal, with a transparent chamber for species, thus further facilitating its public visibility. During the Corpus Christi procession, the monstrance was carried by a priest. His perambulation usually outlined

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[10] R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe c. 1215- c. 1515*, (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 99-101.

[11] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 7.

[12] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 4.

[13] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 76-7.

[14] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 164-85.

the borders of the parish, thus ensuring that the precious object he held aloft would be visible to the faithful all along the way.

During the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century, the Eucharist took on heightened importance as a marker of confessional meaning for both Catholic and Protestant confessions. At the most extreme end, Calvinist reformers denied the sacrificial and transubstantive character of the Eucharist. For liturgical purposes, they tended to focus upon its consumptive quality as a meal commemorating Christ's Last Supper, simultaneously desacralizing the species itself. This desacralization was frequently accompanied by a "cleansing" of church interiors, through the removal elaborate altars, ornate vessels and Eucharistic imagery, highlighting a distinct theological conception of the Eucharist and visually demarcating their liturgies from that of their Catholic confessional rivals.[15]

Protestant Eucharistic theologies prompted a Catholic response in which the species became a much more frequent aspect of lay religious life both as a consumptive meal and an object of worship.[16] The Council of Trent affirmed "transubstantiation," turning it from a term of theologians into one of greater quotidian usage. It simultaneously reaffirmed the moment at which the species was transformed from bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ:

> The holy Synod openly and simply professes that in the most high sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, after the consecration of the bread and wine, our Lord Jesus Christ, both God and man is truly, really and substantially contained under the species of those sensible species.[17]

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[15] Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[16] H. Outram Evennett, "Counter-Reformation Spirituality", in *The Counter-Reformation*, ed. David M.Luebke, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 60-1.

[17] *Sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum, Additis Declarationibus Cardinalium Concilii Interpretum, ex ultima recognitione Joannis Gallemart, Et Citationibus Joannis Sotealli...,* (1781), Sessio XIII, Caput I, 137, "Principio docet santa Synodus & aperte ac simpliciter profitetur in almo santae Eucharistiae Sacramento,post panis & vini consecrationem, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, verum Deum atque hominem, vere realite, ac substantialiter sub specie illarum rerum sensibilium contineri."

This pinpointing of the moment of transformation upheld what was widely practiced in western churches, but further distinguished Catholics from the Orthodox who, though acknowledging the liturgical change of wine and bread into the body and blood of Christ, held that the moment and manner of Eucharistic transformation was a *mystery* which began during the Liturgy of Preparation and ended at the Epiclesis.[18] Catholic laity continued to communicate in one species only, receiving the consecrated host, in contrast to Orthodox and Protestant devotees who received both the bread and the wine.

The Council of Trent likewise reaffirmed the venerative aspect of the Eucharistic species, particularly encouraging its annual public exhibition outside its established place on the church altar:

> Let there be no room for doubt, that all the Christian faithful might, according to the ever-present custom of the Catholic Church, perform adoration to this most Holy Sacrament, as it is owed to the almighty God. (...) The Holy Synod further proclaims that (...) this excellent and praiseworthy Sacrament be, with particular veneration and solemnity, carried about in processions through the streets and public places, with due honor and reverence.[19]

With this conciliar approval, the Eucharist became synonymous with new post-Tridentine Catholic notions of piety, which placed a premium on ritual veneration, liturgical discipline and a contemplation of Christ's suffering and sacrifice. Roman Catholic devotions to the Eucharist increased substantially. The urgency of the Protestant threat in the sixteenth century hastened the arrival of elaborate Eucharistic practices, which, in turn, were cultivated as a Catholic

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[18] According to John Meyendorff the Byzantines believed in consubstantiation, that is the essence of Christ was present but that the bread and wine also remained materially present. See:
John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1979), 201-211.

[19] *Sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum, Additis Declarationibus Cardinalium Concilii Interpretum, ex ultima recognitione Joannis Gallemart, Et Citationibus Joannis Sotealli...,* (1781), Sessio XIII, Caput V, 141,
"Nulius itqaue dubitandi locus relinquitur, a quin omnes Christi fideles pro more Catholica Ecclesia semper recepto, latria cultum, qui vero Deo debetur; huic sanctissimo Sacramento in veneratione exhibeant. (...) Declarat praeterea Sancta Synodus, pie & religiose admodum in Dei Ecclesiam inductum fuisse hunc morem, ut singlis annis, peculiari quodam & festo die praecelsum hoc venerabile Sacramentum singulari veneratione ac solemnitate."

confessional marker, particularly against the Calvinist definition of the Lord's Supper as purely

commemorative. The Council of Trent acknowledged as much, proclaiming that such prominent

display of the Eucharist, had the power to, by mere sight of such splendor *(in conspectu tanti*

splendoris), weaken heretics, or inspire them to repentance.[20] Indeed, Catholic rulers, such as

Albrecht V of Bavaria, intentionally augmented the celebrations for the feast of the Corpus

Christi, employing it, with Jesuit assistance, to affirm Catholic truth against Protestant attacks.[21]

Though a fully celebratory Feast of the Corpus Christi was a late arrival to the Polish-

Lithuanian Commonwealth, its popularity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made it not

only an urban phenomenon, but likewise a rural fixture in the Roman Catholic liturgical

calendar. In addition to the usual procession with the monstrance-clad consecrated species,

topical preaching as well as religious theater re-enacting scenes from the Gospels became an

increasingly common feature of Corpus Christi in the urban centers of the Polish-Lithuanian

Commonwealth, often at the behest of the Jesuits. The Society of Jesus was among the most

active promoters of Eucharistic devotions.[22]

More than any other religious order, Jesuits were responsible for popularizing the

Eucharistic devotion of the Forty Hours, which involved continuous prayer and adoration of the

consecrated species placed on the church altar. Originating in Milan, this Eucharistic devotion

quickly spread throughout Catholic Europe, reaching the Polish-Lithuanian state at the turn of

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[20] *Sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum, Additis Declarationibus Cardinalium Concilii Interpretum, ex ultima recognitione Joannis Gallemart, Et Citationibus Joannis Sotealli...,* (1781)), Sessio XIII, Caput V, 141,
"Atque sic quidem oportuit victricem veritatem de mendacio & haeresi triumphum agere; ut ejus adversarii in conspectu tanti splendoris, & in tanta universae Ecclesia laetitia positi, vel debilitati & fracti tabescant, vel pudore affecti & confusi aliquando resipiscant."
(And so did it compel the truth to celebrate its triumph over untruth and heresy, so that its adversaries, in sight of such splendor and such joy of the universal Church, be either weakened or fall away broken. Likewise, may they be, through shame or confusion, be brought to repentance.)
[21] Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria*, (Berkeley: Uniersity of California Press, 1993), 86-7.
[22] Stanisław Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2004), 376.

the sixteenth century. According to Stanisław Litak, the Jesuit church in Vilnius was the first to celebrate the liturgy of the Forty Hours and celebrate Corpus Christi sometime in the 1570s. Over the next several decades, Eucharistic liturgical objects such as monstrances and tabernacles became commonplace objects in Roman Catholic churches throughout the Commonwealth.[23] The Jesuit propagation of Eucharistic devotions in Vilnius likewise had an impact on the Jesuit-educated, Greek-rite Catholic Metropolitan Józef Welamin Rutski. Indeed, Rutski pioneered a new understanding of the Eucharist in Greek-rite churches across Vilnius, his diocesan seat.

"THE GRANDEST WAY TO PRAISE GOD," THE BEGINNING OF A HEIGHTENED GREEK-RITE CATHOLIC EUCHARISTIC SACRALITY

At the onset of the Union of Brest, the Orthodox concept of the Eucharist reflected the Byzantine tradition, in which the faithful consumed the Eucharistic meal rather than venerating the object as a form of worship. Indeed, according to John Meyendorff, the Byzantines, in contrast Western Medieval practice, "never 'venerated' (the Eucharist) outside framework of the Eucharistic liturgy itself."[24] Furthermore, unlike in Medieval and Early Modern Catholicism, the Orthodox Eucharist was almost never reserved for use outside of liturgy. Exceptions to this rule included setting aside of the host for parishioners who might fall deathly ill, as well as for solders at war, for whom death could come at any moment.[25] Ironically, these extraordinary cases marked one of the few instances in which an Orthodox layman would communicate in one species, consuming the bread alone, as was the usual practice in the Catholic West.

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[23] Stanisław Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2004), 376-7.

[24] John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1979), 204.

[25] Лаврентій Данило Гуцуляк, *Божественная Літургія Йоанна Золотоустого в Київській Митрополії пислля Унії з Римом (период 1596-1839 рр.)*, (Львів: Монастир Свято-Іванівська Лавра Видавничий відділ <<Свічадо>>, 2004), 43-4.

Reflecting earlier agreements at the Council of Florence, the third article of the Union of

Brest allowed for continued lay communicating using both species.[26] However, no other

stipulations were issued at Brest regarding the liturgical and devotional of the Eucharist. For the

next two decades, Greek-rite Catholic attitudes and liturgical practices regarding the Eucharist

did not differ substantially from those held under Orthodoxy.

Reorganization of Greek-rite Catholic Eucharistic practice owed much to influences from

nearby Roman Catholic churches, where Eucharistic devotions were highly venerative,

highlighting the transubstantive nature of the species and serving as a confessional marker,

visually contrasting with the liturgical sparseness found in Calvinist houses of worship. Vilnius,

with all of its ethnic, cultural and religious diversity in the latter half of the sixteenth century,

exemplified this type of confessional and liturgical ferment. At this time, Vilnius was not only

home to two dozen Catholic churches and a Jesuit college, but approximately nine Orthodox

(later Uniate) churches, several synagogues and a mosque. Most threateningly from a post-

Tridentine Catholic viewpoint, Vilnius' walls also encompassed a Calvinist and a Lutheran

house of worship.[27] The capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where Calvinist presence was

much more pronounced than in the Crown Lands of the Commonwealth, witnessed intense Jesuit

missionary activity. While there, the Society of Jesus advocated not only new, elaborate

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[26] For an English translation of the articles of Union, see: Borys Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: the Kyivan Metropolitanate, The Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 264.

[27] Maria Łowmiańska, "Wilno przed najazdem moskiewskim 1655 roku," in *Dwa Doktoraty z Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie*, ed. Lidia Wrońska-Idziak, (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2005), 200-1.
David Frick, "The Bells of Vilnius: Keeping Time in a City of Many Calendars," in *Making Contact: Maps, Identity, and Travel,* eds. Glenn Burger, Lesley B. Cormack, Jonathan Hart, Natalia Pylypiuk (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2003), 27-8.

Eucharistic devotions, but organized urban Eucharistic processions past Protestant residences and houses of worship.[28]

The Jesuits of Vilnius, whose propagation of the Eucharistic cult eventually encompassed the entire Roman Catholic Church in the Commonwealth, had a lasting influence on the devotional and liturgical life of the newly-minted Greek-rite Catholic Church. Greek-rite Catholic Metropolitan Józef Welamin Rutski,[29] a onetime student at Jesuit institutions and a resident of Vilnius in his later life, was deeply influenced by this Jesuit understanding of the Eucharist. Rutski became a seminal figure in the standardization and reorganization of Greek-rite liturgical spaces in order to promulgate a separate confessional ideology and heighten the lay understandings thereof.

First among Rutski's reforms, was a reorientation of church and ritual space to heighten the visibility of the Eucharistic species and underscore its increased sacrality. This reorientation of church space also created an intentional contrast to Orthodox practices. His 1621 treatise, entitled *The Bountiful Fault* (*Sowita Wina*),[30] was among the earliest texts to mention the existence of three separate altars, in which three Masses were being read simultaneously in one church interior, thus reflecting the liturgical space usually found in Latin-rite churches:

> In our Churches, we strive toward the greater glory of God: in Vilnius, in addition to the one ordinary liturgy, we perform three daily divine liturgies at three altars – unbeknownst to you, such is the grandest way to praise God, something which is absent in your churches.[31]

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[28] Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, *Wilno od Początków Jego do Roku 1750*, vol. III, (Wilno: Wydanie Adama Zawadzkiego, 1841), 368.

[29] See preceding chapter for information on Rutski's influence on the reorganization of clerical structures

[30] Józef Welamin Rutski, *Sowita Wina, to iest odpis na skrypt, Maiestat Krola Iego Mości, honor y reputatią ludzi zacnych, duchownych i świeckich obrażaiący nazwany <<Weryfikacja Niewinności>>, wydany od Zgromadzenia nowey cerkwie, nazwaney ś. Ducha przez oyce monastyra Wileńskiego Ś. Troycy, zakonu św. Bazilego*, (Wilno: 1621).

[31] Józef Welamin Rutski, *Sowita Wina, to iest odpis na skrypt, Maiestat Krola Iego Mości, honor y reputatią ludzi zacnych, duchownych i świeckich obrażaiący nazwany <<Weryfikacja Niewinności>>, wydany od Zgromadzenia nowey cerkwie, nazwaney ś. Ducha przez oyce monastyra Wileńskiego Ś. Troycy, zakonu św. Bazilego*, (Wilno: 1621), 79, "o chwałę Bożą staramy się: w Wilnie oprocz nabożeństwa zwykłego trzy służby niepochybnie na każdy

Rutski's *The Bountiful Fault* represented a deliberate straddling between maintaining time-honored Eastern Christian liturgical traditions and some level of innovation, which, in his text, he justified under the guise of the Jesuit-inspired motto of "striving toward the greater Glory of God."[32] The Metropolitan saw no conflict between the two goals. Rather than taking a defensive posture over potential accusations of "innovation," he boldly underscored the liturgical difference of using three altars as opposed to just one. He then proceeded to chastise the "dis-uniate" Orthodox for being ignorant of this "grandest way to praise God." Rutski continued:

> We chant and read what you do. However, when we stand before the altar in the presence of Most Blessed Sacrament, the reverence and ornamentation which we heap upon it, is far grander than yours. Anyone who attends our churches and (then) yours, will take note of this.[33]

The claim of chanting and reading of the same liturgical texts as had been composed by St. John Chrysostom or St. Basil the Great provided Rutski with a claim of continuity with the patristic era. In this way, he argued, his Church and the "dis-uniates" did not differ. However, the heightened "reverence and ornamentation" paid to the Eucharist, according to Rutski, demonstrated a superior form of devotion by his flock in a manner that was plain to see.

The writings of Kasjan Sakowicz, a onetime Orthodox cleric who accepted union in 1625, provide insight into the Orthodox - Uniate dispute over Eucharistic practices in the Commonwealth and the lay experience thereof. In his 1642 treatise entitled *Epanorthosis albo*

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dzień odprawują się u trzech ołtarzow / a to iest naygłownieisza / ieśli się znacie na tym / chwała Boża / czego u was nie masz."

[32] The Latin term "Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam" is attributed to the founder of the Jesuits, Ignatius Loyola as a defining statement of the Society's religious philosophy.
See: Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit political thought: the Society of Jesus and the state, c. 1540–1630*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 426.

[33] Józef Welamin Rutski, *Sowita Wina, to iest odpis na skrypt, Maiestat Krola Iego Mości, honor y reputatią ludzi zacnych, duchownych i świeckich obrażaiący nazwany <<Weryfikacja Niewinności>>, wydany od Zgromadzenia nowey cerkwie, nazwaney ś. Ducha przez oyce monastyra Wileńskiego Ś. Troycy, zakonu św. Bazilego*, (Wilno: 1621), 79, "To śpiewamy y czytamy co y wy / W Ołtarzu koło naświętszego Sakramentu uczciwość y ochędostwo większe niż u was / przyzna to każdy ktory bywa u nas y u was."

Perspektiwa, Sakowicz not only criticized what he perceived of as a lack of reverence for the Eucharist among the Orthodox, he actually suggested that the ignorance and carelessness of the priests who remained in "disunion" devalued the sacrality of their consecrated species stating: "the Ruthenian *popy* (priests) are ignorant of transubstantiation, or the changing of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ."[34] This absence of a transubstantive quality of their Eucharist actually its sacral value dubious, to the point where even "the Jews, who always covet the Sacrament of the Roman Church, see no value in the species of the Ruthenians."[35] Sakowicz undoubtedly makes a reference to the myth of Jewish host desecration, which usually entailed the accusation of a secret purchase of the said object for nefarious ritual purposes.[36] For Sakowicz, the Jewish disregard toward the Orthodox Eucharist reflected a liturgical indifference of the "dis-uniates" regarding the proper reverence and care of their consecrated species and, therefore, its inferior sacral quality.

The "dis-uniates," Sakowicz argued, "make no acts of reverence toward the Sacrament, storing it in just about any container, thereby allowing it to mold, rot or be eaten by vermin."[37] Sakowicz's argument reflects the influence of the Latin Catholic conceptualization of the

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[34] Kasjan Sakowicz, *ΕΠΑΝΟΡΘΩΣΙΣ Abo PERSPECTIWA Y OBIASNIENIE Błędów, Herezyey y Zabobonów w Grekoruskiey Cerkwiey Dysunitskiey tak w Artykułach Wiary, iako w Administrowaniu Sakramentów, y w Inszych Obrządkach y Ceremonyach znayduiących się.*, (Kraków: Drukarnia Waleryana Piątkowskiego, 1642), 12 recto, "O Transubstancyey abo Przeistnoczeniu chleba w ciało i wina w Krew Pańską / ani słychali popi Ruscy."
For a more nuanced explanation of the derogatory use of the term "popy," the trope of Ruthenian ignorance and its use by Sakowicz, see David Frick, "Foolish Rus'": On Polish Civilization, Ruthenian Self-Hatred and Kasijan Sakovyč" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 18, no. ¾ (December 1994), 223-4.
[35] Kasjan Sakowicz, *ΕΠΑΝΟΡΘΩΣΙΣ Abo PERSPECTIWA Y OBIASNIENIE Błędów, Herezyey y Zabobonów w Grekoruskiey Cerkwiey Dysunitskiey tak w Artykułach Wiary, iako w Administrowaniu Sakramentów, y w Inszych Obrządkach y Ceremonyach znayduiących się.*, (Kraków: Drukarnia Waleryana Piątkowskiego, 1642), 12 recto, "Zydzi większą wiare maią o Rzymskim Sakramencie / niż o Grekoruskim / bo Rzymskiego Kościoła Sakramentu z wielką przewagą usiłuią dostawać / a o Ruski niedbaią."
[36] R. Po-chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 50-1.
[37] Kasjan Sakowicz, *ΕΠΑΝΟΡΘΩΣΙΣ Abo PERSPECTIWA Y OBIASNIENIE Błędów, Herezyey y Zabobonów w Grekoruskiey Cerkwiey Dysunitskiey tak w Artykułach Wiary, iako w Administrowaniu Sakramentów, y w Inszych Obrządkach y Ceremonyach znayduiących się.*, (Kraków, Drukarnia Waleryana Piątkowskiego, 1642), 12 recto, "Weneracyey Sakramentowi nieczynią. W ladaiakich naczyniach Sakrament chowaią. (...) Sakrament do zepsowania przychodzi z plesniete zgniie y robactwo sie z niego mnoży."

Eucharist as a fragile yet powerful object, in need of protection as well as reverence. Viewing

the transubstantiated Eucharist as a Jesus personified, Sakowicz argued that the Orthodox were

allowing the living Christ to be destroyed by "vermin."

Furthermore, Sakowicz's focus on proper storage of the consecrated species was not

merely about protecting it from the elements, but about its proper visual prominence in the

church. Visibility, so crucial to veneration by the laity was likewise absent among the

"disuniate" Orthodox, who, instead concealed it:

> When some of the Eucharist remains unused during liturgy, they do not keep it on the
> altar, but instead move it to the proskomidion (a liturgical side table). When performing
> an act of consecration during liturgy, they deliberately close the Royal Doors (of the
> iconostasis), so that the laity remain ignorant of the elevation.[38]

For Sakowicz any sense of wonder, mystery or sacrality of the Orthodox Eucharist remained

hidden from the eyes of the gathered laity "obstructed by the Royal Doors," thus preventing the

laity from experiencing true communion with Christ.

Whereas in Orthodox Christianity the iconostasis (and the Royal Doors it contained)

acted as the proper focus and source of visual "revelation,"[39] Sakowicz believed these were an

impediment toward seeing the risen Christ, the height of liturgy denied to the faithful. Sakowicz

viewed these practices not only as deceptive but also condemned them as discontinuous with

liturgical practices of the Patristic Era, stating that "before St. Basil, these doors did not exist."[40]

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[38] Kasjan Sakowicz, *ΕΠΑΝΟΡΘΩΣΙΣ Abo PERSPECTIWA Y OBIASNIENIE Błędów, Herezyey y Zabobonów w Grekoruskiey Cerkwiey Dysunitskiey tak w Artykułach Wiary, iako w Administrowaniu Sakramentów, y w Inszych Obrządkach y Ceremonyach znayduiących się.*, (Kraków, Drukarnia Waleryana Piątkowskiego, 1642), 13 recto, "O niepożywaniu oraz wszystkiego Sakramentu na Ołtarzu abo Prestole / ale odnoszeniu tego na Zertownik/ (...) O Zamykaniu drzwu Carskich przy służbie / żeby ludzie niewiedzieki kiedy sie poświęca Sakrament / y niewiedzieki gdy się podnosi."

[39] John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1979), 204.

[40] Kasjan Sakowicz, *ΕΠΑΝΟΡΘΩΣΙΣ Abo PERSPECTIWA Y OBIASNIENIE Błędów, Herezyey y Zabobonów w Grekoruskiey Cerkwiey Dysunitskiey tak w Artykułach Wiary, iako w Administrowaniu Sakramentów, y w Inszych Obrządkach y Ceremonyach znayduiących się.*, (Kraków, Drukarnia Waleryana Piątkowskiego, 1642), 13 recto, "y że tey Zapory abo Drzwi przed S. Basilym niebyło."

Using these doors, he argued, kept the laity in darkness, blind to the miracle of faith that the Church Fathers wanted them to experience. The Greek-rite Catholic practice dismantling of the iconostases or constructing new churches which did not contain them was an act which therefore reconstituted proper tradition, reunified faithful practice with the traditions of the Apostles. In fact, heightening of Eucharistic venerability hinged on enhancing its visibility. This allowed the laity to be eyewitnesses to the moment of transubstantiation, a key component of faith, and the celebration which not only linked the faithful to Christ but to the traditions of their faith.

The Orthodox Kyivan Metropolitian and church reformer Petro Mohyla provided a direct answer to Sakowicz's criticisms and in so doing, clearly delineated the confessional differences between Uniates and Orthodox. Mohyla was an immensely important figure in both the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the whole of the Byzantine Orthodox world. The historian Serhii Plokhy credits him with "not only successfully reform[ing] his own church, preparing [the Orthodox] to meet the challenges of confessionalization and hold its own against Catholic and Protestant competitors, but also helped to set the whole orthodox world on the path of confessionalization."[41] As such, Mohyla's responses to Sakowicz were a crucial aspect of his own confessional campaign.

Mohyla issued his first answer to Sakowicz in 1642, entitled *Lithos: A Stone Flung from the Slingshot of Truth* (*ΛΙΘΟΣ ABO KAMIEŃ Z PROCY PRAWDY*). [42] Four years later, he issued a service book, *Trebnyk (ΕΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΏΗ албо МОЛИТВОСЛОВЪ, или ТРЕБНИКЪ)*, intended to be read by subordinate clerics. The *Trebnyk* contained several portions devoted exclusively to the Eucharist, the contents of which reflected Mohyla's own anxieties concerning

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[41]Serhii Plokhy, *The Cossacks and religion in early modern Ukraine*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 97.
[42] Piotr Mohyła, *ΛΙΘΟΣ ABO KAMIEŃ Z PROCY PRAWDY CERKWIE ŚWIĘTEJ PRAWOSŁAWNEJ RVSKIEJ*., (Kraków, 1642) (BUW, Mikr. 6745).

the lack of reverence for the consecrated species, particularly by clerics but also by their flocks. Viewed together, these texts illustrate not just Mohyla's attitudes towards the Eucharist and Eucharistic practices in the Commonwealth, but also provide insight into Ruthenian Orthodox thinking and experiences regarding this liturgical practice.

In the *Trebnyk*, Mohyla echoed some of the sentiment found in Sakowicz's *Epanorthosis*. The Kyivan Metropolitan chastised Orthodox priests for being excessively careless with the Eucharistic species by allowing it to be left unprotected for lengthy periods of time. He further demanded Orthodox clergy show proper reverence to the altar upon which the species was consecrated, stating: "Before you approach the altar, uncover your head and make a low bow"[43] The reserved species were now to be routinely kept upon the altar, presumably outside of liturgical time.[44] The consecrated bread was to be placed in a *kivot*, a variously defined hinged container vessel, which the *Trebnyk* recommended be either gold or gold plated. In instances where no such container was available, he recommended wrapping the species in a piece of paper.[45] The *Lithos* provided further details of Mohyla's vision of the Eucharist. For example, when addressing Sakowicz's accusation of not having proper ciboria or chalices for storage of the species, Mohyla responds:

[43] Петро Могила, *ЕѴХОЛОГІѠН албо МОЛИТВОСЛОВЪ, или ТРЕБНИКЪ*, (Київ, 1646), vol 1, 266, "Въ Олтаръ входѧ всегда прежде главу ѿкрывъ, и поклоненїе низкое сътворъ."

[44] Петро Могила, *ЕѴХОЛОГІѠН албо МОЛИТВОСЛОВЪ, или ТРЕБНИКЪ*, (Київ, 1646), vol 1, 266, "Тѣмже ѡ Іерею Б(о)ж(ес)твеннѧ Тайны всегда на Б(о)ж(ес)твенном Пр(ес)толѣ в Кіѡотѣ с(віа)том всегда всечестнѡ имѣй."
(Thus, oh priest, always keep the Blessed Sacrament on God's altar, always place it in a consecrated and worthy vessel.)

[45] Петро Могила, *ЕѴХОЛОГІѠН албо МОЛИТВОСЛОВЪ, или ТРЕБНИКЪ*, (Київ, 1646), vol 1, 263-4, "с(віа)тый Агнецъ, низъпусти егѡ съхраннѡ (...) еже не ѡмочитисѧ ею папѣру сущему въ Кіѡотѣ: По потребленїи же с(віа)тыхъ Таинъ, и по Състрахомъ Б(о)жїимъ ѡбращсѧ, с(віа)тый Агнецъ вложи в Кіѡотъ: Аще же Кіѡотъ златый или видуть позлащенный ест, абїе въ Кіѡотъ вложи."
(Protect the holy Lamb of God (Eucharist) from being dropped. (...) if it has not been moistened, keep the species in paper inside a vessel. In accordance with the needs for the Blessed Sacrament and in accordance with divine reverence, place the Holy Lamb of God in a vessel. Especially if the vessel is either gold or gold plated, place the species inside the vessel with no delay.)

What you say is not only untrue, but true libel. The fact that some (priests) use decorative boxes or other clean wooden vessels, should come as no surprise, for dearth forces them to do so. Look closely at well-endowed churches, you will find vessels that are silver or gilded. Other churches own vessels made of tin, while others still that are poorer, have them made of carved, painted and (sometimes) gilt wood.[46]

The choice of Eucharistic vessels provides an unambiguous contrast between Mohyla and Greek-rite Catholic authors. As Sakowicz demonstrates, the transubstantive quality of the Eucharist made the use of any sort of porous, non-metallic vessels unacceptable, lest the precious substance leech or become ingrained inside the container.

Indeed, as will be subsequently demonstrated in this chapter, the removal of non-metallic Eucharistic vessels became a primary goal of newly converted Greek-rite Catholic bishops of Przemyśl and L'viv. In the *Trebnyk*, Mohyla actually employed a Ruthenian equivalent of "transubstantiation," effectively adopting the Catholic language of the highest sacrality of the consecrated species.[47] This use of terminology aside, his understanding of the Eucharist differed substantially from that of Sakowicz and other Catholic polemicists of the day. Mohyla, outside of paying respect to the consecrated species and keeping it inside a safe vessel, did not prescribe any additional liturgical practices to foster the image of the Eucharist as an object of worship to be gazed at and contemplated. His writing, although filled with words such as "reverence," "respect," even "fear," ultimately does not attempt to imbue the Eucharist with allegorical meanings. Similarly, where the practice of the sacrament itself is performed as prescribed by the Church Fathers, Mohyla did not attempt to link the consecrated species with historical re-

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[46] Piotr Mohyła, *ΛΙΘΟΣ ABO KAMIEŃ Z PROCY PRAWDY CERKWIE ŚWIĘTEJ PRAWOSŁAWNEJ RVSKIEJ.*, (Kraków, 1642), 53-4 (BUW, Mikr. 6745), "To nieprawda y szczyra potwarz / a że drudzy w pudełeczka drewnianym iakim przystoynym / albo w inatszym iakim naczyniu drewnianym czystym zamczystym chowaią / temu się dziwować nie potrzeba / bo niedostatek ich do tego przymusza. Przypatrz się ieno w dostatnich Cerkwiach / znaydziesz takowe naczynia srebrne białe / a w drugich y pozłociste / w drugich zaś Cynowe / a w niektorych zasię uboższych z drzewa przystoynie utłoczone / malowane / y pozłociste."

[47] Петро Могила, *ΕΥΧΟΛΟΓΙѠΝ албо МОЛИТВОСЛОВЪ, или ТРЕБНИКЪ*, (Киïв, 1646), vol 1, 238, "Сими словесы, хлѣбъ пресущесвуетъсѧ, сіестъ существо хлѣба прелагаетъсѧ истиннѡ въ Тѣло Х(ристо)во." (With these words, the bread transubstantiates, that is, the form of the bread changes in essence into the Body of Christ.)

enactments of Christ's actions in the Gospels. When compared to the developing practices

taking root in Early Modern Greek-rite Catholicism, the Orthodox Eucharist, despite Mohyla's

insistence that it be respected, remained an object to be dispensed and eaten, rather than

venerated and contemplated.

"IN A SILK POUCH ON ALTAR LINENS," TRANSFORMATION OF BASILIAN EUCHARISTIC ORNAMENTATION

The discourses regarding the proper and idealized means of conceptualizing and handling

the Eucharist in the Eastern Church, had uneven implementation over the course of the

seventeenth century. As intermittent warfare of the Deluge swept across the Commonwealth

between 1648 and 1667,[48] it made any cohesive practical implementation of these ideas on the

parochial level a virtual impossibility. Indeed, many of the Rutski's and Mohyla's exhortations

regarding the Eucharist were either not heard or simply ignored by the faithful on the parish

level. Visitation records from the early eighteenth century demonstrate that Greek-rite Catholic

bishops in Przemyśl and L'viv were still struggling with the problem of parish priests not

keeping "proper" Eucharistic vessels, particularly in more remote rural parishes. Furthermore,

the absence of consistent visitation records from the seventeenth century make it difficult to

reconstruct just how widely the call for new Eucharistic vessels, church furnishings and attitudes

had been heeded on the parish level.

That said, Ruthenian Greek-rite churches operating in Rome offer glimpses into their

counterparts within the Commonwealth. Among these, a 1656 account of a visitation conducted

by Father Virgilio Spada of a Basilian-run church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Rome, indicate

just how uneven the implementation of these precepts really was. Virgilio Spada was an Italian

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[48] See chapter 3 for discussion on the impact of Khmelnytsky's Uprising and the greater "Deluge" on confessional policy in the Commonwealth.

Oratorian, the brother of Cardinal Bernardino Spada, an influential member of the Roman Curia,

patron of the arts and the owner of a splendid Roman palace that bears his name to this day.

Virgilio Spada's resume was no less impressive than that of his elder Cardinal brother. In

addition to being a patron to Francesco Borromini, his oversight of many building projects

helped to shape the architecture of seventeenth century Baroque Rome.[49]

Spada's visitation of a relatively modest Basilian church seems almost incidental by

comparison to his architectural achievements. In his rich visitation record, Spada noted that "the

church had three elegantly decorated altars, the grandest of which is dedicated to St. Nicholas."

Unfortunately, Spada gave no indication whether the church originally contained an iconostasis,

or whether the three altars comprised the interior from the moment of construction. Following a

thorough description of the altars, Spada expressed surprise at not seeing the Eucharist reserved

on the altar "per usual custom." Since the "usual" Byzantine custom did not involve reserving

the Eucharist on the high altar, Spada tacitly expressed, and thus promoted his own Latin-rite

ideas regarding the organization of liturgical space.

Upon further inquiring about the absence of the Eucharist on the high altar, the Basilians

informed him that they had not been keeping the species reserved since last Easter. When they

did, the consecrated species was indeed kept on the altar – in a silk pouch.[50] Father Spada's

visitation account suggests that any Greek-rite Catholic concept of the Eucharist was in a liminal

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[49] Kerry Downes, *Borromini's Book: The "Full Relation of the Building" of the Roman Oratory by Francesco Borromini and Virgilio Spada of the Oratory*, (Wetherby: Oblong Creative, 2009).

[50] MUH 3:13-4, "quam ecclesiam invenerunt eleganter ornatam cum tribus altaribus, ad quorum maius S. Nicolao dicatum accedentes non invenerunt in illo sacram Eucharistiam, uti solitum esse confessi sunt, et requisti praefati monachi, cur non conservent ibi sacrum Christi Corpus, responderunt superiorem praedictum post ultimum Paschae noluisse amplius conservari, et requisti quo pacto prius conservatur, dixerunt, in quadam serica bursasuper corporale existenti."

(Although the visitors found the church elegantly decorated with three altars, of which the grandest was dedicated to St. Nicholas, they did not find the holy Eucharist on it, as was the usual custom. Thus they asked the abovementioned monks, why they do not keep the holy Body of Christ there in reserve. The monks responded that per an earlier agreement, after last Easter they decided to no longer reserve the species. When asked how they had agreed to keep the species reserved previously, they said that it was kept in a silk pouch on the altar linens.)

space in the middle of the seventeenth century. On the one hand, the species were reserved during Easter, the time of the year when the laity received Communion en-masse. However, despite clearly being reserved in a reverential fashion inside a semi-precious silk container, the presence of the Eucharist on the altar must have seemed barely visible to those gathered.

Just five years later, the visitation of that same Greek-rite Church shows a remarkable difference in Eucharistic practices. The 1661 visitation of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus was made by a famous Croatian humanist Ioannes Pastritius (Ivan Paštrić). Pastritius was a Slavonic language and literature scholar, employed by the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith to produce Glagolitic service books. Over the course of his life, he authored a series of publications on the Eucharist, cults of reliquaries and images, as well as liturgical plate, insight into which was undoubtedly influenced by his duties as a visitor and compiler of church inventories.[51] Pastritius' account indicated that a number of typically Latin-rite additions were introduced into Sts. Sergius and Bacchus since the last visitation. One such object was the *pyx*, sometimes referred to in Latin Catholic sources as a *ciborium*, a container in which reserved Eucharist was kept. For example, the consecrated species were kept inside a "plainly-made pyx with a golden cover, with the remaining part made of copper."[52] Likewise, Pastritius described species as housed inside "a skillfully constructed tabernacle, made out of gilt wood, the main part of which was silver."[53] The shiny metal exterior of these objects served to visibly heighten the visibility of the reserved Eucharist on the altar. The addition of various candelabra noted in the 1661 visitation undoubtedly accented this effect even further.[54]

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[51] Ivan Golub, "Hrvatski Teolozi XVII Stoljeća," *Bohoslovska Smotra*, vol 73, no. 4 (2004): 752-6.

[52] MUH 3:112, "Il Santissimo haveva una piccola pisside semplice senza lavoro con coppa d'argento, e'l resto di rame."

[53] MUH 3:112, "Sopra esso ho visitato il Santissimo che haveva un tabernacolletto qualificato de legno indorato solo che la chiave era di ferro arrugginito."

[54] MUH 3:112, "In quest'altare v'erano due candelieri di legno inargentato quasi novi."
(On this (high) altar, there were two candlesticks, like new, made of wood covered with silver leaf.)

Despite Father Spada's quiet disapproval of the Basilians' storage of the Eucharist and the consequent remedy of that practice five years later, a careful examination of the two visitation records suggests that the Office for the Congregation of the Faith was willing to tread lightly, consciously limiting the liturgical Latinization of the Greek rite. For example, neither of the visitations mentions the need for a monstrance or a paten. Additionally, the fact that both men were in the employ of the Congregation demonstrates that this institution took responsibility for regulating the liturgical and devotional activities at Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, as opposed to the Greek-rite Catholic Metropolitan in Poland-Lithuania. Indeed, the visitations of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus demonstrate the localized character of liturgical reform in Greek-rite Catholicism over the course of the seventeenth century. For the next several decades, the development of a venerative and visible Eucharist as Greek-rite Catholic confessional identity marker was left predominately to the discretion of individual diocesan bishops.

The scenario which unfolded over the course of the two visitations of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Rome, was eventually reflected in the transformation of Greek-rite Catholic churches in the Commonwealth. Over a more protracted period of time, local bishops instituted their own selective adoption of Latin Eucharistic practices intended to transform the Eucharist from a consumptive Byzantine model to one that highlighted its visibility and venerative qualities. This transformation entailed a reorganization of church spaces, as well as the adoption of new devotions and liturgical objects.

As at the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, these actions did not constitute a blind act of imitating the liturgical practices of the Latin rite. Instead, I argue that this process of liturgical occidentalization (westernization) of Greek-rite Catholicism was a planned, selective, and deliberate action by an episcopate eager to develop a Uniate identity that visually differed from

its Orthodox neighbors and confessional rivals. The historian Stanisław Stępień, noted that the occidentalization or latinization of Greek-rite Catholicism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was, above all, a quest toward developing its own confessional profile.[55] The Eucharist, in all its transubstantiated, corporeal and contemplative qualities was envisioned by the episcopate as the sacred object capable of developing a new Greek-rite Catholic identity, first among the parish clergy, then among the illiterate laity.

"TURN ALL WEALTH TOWARD THE BODY OF CHRIST," FIRST STEPS TOWARD EUCHARISTIC VENERATION IN PRZEMYŚL AND L'VIV EPARCHIES

Toward the close of the seventeenth century, Bishops Innocenty Winnicki of Przemyśl and Józef Szumlański of L'viv brought their eparchies into union with Rome; the last eparchies to embrace Catholicism. The process of establishing the groundwork for this union lasted for three decades between 1680 and 1708 during which time the eparchies remained officially Orthodox, though with a uniquely surreptitious Catholic reform processes underway. These bishops initiated a long confessionalizing process to reorganize clerical administration, strengthen control of subordinate priests and discipline these priests to a more uniform understanding of doctrine and practice. Parish clergy, in turn, were meant to act as intermediaries between the episcopate and the rural laity under their pastoral care: inculcating confessional doctrine, reorganizing church interiors, and changing ritual and devotional practices. These changes not only reflected a confessional change, but communicated new confessional ideas to the parish laity.

Fundamental to the pastoral reforms envisioned by Winnicki and Szumlański was a new and intensified reverence for the Eucharist as an *object* of worship, to be viewed, venerated and

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[55] Stanisław Stępień, "W poszukiwaniu tożsamości obrządkowej. Bizancja a okcydentalizacja kościoła greckokatolickiego w okresie międzywojennym," in *Polska-Ukraina 1000 Lat Sąsiedztwa*, vol 5, ed., Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy w Przemyślu, 2000), 91.

contemplated outside of the usual liturgical space and time. The bishops sought to reform parish life by inculcating standardized religious precepts, reforming ritual practices heightening the venerative qualities of the Eucharist, encouraging an emotive personal meditation over the consecrated species and rearranging church interiors to heighten its visibility. Even prior to officially joining union with Rome, these bishops took steps to increase a religious theatricality and emotionality in ways influenced by (Jesuit) Catholic forms of worship. In so doing, they presented the image of a more humanized Christ to be contemplated in terms of personal experience, miraculously made into the wholeness of flesh and being in the form of the Eucharist, and to be worshiped in that form as Christ risen before them; bridging the distance of time so that the mystery of Christ's Passion was made visible at each Mass, and his and sufferings continuously reenacted in their own lives.

Starting as early as 1680, Szumlański began issuing proclamations demanding that clerics more closely oversee parishioners' participation in Communion, enhance the visibility of the species and inculcate (a Catholic) understanding of the moment of Eucharistic transformation. In a pastoral letter from the same year, Szumlański insisted that each parish priest ought to possess a book of grave sins which only a bishop could absolve and which likewise barred a lay parishioner from communicating. As such, Szumlański stated no member of the community burdened with such sins ought dare approach (приступити) the Holy Communion, referring not only to reception but also encroaching on the sacrality of space in which the species resided.[56]

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[56] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 4, "з. Кождыи ѿ[є]цъ протопопа и с(віа)щенникъ повинен мѣти оу себе тую нововыдан 8 ю книжицу, въ котрой списанїе грѣхов(ъ) естъ, ѿ кторыхъ не кождыи может(ъ) с(віа)щенникъ разрѣшити, або длѧ котрыхъ до С(віа)т(а)го Прчащтенїѧне приступити, и дастли Г(оспо)д Б(о)гъ на кождомъ соборѣ помѣстномъ е(писко)помъ, свіащенникъ кождый маетъ ю показати.
і. Так(ъ) тежъ подчасъ єлеваційї. кгды мовитъ: <<Съ страхомъ Б[о]жіимъ і съ вѣрую прист8пѣте>> с(віа)щенници маютъ своихъ парохїанъ оучити тогѡ, жебы сѧ подчасъ формы и подчасъ елевацїи покланѧлии, ѡ чом таѧ наука подаетсъсѧ ѿцемъ протопопом, а ѿтцеве протопопове своихъ с(віа)щенникѡв(ъ) нехай оучатъ."

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Szumlański also sought to fix the temporal instance at which ordinary bread and wine were turned into the body and blood of Christ. According to Piotr Mohyła's writings nearly a half-century earlier, there was considerable confusion, especially among the Ruthenian Orthodox laity, regarding the moment in which the bread and wine became worthy of veneration. During the transportation of the unconsecrated species, the said objects were said to be elevated by the priest, which, through bowing and genuflecting resulted in acts of on the part of the laity.[57] Szumlański issued instructions intended to heighten the moment in which the bread and wine actually became the Eucharist, clarifying the instant at which the faithful ought to revere the Eucharist as the transubstantiated Christ. To begin, he expressly forbade any prostration in front of the unconsecrated species during its transportation from the *zhertvennik* (a table bearing the unconsecrated bread and wine, usually to the left of the main altar) to the high altar, during the singing of the Hymn of the Cherubim.

> The presbyter fathers are to instruct their priests regarding the transportation of the Holy Gifts from the zhervennik to the high altar: they are to refrain from falling to the ground during the Hymn of the Cherubim, for at this time, it is still merely bread, not the Body of Christ. Instead, they ought to bow and fall to the ground during the proclamation of the phrase: "take this and eat it," for it is at that time the Holy Spirit changes the bread into the Body of Christ, and the wine into His Holy Blood.[58]

(7. Each dean and (parish priest ought to have a newly issued book which contains a list of sins which the average priest cannot absolve, as well as those with which no one ought dare approach the Holy Sacrament. At each synod, the parish priest needs to show the said book to the bishop.

10. (...) And so during the elevation, when uttering "Approach with great awe and piety," priests are to instruct their parishioners that they ought to bow during the recitation of the form and the elevation. This should be made clear to the visiting deans, so that they will instruct their parish priests.)

[57] Piotr Mohyła, *ΛΙΘΟΣ ABO KAMIEŃ Z PROCY PRAWDY CERKWIE ŚWIĘTEJ PRAWOSŁAWNEJ RVSKIEJ.*, (Kraków, 1642), 77 (BUW, Mikr. 6745), "A iesli rzeczesz że niekażdy Laik wie / że z winem nie poświęconym Kapłan na Perenosie idzie / ergo inolatriam incurrere może."
(And of, as you say, many laity do not know that the wine carried by the priest to the altar is unconsecrated, this can only be blamed on their unrefinement.)

[58] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 4, "i. Тыежъ о̃цеве протопопове мают(ъ) оучити своихъ с(вıа)щенниковъ ѡ пренесеню Честныхъ Даровъ ѿ жертовника до ѡлтара великаго, жебы подчасъ пѣсни херувимскои на землю не оупадали, бо еще есть хлѣбъ, а не Тѣло Х(ристо)ве, але мають кланатиса и оупадати на тотъ, кгды мовитъ форму, тоесть Прїймѣте и іадите бо на тот часъ Свıатый Д(у)хъ ѿмѣнаетъ хлѣбъ въ Тѣло Х(ристо)во, а вино въ Кровъ Єгѡ Панскую."

Szumlański likened this translation to Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem, or the transportation of his body into the tomb, upon which the species was to be covered with a воздух, or veil, thus symbolizing the sealing of the sepulchre with a stone.[59]

Through these Biblical references, Szumlański placed Christ's physical and historical body in a pre- and post- sacrificial moment: only once the priest elevated the host in front of the high altar and proclaimed "take this and eat it" was physical reverence to be shown by the participating cleric and the laity gathered inside the church.[60] The placing of the species in a fixed place on the high altar marked the beginning of the perpetual presence of the Eucharist outside liturgical time; a distinctly Catholic tradition in which the visibility of the Eucharist was centrally important and a divergence from the Orthodox practice of highlighting iconography as the visual focus. It effectively aided a dichotomous understanding of the Eucharist: both consumptive and venerative during liturgy, but entirely venerative outside liturgical time.

In 1684 Bishop Innocenty Winnicki also began imparting a vision of the Eucharist which illustrated a subtle, though clear, confessional difference from Orthodoxy. In a pastoral letter to parochial clergy Winnicki urged priests to "purchase the most precious treasures of Christ, turn all wealth toward the altar and the Body of Christ."[61] He called upon the clergy to not only pay proper spiritual respect to the consecrated species, but also to provide for a physical, tangible

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[59] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 4, "аі. Єстъ двоѧкіи входъ ѿ жертовника до ѡлтара первый съ Єѵанг(е)лїемъ значитъ же зъ ѡлтарѧ іакѡбы зъ неба приходитъ С(ы)нъ Б(о)жіи на землю, и пред Єѵангелїемъ що свѣщи несѹтъ, то значитъ, же пред Хр(ис)том Б(о)гомъ ишолъ іакѡ свѣца, свіатый Іѡаннъ Пр(е)дтеча, ѡ которомъ пишетъ: <<Оуготовахъ свѣтилникъ помазанномѹ моемѹ>>. Вторый съ Честными Дары подчасъ пѣсни херѹбимскіѧ, котрый значитъ або Въѥханіе въ Іер(ѹ)салимъ Спасителѧ нашего, або пренесенїе въ гробъ, паложивши аки каменъ гробный, возѕѹхъ великїй на келихъ изъ лоскосомъ."

[60] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 4, "але маютъ кланѧтисѧ и оупадати на тотъ, кгды мовитъ формѹ, тоестъ Прїймѣте и іадите бо на тот часъ Свіатый Д(ѹ)хъ ѿмѣнѧетъ хлѣбъ въ Тѣло Х(ристо)во, а вино въ Кровъ Єгѡ Панскѹю."

[61] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień,. (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 87, "Хрїста многоцѣнный клейнотъ кѹпи, си єстъ на ѡлтаръ и на тѣло Божиїє всю маєтность ѡбѥрин."

ornamentation of the altar and the Eucharist. Once consecrated on the altar, Winnicki's rhetoric

is also oriented toward this transubstantive concept of the Eucharist, insisting that "the Body of

Christ is to be treated with the utmost respect, reverence and awe. Pray before Him on the altar,

while maintaining the purity of the altar, church and churchyard."[62]

At first glance, Winnicki's declaration regarding the respect owed to the consecrated

species closely follows Petro Mohyla's earlier statements on the Eucharist. In his "Sermon to

those desiring to take Communion" (Предмова хотячимъ причаститса Божественныхъ

таинъ), Mohyla stated: "The most holy Sacrament should be approached with great humility,

reverence and respect."[63] A closer look, however, reveals how much Winnicki differed in his

understanding of the Eucharist from his Kyivan predecessor; even a Kyivan predecessor deeply

influenced by Latin practices and culture. Winnicki exhorted the clergy to "pray before the

Body of Christ on the altar,"[64] thus demonstrating that the consecrated species was, in many

ways, not unlike a relic, which not only needed to be honored and respected, but provided a

conduit to the divine in a way that did not involve its consumption.[65] At no point in his *Trebnyk*

does Mohyla call for a similar practice.

The use and placement of images and sacred objects within the church space served the

function of highlighting these new ideals of a humanized Christ and the Eucharistic-centered

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[62] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień,. (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 85-6, "ѡлтаръ, церковъ, цмыитаръ чисто дежати, тѣло Божїє въ оуцтивости мѣти а зъ великимъ страхомъ и дрѣжѣнамъ (...) предъ теломъ Божїимъ въ ѡлтари Бог8са молит."

[63] *Kazania i komentarze sakramentalno-liturgiczne z Trebnika św. Piotra Mohyły*, eds. Marek Melnyk, Włodzimierz Pilipowicz, (Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Manuscript, 2003), 141, "Do komunii najświętszego sakramentu należy przystępować z głęboką pokorą, lękiem i szacunkiem." Original in: Петро Могила, *ЕУХОЛОГІѠН албо МОЛИТВОСЛОВЪ, или ТРЕБНИКЪ*, (Київ, 1646), vol 1, 914.

[64] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień,. (Przemyśl, Poland: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 86, "предъ теломъ Божїимъ въ ѡлтари Бог8са молит."

[65] For a historical comparison between the venerative of the Eucharist and relics in a Medieval context see: Godefridus J. C. Snoeck, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction,* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).

nature of Greek-rite Catholic worship. These simple rearrangements were deliberately intended to communicate a new confessional allegiance in Przemyśl and L'viv. In so doing, the two eparchies joined a confessional process already underway across the Commonwealth in which the Greek-rite Catholic episcopate introduced select Latin-rite influenced practices into their devotions. This fusion of traditions helped forge a distinctively Greek-rite Catholic religious expression that contrasted with established Orthodoxy as well as post-Tridentine Roman Catholicism. Likewise, this emotive expression of faith was promoted by the episcopate to make abstract theology comprehensible to a predominately rural and illiterate laity, deepening their religious devotion, satisfying their liturgical needs and solidifying a unique denominational identity through a Eucharistic-centered schema.

Central to heightening the visibility of the Eucharist was a new understanding and orientation of church interiors. While sources are not readily apparent regarding the immediate modification of church spaces, what is clear is the intent of Bishops Winnicki and Szumlański and the changes noted in subsequent decades. Indeed, the processes they were not without precedent, but instead followed in the earlier implementations made by Metropolitan Józef Welamin Rutski and the visitors to the Sts. Sergius and Bacchus Church in Rome. The altar, especially in its carved, highly decorative variant, became synonymous with the spatial transformations of the church interior that accompanied the heightened status of the Eucharist. In the aftermath of accepting union with Rome, this trend continued, as decorative, carved altars effectively became the ornamentation around the recently reserved Eucharist. As I will demonstrate later, this ornamentation was expressed in the literary sphere as well as the reorganization of church interiors and furnishings. For example, the once ubiquitous image of the *Deissus*, or Christ sitting in judgment, gave way to other, ostensibly less severe, more human

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depictions of Jesus. The emotive religiosity found in catechisms and artistic works likewise found expression through sermons, which progressively became a regular feature of Greek-rite Catholic religious life. In all these instances, emphasis on allegorical and contemplative aspects of the Eucharist went hand in hand with a human, historical Christ.

Indeed, this interpretation of the Eucharist through allegory and contemplation was perfectly reflected in Winnicki's 1685 addendum to his Catechism, entitled "A teaching for every Christian, or a means to prepare oneself for death" (НА́ѴКА албѡ СПОСОБЪ диспонована́ сѧ на смертъ, кождомȣ Хрї́стїанинȣ). In this tract, Winnicki proclaimed: "If you accept the Lord of Hosts in this Most Holy Sacrament, you will have Him present in your soul and consciousness."[66] In other words, the act of receiving the Eucharist brought the human Christ into the present lives, sufferings and experiences of parishioners.

It is precisely this kind of elaborate conceptualization of the Eucharist as Christ that is absent from Mohyla's writing, as he focused primarily upon demonstrating that the Eucharist is "truly the Body and Blood of Christ."[67] Also, unlike Mohyla, Winnicki entirely avoids the use of the term "Holy / Divine Mystery"(Пресвіата Божественна Тайна)[68] in relation to the Eucharist opting instead for the "The Most Holy Sacrament" (Найс(вѧ)тѣйши Сакраментъ Єѵхаристїи).[69] This appears to be a deliberate choice. To Winnicki, the mystery is resolved:

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[66] Єпископ Інокентій Винницкий, *Катихисіс або бароковий дȣшпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Перемиський видділ ОѴП, 2007), ark. 102 verso, "коли П(а)на Найвышшогѡ въ найсвѧтѣйшомъ Сакраментѣ принѧтого бȣдемъ мѣти въ д(ȣ)ши своей и притомногѡ."
[67] *Kazania i komentarze sakramentalno-liturgiczne z Trebnika św. Piotra Mohyły*, eds. Marek Melnyk, Włodzimierz Pilipowicz, (Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo Manuscript, 2003), 138, "Wierze że pod postacią chleba i wina zachowane jest prawdziwe i rzeczywiste Ciało i Krew naszego Zbawicieka Jezusa Chrystusa."
Original in: Петро Могила, *ЄѴХОЛОГІѠН албо МОЛИТВОСЛОВЪ, или ТРЕБНИКЪ*, (Київ, 1646), vol 1, 912.
[68] For example: Петро Могила, *ЄѴХОЛОГІѠН албо МОЛИТВОСЛОВЪ, или ТРЕБНИКЪ*, (Київ, 1646), vol 1, 219, 260, "Пр(е)с(віа)той Тайнѣ Тѣла и Крве Г(оспо)да нашегѡ, or: Ѡ храненіи Б(о)жественныхъ Таинъ."
[69] Єпископ Інокентій Винницкий, *Катихисіс або бароковий дȣшпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Перемиський видділ ОѴП, 2007), ark. 102 verso.

The Savior stands beside a repentant dying man.[70] Winnicki's reiteration of the Eucharist as Christ lent itself to an entirely new Greek-rite Catholic contemplative process, which became increasingly popular over the course of the eighteenth century.

Winnicki's "A teaching for every Christian, or a means to prepare oneself for death," likewise promoted this type of contemplative devotion. The tract itself borrowed from the Latin genre of *Ars Moriendi* which originated in the late Middle Ages and offered advice to the deathly ill on how to pass into the afterlife. Since the vast majority of Ruthenian parishioners were illiterate, the tract was intended to be read by parish priests, who were, in turn, charged to instruct the laity. Instead of focusing on divine judgment awaiting the dying, Winnicki provided a series of allegories, intended to validate the pains and sufferings of the afflicted with those that Christ was made to endure. As such, Winnicki invited the pained and dying "to think about and reflect upon"[71] events from Christ's life, in relation to His own suffering, which "ought to be endured patiently, in order to truly imitate Christ."[72] Indeed, the author proceeds to name the various specific afflictions from which the dying might be suffering, and ties them to instances from Christ's passion:

> Should the afflicted be oppressed by a terrible head ache, let him look upon the head of Our Lord, wounded by the sharp wreath of thorns suddenly thrust upon him, piercing all the way to the brain. If he struggles with a heavy pain in the chest or the side, let him look upon the side of the Redeemer, cruelly perforated by a spear. If he cannot endure horrific pain in his arms and legs, let him turn his eyes to the arms and legs of the Lord, cruelly fastened to the cross by iron nails. Through the feeling of piety, let him say in his heart "The servant is never higher than the master." If my Lord and Savior suffered so

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[70] Епископ Інокентій Винницкий, *Катихисіс або бароковий душпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Перемиський відділ ОУП, 2007), ark. 102 recto, "Же Збавителъ его невидоме при Свѧщенникȣ стоѧчи Сповѣди слȣхати, жаль за грѣхи рпїймовати, и з оныхъ его посполȣ зъ свѧщенникомъ розрѣщати бȣдетъ."
(That his Savior invisibly stands with the priest, listens to his confession, accepts his remorse and offers his absolution.)
[71] Епископ Інокентій Винницкий, *Катихисіс або бароковий душпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Перемиський відділ ОУП, 2007), ark. 96 verso, "Нехай помыслитъ и вспомнитъ собѣ."
[72] Епископ Інокентій Винницкий, *Катихисіс або бароковий душпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Перемиський відділ ОУП, 2007), ark. 96 verso, "который маетъ терпливе носити, абы правдиве Хрістȣ послѣдовати моглъ."

much for my sins, then I, such a great sinner as I am, with my love toward God, must endure my own pains.[73]

This exercise of re-enactment of Christ's suffering in order to ease, validate and above all provide meaning for the pains of the afflicted, is similarly utilized by Winnicki in relation to other Christian historical figures. In addition to Christ, the suffering Christian is urged to reflect on St. Lawrence, who was "so eager to suffer as Christ did," to the point of finding joy in his pains.[74] Similarly, St. Stephen "suffering under the hail of stones" patiently endured his pains, all the while calling on God to forgive his tormentors.[75] As such, Winnicki not only called for the imitation of a suffering Christ, he provided Christ's saintly imitators as examples of what it meant to die a good death, using the experience of righteous suffering as a narrative thread linking Christ and his worthy followers with the lived experiences of the faithful. Winnicki's theatrical re-enactments culminate in the reception of the Eucharist by the afflicted. By this time, the species was not just a holy object; it was Christ walking alongside the dying man:

> When you accept the Lord on High in this Most Holy Sacrament (...) you need not fear of those soulless brigands that on the road to eternity, which would otherwise surround you from all sides. I fear no evil when you walk beside me, oh Lord, for when you help me, I look upon my enemies with no fear.[76]

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[73] Епископ Інокентій Винницкий, *Катихисіс або бароковий душпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Перемиський видділ ОУП, 2007), ark. 96 verso – 97 recto, "Єсли на срогїй боль головы оутискꙋетъ. Нехай глѧнетъ на Головꙋ Пана своегѡ, острогѡ Вѣнца Терновогѡ гв л овнымъ втисненѧмъ ажъ до мозгꙋ зраненнꙋю. Єсли Персей и боковъ, тажкою и знемагаетъ болезнїю, нехай взырраетъ на бокъ Збавителѧ своего, Копїемъ ѡкꙋтне пробитый. Єсли на ѡстатокъ Рꙋкъ и Ногъ, срогогѡ дручена вытерпѣти не змагаетъ. Нехай ѡбернетъ очи къ Рꙋкамъ и Ногамъ Панским, ѡстрыми гвоздми желѣзными, къ Крестꙋ ѡкрꙋтне прибитымъ, а затымъ зъ великою горливости афектомъ нехай въ сердцꙋ своем мовитъ: Нѣстъ рабъ болїй Господа своего, аще Господь и Спаситель мой толка за грѣхи моѧ претерпѣ, колми поче азъ паче всѣх ѡкаѧннѣйшїй, за моѧ беззаонїѧ: и за любовъ Господа моегѡ претерпѣти, всѧ сіѧ ѡбдержащаѧ мѧ болезни не имамъ."
[74] Епископ Інокентій Винницкий, *Катихисіс або бароковий душпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Перемиський видділ ОУП, 2007), ark. 97 verso, "Нехай оуважаетъ онꙋю горливꙋю Лаврентїѧ сватого: Архідїакона за Хрїста страданіѧ ѡхотꙋ."
[75] Епископ Інокентій Винницкий, *Катихисіс або бароковий душпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Перемиський видділ ОУП, 2007), ark. 97 verso, "Нехай вспомынаетъ на сватаго: Первомꙋченника Стефана, котрый межи градом камѣннымъ оумираючи, ѡ всѧкой болезни ѿ каменіѧ наносимой запомнѣлъ, тылко на самꙋю дюбовъ Божїю, длѧ которой доблественнѣ тое терпѣлъ."
[76] Епископ Інокентій Винницкий, *Катихисіс або бароковий душпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Перемиський видділ ОУП, 2007), ark. 102 verso, "же коли Пана Найвышшогѡ въ найсвѧтѣйшагмъ Сакраментѣ принѧтого бꙋдемъ мѣти въ дꙋши своей и притомногѡ. Ужесѧ тых розбойникѡвъ боѧти неможетъ, и овшем безпечне

This fostering of affective spirituality, particularly in relation to the Eucharist, became an increasingly common feature of Greek-rite Catholic devotion over the course of the eighteenth century.

The desire to connect the species with an event from Christ's life demonstrates the very first glimpses of Greek-rite Catholic *affective piety*. The term, pioneered by Caroline Walker Bynum, originally referred a changing understanding of the divine in late Medieval Europe. According to Bynum, it was an increasing sense of viewing mankind as being created "in the image and likeness" of God, as well as Christ's own humanity as a connecting factor between man and God, collapsing the separation between sacred history and contemporary observances. The image of God as the judge of mankind slowly gave way to a more benevolent and loving deity. This religious optimism found reflection in the devotional practices of the day, in which the Eucharist and reflections on Christ's passion offered a means of connecting Christ's human nature with a devotee's own human experiences.[77]

Like elsewhere in Europe, the issuance of a catechism provided a primary means of educating the laity in matters of doctrine, disciplining them to a confessional creed.[78] To that end, Winnicki instructed the parish clergy to ensure that their congregants could recite the Our Father, Hail Mary, the Creed and the Ten Commandments.[79] These prayers, ideally committed

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может речи зъ ѱалъмистою: Не оубоюсѧ зла іакѡ ты съ мною еси, Господь, мнѣ помощний и неѠбоюсѧ зла, Господь мнѣ помощный, и азъ возрю на враги моѧ."
[77] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as a Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), 130-1.
[78] Karen E. Carter, *Creating Catholics: Catechism and Primary Education in Early Modern France*, (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2011), 56-7.
[79] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 85-6, "парохїан своихъ іако старыхъ и молодыхъ Ѿтче нашъ, Богородице Дѣво, Вѣрую во единаго Бога, и Десѧтера Божїѧ приказанѧ оучити."
(teaching the parishioners, both old and young, the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed and the Ten Commandments.)

to memory during childhood, were to be elaborated upon by the parish clergy, providing a comprehensible framework from which rural congregants could learn the tenants of faith. In 1685 Winnicki issued his Catechism (ΚΑΤΗΧΗΣΙΣ албо наѹка христïанскаia). It included not only such basic question-and-answer explanations of God, faith, hope, love and prayer, but also explained less common theological precepts via a line-by-line analysis of prayers that parishioners would have known by heart. A typical example comes from a chapter of the Catechism devoted to prayer, in which the Our Father is dissected line by line:

> Q: What is the fourth plea?
> A: GIVE US THIS DAY OUR DAILY BREAD
> Q: What is meant by this reference to bread?
> A: The bread signifies all that is needed for daily living: food, drink, clothing and other bodily needs
> Q: Can Daily BREAD be likewise understood as bread for the soul?
> A: Indeed, it can. Bread represents all that the soul needs, including listening to the Word of God, prayer and gifts of the Holy Spirit. It especially represents the bread of the Eucharist, or the receiving of the Body and Blood of the Lord, which the Scripture calls "the bread of angels."[80]

There the quotidian loaf of the Lord's Prayer was imbued with an additional, mystical meaning, a metaphor for daily devotions in which every parishioner could participate.

For Winnicki, the bread spoken of in daily prayer was also meant to be seen a metaphor for the Eucharist, which, although physically received but four times a year, could be affectively imagined, contemplated and received spiritually at any time. Winnicki's relatively brief yet pithy catechismal explanation of the Eucharist as "daily bread" was demonstrative of the episcopate's desire to inspire a more emotive lay experience of faith, centering upon a

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[80] Епископ Інокентій Винницкий, *Катихисіс або бароковий дѹшпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Перемиський видділ ОѴП, 2007), ark. 31 verso – 32 recto, "П. Которое естъ Четвертое прошенïе? Ѿ. ХЛѢБЪ НАШЪ НАСѴщный. даждъ намъ днес. П. Що тѹтъ втом прошенïи под назвыском хлѣба розѹмѣтсѧ. Ѿ. Тое все що наиъ естъ потребное до захованѧ живота дочасного, іако то покармъ, напой, ѡдежа, и инныи телесни потребы. П. Чи можетсѧ то ХЛѢБЪ Насѹщный, розѹмѣти и Хлѣбом д(ѹ)ховнымъ д(ѹ)шѣ? Ѿ. И ѡвшемъ абовѣмъ все тое, що колвекъ посилѧетъ д(ѹ)шѹ. естъ хлѣбомъ еи, албѡ покармомъ. іако то естъ, слѹхане слова Б(о)жого. молитва, дары Д(ѹ)ха С(віа)т(о)го. а ѡсобливымъ еще естъ хлѣбомъ Еѵхаристïѧ, албо прчастïе Тѣла и Крве Г(о)сп(од)ей. которои называе Писмо хлѣбомъ агг(е)лскимъ."

humanized and visible Christ, relevant in the believers' daily lives. At the center of this campaign was the Eucharist, re-imagined in Greek-rite Catholicism as a devotional object through which the historical Jesus could be imagined, contemplated, envisioned and experienced by the faithful; and for which an entirely new devotional script was created.

Bishops Winnicki and Szumlański provided an important precedent in the reconceptualization of the Eucharist into an object of veneration and a means through which the laity could imagine Christ in their everyday lives. While pastoral letters illustrated episcopal intent more than "on the ground" reality they are nonetheless critical in understanding the beginning of the process. By the time of the Synod of Zamość in 1720, diocesan stress fell on the propagation of a Eucharistic cult to the wider community. Indeed, clerical familiarity with details of Eucharistic theology and ritual, while still deemed mandatory among the former, was steadily moving to embrace the lay parochial body. The Synod of Zamość effectively elaborated on the eucharistically centered schema of Winnicki and Szumlański inspiring a more cohesive thrust to make the Eucharist the ultimate object of visible adoration in the church interior. Accompanying this reorganization of church interiors were new methods of promoting an affective piety among the laity. These included a new generation of visual art, as well as new methods of preaching, which promoted the congregants' re-enactment of historical events from the Scriptures with themselves as immediate participants in that sacred past.

"THE BODY OF CHRIST, VISIBLE IN THE CHURCH," EUCHARISTIC TRANSFORMATIONS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PARISH LIFE

Eucharistic and other practices of the Ruthenian Greek-rite were codified at the 1720 provincial Synod of Zamość. Metropolitan Leon Kiszka had lobbied for Rome's approval in this matter since 1715, arguing that the admission of three new eparchies (Przemyśl, L'viv and

Luts'k), lack of church-wide liturgical uniformity as well as clerical excesses in those newly incorporated provinces necessitated a concerted response.[81] The resulting synod systematized its own uniquely Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic variant of Eastern Christianity, ordering and regularizing earlier attempts toward this end,[82] including those first initiated by Metropolitan Józef Welamin Rutski and attempted locally by Bishops Innocenty Winnicki and Józef Szumlański.

For anyone researching Greek-rite Catholicism in the Early Modern Era, the most striking feature of the visitation record following 1720 is its sheer availability, which becomes not only more plentiful but also more detailed and descriptive with each passing decade. The formulaic arrangement of visitation questions first agreed upon at Zamość find reflection in just about every account drawn up by a visiting dean in the eighteenth century, reflecting the general trend of the standardization of texts. However, the drawback of such organization to a historian centuries hence, was that it sometimes resulted in very perfunctory answers. As such, the visitations sometimes provided numbers of objects and their condition, but little additional commentary as to their actual appearance.

The textual evidence contained in these visitations moreover suggests that despite the standardization of previous organizational and liturgical reforms, Zamość left a great deal of room for the actual implementation and interpretation of its proclamations, which were ultimately put into practice by individual members of the episcopate and the clergy. In the eparchies of Przemyśl and L'viv, this meant a continuation of the hierarchical order first promoted by Bishops Winnicki and Szumlański. If anything, visitations indicate a persistent and

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[81] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce: wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969) , 881.
[82] M. Stasiak, "Wpływy łacińskie w statutach prowincjalnego synodu Zamojskiego (1720)," *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne* 22 (1975) vol. 5, 95-106.

unremitting push and pull between the episcopal demands and "on the ground" realities. Instead of foundational, the Synod of Zamość appears to be an important step on an already trod path toward centralizing religious authority and standardizing practice on the parish level. The ornamentational demands, particularly for the Eucharist, sometimes seem to exceed the fiscal possibilities of many parishes. However, general aesthetic changes in these rural parishes indicate steady adoption of Greek-rite Catholic confessional ideals embracing the venerative quality of the Eucharistic species.

The Synod of Zamość mandated that each visitor determine the number of altars within the church, as well as to whether these were up to the standards mandated by provincial synod. It said nothing regarding a prescribed architecture or appearance.[83] All this begs the question: was there a detailed standard established by the episcopate, intended to optimally ornament the reserved Eucharist, further enhancing its visibility? Textual evidence is limited. Visual evidence, however, demonstrates a clear transformation of the spatial situation of the altar which places increased visual importance upon the Eucharist.

The sacrality of the high altar was further underscored by the subject matter placed on the icon it displayed. These were almost exclusively comprised of either Christ or the Virgin; saints tended to grace the side altars. The result was a concentration and a visible gradation of sacred space. For the lay onlooker, the transubstantive importance of the Eucharist shifted from one whose experiential richness was bound up in the veiled mystery provided by the wall of icons, to one in which its prominent display was centrally important. The consecration as well as exposition of the species was limited to a very particular, highly visible space, adorned by an image that often elaborated on the Eucharist through a visual metaphor of sacred history made ever-present and tangible to the parishioners. The side altars, frequently dedicated to saints of

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[83] MANSI 35: 1529, "Quot sint altaria? an debite, & ad praescriptum synodi Provincialis ornentur?"

local importance, offered a communal sense of familiarity and devotions, while serving as private spaces for individual contemplation.

Over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, post-union altars in the Commonwealth took on a more western European appearance. The traditional Byzantine altar, once freestanding in the center of the presbyterium, was pushed to the back of the back wall of the inner sanctum. According to Paweł Sygowski's study of the neighboring Chełm eparchy, evidence of the existence of these Latin-style altars can be gleaned from specific language used in the visitations, including "wielki ołtarz," (great altar) as well as the presence of other altars "na boku" or "poboczny" (on the side, side). The presence of these nearly always rules out the existence of an iconostasis.[84] This language is well reflected in the visitation record in Przemyśl and L'viv eparchies, where the presence of permanent Latin-style high altars is likewise cited using the terms "murowane" (masonry, or "up against a wall") or "fundamentalne" (stone or masonry, with own foundation).[85] The inclusion of either "Wrota Carskie" (Royal Doors) or "Deis(s)us" in the visitation record almost always served as shorthand for the existence of an iconostasis. Likewise, references to the altar as "nowy" (new) usually inferred the absence of an iconostasis, whereas "starodawny" or "staroświecki" (ancient) signified its presence.

Reports of actual removal of iconostases in Przemyśl and L'viv eparchies tend to be sparse, although Greek-rite churches constructed after their eparchy formally proclaimed union often utilized a three altar layout, reflecting the reorganization that had already been promoted by the Greek-rite Catholic Metropolitan Rutski and at the Basilian Church of Sts. Sergius and

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[84] Paweł Sygowski, "Unicka diecezja chełmska w protokołach wizytacyjnych biskupa Maksymiliana Ryłły z lat 1759-1762," in *Polska-Ukraina 1000 Lat Sąsiedztwa*, vol 5, ed. Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy w Przemyślu, 2000), 261.

[85] ABGK 148:58:15, "Cerkiew Jabłonska (...) Wielki Ołtarz murowany."
ABGK 142:59:3, "Cerkiew Wiszynska SS Troycy Mieyska (...) Ołtarz wielki fundamentalnie stoiący**."**

Bacchus in Rome. The Chełm eparchy (seat located about 200 km north of Przemyśl and L'viv)

appears to be exceptional for its documentation of the removal of iconostases. Bishop of Chełm

Maksymilian Ryłło (1759-1784), who also briefly served as the administrator of the Przemyśl

eparchy, had the reputation of an energetic reorganizer. Under his tenure, the Chełm Greek-rite

Basilica of the Birth of the Virgin Mary was completed in grand late-baroque architectural style.

This penchant for adding Latin-rite ornamentation was likewise reflected in his desire to make

the parish churches of his eparchy visually distinct from the established Byzantine Orthodox

style through the addition of Latin-rite architectural features.

Apparently not content with limiting himself to the aesthetics of his own cathedral,

Ryłło's aggressive reorganization of parochial church interiors left a lasting legacy in his

eparchy. In an 1804 visitation of the Krasne (near Turowiec) a parish the visitor wrote: "The

iconostasis is absent, in accordance with the command of His Grace Father Maxymilian Ryłło,

the Bishop of Chełm. It was cast out, as it had been in so many other places."[86] The removal of

iconostasis proclaimed a clear confessional shift from an Orthodox to a Greek-rite Catholic

aesthetic. This shift was visually apparent to clerics and laity alike and indicated a confessional

reorientation toward the prominent display of the species.

Most immediately, this ornamentation was elaborated through containers that were

deemed "proper" to contain the reserved consecrated species. The wooden containers mentioned

by Petro Mohyla in mid-seventeenth century were derided by the Greek-rite Catholic divines

since the days of Kasjan Sakowicz. Unsurprisingly, they were deemed inadequate and improper

for the storage of the species by the Synod of Zamość. This demand for proper storage was

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[86] Cited in: Paweł Sygowski, "Unicka diecezja chełmska w protokołach wizytacyjnych biskupa Maksymiliana Ryłły z lat 1759-1762," in Polska-Ukraina 1000 Lat Sąsiedztwa, vol 5, ed. Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy w Przemyślu, 2000), 260, "Deisus nie znajduje się, z rozkazu JWW JX Maxymiliana Ryłły Biskupa Chełm(skiego), wyrzucony iako i po innych miejscach."

aggressively reiterated over the next decades via pastoral letters and episcopal visitations.

Ideally, the episcopate hoped that new vessels would be made of gold or silver, though tin was

named an acceptable substitute of last resort. The financial reforms initiated by Bps. Winnicki

and Szumlański, and reiterated at Zamość, were to, in part, provide funds for these.[87] However,

much of the work regarding the actual acquisition of the said objects fell to the parish clergy.[88]

Lapses in this obligation were cited by the episcopal visitor. On the one hand, tasking the local

priests with the financial responsibilities of establishing confessional uniformity emphasized the

notion of the parish priest as the caretaker of the Eucharist, on the other, it indicated a surprising

lack of awareness regarding the struggles of their eparchial underlings.

For the Uniate episcopate, the pyx was the most basic requirement for heightening the

visibility of the species. While historians such as Miri Rubin regard the pyx as more valued for

the safety it provided the Eucharist, rather than for purposes of display, a strong case could be

made to the contrary in the Przemyśl and L'viv eparchies.[89] These lidded metal pyxes not only

protected the sacred object that was the Eucharist from pests and the elements, not only

demonstrated its sacrality by being encased in precious or semi-precious metals, but the shiny

nature of the container increased its conspicuousness, visually alerting its presence to every

parishioner who ventured into the church interior, regardless of whether liturgy was being

conducted or not.

On this matter of increased sacrality and visibility, the Council of Zamość made its own

pronouncement, insisting that "for the greater glory of the cult of the Body of Christ, the pyxes

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[87] MANSI 35:1492, "Statuit praeterea sanctus synodus ad augendum cultum erga venerabile sacramentum Corporis Christi (...) sufficientibus proventibus instructae sunt."

[88] Paweł Sygowski, "Unicka diecezja chełmska w protokołach wizytacyjnych biskupa Maksymiliana Ryłły z lat 1759-1762," in *Polska-Ukraina 1000 Lat Sąsiedztwa*, vol 5, ed. Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy w Przemyślu, 2000), 248-9.

[89] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 290.

be kept in a locked ciborium[90] on the high altar, from which it is visible in the church."[91] The ciborium played a dual role of security and heightened visibility. Whereas the pyx may have protected the consecrated species from pests and elements, the ciborium was intended to protect the species from undesirable hands, intent on profaning the sacred object located therein. Thus, the Synod of Zamość mandated that the ciborium was to have a hinged door locked by a strong lock. The key was to be solely in the possession of the priest, reaffirming the notion of a solely clerical access to holiest of holies by his possession of the said object.[92]

    In its ornamental qualities the ciborium was to be, ideally, artistically crafted, gilded in the exterior and lined with silk in the interior.[93] No further decorative prescriptions were made. Yet whereas metal pyxes were nearly ubiquitous by mid-eighteenth century, the same cannot be said for ciboria. In a 1758 visitation of the Sudowa Wisznia deanery, the visitor cited the presence of a ciborium in just about every parish. Some were particularly splendid, such that of the civic church in Sudowa Wisznia, which the visitor describes as "cymborium zamczysty," thus referring to a locking mechanism.[94] Through devoid of such descriptive grandiloquence as that of the Sudowa Wisznia church, the village church in Czerce boasted of a truly unique

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[90] Great care must be taken when approaching these visitation or inventory records due to the sometimes non-standard use of terminology. Within the Polish language materials, a "ciborium" (sometimes also "cyborium" or "cymborium") is the equivalent of a Latin-rite tabernacle (tabernaculum), a lockable, usually permanently attached container placed on the altar in which the Eucharist is kept reserved in some other vessel, such a pyx. Any equivalent of a Latin "ciborium," that is, a container directly containing a reserved Eucharistic bread, is usually referred to as a "puszka"or "puszeczka," sometimes, though rarely, "kiwot." Bronisław Miron Seniuk's article devoted exclusively to using Early Modern Greek-rite Catholic visitation records provides an invaluable guide to terminology that simply cannot be found elsewhere with ease. See: Bronisław Miron Seniuk, "Osiemnastowieczna terminologia z zakresu architektury i sztuki cerkiewnej oraz organizacji kościoła wschodniego. Materiały do słownika na podstawie protokołów wizytacyjnych eparchii włodzimierskiej" in *Polska-Ukraina 1000 Lat Sąsiedztwa*, vol 5, (Przemyśl: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy w Przemyślu, 2000), 309-46.

[91] MANSI 35: 1492, "Statuit praeterea sancta synodus ad augendum cultum erga venerabile sacramentum Corporis Christi (...) atque ut retineatur clausae in Ciborio magni Altarie, e cujus conspectu in ecclesiis."

[92] MANSI 35: 1531, "An ostium tabernaculi sit firmissima sera, & clavi clausum quam solus sacerdos retineat, vel in sacrario asservet?"

[93] MANSI 35: 1531, "An asservetur in tabernaculo affabre facto, ab extra majori ex parte deaurato, interius serico vestito?"
(Is (the Eucharist) kept protected in an artistically made tabernacle, gilded in the exterior, lined with silk in the interior?)

[94] ABGK 142:59:3.

construction. According to the account of the episcopal visitor, the Czerce ciborium was incorporated into an image of Christ that made up the high altar. The consecrated species were effectively kept in Christ's side, thus creating a visual portrayal of the Eucharist as literally removed from the wound he had received during the crucifixion.[95]

Illumination, symbolic of the perpetual presence of a corporeal Christ on the altar, added yet another layer of visibility. The Synod of Zamość mandated an illumination of the spaces in the immediate proximity of where the species resided. This was far different from the usual lighting of the altar via the use of candles and candles during liturgy. The synodal proclamation called for the installation of perpetually burning sanctuary lamps. Ideally, these were to be lit outside the temporal span of the usual liturgy, thus complementing the ciborium or pyx that held the species.[96] Poorer parishes that were thought to have insufficient financial resources for continuous diurnal and nocturnal illumination, were instructed, at the very minimum, to burn the lights during high holy days, from the beginning of liturgy to the end.[97] These directives reveal that the desire for standardization sometimes had to be tempered when met with the realities of parish level limitations. The synod was also undoubtedly aware that these liturgical objects, such as the said lamps, the *sluzhebnik* (service book), candelabra and the altar crucifix were also sharing space with the species on the altar. Consequently, the spatial distribution of these was likewise addressed. At no time were they to interfere with the line of sight from the main nave

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[95] ABGK 142:59:67, "Na mensie Wielkiego Ołtarza Obraz Pana Jezusa bok otwieraiącego z Cymborium w Nim Puszeczka."
(On the mensis of the great altar, there is an image of the Lord Jesus, whose side opens up as a tabernacle. In it, as small pyx is housed.)
[96] MANSI 35: 1531, "An ante altare & tabernaculum diu, noctumque luceat lampas, vel saltem diebus festivis, tempore sacrificii?"
[97] MANSI 35: 1491, "quae sufficientibus proventibus instructae sunt, lampades perpetuo ardeat, in pauperioribus vero, saltem diebus festis, & Dominicis, a principio usque ad finem missae."
(Those with sufficient resources are instructed to have lamps perpetually burning. In those (parishes) that are truly poor, they should be lit at least on festive days, most importantly, for the entire duration of the Mass.)

toward the altar. Visitors were to admonish the parish clergy in instances any liturgical object was found directly in front of the species.[98]

According to a 1749 visitation record, the Werchrata monastery, home to the famed miraculous image of the Virgin, was exceptionally well stocked. Lavish local patronage, a relatively large number of monks combined with throngs of pilgrims who regularly journeyed to the sanctuary, ensured that there were no shortcomings in its inventory of liturgical paraphernalia. The monastery possessed no fewer than three pyxes, two made of silver, one of tin. The first of these was the result of a donation by the founder and was apparently a permanent fixture on the high altar, given that the second was described as intended especially for the viaticum to the morbidly ill and dying. Even the seemingly humble tin pyx was gilded on the inside.[99] Likewise, the monastery owned a gilded silver monstrance, decorated with four precious stones of Bohemian workmanship.[100] This hardly seems surprising. Generous donations aside, the Basilian Fathers who occupied the monastery boasted of the finest ecclesiastical education in Early Modern Greek-rite Catholicism, had frequent contacts with Tridentine divines and were themselves the chief pool of episcopal and curial appointments.

However, on the parish level there was uneven use of these Eucharistic objects owing particularly to their level of wealth; indicating a general desire for these materials when circumstances allowed. Objects made of tin were ubiquitous, however, several parishes boasted of pyxes that were partially or fully silver. A few parishes possessed two sets of chalices and pyxes, thus demonstrating that once the base minimum requirement for exposition of the species was met, focus turned toward its greater ornamentation. The civic church of the Holy Trinity at

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[98] MANSI 35: 1531, "An aliquid praeter pyxidem cum sanctissimo in tabernaculo quantumvis sacrum asservetur? quod si fiat, removeatur."
[99] CDIAL 684:1186:25-6, "Puszka z worzechem intus pozłacana....1."
(One pyx with a lid (?), gilded inside).
[100] CDIAL 684:1186:25, "Monstrancya marcypanowa złocona maiąca cztery kamyki czeskie rożnego koloru...1."

Sudowa Wisznia even had a "splendid, recently acquired monstrance of gilded silver" which it received as a gift from a wealthy patron.[101] Not all was perfect in this otherwise wealthy deanery. A small minority of parishes were still only in possession of wooden pyxes. [102] The Baligród deanery, with a smaller parishioner base, a more remote location away from urban centers of commerce and ecclesiastical administration could not claim the same concentration of precious liturgical objects. Yet even here, the 1756 visitation record reveals that the overwhelming majority of parishes, regardless of how small or destitute, were in possession of a simple tin pyx.[103]

Ultimately, however, many of these visitation records indicate a rising frustration at the disconnect between the intent of the episcopate and the actions at the parish level. The seemingly annoyed tone of Bishop of L'viv Atanazy Szeptycki's (1729-1746) synodal proclamation on keeping proper Eucharistic vessels demonstrates how elusive these goals must have been, despite repeated admonitions:

> Although we have issued reminders multiple times, admonishing parishes to have the proper lockable ciboria and, at the very least, tin pyxes for the reservation of the Most Holy Sacrament, these are still absent from many churches. Thus, we urge with all seriousness, that our reverend deans pay close attention and be willing to admonish that this may come into being. Should it be otherwise in parishes where a visitation was previously conducted and no proper ciborium or tin pyx was to be found, the deans are ordered to purchase them at their own cost, while levying heavy punishments on the offenders.[104]

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[101] ABGK 142:59, "Srebra (...) Ma Monstrancyę wspaniała, srebrna, Marcypanowo złocona, niedawnych Czasow od Sławetnych Stefana Maryanna Woyakow."
(Argentaria(..) It has a splendid silver Monstrance, gilded (with gold), obtained recently from the famed Stefan (and) Maryanna Woyak.)
[102] ABGK 142:59:21, "Kropiwniki (...) puszka (?) pro Conservatione SSmo drewniana."
(Kropiwniki (parish), a wooden pyx for the reservation of the Most Holy Sacrament).
ABGK 142:59:67, "Czerce (...) Puszeczka z krzyzykiem srebrnym drewniana gdzie Consservator Sanctissimi."
(Czerce parish (...) a wooden pyx with a silver cross in which the Most Holy Sacrament is reserved.)
[103] ABGK 142:58.
[104] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 263,
"Chociaż wielokrotne było napominanie, aby po cerkwiach cymboria pod zamknięciem y puszki przynaymniey cynowe dla konserwowania Nays(więtszego) Sakramentu były, atoli kiedy dotychczas po wieku cerkwiach tego niemasz, zaczym serio przykazuie, aby P(rzewielebni) x(ięża) dziekani tego pilnie przestrzegali y napominali, ut

A mere two years later, Bishop Szeptycki issued yet another admonition, this time threatening to impose an interdict on any parishes who failed to comply. This time, Szeptycki also insisted that not only parish priests were to be made aware of the inadmissibility of not having proper Eucharistic vessels, the lay parishioners were to be informed as well.

> We have instructed the deans at just about every (synodal) gathering (...) to admonish those parishes which still do not have proper vessels. We have become aware from visitations that these admonitions still go unheeded. Thus we instruct our deans once again to instruct all parish priests and parishioners to procure and display pyxes and ciboria for parishes that still lack them. We grant them four Sundays from the time of pastoral admonition to resolve these issues. Otherwise, the deans are granted the archipastoral authority to impose an interdict on the said parish and maintain it until the ciboria and pyxes have, at last, been procured.[105]

Year after year the "parish priests and parishioners" chose, out of material want, indifference or resistance, to ignore the perturbed demands of the episcopate. While the exact reasoning is unclear, what becomes evident was often the gulf between the episcopal ideal and the parish reality.

That said, visitation records from mid-eighteenth century demonstrate the presence of ciboria was considerably rarer than that of pyxes. Indeed, in instances where an absence of a ciborium was cited, the pyx was described as free-standing on the altar.[106] It may be argued that the small spatial size of many rural parish churches (to say nothing of the dearth of financial

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quod non factum fiat. Inaczey gdzie podczas przyszłej wizyty g(ene)ralney albo cymborium należytego, albo puszki cynowey nie będzie, x(ięża) dziekani de proprio one sprawować tenebuntur et alias graviores paenas za to luent."
[105] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 265, "Ledwie nie na kożdey kongregacyi było inculcatum P(rzewielebnym) x(iężom) dziekanom, aby zalecali po parochiach żeby wszędy były hrobnice przynaymiey cynowe y cyboria z zamknięciem; że iedak z wizyt teraznieyszych pokazało się, iz po wielu mieyscach tego niemasz. Przeto tymże x(iężom) dziekanom aby za powrotem swoich wszystkich tych parochów y parochianów napomnieli, żeby gdzie niemasz, tak hrobnice iako y cyborie z zamkami in spatio czterech niedziel, do intymacyi rachować nie maiących, wystawili i prokurowali. Inaczey ieżeliby gdzie tego nie słuchano, ciż x(ięża) dziekani po wyściu czterech niedziel od napomnienia władzą archipasterską cerkwie niech interdykuią, ktore w interdukcie dopoty zostawiać maią, poki cyboria albo hrobnice cynowe saltim prokurowanie nie będą."
[106] For example: ABGK 142:59:10, "Wies Wańkowice: bez Cymboria (...) Puszkę cynową pro Conservatione Sanctissimi y ta stoi na ołtarzu."
(Village of Wańkowice: without a Ciborium (...) has a tin pyx for the conservation of the Most Holy, which stands on the altar.)

resources) the visibility of the pyx was sufficient enough not to merit a separate ciborium. Given this, it may be assumed that in rural parishes with very small churches, proper ciboria were treated as adiaphora rather than mandatory equipment. For example, in the interior of the 1750 Rosolin Church of the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, only some 5-6 meters separate the entry door from the high altar. (Image 4:3-4) As the photo demonstrates, this metal object of no more than 10 cm in diameter, is clearly visible when resting on the high altar, just before the ciborium (tabernacle).

The Rosolin Church of the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin also demonstrates the interior layout of a rural, relatively remote church after local union and after the Synod of Zamość. There is no trace of an iconostasis. Instead, the interior reflects the internal order first described by the 1656 visitation of the Sts. Sergius and Bacchus church in Rome, with three separate altars, including a single, central high altar and two side altars. Judging by the ornate frames and columns surrounding the large altar images, all three structures appear to have been constructed separately, rather than having been the result of a reconfigured iconostasis. Additionally, the high altar contains all the equipment prescribed by the Synod of Zamość, including a lockable ciborium, candelabra on each side and a centrally located sanctuary lamp. While it is impossible to definitely determine whether the Latin-influenced ornamentation of the interior was accomplished at the behest of the parish priest, the village gromada, the haranguing of episcopal visitors or the noble collator, the image of a kneeling nobleman next to the left side-altar indicates at least the very strong influence of the latter.

"Brought to Knowledge in Detail,"18th Century Eucharistic Image and Sermon

By the 1750s, Eucharistic practices were reinforced by the interplay of sermons, iconography, ritual and church spaces which tended toward an increased emotionality. Inherent to these religious practices was the contemplation of the life of a deeply humanized Christ figure, wholly embodied by the transubstantiated Eucharist. Heavily promoted by clerical authorities through visuals and oratory, lay participants were invited to participate in individual re-enactments from Christ's life. In these, the contemporary time of the gathered laity was collapsed with the Gospel Age, into instances of each devotee walking alongside Christ and the saints. These affective meditations were instructive in nature, meant to foster a confessionally specific understanding of the Eucharist.

Bishops Innocenty Winnicki and Józef Szumlański repeatedly called on parish priests to provide "instruction" to their flocks. Such exhortations were not without caveats, as priests often deviated from the intended episcopal message. In 1694, shortly after openly accepting union with Rome, Winnicki bemoaned the fact that many priests in his eparchy "do not understand the Scripture yet resolve to preach the Holy Writ from the pulpits"[107] As such, visitors were to make certain that only priests with prior approval were to be allowed to preach, tightening the control of the theological message being disseminated in parishes and preventing the proliferation of non-canonical messages. In order that preaching would not cease altogether, Winnicki proposed an interim solution:

> Parish priests are to read from the Catechism, by chapter or to read from printed books, provided these had been approved by the Church censors. The sermons contained in these books are to be read out loud from the pulpit, neither adding anything, nor daring to

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[107] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 55-6, "na niektorych mieyscach znayduią się takowi w Naszej Episkopii Kanodźieie, którzy Pisma Świętego nierozumiawszy, do przepowiadania Słowa Bożego z Ambony biorą się."

expound on anything, but reading word-for-word, under the pain of grave church punishments.[108]

In fact, the source base suggests that such harsh restrictions on preaching were maintained for only a few decades after union as the Bishop of L'viv Atanazy Szeptycki's (1715-1746)[109] The pastoral proclamation of 1772 again urged parish priests to offer instruction to their flocks. Presumably, a new generation of Uniate priests, vetted and approved by the episcopate and periodically examined by visitors, were deemed capable of providing basic canonical and confessionally specific catechismal instruction to their flocks.

Szeptycki's renewed calls for pastoral guidance was prompted by the desire that the laity would understand the most basic concepts of faith prior to receiving the Eucharist:

> Each priest, in accordance with the laws of the Church Fathers, should provide instruction to his people every day. At the very least, such instruction should be granted every Sunday and holy day, when the Eucharist is dispensed. The people ought to be taught the tenets of the holy faith, be guided toward proper belief, as well as toward repentance, a holy life and salvation of the soul. All these things should be taught (more literally, "brought to knowledge in detail") in a way that is understandable to them.[110]

Szeptycki's notion of "bringing ('the people') to knowledge in detail" was by no means limited to spoken words. The visual record of religious imagery from eighteenth century Ruthenian parishes of Przemyśl and L'viv is demonstrative of how icons were deployed in this didactic undertaking. An emphasis on catechization through the spoken word dovetailed perfectly into an existing culture of communication through iconography. A picture may be worth a thousand

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[108] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 56, "Interim, że należy w Swiąteczne dni, żeby naśienie zbawienne Ewangelskie bez pożytku nie leżało, Parochialnym zwłaszcza Kapłanom przepowiadać. Mogą albo Kathechism per Capita, albo z Kśiąg drukowanych, per Censuram Ecclesiasticam approbowanych, Kazania w nich położone, z Ambony w głos czytać, nic iednak swego nieprzykładaiąc ani tłumaczyć się ważąc: ale tak tylko, iako w Xięgach nadrukowano, Słowo w Słowo czytaiąc, a to sub Censuris Ecclesiasticis."

[109] Not to be confused with Atanazy Szeptycki, Bishop of Przemyśl (1762-1779).

[110] *Собори Львівскої Епархії XVI-XVIII ст.,* (Львів: Інститут Церковного Права УКУ, 2006), 134, "Даби каждїи св(іа)щенникъ по правиломъ С(віа)тых От(е)цъ люди своіа по всіакъ днѣ, ѡсобливе в неделнїй, и с(віа)таврочистїе, при роздаваню антидори училъ вѣри с(віа)той, росповѣдаючи им до вирозȢмлені, наставліалъ на благовѣрїе, покаіанїе и чистое житїе, во сп(а)сенїе дȢшъ ихже."

words, yet the preaching efforts of post-Tridentine Catholicism were at least partially concerned

with making it a thousand words that could illustrate, inspire and communicate key tenets of

faith and distinguish that faith from confessional rivals with unambiguous clarity. As such,

images were deemed useful, provided that they would be explained and have their proper

meaning elucidated by a priest preaching from the pulpit.[111]

Prior to the availability of inexpensively produced and widely distributed religious

images, the variety of icons a rural layman might see was limited. Aside from images that

adorned the home, the church interior provided a space that allowed for the repeated viewing of a

selected repertoire of religious imagery. For centuries images offered the laity a means of

envisioning and contemplating the divine. Christ, the Virgin, angels as well as particular saints

formed a steady canon of instantly recognizable religious figures that adorned walls, ceilings and

iconostases.

Indeed, it was this ubiquity and familiarity with images that formed a conduit through

which clerical authorities could infuse new confessional ideas using a set of familiar visual

metaphors. As such, otherwise illiterate laymen could repeatedly view and contemplate divine

personalities and narrative scenes that were recognizable at a glance. Much like reading before

the mass availability of printed material, images in churches were read intensively. Repeated

attendance into the church interior allowed an image to be viewed repeatedly, be examined

closely and be contemplated upon. Like books in limited availability that were passed from one

set of hands to another, the image in the church passed in front of one set of eyes and to

another.[112] Following the acceptance of union with Rome by the Ruthenian Church, images

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[111] Louis Chatellier, *The religion of the poor: Rural missions in Europe and the formation of modern Catholicism, c.1500 – c.1800*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 95.

[112] R.A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500-1800,* (New York: Longman Group Ltd., 1988), 195-6.

were selected which promoted Uniate confessional ideals and religious meaning, serving to catechize and confessionalize a largely illiterate population.

This reform of iconography began with the removal of images that were deemed "disrespectful" "rude" or simply "not in accordance with church custom."[113] While the exact standard was ultimately regulated by the local bishop,[114] the determination centered upon images that would or would not foster the adaptation of the Eucharist as a venerative object. Episcopal visitation testimonies provide precise details regarding the quality, quantity and content of images adorning even remote rural churches.

Father Grzegorz Śliwiński, who conducted the visitation of the Sudowa Wisznia deanery in 1758, made observational distinctions between "modern" and "ancient" images adorning churches, his written testimonies demonstrate that older images were not automatically viewed as suspect. For example, he described an older Deissus (Christ sitting in judgment) image in a rural church as "of ancient but beautiful craftsmanship, a handsome painting."[115] Śliwiński does not immediately explain his terminology. It stands to reason that these traditional images could maintain their place in church interiors so long as their composition did not inherently undermine the Greek-rite confessional project. However, new, emotive, more human portrayals of Christ in postures other than the Last Judgment Deissus, became more frequent fixtures in church interiors following the Synod of Zamość. It is possible that the visitor, while praising the esthetics of the older image, was nevertheless indirectly commenting on the influx of new paintings, most of

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[113] MANSI 35: 1530, "An imagines in ecclesia sint honestae, integrae, & decenter depictae & quot? / An inventiantur deformes & deturpatae? quae erunt tollendae & restaurandae./ An Imagines Jesu Christi, Beatissimae Mariae, apostolorum, evangelistarum depictae sint sub forma ad ecclesia non usitata?"
(Are the images in the church respectable, in good shape and decently painted? How many are there? / Are any found to be misshapen or damaged? Which have been (newly) purchased and restored? / Are images of Jesus Christ, the Blessed Mother, the apostles, the evangelists shown in a form not used by the church?)
[114] MANSI 35: 1530, "An anteaquam sint expositae prius ab episcopo benedictae & approbatae?"
(Have the images been approved and blessed by the bishop before being exposed?)

[115] ABGK 142:59:21, "Deissus y namiestne obrazy robota staroswiecka ale piękne y malowidło przystoyne."

which were intended to portray a more familiar, empathetic and human image of the divine. That said, images which failed to make its holy personalities instantly recognizable, portraying them as either indistinguishable from peasantry or wanting in demonstrating either a Greek-rite concept of holiness or status were subject to removal, to be replaced by those more in tune with the reforming activities of the episcopate.[116] As such, alongside time-honored icons of Christ Pantokrator or Theotokos Hodigitria, new types of images of Jesus, his Mother and saints began to appear, depicting in great detail dogmatic precepts of post-Tridentine Catholicism. These images, in turn, sought to build a new collective representation of these already familiar religious figures, employing them as actors in the re-enactment of church dogmas in an imagined biblical and apostolic past.

According to recent scholarship by Michał Janocha, Early Modern Ukrainian icon painting was fairly immune to confessional controversies. Furthermore, analyses of seventeenth century icons from the Ukrainian – Belarusian region do not lend themselves to determining an archetypal "Greek-rite Catholic icon." Janocha has further justified his premise by stating that the act of Union had not outlined any stylistic or iconographical criteria.[117] Instead, he has argued for a wider, more pan-European process of occidentalization of post-Byzantine art.[118] More recently, however, Janocha has qualified his research statements, by stating that certain

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[116] Віктор Мельник, *Сакральне мистецтво Галичини XV-XX століть: В експозиції Івано-Франкивского Художного Музею,* (Івано-Франкивск: Лілея-НВ, 2007), 67.

[117] Michał Janocha, "Wpływ Breskiej Unii kościelnej na refleksję o sztuce oraz ikonografię malarstwa cerkiewnego w XVII i XVIII wieku," in *Polska-Ukraina 1000 Lat Sąsiedztwa*, vol 5, ed. Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy w Przemyślu, 2000), 175.
Michał Janocha, *Ikony w Polsce od Średniowiecza do Współczesności*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Arkardy, 2008), 33. Earlier scholarship of Ukrainian-Belarusian iconography reflects this sentiment, including:
Waldemar Deluga, "Przemiany w ikonografii Kościoła greckokatolickiego w XVIII wieku," in *Czterechsetlecie zawarcia Unii Brzeskiej 1596-1996 : materiały sesji naukowej zorganizowanej w Toruniu w dniach 28-29 listopada 1996 r.*, eds. Stanisław Alexandrowicz, Tomasz Kempa, (Toruń : Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 1998), 147-55;
Romuald Biskupski, "Sztuka Kościoła prawosławnego i unickiego na terenie diecezji przemyskiej w XVII i w pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku," in *Polska-Ukraina 1000 Lat Sąsiedztwa*, vol 2, ed. Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy w Przemyślu, 1994), 351-69.

[118] Michał Janocha, "Niektóre aspekty ikonografii unickiej na terenie Rzeczypospolitej" in Śladami unii breskiej, eds., Radosław Dobrowolski, Mariusz Zemło, (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2010), 495.

features of seventeenth and eighteenth century iconography had a tendency to appear more frequently in Greek-rite Catholic, rather than in Orthodox religious images.[119] As such, Janocha claims, that even new images that originated in the late seventeenth century, like the Eucharistic Christ or Christ with a grapevine, were produced with little regard for confession and thus were not polemical in nature.[120]

When viewed alongside episcopal proclamations regarding the heightening Eucharistic sacrality, Janocha's statement regarding an absence of uniquely Uniate iconography can benefit from some qualification. The images depicting a Eucharistic Christ appear in the Przemyśl and L'viv eparchies in large numbers only in the eighteenth century. This appearance coincides with an episcopally ordered project of heightening the sacrality of the Eucharist, underway in some form since the late seventeenth century. As such, the absence of a polemical intent by the producers of these icons cannot immediately rule out their utilization as tools of instruction, or, to borrow from Bishop of L'viv Atanazy Szeptycki, "bringing ('the people') to knowledge in detail"

The interplay of images and sermons formed an important part of the clergy's project to instruct the faithful. Indeed, believers were trained to respond in certain ways to certain scenes.[121] Such deliberate instruction became available almost immediately after Przemyśl proclaimed union, as can be noted from Innocenty Winnicki's abovementioned 1694 exhortation to have the clergy read the Catechism to their faithful. For example, a line-by-line breakdown of the Creed offered an elaboration on the entire life of Christ, from birth, to crucifixion,

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[119] Michał Janocha, "Niektóre aspekty ikonografii unickiej na terenie Rzeczypospolitej" in Śladami unii breskiej, eds., Radosław Dobrowolski, Mariusz Zemło, (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2010), 510-43.

[120] Michał Janocha, "Wpływ Breskiej Unii kościelnej na refleksję o sztuce oraz ikonografię malarstwa cerkiewnego w XVII i XVIII wieku," in *Polska-Ukraina 1000 Lat Sąsiedztwa*, vol 5, ed. Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl, Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy w Przemyślu, 2000), 177.

[121] David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 169.

resurrection, ascension, to be finally seated at the right hand of the Father. A seemingly

ubiquitous church image, like the crucifixion, could similarly be utilized to prompt a very

deliberate and emotive response. For example, in the course of examining of the passage "He

was crucified under Pontius Pilate, he suffered and was buried,"[122] Winnicki sought to connect

the crucifixion with Christ's ordeal at the garden of Gethsemane:

> Q: Why (did Christ begin his suffering) in this garden or orchard?
> A: Because it was at an orchard that the illness and death of the first Adam had begun.
> With the second Adam, a healing began toward salvation and eternal life[123]

In this instance, the crucifixion was not just a portrayal of a dying Christ, it was an event

surrounded by and connected to other events: the fall of Adam at an orchard, Christ at an

orchard, the sickness and death of Adam, the healing offered by Christ as the new Adam. Most

importantly, it could immediately be recognized as an act of healing, inspiring the faithful toward

contemplation of religious rituals in connection with a sacred past.

This episcopal desire to foster a connection between existing rituals and events from

Christ's life is likewise visible in the new iconographical styles found throughout the Przemyśl

and L'viv eparchies. A case in point is an early eighteenth century ornate door to a ciborium

(tabernacle) from a former Greek-rite Catholic Church of St. Michael the Archangel in Brunary

(located 15 km south-west of Gorlice, at a far western end of the Przemyśl eparchy). [Image 4:6]

It portrays a Eucharistic Christ, placed within a chalice, visible only from the waist up,

displaying his wounds while bleeding from his wounds into the said vessel. He has his arms

folded in prayerful gesture, while hugging a cross to his chest. The image collapses several

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[122] Епископ Інокентій Винницкий, *Катихисіс або бароковий дȣшпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Перемиський видділ ОУП, 2007), ark. 16 verso, "РАСПѦТАЖЕ ЗАНЫ ПРИ Понстемъ пилатѣ: и страдавша, и погребненна?"

[123] Епископ Інокентій Винницкий, *Катихисіс або бароковий дȣшпастирський сад*, (Перемишль: Перемиський видділ ОУП, 2007), ark. 17 recto, "П: Чомȣ в огородѣ, албѡ в садѣ? Ѿ: ДлѦ тогѡ абы іакѡ в садȣ Г(а)лйскомъ зачаласѦ през першого Адама хороба, и смертъ такъ через дрȣгого новогѡ Адама за чалосѦ лѣкарство, кȣ поратовани живота вѣчногѡ."

events from Christ's life: the cup suggests the Last Supper, the bleeding wounds and the cross refer to the evens of the Passion. Christ's upright, almost triumphant posture, in addition to being emblazoned on the door to a tabernacle, suggests the resurrection. This synthesis likewise extended to the contemporaneous period. The bleeding Christ inside the vessel represented the Eucharistic Body and Blood, contained in one vessel and dispensed in both kinds in the Greek-rite Catholic Church. This motif found at Brunary finds reflection in Innocenty Winnicki's explanation of the Eucharist, as described in his Catechism:

> Q: When was this Sacrament (i.e., the Eucharist) established?
> A: During the mystery of the Last Supper, under the appearance of BREAD and WINE. For the commemoration of Christ's suffering, for our eternal salvation[124]

Due to an absence of thorough visitation records, it is impossible to determine what materials were used for lay instruction or preaching in early eighteenth century Brunary. That said, the existence of a diocesan Catechism combined with episcopal proclamations on its utilization as a basis for teaching and preaching allows for at least a partial reconstruction of parish level instruction that employed catechismal readings, sermons, and artwork as means of instruction.

According to Caroline Walker Bynum, images such as the one in Brunary were already present in medieval Western Europe: the fifteenth century "Angels Present the Man of Sorrows in a Chalice" from a Venetian manuscript is a notable example.[125] However, the utilization of comparable images in Early Modern Greek-rite Catholicism was considerably different from that of late medieval Western Europe. Nearly all were placed centrally in the church interior, either as part of the high altar, or a side altar. The Brunary tabernacle door aside, the most part, these

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[124] Епископ Інокентій Винницкий, *Катихисіс або бароковий дѹшпастирський садъ*, (Перемишль: Перемиський вид̇діл ОѴП, 2007), ark. 58 recto, "П. Коли постановленный е еой Сакраментъ. Ѿ. На тайной ѡстатней вечери. Под особами ХЛѢБА и ВИНА. На роспамѧтоване мѹкъ Х(ристо)вых, а на сп(а)с(е)нїе н(а)ше вѣчное."

[125] Caroline Walker Bynum, "Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the Fifteenth Century" in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Anne-Marie Bouche, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 210-2.

were larger images, ranging from a 100-120 cm in height, to 60-80 cm across. This suggests that in the relatively small rural churches (often no longer than 10 meters from entrance to high altar), they served as a retable, or the ornamental panel painting behind the actual altar. Considering these proportions of image size and depth of church interior, such paintings lent themselves to being effective instructional tools when utilized alongside catechismal readings and preaching.

Nearly all of the dozen or so images of the Eucharistic Christ housed at the Historical Museum in Sanok reflect the motifs found on the Brunary tabernacle door and those in Winnicki's catechismal description of the Eucharist. Barring a few slight differences, they match the Brunary image exactly. One such example is an eighteenth century image of a Eucharistic Christ from the now lost church of St. Michael the Archangel in Dołżyca (30 km south-west of Sanok). [Image 4.7] In it, a post-crucifixion Christ stands inside of the Eucharistic chalice, bleeding from his wounds into the Eucharistic vessel. Although no cross is present, the image collapses time in the same ways as the Brunary tabernacle door. The presence of the cup references the Last Supper. In a scene reminiscent of the crucifixion, Christ is flanked on the right by St. John the Apostle. Christ's eyes are cast down to the left, toward his suffering Mother, whose heart is being pierced by a sword, referencing a line from the Medieval Latin poem "Stabat Mater Dolorosa": "Her soul tormented, tearful and pained, has been pierced by a sword of sorrow" (*Cuius animam gementem / contristatam et dolentem / pertransivit gladius*). Christ's upright position alludes to the resurrection. In its sacramental interpretation, the icon portrays a Eucharistic Christ as in the Brunary image: the body and blood are both contained within the gilded chalice, reflecting the Oriental custom of the Eucharist being dispensed under both species from one common vessel. To highlight the veneration owed to the consecrated species, Christ is flanked by two figures whose arms are folded in a prayerful gesture.

Lastly, there is an inscription at the bottom of the image that, while worn and impossible to totally reconstruct, has one clearly discernible "Искȣпилъны" which translates to "saving," "salutary," or "redemptory." This scene, links divergent events from the past while bringing the redemptory Christ into the present in the form of the Eucharist, echoing Winnicki's reference to the Eucharist as a necessary component of salvation.

The other, much more plentiful type of Eucharistic Christ featured at the Historical Museum in Sanok, is Christ as the suffering Savior, the so-called Man of Sorrows, sometimes referred to in Polish scholarly materials as "Christ the True Vine."[126] These images always portray Christ seated on the altar, sometimes in the presence of angels or figures present at the crucifixion, such as the Virgin or St. John the Apostle. As demonstrated by Caroline Bynum Walker, images of Christ with a vine growing from his side had existed in the Medieval west.[127] Similar images, however, did not appear in Ruthenian churches until the second half of the seventeenth century, when they probably migrated into the region via print.[128] Once present in the region, these images differed considerably from those that had originated in west. For example, in Ruthenian iconography Christ was never portrayed in company of contemporary churchmen.

The earliest such image at the Historical Museum in Sanok comes from the late seventeenth century. [Image 4.8] Though its precise provenance remains unknown, the icon originated from the Przemyśl eparchy and was contemporaneous with the issuance of Innocenty Winnicki's Catechism. It synthesizes historical events from the Gospels in a manner similar to

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[126] "Chrystus Krzew Winny" See: Michał Janocha, *Ikony w Polsce od Średniowiecza do Współczesności*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Arkardy, 2008), 33.

[127] Caroline Walker Bynum, "Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the Fifteenth Century" in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Anne-Marie Bouche, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 215.

[128] Віктор Мельник, *Сакральне мистецтво Галичини XV-XX століть: В експозиції Івано-Франкивского Художного Музею*, (Івано-Франкивск: Лілея-НВ, 2007), 51.

the Brunary and the Dołżyca images. The cup besides Christ suggests the Last Supper. The *arma Christi* on the far right recall Christ's scourging. The cross in the center headlines the crucifixion. Christ sitting on a tomb-like structure alludes to the resurrection.

However, unlike the Brunary and Dołżyca portrayals, this image prominently displays a grape vine growing from Christ's side, which then wraps itself around the cross and forms a central portion of the background behind the sitting Christ. Foremost, it is a direct reference to John 15: 1, 4: "I am the true vine. (...) Dwell in me as I do in you," Christ's allegorical speech to the Apostles during Passover. Simultaneously, it also references the next event from the Gospel of John: Christ's passion at the Garden of Gethsemane. Combined, all the details contained in the image form an account of Christ's last days. Once again, like the collapsed histories in the Brunary and Dołżyca images, the "True Vine Christ" reflects a contemporary Greek-rite Catholic Eucharistic liturgy. The retable covered by a red cloth recalls an altar, on which the Body and Blood of Christ are placed to be received by the gathered faithful. In its final form, it reflects Winnicki abovementioned catechismal connection between the Passion at Gethsemane, the sacrifice of the crucifixion and the Eucharist.

The combined historical events from Christ's last days, combined with allegories of contemporary Greek-rite Catholic Eucharist found in the "True Vine Christ" lend themselves to Winnicki's exhortation to preach from the Catechism. Viewed in this context, the "True Vine Christ" image found reflection in Winnicki's Catechism as "an orchard (where) the illness and death of the first Adam had begun. With the second Adam, a healing began toward salvation and eternal life." Thus, whereas Adam once grasped the "fruit of knowledge" which brought him death, Christ grasps in his hands and offers eucharistically the fruit of life and salvation.

Together, images and priestly instruction were capable of rousing the imagination of the audience, while simultaneously constraining it.[129] This, in turn, allowed for a powerful, contemplative, yet channeled personal religious experience, in which a series of events from the Gospel found reflection in contemporary devotions, making them continuous with a sacred past.

Whereas the catechismal question and answer form was well suited to lay instruction with the aid of images, it also provided a starting point for preaching. At the midpoint of the eighteenth century, parish inventories begin to reveal the first printed books of sermons, alongside ubiquitous printed copies of the psalter, the Gospels and liturgical books.[130] These, however, tended to be located in wealthier urban churches, such as the Church of The Holy Trinity in Sudowa Wisznia, which, during a 1758 visitation boasted of a large folio volume of sermons by St. John Chrysostom.[131] Actual multi-volume collections of sermons, however, can usually be found at Basilian monasteries. For example, according to a 1766 inventory, the Werchrata Basilian Monastery contained a number of such books, including a four volume collection of sermons by the Jesuit Charles de La Rue.[132]

The archival materials from L'viv Stauropegial Institute (Львівський Ставропігійський Інститут) at the Central Ukrainian National Archives in L'viv[133] contain a large compilation of mid-to-late eighteenth century Greek-rite Catholic sermons. Judging by the meticulous handwriting, they appear to have been written by a single author in a series of folios of equal size, roughly 15 cm by 10 cm. The portable size suggests that they may have been used for

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[129] David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 169.

[130] For example: ABGK 142:58:6, "1756, Cerkiew łużańska (...) Xięgi rozne Ewangelia Apostoł służebnik Psałterz."
(1756, church in Łużany (?), various books: Gospel, liturgical book with Acts of the Apostles, Psalter.)

[131] ABGK 142:59:5, "Xięga Jana Złotoustego Mowy in folio duza."

[132] ABGK 142:59:5, "Xięgi Biblioteczne Łacińskie y Polskie Mona: Werchrat / Kazania X. Karola de la Rue (_) Tom...4, Kazań gospodarza...2, Ołtarz kazanie...1 , Kazanie in Folio bez komped...1 , Kazanie in Folio oprawne...1."

[133] CDIAL 129.

missionary activity, which was a frequent occupation of the Basilian Fathers. In addition to the actual sermons, the archive also contains a collection of what appear to be scrap pieces of paper. Though the author does not reveal his actual name, the scribbles in Polish and Latin further suggest that these were not composed by a parish priests, but by a well- educated Basilian. At first sight, these variously sized pages are filled with seemingly random sentences, doodles, unfinished prayers and first drafts of sermons. A closer look, however, reveals their value in outlining a creative process of contemplation that results in questions, prayers and ultimately, sermons.

The creative process found in these slips of paper begins with seemingly arbitrary sentences, such as: "Will I be humbled, oh Lord, by your most holy wounds and blood poured out for me?"[134] and, "How will I dare to come to Thee?"[135] and even, "Will I not sin again?"[136] No immediate answers are provided to these queries. For the Basilian Father that pondered and wrote down these questions, the intent was not merely to compile a multitude of answers, but employ then as contemplative guidelines in his own spiritual journey.

Sermons employed similar questions to those found in catechisms and the anonymous Basilian's scratch paper. For example, in relation to the Eucharist, it was hardly useful merely to ask the laity to ponder the Body and Blood of Christ. Instead, a framework constraining and channeling contemplative thought had to be erected:

> Do we Christians consume the true body and blood of Christ?
> Truly, we eat it and drink it.
> Do we consume the same body which has suffered for us and drink the same blood that was generously poured out for us?
> Truly, we eat the same flesh and drink the same blood

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[134] CDIAL 129:2:1524:2 recto, "Tua o Jesu sanctissima vulnera, et pretiosum sanguinem pro me effundum conculcabi?"
[135] CDIAL 129:2:1465:13 verso, "Sed quomodo audebo audere ad te?"
[136] CDIAL 129:2:1524:2 recto, "Iterum ne peccabo?"

Is it because of the consumption of this the body and blood of Christ that we shall have eternal life?
We shall[137]

The questions themselves reinforce specific ideas about the Eucharist. They are structured as such that they cannot help but to be answered in the affirmative. Completed sermons reveal the next step in the process of instructing the laity that goes well beyond an understanding of basic tenets of faith.

The question and answer formula lent itself to initiating a well-guided spiritual journey, in which basic religious knowledge was augmented by an imitation of a sacred past. For example, the "Sermon for the Feast of the Corpus Christi" begins with the familiar catechismal question-and-answer routine. Thereafter, however, it employs a much more open-ended style of questioning, much like the kind found in the clerical prayers, in which the listener is asked to imagine the miracle of Christ's arrival, "to walk among people of the world, as he once had."[138] This is no mere retelling of a story, as the listener is invited not only to welcome Christ, but to walk beside personalities of the Gospel times and participate in their salutatory actions in an imagined participation:

> Would you not come out to meet him with open arms and throw yourself at his feet with Lazarus' sister? Would you not throw your clothes and green branches at his feet with the pious Jerusalemites? Would you not anoint his feet with expensive oil, wash them with your tears and wipe them with your hair as the penitent Magdalene had?[139]

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[137] CDIAL 129:2:1483:10 recto, "Zeto my chrescianie pozywamy istotnie prawdziwe ciało, y prawdziwą krew piemy Chrystusową? Pożywamy y piemy. To samo ciało pozywamy, ktore dla nas tyle ucierpiało, tę samą krew piemy, ktore dla nas tak hoynie wylana była? to samo pożywamy, tę samą krew piemy. To dla tego pożwania ciała y krew chrystusowey będziemy mieli zywot wieczny? bądziemy."

[138] CDIAL 129:2:1483:11 verso, "Gdyby ci Chrystus ten cud uczynił człowiecze, żeby przed tobą oczywiście w osobie w iakiey niegdy obcował z ludzmi na swiecie."
(If Christ were grant you this miracle, and appear before you in person, just as he had to other people when he walked the earth.)

[139] CDIAL 129:2:1483:11 verso, "o iakbyś spiesznie z rozciągnionemi rękami niewyszedł przeciwko niemu, y nie rzuciłsię do nog iego z siostrą Łazarżową! o iakbys szaty twoie y zielone roszeski (?) nierzucał pod nogi iego z poboznemi Jerozolimitami! o iakbyś stopy iego niesmarował drogim oleykiem, łzami nie obmywał, y włosami głowy twoiey nie ocierał z pokutuiącą Magdaleną!"

Far from merely sharing the same sacred history as Christ and his contemporaries, the listener is asked to imagine a personal, tangible participation in that biblical past. Much as in the religious plays performed during Jesuit missions, a sermon encouraged affective participation from anyone among the rural laity to envision himself as physically interacting with Christ, through gestures, enactments of emotional expression and tangible contact in the imitation of biblical characters. The ultimate purpose of this internal recreation of a sacred past was not only to spiritually move the listener, nor merely to foster contemplation. All those steps were intended as spiritual preparation for the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist.

In a sermon intended for Palm Sunday, the preacher lays out an already familiar narrative of Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem. The listeners are encouraged to envision Christ entering the city in glory in order to reconcile with man, showing no sorrow over the agonies and death he is about to suffer. The enthusiastic crowds of citizens welcome him with triumphal gestures: some carry palm branches, others lay their clothes in front of him, even children at their mothers' breast give him praise, "all in a unified voice that terrifies the earth and stirring the air, piercing the heavens and filling the city."[140] Christ is seemingly welcomed by the Jerusalemites in a manner worthy of greeting the grandest and most important of guests. Yet this temporal fantasy is ended abruptly, as the preacher reminds the listeners of their own lack of preparedness, or welcome, for Christ. Whereas the welcome by the Jerusalemites made the elements tremble, "our own desire for reconciliation is duplicitous, our penance unconscientious, as it is cold and

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[140] CDIAL 129:2:1484:9 recto – 9 verso, "Patrzcie albowiem z iaką ochotą z iaką pilnością natę mękę y smierć swoią do Jerusalem wieżdza, że nie tylko sam ani na twarzy zadnego smutku, ani pokazuie; aleteż całe to miasto dopomagać sobie radości pobudził. Patrzcie, ale iedni z palmowemi go gałązkami otoczywszy między sobą prowadzą, drudzy tęż gałęzie pod nogi mu rzucaią, inni szaty swoie na drodze posyłaią, owi z takiemiż go tryumfalnemi znakami witaią, same nawet niemowlęta, y drobne dziatki, piersi macierzyńskich zażywaiące, chwałę mu oddaią, a wszyscy iednostaynym głosem, głosem przerazaiącym ziemię mieszaiącym powietrze, przenikaiącym niebo całe miasto napełniaią."

careless."[141] The contrast is clear: through an internal recreation of a sacred past, the listening

laity, who have just witnessed a grand welcome by passionate and devoted crowds, were now

made to reflect on their own seemingly deficient degree of hospitality and preparation for the

arrival of their (spiritual) lord.

A scene of lavish hospitality for a returning master had a real-life point of reference for

the listening audience. In the Commonwealth, gestures of welcoming such as the removal of

hats, kissing or genuflecting before a person of status, resonated as modes of interaction and

stood as symbols of respect between members of unequal social standing. As such, rustics

frequently kissed the hands of their lords. Nobles of higher status could even expect a gesture of

kowtowing at the feet from inferiors, making physical gestures in an otherwise internally

recreated sacred history particularly potent.[142]

In "A Lenten Sermon on Penance," the orator similarly stresses the need for preparation

for the arrival of Christ, which culminated in the reception of the Eucharist on Easter Sunday. In

this instance, however, instead of only focusing on the mechanics of an examination of

conscience leading up to Penance, he topically addresses the issue of remorse and contrition as

an external, physical exercise that reflects an internal state. The re-enactment of a sacred past in

this instance served as a lesson on contrition as an exercise that blurred the line between the

spiritual and the physical. To explain further: the preacher's definition of contrition is explained

in this introduction: "contrition, this being regret for sins, ought to be enkindled whilst reflecting

on the Lord God, with such intensity, that it surpasses all other sorrows."[143] It is to be, according

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[141] CDIAL 129:2:1484:9 verso, "Ah nasze poiednanie oboday bym skłamał, ale podobno obłudne, nasza pokuta nie szczera, bo niedbała, bo oziębła."

[142] Jan Stanisław Bystroń, *Dzieje Obyczajów w Dawnej Polsce* , vol 2, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1994), 157-8.

[143] CDIAL 129:2:1485:8 recto, "Co pierwszego skrucha to iest zal za grzechy, powinien być wzburzony z zaględem na P Boga, a w takim natęzeniu, aby przechodził wszystkie inne załości."

to the author, a sorrow like no other and a misfortune surpassing all others. The prospect of

personal damnation is scarcely mentioned in this context. Instead, the regret is described as a

reaction to a personal act of offence and ingratitude against God. The transgression is not one

compromising one's own interests; it is a failure of fidelity to one's master. Yet just as it may

appear that this preparation for Penance was intended to be a solely spiritual exercise of internal

grief and remorse, the author introduces yet another mention of the sacred past, in which the

audience is allowed to participate in the physical sorrows of figures from a sacred past:

> Let us look at David, as he lies in ashes and shows remorse before his God, and in the
> bitterness of heart recalls: 'When I reflected upon this, I poured out my soul: for days and
> nights I had tears as my daily bread.' Let us look at St. Peter, as he is deluged by shame
> and tears as he bitterly cries for his sins. Let us look at Magdalene, as she lies at the feet
> of our Savior Jesus Christ and covers them in tears.[144]

Envisioning this type of sacred history may have allowed the listener to imagine deep contrition

as not only an emotional, but also physical, corporeal action performed by biblical figures. This,

in turn, may have provided a concrete understanding of an abstract concept like penitential

contrition. In the same instance, the shedding of tears also fit a cultural norm in the

Commonwealth. By the eighteenth century, the display of shedding tears and falling at the feet

of one's lord demonstrated the pinnacle of the theatrical, in which this visible symptom of being

overwhelmed by emotion signified the ultimate sign of submission to the will of one's master.[145]

This type of personal re-imagination of a sacred past was by no means limited to the

imitation or comprehension of desirable behaviors. Indeed, by recalling mental images

cautionary stories from a sacred past, stress could be placed on discouraging conduct otherwise

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[144] CDIAL 129:2:1485:9 verso, "Patrzmy na Dawida az on leży w popiele y korzy się przed Bogiem swoim, y w gorszkości serca odzywa się: miałem sobie łzy swoie na chleb we dnie y w nocy, gdy natom wspomniał y wylałem w sobie duszę moią. Patrzmy na Piotra S. aż on wstydem y łzami oblewa, a gorszko za grzech swoy płacze. Patrzmy na Magdalenę, aż ona leży u nog zbawiciela Jesusa Xtusa, oblewa ie łzami."
[145] Jan Stanisław Bystroń, *Dzieje Obyczajów w Dawnej Polsce* , vol 2, (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1994), 156.

deemed blasphemous or sacrilegious, more specifically, the reception of the Eucharist outside of

a state of grace. Such counter-examples to pious actions can be found in a Sermon for Corpus

Christi, in which the orator employs three biblical figures, the Pharisee, sinful Magdalene, and

Zacchaeus in order to demonstrate his point:

> Dare not, oh prideful man, crawl to the altar of God with the vain Pharisee (...) until you
> change your life and mend your ways. Dare not, oh sinful Magdalene, still immersed in
> the ways of the world, come to Christ, until you tear your heart away from all corruptions
> and come to love Christ, otherwise you will kiss his feet with sacrilege. (...) Dare not
> (approach), you predatory exploiter, who has unjustly injured your neighbor, until you
> part company with Zacchaeus (...) you thief and brigand. [146]

In this interpretation of a biblical narrative, the orator has erected a mental barrier between the

sacred and profane. Previously described figures from a sacred past welcomed Christ as one

would a noble guest: with pomp, ceremony and respect. On the other hand, biblical anti-heroes,

especially those (still) in an unrepentant state, symbolized a profane, spiritually unreformed state.

Through a recreative process, the listener could imagine himself as either the embodiment of

these profane characters, or simply keeping company with them, if approaching Christ in a

spiritually compromised state. In the case of the sinful Magdalene, the disjunct between a

seemingly pious physical action and simultaneously profane spiritual state is particularly explicit.

When contrite, she "anoint[s] his feet with expensive oil, wash[es] them with tears and wipe[s]

them with hair]," while when "still immersed in the ways of the world," she ought not approach

him.

These elaborate spiritual exercises demonstrated perhaps the most articulate examples of

Early Modern Greek-rite Catholic adaptation of Tridentine insistence on "the purity of soul"

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[146] CDIAL 129:2:1483:12 recto -13 verso, "Nie waż się więc dumny człowiecze zuchwale liźć do ołtarza Bożego z
pyszny Faryzeuszem, abyś niebył znim do strasznego majestatu zawstydzony (...) Nieważ się zatopiona w swiecie
niewiasto grzesznico Magdaleno przystąpić do Chrystusa, aż puki nieoderwiesz serca twoiego od wszeliczney
marności, anie ukochasz chrystusa, bo swiętokradzko ucałuiesz nogi Jego (...)nieważ się drapieżny zdzierco, ktoryś
tyle pokrzywdził, y niesłusznie powydzirał bliźnim twoim, az poki nie oddzielisz z Zakaheuszem (...) ty okrutny
zbuyco y łotrze."

prior to part-taking in the Eucharist. As noted by Louis Chatellier, such exercises of internal re-

enactment exemplified a pressing invitation to participate in a ritualized reflection of an internal

reflection. At the same time, the very same exercise was potentially fraught with great anxieties,

providing a stern warning against any who dared to take that final ritualized step with anything

less than the highest state of spiritual purity.[147] Thus, whereas this internal recreation of a sacred

past along with its ritualized realization contained an impulse toward inclusive communal

participation, it likewise contained a caveat that had the potential to set apart.

Across the Przemyśl and L'viv eparchies, parish devotional life was disciplined to fit the

Greek-rite Catholic confessional ideal. The Orthodox "Holy Mystery" of the Body and Blood of

Christ was replaced by Early Modern Catholic Eucharistic devotions, highlighting the adoration

of a transubstantiated Christ, transformed before the eyes of the laity and revered as a sacred

object. In liturgical time, the Uniate faithful gathered in spaces reconfigured to visually highlight

the venerative importance of the consecrated species, called upon by the clergy to re-enact

scenes connecting the species with sacred histories. These subtle yet considerable changes to

space, imagery and devotional practice placed the Ruthenian Church on a path of divergence

from its onetime Orthodox coreligionists, intended to foster a distinct, confessionalized Uniate

community of believers.

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[147] Louis Chatellier, *The religion of the poor: Rural missions in Europe and the formation of modern Catholicism, c.1500 – c.1800*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 142.

Image 4.1: Orthodox Kyivan Metropolitan, Petro Mohyla (1632-1646), (mid-17th century), author unknown. Mohyla is dressed in liturgical vestments, including a *klobuk* headcovering with a jeweled golden cross, with an *omophorion* (the equivalent of a Latin pallium) clad over his shoulders, as befitting an archbishop of the Eastern Church. In his hand, he wields a *zezl'*, a pastoral staff typical of Eastern Churches, signifying his episcopal authority. The top right displays the Mohyla coat of arms, topped by an Oriental *mitra* (mitre).

Image 4.2: Greek-rite Catholic Bishop of L'viv, Atanazy Szeptycki (1715-1746),
(mid-18th century), author unknown, L'viv National Museum.
Szeptycki is portrayed in a *podriasnik*, or extra-liturgical garb. His head is covered with a
pileolus, a skullcap of late medieval western origins, used to signify episcopal honors.
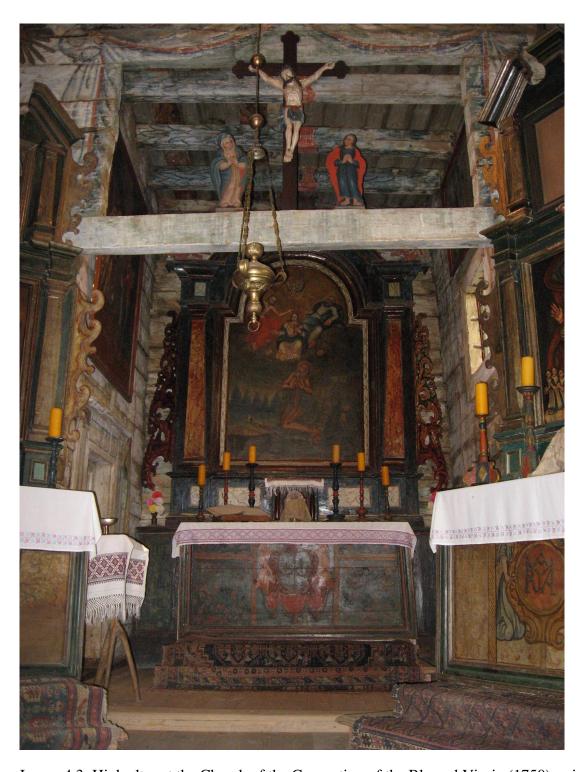
Image 4.3: High altar at the Church of the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin (1750), originally at Rosolin (Ustrzyki Dolne county), Museum of Folk Architecture, Przemyśl.
The interior demonstrates Latin influences, in which the traditional iconostasis has been replaced with a main high altar and two side altars. The high altar contains a *cyborium* (tabernacle), in front of which, a small metal *pyx* is visible. From the ceiling hangs a sanctuary lamp, usually illuminated to signify the presence of the Blessed Sacrament on the altar.

Image 4.4: Left side altar at the Church of the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin (1750), originally at Rosolin (Ustrzyki Dolne county), Museum of Folk Architecture, Przemyśl. The right side altar of the church interior, besides which is a *horugv*, a ceremonial banner depicting St. Nicholas in episcopal garb. The right wall also contains a painting of the *collator*, or the noble founder and patron of the church.

Image 4.5: Exterior of the Church of the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin (1750), originally at Rosolin (Ustrzyki Dolne county), Museum of Folk Architecture, Przemyśl. A small village church, architecturally typical of the Boyk mountaineer inhabited Subcarpathian region of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Image 4.6: Christ in a Eucharistic Chalice, tabernacle door, (early 18th century), Church of the St. Michael the Archangel, Brunary (Gorlice county). Christ with bleeding wounds is depicted in side of a chalice, providing a metaphor for Eastern Christian Eucharist, in which the consecrated bread and wine are dispensed from the same vessel.

Image 4.7: Eucharistic Christ, (18th century), Historical Museum in Sanok, originally at the Church of St, Michael the Archangel, Dołżyca (Sanok county). Christ with bleeding wounds is depicted in side of a chalice, providing a metaphor for Eastern Christian Eucharist, in which the consecrated bread and wine are dispensed from the same vessel. Additionally, Christ is flanked by two figures from the crucifixion, John the Apostle and the Blessed Virgin Mary, who are turned toward the chalice in a reverential posture.

Image 4.8: True Vine Christ, (late 17th century), Historical Museum in Sanok, provenance unknown. Christ, sitting on an altar, is depicted as a metaphor for the Blessed Sacrament: in his hands, he presses grapes from a vine growing out of his side into a chalice. As such, Christ himself represents the consecrated bread, while the contents of the cup represent the consecrated wine of the Eucharist.

CHAPTER 5: FRAMING THE MIRACULOUS:
GREEK-RITE CATHOLIC REORDERING OF POPULAR RELIGIOUS DEVOTIONS

Icons were central to venerative practices in Late Medieval and Early Modern Eastern Christianity, at the fore of religious processions, adorning church interiors and reverently hung in domestic spaces. Icons were intermediaries to the divine, a point of contact through which Christ, the Virgin Mary and holy saints blessed the faithful and the faithful communicated their devotion through symbolic visual representations. However, certain icons radiated with a sacrality far exceeding that of most ordinary religious images. These "miraculous icons" were attributed a divine power that could alter the regular course of nature: surviving fires, healing, bestowing military victories and shielding devotees from war, famine, pestilence and death. Transcending mere imagery, these icons were corporeally present in a way other images were not, possessing the ability to weep, bleed or even lactate. Generations of believers traveled to see, touch and spiritually interact with these miraculous icons.

However, as the process of Early Modern Greek-rite Catholic confessionalization grew apace in the eighteenth century, miraculous icons threatened to open a rift between two competing modes of worship; one popular, the other officially sanctioned by increasingly standardized ecclesiastical doctrine.[148] Predating confessional union, devotions to miraculous

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[148] Peter Burke expresses this duality by stating that "the godly" (i.e., clergy) were out to destroy the traditional familiarity with the sacred, because they believed that familiarity breeds irreverence."
Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1994), 212.

icons often functioned in a liminal space, attracting enormous crowds of devoted believers, while skirting direct ecclesiastical control and sanction. Yet, rather than eliminating the time-honored devotions to miraculous icons so much a part of Ruthenian Orthodox identity and faith, clerics instead sought to redefine their religious and historical meaning, situating them into a Greek-rite confessional landscape. Clerical elites recast the history of these icons into being the traditional protectors of the Greek-rite Catholic faith and Ruthenian populace. In so doing, existing devotions to these icons were utilized to reinforce Uniate identification among the laity. This chapter tracks modes through which sacred images and popular devotions became mediated by clerical authorities, particularly the Basilian Fathers, into a standardized and episcopally approved forms of devotion. More than merely subsumed into a church-sanctioned form of worship, the Basilians used miraculous icons to do confessionalizing work by transmitting religious ideas and fostering notions of religious community.

Icons communicated messages, meanings and narratives to a largely illiterate populace. As a destination for pilgrims from across the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, miraculous icons became a valuable platform through which clerical elites could disseminate their message en masse and not only reach remote corners of their respective dioceses, but touch distant faithful outside their immediate realm of influence and authority. The message touted by Ruthenian clerics was one of an imagined history of continuity, situating the Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic Church into an unbroken line of succession and inheritance from the Gospel times, Apostolic and Patristic pasts, all in a time when the Ruthenian Church's dramatic turn toward Papal Rome was still a relatively recent event. This historical narrative not only asserted legitimacy, but cultivated a sense of Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic community both temporally and

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As I will demonstrate, distanced, heightened as well as regularized modes of reverence will feature prominently in the clerical plan to reorder existing lay devotions to miraculous images.

geographically; believers from near and far shared a common journey of faith and a message which retroactively placed them into an imagined community of faith with Ruthenian believers of the past.

This chapter builds upon the work of historians such as Karen Carter, who extended conceptions of Tridentine reform onto the popular level by tracking catechization on the diocesan level.[149] "Framing the Miraculous" explores how projects of Tridentine reform and confessionalization functioned among the largely illiterate laity through imagery, where similar projects of conciliarly initiated devotion had failed to gain traction. Although officially sanctioned through a beatification process in 1643, the nascent cult of bishop and martyr Josaphat Kuntsevych never managed to make great inroads among the laity. Despite repeated promotion by the episcopate, perhaps most vociferously at the 1720 Synod of Zamość, there are virtually no examples of lay devotions to Blessed Josaphat, nor are there any contemporaneous accounts of parishes bearing his name. In the neighboring Chełm eparchy, Bishop Jakub Susza and the Basilians were heavily involved in the promotion of Josaphat's cult in mid-seventeenth century, yet as Andrzej Gil notes, this episcopally-promoted devotion gave way to the burgeoning Marian cult in the latter half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The result was a great flowering of devotions to miraculous icons in which the terms of venerative practices were under constant negotiation and contestation between laity and clergy.[150]

"THESE HOLY AND SAVING PRACTICES," THE BASILIAN FATHERS AND LAY DEVOTIONS

Eastern Christianity long venerated holy images, particularly those to which miraculous properties were ascribed. Frequently, these images escaped direct clerical control through a

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[149] Karen E. Carter, *Creating Catholics, Catechism and Primary Education in Early Modern France,* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011).

[150] Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół greckokatolicki w latach 1696-1764," in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 2, part 1, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 473.

lively lay following. Yet this manner of unstructured lay devotion was increasingly viewed as antithetical to post-Tridentine Catholic Reform, especially by the institutional clerical strata. The twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent charged bishops to maintain clerical control over the veneration of images explicitly directing them to, "root out utterly abuses that may have crept into these holy and saving practices, so that no representations of false doctrine should be set up, which give occasions of dangerous error to the unlettered."[151]

The inclusion of onetime Orthodox eparchies in an ecclesiastical union with Rome brought with it the problem of delineating between lay abuse and proper practice, simultaneously presenting an opportunity to differentiate Greek-rite Catholic practices from its Orthodox past. Yet despite the fact that the members of the episcopate envisioned themselves as the arbiters of divine manifestation, their actions could scarcely afford to be arbitrary. Such tensions frequently resulted in a negotiation of acceptable devotional practices between episcopal emissaries and lay devotees.

Implementation of Tridentine decrees required considerable caution in regions recently brought into confessional union. The hybrid Greek-rite straddled a line between Ruthenian traditions and Latin-rite Catholic doctrine, which necessitated ecclesiastical reform strike a careful balance between the maintenance of time-honored devotions and the introduction of, potentially alien, Uniate confessional "innovation. In the Przemyśl and L'viv eparchies, clerics implemented Tridentine ideals via two progressive changes. The first of these entailed an episcopally mandated transfer of control of these sacred images from the laity and the parish clergy to the elite Greek-rite Catholic religious order, namely, the Basilian Fathers. The

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[151] *Sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum, Additis Declarationibus Cardinalium Concilii Interpretum, ex ultima recognitione Joannis Gallemart, Et Citationibus Joannis Sotealli...,* (1781), Sessio XXV, De Invocatione, Veneratione, et Reliquiis Sanctorum, et Sacris Imaginibus, 579, "In has autem sanctas et salutares observationes si qui abusus irrepserint, eos prorsus aboleri sancta synodus vehementer cupit, ita ut nullae falsi dogmatis imagines et rudibus periculosi erroris occasionem praebentes, statuantur."

Basilians, in turn, attempted to shape the lay religious discourse that revolved around miraculous icons, portraying the changes in ritual practice as temporally consistent and continuous. By establishing control over these icons, Greek-rite Catholic Basilian Fathers were able to promote a standardized and confessionally consistent message of faith.

The origins of Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic Basilian monks reached back to the fourth century and the establishment of the order's rule by Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianzus. Around the tenth century, Byzantine and Bulgarian monks were invited to Kyivan Rus' by Volodimir the Great, which eventually resulted in their expansion throughout the region and the establishment of local, Ruthenian staffed monastic houses. On the eve of the Union of Brest in 1596, three monasteries (Bratslav, Minsk and Navahrudak) accepted the primacy of Rome. Yet it was not until the tenure of Metropolitan Józef Welamin Rutski that the Basilians changed from a traditional contemplative order to an active, "in the world," Tridentine-style order. Metropolitan Rutski, a onetime aspiring Jesuit himself, borrowed considerably from the Society of Jesus and the Discalced Carmelites when drawing up a new rule for the Basilian Fathers. In it, he placed particular emphasis on the need for monastic and priestly formation of Ruthenian youth looking to enter religious orders. Rutski believed that the academic facilities within the newly formed Greek-rite Catholic Church were insufficient for this purpose. While in Rome, he secured the resources for the education of 18 monks at Jesuit-fostered "pontifical" seminaries in Vilnius, Braniewo, Prague, Olomouc and Vienna, as well as the Collegium Graecum in Rome.[152]

These seminaries were vitally important to the proliferation of Tridentine ideals, as the candidates absorbed the latest trends in ecclesiastical thought from Rome and other centers of Catholic thought. Echoing the mission of the Society of Jesus, the active ministry of the Basilian

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[152] Maria Pidłypczak – Majerowicz, *Bazylianie w Koronie in a Litwie: Szkoły i Książki w Działalności Zakonu*, (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986), 16-7.

Fathers focused on schooling, printing and most importantly, missionary and pastoral work. The military invasions of the Commonwealth in the mid-seventeenth century put a temporary dent in these aspirations, resulting in a sharp decline in membership. Fewer than 200 Basilians were reported active in 1671.[153] However, the membership numbers rebounded quickly. By 1716 the Crown lands (i.e., the Commonwealth excluding Lithuania) included 674 monks and 122 monastic houses, which put the Basilians in fifth place among religious orders in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Perhaps more importantly, the bulk of this growth resulted from local Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic novices becoming Basilians, as opposed to the conversion of Orthodox monks. Since the second half of the eighteenth century, a large portion of Basilian monastic houses contained no more than two to four resident monks.[154] This large numeric scattering of monasteries with a low number of resident Basilians persisted until 1772, when absorption of Ruthenian lands into the Habsburg Empire and a simultaneous proclamation by Pope Benedict XIV began to favor a larger membership concentrated in fewer houses.[155]

Such evidence suggests that the pre-partition ratio of monks to monasteries allowed for a more flexible Basilian pastoral mission. A small number of monks could be quickly deployed to an area of particular popular devotion, with little more than an episcopal blessing behind it. This allowed Basilians to provide immediate pastoral intervention and care of souls. Indeed, the vast majority of these small monasteries were endowed with pastoral rights, while nearly all boasted

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[153] Maria Pidłypczak – Majerowicz, *Bazylianie w Koronie in a Litwie: Szkoły i Książki w Działalności Zakonu*, (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986), 19.

[154] Stanisław Litak, *Od Reformacji do Oświecenia: Kościół katolicki w Polsce nowożytnej*, (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1994), 184.

[155] Maria Pidłypczak – Majerowicz, *Bazylianie w Koronie in a Litwie: Szkoły i Książki w Działalności Zakonu*, (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986), 21-2.

of an episcopally approved preacher and a confessor.[156] These academically acquired abilities to

skillfully address crowds, move individual consciences and accommodate Tridentine precepts to

the particularities of local communities, are clearly visible in the available textual sources.

Thus, where Tridentine proclamations provided a top-down mandate regarding the

treatment of miraculous objects, the actual implementation demanded a locally adapted

interpretation of conciliar texts.[157] This study provides an even more complex, multi-layered,

and often ad-hoc local application. The Basilian Fathers, who frequently served as the

episcopally assigned caretakers of the sacred objects, provided their own intermediary

interpretation of seemingly rigid and dogmatic conciliar texts. The Basilians wrote histories for

each miraculous icon intended to be conveyed to the laity, sacralizing the local community as

well as all faithful who sought out the image for its miraculous properties by silencing a

potentially profane pre-union past.   The Basilians further adapted these "sacred histories," to fit

within the existing framework of lay piety. The creation of sacred histories for particular sacred

objects eased the potential for conflict between high clerical proclamations and established lay

religious practices. Likewise, the ritually-oriented dissemination of these sacred histories took

place in a clerically determined space and time, thus ensuring that lay interaction with the

miraculous image would inevitably be contained within a clerical devotional framework.

"THAT NOTHING MAY APPEAR PROFANE" OR ASCENDING SACRALITIES OF MIRACULOUS IMAGES

This chapter particularly draws upon a collection of manuscripts containing the sacred

histories of miraculous icons in the Przemyśl and L'viv eparchies. These include miraculous

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[156] Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.," in *Kościół w Polsce: wiek XVI-XVIII,* ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969), 1008-9.
[157] Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence* , (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 485.

icons at Hoszów (Гошів), Werchrata, Wicyń (Смерéківка) and Zarwanica (Зарваниця). The documents consist of a chronological list of events which provide an account of the first miracles of an icon, its discovery by lay devotees, as well as the intervening clerical validation process. The Basilian Fathers were the direct authors of Hoszów, Werchrata and Wicyń histories, while maintaining a partial involvement in the compilation of Zarwanica inquisition testimonies.[158] As such, the Basilian Fathers almost always played the role of on-the-ground intermediaries between the standardized church practice and popular devotions. The Basilians elaborated upon the dictates issued by synodal proclamations and pastoral letters regarding lay participation in such practices as auricular confession and periodic communion, through the writing of these sacred histories of icons. By incorporating seemingly novel practices into a historical context and affirming them through existing lay devotions to these miraculous images, the Basilians inculcated knowledge of these practices while rendering them both continuous and legitimate.

The prayers, hymns and devotional prescriptions that usually figure at the bottom of the documents, offer important descriptions of the methods in which these sacred histories were processed and expounded in order to render them comprehendible to lay devotees. As such, the handwritten text acted as a starting point for aural and ceremonial transmission of a sacred history that escaped strict literalism. Other ancillary documents used include conciliar and synodal proclamations as well as inventories compiled during visitations. The former, in particular, provided the framework the intermediary Basilians adapted to suit the situation at hand. The latter, in turn, painted the landscape into which the miraculous image is situated, from the ornate altars that encased them, to the votives that surrounded them.

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[158] The Zarwanica icon of the Crucified Christ was the only image included in this study not to have ultimately ended up at a Basilian monastery. This may have resulted from the fact that the original wooden church in Zarwanica suffered a fire sometime in the 1750s, during which the miraculous icon was lost.

The sacrality of an icon was entirely contingent upon the judgments of those around them.[159] These judgments entailed a personal as well as collective investment on the part of the laity. The ability of a miraculous image to attract and maintain large numbers of ardent believers reflected its perceived level of sacrality. Sufficiently large numbers of lay devotees, in turn, attracted the attention of trained clergy, who moved to regularize these extra-ecclesial practices of popular religious expression into sanctioned forms of devotion.

For the purpose of differentiating between objects and loci of elevated sacrality, such as consecrated church spaces, altars, cemeteries or moving processions, and those of exceptional sacrality, such as relics or miraculous images, I have adopted Mircea Eliade's term "hierophany." Eliade defines moments of hierophany as "breakthroughs of the sacred (or the supernatural) into the world."[160] For the purpose of this chapter, I employ the term in relation to otherwise inanimate objects displaying physical symptoms due to their perceived connection to the divine. As such, the tears, blood or other effluvia emanating from these images, had the ability to affect the beliefs and emotions of those people who interacted with them. Such perceptions of hierophany did not merely have an impact on those who had immediate contact with the said sacred objects. It likewise could result in a range of anxieties from distant authorities, whose role it was to regulate behaviors, customs and morals.

A high enough level of lay-perceived hierophanic sacrality in a given sacred object precluded any possibility of outright clerical banning or outlawing of the resulting devotions. However, in the Confessional Age, clerical nonintervention in intense lay devotions was not only disapproved, but outright condemned. In addressing these incidents of spontaneous lay fervor, The Council of Trent proclaimed:

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[159] Andre Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious beliefs and devotional practices*, (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), x.
[160] Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality*, (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1966), 6.

> Let no diligence and care be so great, that it is not employed by the bishops so that nothing disorderly, inappropriately or hastily arranged, that nothing appear profane or contemptible, so that the house of God may be decorated with sanctity.[161]

Such proclamations did little to dampen lay enthusiasm for miraculous sites. Marc E. Forster's study in Early Modern southwest Germany found that, "from the late seventeenth century onward, all shrines owed their existence to popular enthusiasm."[162] The existing accounts of Greek-rite Catholic shrines at Hoszów, Werchrata, Wicyń and Zarwanica all suggest the same lay-inspired origins. That said, clerical anxieties toward such spontaneous devotions almost always resulted in some degree of formal regulation, whether through an official approval process, the appointment of "directors" or a diversion toward other, more acceptable devotional outlets.[163]

Devotions to miraculous images tended to have two general points of origin in Early Modern Greek-rite Catholicism. Like any sacred object, an image could develop a reputation for miracle working once ascribed with such abilities by the laity. In its most nascent stage, this usually occurred in a small, often intense local circle of lay devotees. Victor Turner hinted to this phase as "spontaneous, ludic, and even anarchic."[164] These lay activities often attracted the attention of the local clergyman, who, either through personal intervention or lay demand for spiritual services, became a mediator between the mass of devotees and their concept of the divine. Secondly, whenever this local devotion became established, the hierophanic reputation

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[161] *Sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum, Additis Declarationibus Cardinalium Concilii Interpretum, ex ultima recognitione Joannis Gallemart, Et Citationibus Joannis Sotealli...,* (1781), Sessio XXV, De Invocatione, Veneratione, et Reliquiis Sanctorum, et Sacris Imaginibus, 580, "Postremo, tanta circa haec diligentia et cura ab episcopis adhibeatur, ut nihil inordinatum aut praepostere et tumultuarie accomodatum, nihil profanum nihilque inhonestum appareat, cum domum Dei deceat sanctitudo."

[162] Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550-1750,* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 93.

[163] Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550-1750,* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 91-7.

[164] Victor Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 37.

of the image was capable of attracting devotees from outside the immediate local area. It must

be stressed, however, that external pilgrimage did not develop without the establishment of a

locally based cult that tied the miraculous image to a particular space and community of

believers.

In "The Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture," Victor Turner defined the

foundation of pilgrimage as marked by visions, miracles or martyrdoms. He further explained

the nascent social setting of pilgrimage as revolving around devotees who arrived "haphazardly,

individually and intermittently, with fresh and spontaneous devotion." In time, this disorder

increasingly gave way to "progressive routinization and institutionalization," as pilgrims arrived

in organized groups, on predetermined days that corresponded to a predictable sacral

temporality.[165] This study of Early Modern Greek-rite Catholic lay religiosity will provide an

important nuance to Turner's treatment of lay devotions and the clerical involvement that

followed. Indeed, I will demonstrate that frequently this supposedly predictable temporality not

only looked to the future, but also to the past. Indeed, this retrospective approach involved the

creation of a new sacred past that not only legitimated the miraculous nature of the image itself,

but also the role of the professional caretakers surrounding it, fostering an emotional Greek-rite

Catholic community of faith.

"FRESH AND SPONTANEOUS DEVOTION" IN THE PRZEMYŚL AND L'VIV EPARCHIES

The various testimonies and records from the L'viv and Przemyśl eparchies strongly

suggest that lay devotions in their most nascent, unregulated mode effectively preceded any

pilgrimage from outside the immediate parish. Indeed, in the early phase of their reputation as

miracle makers, sacred images first drew the attention of the local community, long before being

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[165] Victor Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 25.

able to attract pilgrims from distant places. These devotions presented themselves in the form of prayers, pleas for intercession or protection, or more simply still, general expressions of awe. Thus, these devotions served as the first indications of the purported miraculous capacity of the images. In their ability to attract people, these sacred images initially elicited little more than pious attendance.

The "History the Blessed Virgin Mary of Wicyń," provides one such example. In the mid-seventeenth century, the icon's reputation for miracles began during the political disarray and violence of the Khmelnytsky revolt and the so-called period of "The Deluge." [166] According to the text, the village of Wicyń bore the brunt of this disorder, as peasants were dispersed into area caves, along with their animals and their meager possessions. The icon itself was located in a chapel or a church that had been abandoned in haste. The weeping of the image, lasting three months, reportedly began during this upheaval. The Basilian author of the "History" remained, perhaps intentionally, mute regarding whom was the first to discover this seemingly supernatural activity, however, he highlighted the importance of the icon in the return to safety and stability to the community:

> When Bohdan Khmelnytsky died in 1659 and the Swedish King, Charles Gustavus in 1660, the people breathed a sigh of relief and returned to their place of calling. Once there, they began to attend to the Image of the Mother of God, their protectress, which rested in the abovementioned chapel. [167]

The untimely death of Khmelnytsky in 1659 and Charles Gustavus a year thereafter provided the critical point in the development of a local devotion, as lay peasants began to return to the village and the icon they saw as their physical protector.

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[166] For information on the Khmelnytsky uprising and "The Deluge" please refer to Chapter 3 of this work, "The Apostolic Imprint."

[167] CDIAL 684:(1):1201:3, "Bogdan Chmielnicki Roku 1659 zaś Karol Gustaw król Szwedzki Roku 1660 po umierali odetchneli nieco ludzie i iako do dosnów swoich powracali się tak i do Obrazu Matki Bożey a Opiekunki swoiej w owej Kaplicy wyzey pomienioney uczęszczać poczeli."

The "Examination of Witnesses to the Image of the Savior at Zarwanica" offers a more detailed account of nascent lay devotions to a miraculous image. A field hand named Stefan Dołhan testified that he found the image in a field by the side of a road, which he promptly took to his dwelling:

> Having carted it to my house, I placed it on a bench under a window. I proceeded to open the little doors (of the icon?). Having found out about this, the people along with the Governor of Zarwanica, surnamed Barciszewski, flocked to my house. The Governor wanted to take the icon for himself, to keep at his residence. In exchange he offered me a thaler or an eighth of rye for sowing. To this I answered that God ought not be sold and that I'd rather carry it to the church, which I proceeded to do. When the church bells began to ring for vespers, I took it there at once and placed it on this little stool.[168]

Far from being clerically prompted, Dołhan took his own initiative with the image, taking it to church while attending vespers and placing it in a place he saw fit. At this point, Dołhan undoubtedly understood that the icon was sacred by nothing more than its virtue of being a religious image. However, this was to differ greatly from the hierophanic sacrality to which the object became associated shortly thereafter.

On the following day, a woman named Anna Szkolna reported that "when she had gazed deeply into this image, she saw five drops flowing from both breasts."[169] Szkolna then alerted the priest and all the gathered laity inside the church. This may have marked a heightened degree of attention for the image, but according to the witness' testimony, "we were still not terribly concerned, thinking the image had sweated."[170] When the weeping continued, the image

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[168] CDIAL 408:911:44, "prywiozszy go do Domu Swego postawiłem go na ławiepod Oknem Dzwiczki otworzywszy oczym dowiedziawszy się ludzie y Gubernator Zarwaniecki de Cognomine Barciszewski zbiegli się tumultem do Izby moiey ktorem Gubernator chciał ten Obraz wziąć do siebie do Dworu y dawał mi za niego albo taler bity albo Osmiaczkę zyta na nasienie ktoremu ia odpowiedziałem ze Boga się nieprzedaie, wole zanieść go do Cerkwi, iakim y uczynił, bo gdy zadzwoniono w Cerkwi na nieszpor zarazem go odniesł y postawiłem go w Cerkwi na tym stołku."

[169] CDIAL 408:911:44, "gdy sie wpatrzyła w ten Obraz zobaczyła pięć kropel z oboch piersi wypływaiące."

[170] CDIAL 408:911:44-5, "Obwieściła zaraz kapłanowi y innych Cerkwi przytomnym, co my widząc nie bardzośmy to apprehendowali. bośmy rozumieli ze Obraz spotniał, y tak Obraz zostawiwszy na tymze mieyscu z Cerkwi wyszliśmy."

was moved into the inner sanctum and placed on the *zhertvennik*, a side table where the still

unconsecrated bread and wine usually rested. At this time, two healing miracles of local laity

were said to take place. The first miracle involved a local peasant named Łesiek:

> There, after some time, during the Feast of the Holy Maccabees, when we were due to walk with a procession to a spring for the Blessing of the Waters, a man from Zarwanica by the name of Łesiek was carried into the church on a swath of cloth. He had been ill for more than twelve weeks, his legs making him unable to walk. He was laid out in the church and left there while we went out with the procession. As we were coming back, we see the said man, far away from the church, walking toward us, supporting himself with a cane. We were greatly surprised and proceeded to ask him what had happened that in such a short time he felt up to walking. He responded that the grace of the Son of God had caused this, for when I offered myself to the image, I tried to move one leg, then another. I was then able to sit up and rise up and walk. [171]

Thereafter, the previously mentioned Zarwanica Gubernator Barciszewski, stricken by a sharp

pain in the neck, his face so "distorted that he was unable to speak," was brought into the church

and seated directly in front of the image. Instantly, his "neck and face began to return to their

former place," his illness was alleviated and he "returned to his old self."[172] The testimonies say

nothing about the intercession or even the mere presence of a parish priest who could moderate

these events. In the case of Łesiek, the parishioners, presumably led in procession by the parish

priest, left the afflicted peasant all alone in the church interior. Throughout his testimony, Stefan

Dołhan did not feel it necessary to so much as mention the presence of a parish priest.

(She immediately announced this to the priests and all others present in the church. Having seen this, we were unable to grasp the situation, for we thought that the icon had "sweated." And so, having left the icon in that place in the Church, we departed.)

[171] CDIAL 48:911:45-6, "Tandem po niektórym czasie na Swięta SS.Machabeorum gdyśmy mieli puść z Processyą na Swięcenie Wody do krynicy, wniesiono do Cerkwi na płachcie człeka Zarwaniciego Imieniem Łeśka więcej jak niedziel dwanaście na nogi Swoie niechodzącego y położono go w Cerkwi, my tym czasem poszli na Processyą a on się lezący został w Cerkwi, powracmy nazad az widzimy wszyscy ze ten człek o Swoiey Sile przeciwko nas idzie podpieraiąc się laską opodal iuż do Cerkwi na Strzelnie w łuku, zdziwiliśmy się wszyscy, y gdyśmy go pytali, coby sie znim stało ze tak w wprędkim czasie poczoł chodzić odpowiedział ze łaska Syna Bozego to sprawiła do ktorego Obrazu ofiarowałem się, y gdy nasamprzod probowałem iedney nogi przeciągnołem potym drugiey y siadłem, a daley podnioszszy się idę."

[172] CDIAL 48:911:46, "Widziałem y to na Swoie oczy ze wkrotce potym ze Pana Barciszewskiego Gubernatora na tenczas Zarwanickiego okrotnie zbolałego, tak ze mu kark zkręciło y gębę wykrzywiło ze mowić niemogł wniesionego do Cerkwi y posadzonego przed Obrazem Pana Jezusa, któremu zaraz w Cerkwi mowa przywrucena gęba y kark na Swoie mieysce przychodzić poczęły, a potym wkrótce do siebie przyszedł."

Once having been found weeping, the Zarwanica icon appeared to have attracted a core group of lay devotees, who in an almost unfettered manner controlled the discourse regarding the sacrality of the icon. These devotees apparently were convinced enough of the hierophany of the icon, that they brought "Łesiek the cripple" into the church space in hope of a cure, leaving him there unattended. Likewise, Gubernator Barciszewski, already familiar with the image from the time it was found in the field, was carried into the church in hopes of a miraculous remedying of his suffering. The afflicted were said to be in the presence of the miraculous icon, yet they remained the only witnesses of the hierophanic object's apparent ability to heal.

After these healings, the hierophanic quality the icon was such that it was moved from the zhertvennik to the high altar. There, it continued to let forth its effluvia, thoroughly wetting the altar cloth. We are not told whether this was at the request of the laity or through the initiative of the parish priest. Was the usual liturgical cycle interrupted by this move or are we to assume that Divine Liturgy was conducted as usual during this apparent watery interruption of the high altar space? Alas, the testimony provides no additional clues. For practical purposes, a bronze tub was eventually installed underneath the weeping image to collect the "tears."[173] As the metal became stained by the effluvia, the tub effectively became evidence of the icon's hierophany.

Simultaneously, it served to demonstrate how little control the parish clergy had over the Zarwanica image. According to testimony, the bronze tub was displaced due to its seizure by the laity. Stefan Dołhan, the same man who had originally found the icon in the field, used it for the

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(I saw with my own eyes how thereafter Lord Governor Barciszewski of Zarwanice suffered in great pain. His neck had been twisted, while his face became so distorted that he was unable to speak. At once he was carried in to the church and seated in front of the icon of the Lord Jesus. Immediately his speech was restored, his neck and face began to return to their former place. Shortly thereafter, he returned to his old self.)

[173] CDIAL 408:911:46, "y tak do miseczki przyschli ze zadnym sposobem ani odmyć ani od skrobać one nie mozna było." (and in this way, they had dried to the bottom of the little bowl and there was no way to either wash or scrape them off.)

purpose of collecting alms for the construction of a new church. Dołhan then confessed that he had, "taken the dish, collected alms for the church, but knew not where it had been misplaced."[174] Not only had a layman trespassed into the sacred space at the foot of the altar, into which no one outside holy orders was allowed, he also claimed the very evidence of the hierophanic sacrality of the image as his very own. His seemingly unauthorized fundraising efforts, frequently the stuff of episcopal condemnations during visitations, further demonstrated the inability of the parish clergy to control spontaneous lay devotions.

"A HYMN TO THE IMAGE," THE SEIZING OF A SACRED HISTORY

Of perhaps larger concern to the clerical authorities, was Stefan Dołhan's acquisition of the bronze effluvia collector and his collection of alms for the icon's new sanctuary. A piece of metal, allegedly stained by the tears of a miraculous icon became a tangible, corporeal piece of evidence in establishing the temporality of this particular manifestation of the divine. Contested claims to such tangible objects of high sacrality could threaten to erupt in deeper rifts over ecclesiastical order and authority, especially as the number of non-local devotees and pilgrims rose in numbers. Additionally, there is evidence that icons which had acquired a reputation for miracles, yet did not possess a written sacred history, were much more likely to be removed or outright stolen by a rival claimant.

One such incident, reported to the ecclesiastical court in Przemyśl, was the theft of an allegedly miraculous icon from a Greek-rite church in Korczyn by a certain Father Rafał Bąkowski, the "guardian" of a Franciscan monastery. Ironically, the testimony provided a cautionary tale reflected in just about every episcopal letter warning against the evils clerical

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[174] CDIAL 408:911:46-7, "Fertur aliunde ze stą miseczką Inwentor Obrazu na Cerkiew questował y niewiedzieć, gdzie ią podział."

intoxication. Father Bąkowski, "having maliciously plied His Grace the Pastor of Zarwanica

with drink, tricked him into signing a document which made it look like the icon had been

relinquished willingly."[175] The item was henceforth carried off to Stryi to adorn the interior of

the priory, in order to "make that place miraculous."[176] According to the court statement, Father

Bąkowski's theft entailed intent and very deliberate planning:

> Since His Grace Father Guardian had arrived in Stryj, he had devised all sorts of means
> to obtain the said miraculous image, and this he set out to do. He began to knock down
> the walls around the Crucified Lord Jesus, desiring to make that place miraculous.
> Shortly thereafter, he set out for Korczyn, wherefrom he lifted the Image of the Mother of
> God, which had been hanging in the church for years, and brought it to his residence.
> This he did without the knowledge or presence of the parish priest.[177]

Having removed it under the auspices of a ritualized "translatio," the Franciscan friars proceeded

to write their own historical narrative of the stolen icon.[178] This construction of a new historical

continuity for the miraculous image entailed the creation of a narrative that was both widely

distributed and easily learned, even by the illiterate:

> His Grace Father Guardian had composed a hymn about the said image, whereupon he
> gave it out for the (common) people and the nobility to sing. (...) he encouraged priests of
> various (Greek-rite) churches to come and bring company along. This he did with the
> intention of using other people to spread the news that he was in possession of the
> Miraculous Image.[179]

Given the publicity campaign that was unfurled shortly after its acquisition, Father Bąkowski and

his Franciscan brethren were clearly aware that once their story of the icon's origins had become

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[175] ABGK 142: 130: 16, "Iako JX Gwardyan podstępnie podpoiwszy znacznie J.M. Parocha Korczyńskiego, przywiadł do podpisu gotowego kryptu (?), jakoby obraz dobrowolnie wydał z Cerkwi swoiey."
[176] ABGK 142: 130: 16, "chcąc to zrobic cudownym."

[177] ABGK 142: 130: 16, "Iako JMI Xsiądz Gwardyan nastawszy do Stryja starał się wszelkimi sposobami o iakowy obraz cudowny, iakoz zaraz poczoł robic y mury wybijać koło Pana Jezusa Ukrzyżowanego chcąc to zrobic cudownym, a potym w któtkim czasie udał się do Korczyna y tam Obraz Marki Boskiey w cerkwi kilka lat będący bez wiadomości i bytności Parocha z cerkwi wznowszy (?) do siebie przywiózł."
[178] Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: The Theft of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 15.
[179] ABGK 142:130:17, "JX Gwardion Pieśń o tymże obrazie skomponowawszy rozdał ludziom i państwu zgromadzonemu do śpiewania (...) namawiał rożnych kapanów po cerkwiach ażeby z kompanią przychodzili aby tym sposobem mógł rozsławic przez ludzi że ma Obraz Cudowny."

normative, the message would be spread by word-of-mouth beyond the immediate locality. News of possession of such a powerful sacred object meant throngs of visiting pilgrims, an elevated spiritual and social prestige, to say nothing of the augmentation of the friars' purses. The kinds of market forces discussed by Patrick Geary regarding medieval relics, in which the demand for miraculous objects outstripped the supply, were certainly at work in this instance.[180] By composing sacred histories, which became accessible to the lowliest illiteratus through hymns and recited prayers, the Franciscans were building a collection of memories that would persist long after the icon itself ceased to perform miracles.[181]

Just as the possession of a miraculous image had the potential elevate the prestige of an ecclesiastical locality, it likewise had the power to destroy it. While looking at ecclesiastical court testimonies, the abstruse language can sometimes make difficult the disentangling of worldly from the spiritual considerations. In his complaint to the ecclesiastical court, the wronged Greek-rite parish priest complained that due to the theft, his parish "had since collapsed."[182] Was this a charge of the physical collapse of the church due to lack of funds, or was it a thinly veiled accusation of wanton poaching of Greek-rite souls by overzealous Latin-rite Franciscans, who had come to possess a spiritually powerful object? Was the frustration of the wronged Greek-rite parish priest shared by his flock? The sources are inconclusive.

Such an account, nevertheless, provided a cautionary tale regarding the Latin-rite appetite for Greek-rite icons. After all, the most famous *furta sacra* in the region was the 1382 removal of the Blessed Virgin of Bełz by Władysław Opolczyk. Today, the icon is known as the Black Madonna of Częstochowa, attracting throngs of pilgrims from around the world, most of whom

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[180] Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: The Theft of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 38.
[181] Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: The Theft of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 32.
[182] ABGK 142:130:11, "cerkiew podupadła."

are scarcely aware of its eastern origins. The current site of veneration is firmly anchored in a discourse of historical immovability, having "survived" at Częstochowa through an incident of Hussite vandalism, a Swedish siege,[183] a century of Tsarist Russian rule, a Nazi German occupation and cultural looting, as well as forty-plus years of "godless" communism. In this respect, the Częstochowa icon stands as the quintessential example of a successful creation of a sacred history.

"WASHING WITH HOLY WATER," NASCENT PRIESTLY INTERVENTION

Sacred histories and *inquisitiones* demonstrate that seemingly unregulated lay practices eventually gravitated toward increased clerical participation, if not outright tightening of ecclesiastical control over the miraculous images. Once the hierophanic reputation of the Zarwanica icon had begun to attract external pilgrims, clerical intervention rose accordingly. This rise in prestige did more than merely attract devotees of a more diverse geographical origin; increasingly, it included lay pilgrims of a varied social status and confessional rite. As such, the patterns of Early Modern Greek-rite Catholic devotions to sacred images demonstrated that pilgrimage was symptomatic of a much later, more developed form of devotion. The arrival of laity from outside of the parish bounds coincided with devotions to the image becoming clerically channeled and regulated through the inclusion of ritual. Whether through lay demand or clerical will, this regulation involved, at the very least, a clerical presence during lay interaction with the icon. For example, Jan Kussicki, who arrived within a year's time of the icon's discovery, was also the first Latin-rite pilgrim. Employed as an administrator at a nearby

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[183] A period example of a sacred history of the Częstochowa icon is Father Augustyn Kordecki's 1655 "Diary of the Częstochowa Siege." It devotes all of four sentences to the icon's origins, followed by a lengthy account its miraculous role in the Częstochowa Pauline monastery's survival during the 1655 Swedish siege. See: Augustyn Kordecki, *Pamiętnik Oblężenia Częstochowy 1655 r. Ks. Augustyna Kordeckiego z ilustracyami*, (Warszawa: Drukarnia A.T. Jezierskiego, 1900).

manor, thus testifying to his status as a petty nobleman, he was brought to Zarwanica by his family. In his statement, Kussicki claimed that just prior to being cured, he faintly heard the voice of Father Biliński speaking over him, thus providing an important clue regarding clerical presence, if not intercession, in the supposed miracle.

Later testimonies mentioned clerically conducted rituals more explicitly. The nobleman Woyciech Awgustyn Szumiłowski Łada testified that his young daughter Katarzyna was cured while attending Divine Liturgy in Zarwanica. Another nobleman, Gabriel Gniewosz, reported that his daughter Małgorzata was cured when the priest took his *purificator*, pressed it to the image, moistened it with holy water and then applied it to the point of affliction. Maria Ducka, who suffered from a paralyzed arm, described a similar instance of ad-hoc priestly intervention:

> My left hand had been so afflicted, that for four Sundays I was unable to hold a thing. Having gone to the Crucified Christ at the Zarwanica church (...) my hand was washed in holy water. Immediately I was able to move it and have remained healed for three days now.[184]

Still later testimonies described an increasingly standardized way of clerical mediation between the lay devotee and the sacred object: pilgrims offered their intentions through a Divine Liturgy, which often included a clerical blessing of holy water over the head of the afflicted, after which the cure would follow.

"FROM AN OLD CHURCH TO A NEW CHURCH," LAY NEGOTIATION OF IMAGE TRANSLATION

In order to establish greater control over the physical space as well as the lay discourse around a supposedly miraculous icon, it was not unusual for clergy to arrange for a translation of the image from one venue to another. As in the case of Stefan Dołhan, the laity were willing

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[184] CDIAL 408:911:50-1, "na rękę prawą tak byłam zachorzała, tak że na nią przez Niedziel 4 władnąc niemogłam, a udawszy się do Ukrzyżowanego Jezusa do Cerkwi Zarwanickiey, (...) y tam obmywszy chorą rękę wodą Swięconą zaraz rękę tąż władnąć poczełam, y do Trzech dni zdrową została."

accomplices, if not determining factors, in securing what was perceived as the most fitting venue for the icon. The Zarwanica image of the crucified Christ was effectively relocated from "an old church" to "a new church" shortly after a critical mass of locals became regular devotees.[185] Indeed, all external pilgrims to the Zarwanica icon were said to have visited the new church, suggesting that there was some clerical impulse to meet the increasing lay demand for the sacred.

Indeed, a fitting venue for a miraculous image appears to have been a concern for both the laity and the clergy in other localities as well, as demonstrated in "A light for illuminating nations / IMAGE of the Most Holy Mary, casting light on the darkest sinners diseased in soul and body, from Dunajów to Góra Hoszowska, shining with His graces, which JESUS, the infinity of justice had placed here among the rays of poverty, in the year 1737, August 5."[186] Mikołay Hoszowski, a local nobleman, had initially obtained an image of the Virgin from a Hungarian lieutenant (porucznik). While in his possession, the image miraculously survived a devastating [house] fire, after which it mysteriously glowed and eventually wept. As crowds of locals began to gather in order to witness the spectacle at hand, Hoszowski reported growing fearful of the icon, so much that he begged the local priest to take the image off his hands. Hoszowski's fear soon turned to disillusionment, once he realized that the priest's relatively modest designs for the icon were at odds with his more grandiose plans. The parochial cleric, instead of framing the image in the high altar, as the nobleman hoped he would, opted instead to keep it in the sacristy, far away from the eyes of the laity. No explanation is offered regarding this peculiar behavior. However, Hoszowski grew increasingly unhappy with the less than

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[185] CDIAL 408:911:47, "Po przeniesieniu Obrazu Pana Jezusa Ukrzyzowanego z Cerkwi Starey do Cerkwi nowey łask Boskich rozni ludzie roznemi czasy od roku Tysiącznego Siedmsetnego Trzydziestego Osmego az do Roku nineyszego doznali."
(After the translation of the icon of the crucified Lord Jesus from the old church to the new, various people at various times experienced acts of divine grace from 1738 up to now.)

[186] CDIAL 684:(1):1231:3, "Światło Na Obiasnienie Narodow / OBRAZ Maryi Nayswiętszej Obiasniaiący Grzesznikow ciemnych na duszy a na ciele chorobami z Dunajowa na Górę Hoszowską teraz od Niego Łaskami obiasniona, Roku którego Konce sprawiedliwosci JEZUS Promienie Ubóstwa utaił Tu 1737 5 Sierpnia."

prominent placement of the icon. Getting no cooperation from the parish priest, Hoszowski

began to lobby the Metropolitan, Atanazy Szeptycki, for validation of the image as miraculous

and its eventual translation to a more suitable venue. After considerable efforts, the metropolitan

allowed for an *inquisitio* that, somewhat surprisingly, included only the two parish priests,

Hoszowski and his inner social circle. No Dunajów villagers were present, effectively removing

them from any participatory role in the validation of the miraculous icon.

In this case, the peasant laity appeared as mere passive onlookers, yet were actually at the

center of the process. A formal translatory procession, which included an official *decretum* from

the Metropolitan and the presence of three episcopal deans (decani), wound its way from

Hoszowski's residence in Dunajów to the Hoszów Basilian monastery. However, the fact that

the procession was a public event, making several ritualized stops along the way in order to

display the icon and the metropolitan's official bull that formally confirmed its translation,

suggested that these seemingly passive local devotees could not simply be ignored.[187] The very

nature of a slow, winding procession demonstrated the need for a reciprocal relationship between

the clergy and the laity. The episcopate could not arbitrarily translate a locally significant sacred

object without a theatrical display that visibly justified and explained its decision. Likewise,

while Hoszowski may have had few qualms about resituating the icon to a place he saw most fit,

he nevertheless felt it necessary to include, or manipulate, the high clergy to accomplish this end.

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[187] CDIAL 684:(1):1231:5, "JW JM Xiądz Metropolita kazał go wprowadzic przez Dekret za Procesyami do
Klasztoru, i wydał Procesyi na trzy Dekanaty, kiedy na czas zaznaczony w Wigilię Przemienienia Pańskiego, Ludzie
staneli z Procesyami, do mnie do dworu kazali Obraz wynieść do Izby i na stół położyć, tak Jmsę Xiędza Swiecey
jako tez Duchowni, i Dekret czytac i pieczęci patrzyć, ieżeli Rzecz prawdziwa."
(Through a decree at the head of a procession, His Grace Father Metropolitan ordered the image brought into the
Monastery. He ordered the image be ambulated through three deaneries, so that on the eve of the Transfiguration of
Christ, the people be allowed to walk with the procession. Thus, the image was ordered to be carried into my
residence, to be placed on the table, so that Their Graces the priests and other clergy, through their demonstration of
the seals and reading of the decree might show that (the veracity of the image as miraculous) is true.)

At the same time, the similarities between Mikołay Hoszowski and Stefan Dołhan are useful in demonstrating a level of lay participation in the validation, if not outright sacralization of objects that were venerated by society as a whole. Since their concept of possession of the icon was local, both may have thought that the divine forces responsible for placing the hierophanic image in that specific locality likewise permitted the maintaining of some control of the images. Hoszowski, the owner of the icon at the moment it earned the reputation for miracles, may have felt a calling in determining the fate of the icon, even if it remained in clerical hands.

Despite being Howszowski's social inferior, Stefan Dołhan could claim a more direct experience as an impetus for his personal activism. Shortly after placing the found icon inside the church, Dołhan described a dream he had, in which the icon spoke to him directly saying, "I was on my way to Buczacz monastery, but you found me and took me."[188] Though he never stated so explicitly, Dołhan may have felt that this experience, in addition to being the one who actually found the icon, justified his role in determining its fate, his status as a layman and peasant notwithstanding. Thus, as the laity was undoubtedly convinced of the necessity of clerical mediation between themselves and the miraculous image, they were just as willing to dictate the setting and circumstance in which this interaction took place.

In his work on early modern parochial life, Stanisław Litak emphasized the closed nature of the rural parish in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Frequently served by a solitary parish priest, such parishes seemingly lived lives of their own, despite being organizationally incorporated into larger ecclesiastical structures.[189] However, textual evidence strongly suggests that the opposite was true in parishes that boasted of a miraculous icon. The resulting religious

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[188] CDIAL 408:911:44, "ia Spieszyłem do klasztoru Buczackiego, a ty mnie znalaszy wziołes gdyby iednak etc."
[189] Stanisław Litak, "Struktury i funkcje parafii w Polsce" in *Kościół w Polsce: wiek XVI-XVIII*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy ZNAK, 1969), 479.

ferment frequently caught the attention of a territorially-distant church hierarchy, while piquing the curiosity and devotion of faraway laymen of every social class. Word-of –mouth stories of miraculous deeds and supernatural cures brought the first trickle of pilgrims that perforated the kind of local parish insularity that Litak spoke of.

"SINCE A SINGLE PRIEST WAS INCAPABLE" OR EPISCOPAL BASILIAN APPOINTMENTS

While the sources tell us little directly about these burgeoning cults of pilgrimage, the pastoral limitations of a lone parish priest in providing spiritual services to growing crowds are well noted. For example, "A Cause for the Creation of the Wicyń Monastery" outlined the inability of a solitary secular cleric to perform liturgy for the thousands who flocked to the miraculous image. This alleged shortage of manpower prompted Bishop Józef Szumlański to invite the Basilians to Wicyń. Upon arrival, he entrusted care of the icon to their oversight:

> Your miraculous icon was under the care of a secular priest of the Greek rite. However, since a single priest was incapable of reciting the Holy Office for the thousands who gathered at this place, His Grace Józef Szumlański, the Bishop of L'viv, brought the Fathers of the Rule of St. Basil the Great to Wicyń. He ordered them to build a monastery and handed over the miraculous icon over to their care.[190]

The setting of the icon, however, remained very much local in its setting. The image was not moved to an already established, distant Basilian monastery, nor placed in a more prosperous or populous urban church. Whereas external pilgrims may have been indirectly responsible for the translation of miraculous icons to a larger, more ornate venue operated by a highly organized contingent of regular clerics, the cult almost always remained associated with the local both in its name and location. Spatial continuity was crucial.[191] Indeed, the ties of the cult with the local

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[190] CDIAL 648:(1):1201:5, "Twoi Obraz cudowny był w straży Swieckiego kapłana rith graeci ale że ieden kapłan niemogł za dosyc uczynic nabozenstwa ludzi tysiącami garnących się na to miejsce J. G. Jozef Szumlanski Biskup Lwowski roku 1695 dnia 10 czerwca sprowadził Zakonnikow Reguły S. Bazylego Wgo. do Wicynia Monaster im pobudowac kazali Obraz cudowny JM podopieki oddał."

[191] CDIAL 648:(1):1201:5, "na tym mieyscu gdzie była swoiska Cerkiew, aby wtedy chwała Boża nie ustawała."

population were stressed in Basilian hymns and prayers -- as was the rightfulness of the episcopal decision hand the image over to the care of the Fathers.[192] High clerical management of burgeoning lay cults was certainly as accommodating of lay devotions as it was protective of its own pastoral authority.

Whether because of lay demand for spiritual services or episcopal will, Early Modern Greek-rite Catholic miracle-working icons gravitated toward monasteries. These collective centers of highly professionalized clergy, with their numerical, educational, legal and ecclesiopolitical superiority were capable of providing the kind of ornate setting for sacred objects that a lowly rural parish church could not. As demonstrated by Bishop Szumlański's actions in Hoszów, high clerical authorities favored them. Furthermore, Basilian monasteries increasingly served as the reserve of talent from which the Greek-rite Catholic episcopate was drawn. Basilians in monasteries maintained social networks that included their onetime teachers, colleagues and students who served as bishops or members of the episcopal curia. Lastly, Basilian monasteries had a collective reputation with which no lowly parish priest could easily compete. Mikołay Hoszowski's decision to move his icon from Dunajów, although exceptional in its breaking of spatial continuity, clearly demonstrated this. Aware of the possible backlash that could result if the image was moved secretly, Bishop Szumlański himself insisted that a formal decree be promulgated and openly displayed while the image was ceremoniously carried out of Dunajów.[193]

(on this place where the church stood, so that God's grace might not cease.)

[192] CDIAL 684:(1):1201:4, "Władza pasterska ludu takowego Wiadomość wzietszy Mnichom Bazylego Wstraż i Opiekę Obrazu Swiętego Szacunek daie po dzis dzien stawnego."
(The pastoral authorities of these people, having taken the news into account, granted the Basilian Fathers guardianship and care of the holy icon.)

[193] CDIAL 684:(1):1231:5, "JW JM Xiądz Metropolita kazał go wprowadzic przez Dekret za Procesyami do Klasztoru."
(His Grace Father Metropolitan proclaimed an official decree that the icon be taken to the monastery at the head of a procession.)

The official translation ceremony to Hoszów monastery was accompanied by processional pomp which began at Hoszowski's residence, wound its way through three deaneries to include periodic stops along the way in order to display the image and its bearers to local communities.[194] Although the distance between Dunajów and Hoszów measures a little more than 100 km, the hilly topography of the area virtually ensured a lengthy itinerary for both the sacred object and the parties involved. However, the cult of the icon, the episcopal authority of Bishop Szumlański and the respectability of the Basilian Fathers were certain to have benefited from such a circuitous publicity tour. It would appear that even the noble benefactor from Dunajów gained from the agreement. Hoszowski's name, undoubtedly prominently mentioned throughout procession, was given a prominent role in the official monastic history, thus ensuring that his ties with the image were recorded for posterity long after he was dead, if only to be resurrected by this aspiring historian. Lastly, it may be assumed that the lengthy procession and the periodic stops at various localities allowed for the recitation of not only the miraculous acts of the Hoszów icon, but also a recitation of its linear sacred history and its seeming providential journey to its new residence.

The laity was not only capable of creating a demand for clerically conducted spiritual services, they could also play a role in determining the spaces a miraculous image might ultimately inhabit. As much as this was so, lay ambitions for miraculous icons, however fundamental toward the creation of a mass devotional movement, were increasingly weighted against clerical management in the confessional age. Despite the involvement of secular parish

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[194] CDIAL 684:(1):1231:5, "Ludzie staneli z Procesyami, do mnie do dworu kazali Obraz wynieść do Izby i na stół położyć, tak Jmsę Xiędza Swiecey jako tez Duchowni tak i Dekret czytac i pieczęci patrzyć, ieżeli Rzecz prawdziwa (...) J tak szczęsliwie ruszono Obraz do Klasztoru z Ukazaniami za Procesyami."
(Thus, the image was ordered to be carried into my residence, to be placed on the table, so that Their Graces the priests and other clergy, through their demonstration of the seals and reading of the decree might show that (the veracity of the image as miraculous) is true. And so the image was fortuitously transported to the monastery, with (public) displays in the course of the procession.)

clergy, whenever a sacred object gathered a sufficiently large following, it inevitably attracted

the attention of the episcopate and organized religious orders.

Aware of their pastoral role and imbued with a militant vigor, these ecclesiastical

heavyweights were increasingly wary of spontaneous, disorderly enthusiasm by the simple,

largely unlettered flock. Whereas the cult of images was once managed locally, it now became a

matter of importance of the Church as a whole; indeed, one of the fundamental markers of

confessional identity.[195] Precisely because of its widespread appeal, the cult of miraculous icons

was simply too important to be left solely in the hands of the laity.

Here, once again, Early Modern Greek-rite Catholicism reflected its status as an inheritor

of the Council of Trent. Tridentine aspirations toward order and regulation depended on

transmission through local synods. The Synod of Zamość, convoked under the watchful eye of

papal nuncio Hieronymus Grimaldi, interpreted the twenty-fifth session of Trent on miraculous

objects in a way that fit the particularities of the Ruthenian Church, in which veneration of

images had a long history among the laity. Like Trent, Zamość drew a line between the sacred

and the profane. False miracles were not merely interpreted as careless mistakes but as,

"insidious deeds of enemies of mankind that led the simple and pious into error."[196] As such, the

episcopate charged itself with the role of being official arbiters of the miraculous. Toward this

end, they employed an ordered, systematic procedure that included the episcopal curia and

episcopal deans. Regular visitations by episcopal deans were to inform the bishop of any sacred

objects with a dubious reputation for miracles. An inquisitory council (*inquisitio*) made up of

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[195] Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence* , (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 485.
[196] MANSI 35:1524, "Humani generis hostis tantae sunt insidiae, ut saepe-numero falsis miraculis, & illusionibus Christi fideles simplices, ac pios in errore inducere possit."
(The enemies of mankind are so treacherous, that often by the number of false miracles and illusions, lead the Lord's simple and pious into error.)

high churchmen then questioned the local witnesses and reported back to the bishop, provided

that the latter was not already present in person. Thus, while the inclusion of local devotees in

the validation process of the image provided a theatrical inclusion of the laity in the decision

making process, the final decision lay nevertheless lay with the *inquisitio* and the episcopate.

Yet even this final word of approval was scarcely tacit or inferred, demonstrating that lay

participation, or perhaps continued lay spiritual investment, was still important. The resulting

episcopal decision was not to be felt through distant judicial proclamations, but visibly

demonstrated, on the ground, with official pomp and ceremony. Thereafter, the miraculous

attributes of the said objects were to be openly displayed, but only while ensuring proper care

(custodienda) and guardianship over them.[197] Thus, where active lay participation continued to

be a sine-qua-non in Early Modern Greek-rite Catholic cults of miraculous icons, the interaction

between the image and the faithful increasingly took place through the screen of clerical

mediation, while placing it firmly in unmistakably Tridentine structures.

"VOTIVES TESTIFY TO COUNTLESS GRACES," THE ORNAMENTATION OF MIRACULOUS ICONS

Visual evaluation of present day sacred spaces in which icons reside, is certainly a

problematic undertaking. Some three hundred years of history have done much to change the

objects, spaces and circumstances out of which they first arose. Fires were the scourge of the

overwhelmingly wooden Ruthenian ecclesiastical buildings. Further damage was wreaked by

the religious policies of Emperor Joseph II, which focused on the elimination of local cultic

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[197] MANSI 35: 1524, "Reliquias sanctorum, quae olim Spiritus Sancti templum, ac Christi viva membra quamquam synodus venerandas esse, ac magna cum reverentia decenter in ecclesiis custodiendas profiteatur; tamen, ne quae obtrudantur ad cultum, quarum identitas aut dubia sit, aut minime certa, episcopi diligentem inquisitionem adhibeant in actu visitationis, ac deinde statuant quod veritati, ac pietati consentaneum judicaverint."
(Relics of saints, which are usually the temple of the Holy Spirit, as well as the living members of Christ, ought to be venerated and with great reverence properly displayed and watched over in churches. However, let it be proclaimed that those which are of dubious identity, or the least certain (in their miracles), ought to be examined by the bishop through an inquisition, and from there judge whether they are true and worthy of piety.)

shrines and monasteries. In the twentieth century, fifty years of Soviet communism resulted in a

deliberate, wholesale destruction of religious objects and spaces. As such, it cannot be assumed

that modern day Greek-rite Catholic shrines, monasteries or churches are reflective of a

devotional order that existed some 250-350 years earlier. Textual descriptions of sacred spaces

still offer the most plentiful and reliable source of Early Modern Greek-rite Catholic devotional

life. Of course, decorative objects such as frames, votives, sometimes even entire altars, were

sometimes kept intact, hidden away from openly hostile regimes. The inclusion of these tangible

remnants can often act as important supplement to the limited verbal accounts of temporal

frameworks found in textual sources.

As with raising the sacral prestige of the Eucharist, the perceived hierophanic capacities

of a miracle-working icon were reflected in its ornamentation. The case of the Zarwanica icon

demonstrated that the sacrality of an image was directly tied to its location within the church.

The icon ascended from a lowly bench, to the zhertvennik, to the decorative high altar.

Likewise, the Werchrata Mother of God icon was moved from a side altar to a separate adjacent

chapel, built especially for the purposes of the cult. Evidence for the icon's original location is

noted by the visitor through the exceptional ornamentation of a side altar, which was gilded and

contained an *antepedium* (altar front) with a gold floral motif.[198]

The chapel offered a secure as well as an ornate space for the icon. The double doors

boasted iron fittings, while the three windows were protected with metal bars. A rood screen

separated the inner sanctum, where the monastic choir congregated, from the rest of the chapel

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[198] CDIAL 684:1186:3, "Drugi obraz namisney P.B. ten wszystek z koperdymentem pod fangult wyzłacany, z
przyczyny że tam przedtym stał obraz Matki Boskiey Cudowney przy tym ołtarzu , iako y wielkim są antepedyia
skorzane w kwiat złoty wybiianych."
(The other image (...) decorated with gold leaf, since previously on this altar stood the miraculous image of the
Mother of God. It has large antepedia made of leather, embossed with golden flowers.)

space.[199] The spatial organization of the chapel reflected the interior of the main church,

containing a high altar and two side altars. The ornamentation of the chapel high altar in which

the miraculous icon was placed demonstrated the growing sacrality of the sacred object it

contained. For example, the chapel high altar was likewise gilded, but with three silver

antepedia.[200] The icon itself possessed a single gilt silver robe (*sukienka*), but boasted of no

fewer than nine crowns, two of which were gilt silver with precious stones, two of gilt silver and

five of plain silver. Like the Eucharist, the icon was illuminated with a silver lamp.[201] However,

the ornamentation of a miraculous icon could perform a function of temporalization in a way far

different from that of an ornamented Eucharist.

Ritual ornamentation, especially by the episcopate, occurred with some frequency. In

1742, the Zarwanica image of the crucified Christ was ceremonially crowned by the Bishop of

L'viv, Atanazy Szeptycki. Likewise, in 1730, Metropolitan Atanazy Szeptycki personally

crowned the image of the Blessed Virgin of Żyrowice, with the company of bishops Jerzy

Bułhak and Teofil Godebski. In this instance, the public, ritualized act of validation wasn't

merely limited to Greek-rite Catholic divines. The crowns for the image were consecrated by

Pope Benedict XIII.[202] Such a ceremonial crowning, in which the Pope himself was involved,

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[199] CDIAL 684:1186:3, "kaplica maiąca drzwi dwoie na zawiasach zelaznych z kunami y zawiasami Okien w tey kaplicy troie z zelaznymi prętami."
(A chapel with two doors hanging on iron hinges with ringed handles. Three hinged windows with iron bars.)

[200] CDIAL 684:1186:4, "Ołtarz gdzie Cudowny Obraz Matki Boskiey snycerskiey roboty wszystek pod Fangult złocony (...)Antepedia ołtarz iest na troie pierwsze żgalonem srebrnym szychowny."
(A gilded altar where the miraculous image of the Mother of God resides (...) Antepedia of the altar are divided into three parts, the first being embroidered with a silver thread.)

[201] CDIAL 684:1186:25, "Lampa srebrna wiczna przed Obrazem Matki ze wszelką należytością...1."
(One silver lamp placed before the image of the Mother of God, with all necessity.)

[202] CDIAL 684:1186:4, "Koron na tymze obrazie srebrnych pozłacanych z czeskiemi kamykami...2 / koron srebrych bez pozłocenia...5."
(Two silver crowns for the said image, gilded with Bohemian stones / Five silver crowns with no gilding.)

undoubtedly had a confessionalizing effect on the local populace in which the new ecumenical leader of the church ceremonially honored the corporeally present Christ in their midst.

For the most part, primary sources do not lend themselves to sketching a story behind ritually implemented, high-value decorative objects for miraculous images, such crowns and robes (*sukienki).* That said, there is ample evidence for lay participation in the ornamentation of popularly venerated images. Laity, who in inquisitorial records claimed to have either had a loved one cured or had been cured themselves, frequently left behind a votive offering. Usually made of wax, the said articles were frequently described as replicas of the healed body parts. For example, Hryhory, a laborer from Peklikowice, who claimed to have been nearing blindness for three years, left behind a pair of wax eyes once cured.[203] In other instances, the cured left behind objects which testified to their afflictions. For example:

> His Grace Piotr Cieliński, 40 years of age from Dobre Pole (...) testified: "I had a terrible pain in my left leg, in my knee, for three days (...) on the third day, I came to the church with the assistance of a crutch, but left the church having left the said crutch behind.)[204]

Despite not being made of precious materials, canes and crutches told a story all their own. The afflicted may have arrived using them to aid mobility, but once cured, left without them. As votives, these objects of everyday use offered tangible proof of an intention that resulted in a permanent cure.

Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół greckokatolicki w latach 1696-1764," in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 2, part 1, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 475.

[203] CDIAL 408:911:54, "Pracowity Hryhory Syn Gumiennego z Peklikowiec, Annorum plus 40 (...) zeznał iż ia w Roku 1740 mało co widząc na oczy przez Lat Trzy (...) y na pamiątkę odebraney Łaski od Ukrzyżowanego Pana Jezusa w Cerkwi Zarwanickiey oczy woskowe zostawiłem."
(Laborer Hryhory, son of Gumienny from Peklikowice, 40 years of age (...) testified: "In the year 1740 I had poor sight for three years (...) and to commemorate the lost grace from the Crucified Lord Jesus at the Zarwanica church, I left behind a pair of wax eyes.)

[204] CDIAL 408:911:56-7, "Jmo. Pan Piotr Cieliński Annor(um) 40 R.L.z Dobrego Pola (...) zeznał. Iż ia maiąc cieżki bol w Lewey nodze w Samym, Koleniu przez trzy dni, (...) trzeciego Zaś o Kuli do Cerkwi Sam przyszedłem, ale z Cerkwi zostawiwszy kulę zdrow wyszedłem."

Votives could be as much of a relic of the alleged cure as an offering for an anticipated

miracle. According to the testimony of Sir Bełzecki of Grabocie, a malady which up to now had

been wiping out cattle all over the neighboring locality, finally struck the village of

Bodymszczyzna, where he served the role of treasurer. Bełzecki allegedly urged the local

gromada (village council) to dedicate a collective votive to the Blessed Mother of Werchrata.

Although we are left to wonder regarding either the possible bovine shape or the physical

material composing the votive, Bełzecki claimed in his testimony that once he participated in the

church liturgies, the malady had lifted and several heads of cattle promptly returned to health.[205]

The Basilians themselves undoubtedly promoted the lay devotional practice of leaving behind

votives. While inquisitorial testimonies suggest that most were made from humble materials,

such as wood or wax, the number of precious metal votives at Werchrata monastery rose

substantially in mid-eighteenth century. By 1766, the "Inventarium Monasterij Werchratensis"

boasted of a wide array of votives in its *argentaria* column, including a silver heart, a necklace, a

cross, a star, and an effigy of the Blessed Virgin with the name "Maria" engraved in it.[206]

Judging from this list, some of the votives were intentionally made as decorations for the

miraculous image, as suggested by their Marian attributes. Others still, were valuable personal

objects turned ecclesiastical ornaments, thus demonstrating the bonds that developed between the

devotee and image, while acting as an ever-present proof of a localized manifestation of the

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[205] CDIAL 684:(1):1181:6, "1752 JS Bełzecki Skarbny Grabocia. Takze podczas powietrza na bydło gdy okolicznie zdychało y nie tylko za Granicami Nayblizszemi Wioski moiey Bodymszczyzny ale już w Samey tey ze wsi Zaczeło bydło zdychać. Uczyniłem te moią dyspozycyią Gromadzie zeby qualitatem Złozyli na Wotywę przed Obraz Tey ze Matki Nayswiętszey do Werchraty do ktorey y ia za moią Oborę posłałem. Z lytnoscią Zupełną odebrania w tey potrzebie Łaski Jakoż po wypełnionym Tym nabozenstwie Zaraz Zaraza się umierzyła y do tąd przez lat Kilkanascie bydło Zdrowe."
(1752 JS Bełzecki treasurer of Graboć: "When a malady struck the cattle not only outside the borders of my Bodymszczyzna, but also inside the said village did they begin to die. I addressed the village council so that they make an additional contribution for a votive to be placed before the image of that most holy Mother from Werchrata, toward which I had already sent to save my barn. Granting mercy and grace, at the completion of the Holy Office, the malady had eased and from there on, the cattle was healthy for several years.)
[206] CDIAL 684:1186:25, "z wyrazionym Imie Maria."
(with the name Maria spelled out.)

divine. The modern-day historian of the region is left only with extant Basilian manuscripts when trying to reconstruct the devotional activities that revolved around these allegedly miraculous images. Being illiterate, the vast majority of the devotees who flocked to these sacred objects had no such luxury. As such, votives were more than mere decorations, they were lasting material testimonies and visual reminders of the hierophanic power of the sacred object possessed by the Werchrata Basilians. Placed in a ritual setting, these votives created a collection of sacred pasts, acting as visible and tangible milestones in a historical narrative.

The Basilian Fathers were certainly aware of the need for the tangible evidence that would complement the textual. Indeed, when compared to written accounts, these material objects provided a proof that to the vast majority of illiterate laymen, was imbued with a much greater meaning than text, as demonstrated by the story of the dream of Father Barlaam Fedorowicz. In 1700, he recalled seeing a smiling Blessed Mother who spontaneously appeared to him. She then handed the senior Basilian "her one and only Son, around whom countless miracles could be witnessed." "However," continued Fedorowicz, "these will not be found written in the monastery library. Instead, they will be testified to by the various votives and signs of the grace of the Most Holy Virgin Mary."[207] Fedorowicz's observation is telling. Copious written accounts of the miraculous deeds of the icon could be valuable to him and his literate Basilian brethren. However, to the throngs of barely-literate or outright illiterate masses that traveled to Werchrata, the visual evidence of miraculous healing demonstrated by the

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[207] CDIAL 684:(1)1181:3, "Roku 1700 Dnia 8 Marca Wielebnemu Oycu Barlaamowi Fedorowiczowi starszemu na ten czas Monastera Werchratckiego wesnie czyli w zachwyceniu zostaiącemu pokazawszy się N.M. Panna z wesołą Twarzą podała Iedynorodzonego Syna Swoiego na ręce Iego przy którym niezliczone działy się Cudaz Łaski Matki Boskiey, ale te w Bibliotece Monasterskiey pisane nieznayduią się tylko swiadczą różne wota y pozostałe znaki niezliczonych Łask NMP."
(In the year 1700, on March 8, the Blessed Virgin Mary appeared in a dream to Father Barlaam Fedorowicz, the elder of the Werchrata monastery. With a joyous countenance, she handed her only son into his arms. At the monastery (?) countless miracles flowed from the grace of the Mother of God. These cannot be found written down at the monastery library, however, the votives testify to the countless graces of the most holy Mother of God.)

presence of ex-votos, trumped the contents of any book, be it printed or handwritten. The sheer number of votives surrounding an icon revealed a history of miracles in a way that could be complemented by oratory, but could not be substituted by it to the same effect.

"WHEN KHMELNYTSKY RAISED AN INSURRECTION," REWRITING UNIATE CONTINUITY

The Basilian Fathers were undoubtedly aware that many cults of miraculous icons promoted as agents of confessional unity had their origins before the official proclamation of union with Rome in their respective eparchies. Continuity equaled legitimacy in the confessional age. Once in possession of the Basilian Fathers, cults of miraculous icons were consciously transformed from local Orthodox miracle makers into protectors of devotees as well as symbols of ecclesiastical unity. No longer merely a purveyor of miraculous healings to the locals, the icon became a past, present and future protector of the sacred community that worshipped it in person, as well as the defender of those who venerated it from a distance, regardless of nation or rite. That said, the temporal tended to be inherently tied to the local in the Basilian-composed sacred histories. According to Ihor Skochylas, when clerical authorities were encouraging a new cult, they frequently sought to tie its history to the local community. For example, when promoting the cult of Blessed Josaphat Kuntsevych in the neighboring Volodymir (Volyns'kyi) eparchy, the Basilian Fathers often emphasized that the saint's youth was spent in the region.[208]

Local sacred histories composed by the Basilians likewise tended to emulated Lev Krevza's historical narrative, in which a potentially profane pre-Union sacred time was effectively silenced. Thus, even though a miraculous icon may have been a center of cultic devotions long before the local parish or monastery accepted union with Rome, the historical

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[208] Ігор Скочиляс, *Релігія та культура Західної Волині на початку XVIII ст. : за матеріялами Володимирського собору 1715 р.* (Львів: Український католицький університет. Інститут історії Церкви, 2008), 30.

narrative of the Basilians emphasized the graces granted by the image, treating the local community as if it had always been on the "right" side of the confessional divide. As such, any historical events that predated the community's acceptance of union or even the act of union itself received no mention from these local Basilian authors.

According to the Basilian "A Cause for the Creation of the Wicyń Monastery," the miraculous icon of the Holy Mother of Wicyń was venerated long before any possibility of a regional union with Rome was a possibility in the L'viv eparchy. Originally painted sometime in the seventeenth century, the image was housed in a local parochial chapel at the foot of a hill. According to the "Cause," the image earned a reputation for miracles shortly after the departure of Khmelnytsky's armies from the area. Initially attended to by the local villagers, its fame spread throughout the countryside as throngs of peasant pilgrims began to arrive to benefit from its graces. A secular priest, of undefined confessional affiliation, eventually served it caretaker. Yet, according to the text, he could not alone cope with the growing numbers of faithful. In 1695, the bishop of L'viv, Józef Szumlański, invited the Greek-rite Catholic Basilian Fathers to Wicyń and ordered them to construct a monastery, while granting them the privilege of being the sole caretakers of the icon.

As a text, "The Cause" provides only one mention of the L'viv eparchy's acceptance of union with Rome. After inscribing the lyrics of a hymn that gave the history of the Virgin of Wicyń, the Basilian author of the text elaborated: "This hymn to the Virgin of Wicyń was composed when Ruthenia's Holy Union with the Roman Church was being renewed in 1700."[209] As such, the official proclamation of union by Bishop Szumlański was apparently significant enough to warrant the composition a new hymn to the Virgin of Wicyń, however, the author

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[209] CDIAL 684:(1):1201:4, "Ta piesn Matki Boskiey Wiecynskiey iest złożona w początkach odnawiiącey się Swiętey Jedności Rusi z kosciołem Rzymskim Roku 1700."

deliberately chose not to recall a potentially profane pre-union time. Furthermore, much like Krevza, he described the event as a renewal of union, as opposed to a conversion or an acceptance of an entirely new confessional allegiance.

Faced with a powerful sacred object active prior to the formal proclamation of union by the L'viv episcopate, this anonymous prelate effectively wrote a sacred history intended to demonstrate that the miraculous nature of the image protected its devotees from the enemies of the faith, which in retrospect placed the local community on the right side of the confessional divide. As such, "disunity" was never a historical reality in the Wicyń community. Instead, it was external intrusion, personified by the Cossack and Tatar enemies who invaded and pillaged the region in the mid-seventeenth century.

As such, Khmelnytsky did not merely stand at the forefront of a horde of "rebellious peasants," who turned not only against their rightful earthly masters but also God's own Church. He was the "other" against whom the Wicyń community sought divine protection. The Cossack hetman was portrayed as in league with the enemies of Church and state: the heathen Tatars and the heretical Swedes:

> In 1648 Khmelnytsky raised an insurrection in Ukraine with the Cossacks, having made a pact with Istanagierci, the Tatar Khan. In 1649, Ukrainian Podolia, Volhynia and Rus' was consumed by an evil fire of 100,000 fomented peasants , while several thousand Tatars arrived at Zborów against the Most High King of Poland Jan Kazimierz (Vasa) (...) As if that were not enough, in 1653, he (Khmelnytsky) brought into Poland the Swedish King, Gustavus.[210]

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[210] CDIAL 684:(1):1201:3, "Chmielnicki Roku 1648 podniosły Bunt na Ukrainie z Kozakami z kupiwszy się z Istanagierciem Hanem Tatarskim R. 1649 Ukrainy Podole, Wołyń y Ruś pustoszyli własnie ogien zły stotysięcy czerni czyli Chłopstwa po buntowanego, a w kilkanascie tysięcy Tatarow przyszed po Zborow przeciw Nayiasnieyszemu Janow Kazimierzowi Królowi Polskiemu (...) Nie dosyć natym Roku 1653 z prowadził do Polskiej Króla Gustawa Króla Szwedzkiego."

As a result of this calamity, the church at Wicyń was "abandoned by all."[211] "Due to the sword of the enemy, the people, left without homes, cowered in forests and in caves, as if they were animals."[212] Tugging at the heartstrings of their audience, the Basilians' sacred history sought to show an emotional connection between the divine behind the miraculous image and the gathered faithful, fostering an affective piety, in which the Mother of God was the commiserator, intercessor and protector of her adherents, capable of swaying the wrath of God the Father himself:

> The people drowned in tears, sobbing and sighing perpetually, until the cries penetrated heaven, having awakened the mercy of the most holy Virgin Mary and Mother of God, who appealed to God on behalf of the people, pleading before His majestic indignation. This she made known through the weeping of her image at Wicyń, which lasted three months, and thus, convinced (ubłagała) God.[213]

The portrayal must have been particularly powerful to an audience of pilgrims that bore their own stories of misfortune. The torrent of tears by the pleading faithful found reflection in the Virgin's own tears, in heaven, assuaging God's anger, and on earth, as demonstrated by the weeping image.

The multitude of pleas resulted in the first great interventional miracle attributed to the image - the deaths of Khmelnytsky and Gustavus Vasa.[214] The stressing of these contemporaneous deaths in the course of the hymn was particularly important, as it tied those capable of physically interacting with the images to a divinely diverted course of history. Simply

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[211] CDIAL 684:(1):1201:4, "Cerkiewka była w lesie położona / Wsi Wicynia od wszystkich opuszczona."
(The little church was located in the forest / the village Wicyń was entirely abandoned.)
[212] CDIAL 684:(1):1201:4 "ludzie od miecza nieprzyiacielskiego pozostali bez Domów właśnie zwierzęta lesne po lasach kryiące się i jamach."
[213] CDIAL 684:(1):1201:4, "we Łzach toneli iącząc i wzdychaiąc ustawicznie, aż Nieba iączenia ludzkie przeniknowsze do politowania nad sobą zbudziły Nayswiętszą Pannę Maryę i Matką Bożą ktora że wstawiła się do Boga za ludzmi przepraszaiąc za gniewczy Maiestat Jego znać dała przez PŁACZ w Obrazie swoim Wiecynskim trwający miesiący trzy id est 3 jako tez i ubłagała Boga."
[214] CDIAL 684:(1):1201:4, "ubłagała Boga że pofsbywał nieco w tak surowej karze Swojej, bo Bogdan Chmielnicki Roku 1659 zaś Karol Gustaw król Szwedzki Roku 1660 po umierali."
(She pleaded with God for him to ease His harsh punishment: Bohdan Khmelytsky thus died in 1659 and Charles Gustavus, the King of Sweden, likewise passed in 1660.)

put, the elimination of the physical threat by foreign invaders was thought to be not merely universal act of God, not merely a general act of intercession by the Virgin, but the work of a spatially specific incarnation of the divine, directed in part by the pleas and spiritual labors of the gathered laity. It thus imbued the image and its surrounding space with sacral meaning, which the laity could comprehend it terms of local as well as extended spatiality. Once encapsulated in a sung hymn, this sacred history became accessible to all laymen, particularly the illiterati.

"UNITY OF FAITH TO ALL," REGULARIZING A CONFLICTED PAST

Taught to the local parishioners as well as the pilgrims from distant lands, the hymn effectively served as a re-consecration of a potentially profane time, before any formal acceptance of ecclesiastical union. The departure of Orthodox hero Khmelnytsky from the area, the tearful commiseration of the Virgin with the lot of her oppressed people acted as proof positive of her protection of a sacred community - a community that through its suffering and consequent survival, was envisioned as "on the right side" of the confessional divide. However, this tricky confessional dance composed by the Basilian Fathers obviated any specific confessional labels. At no point in the text was Orthodoxy itself explicitly named as the confessional "other." Instead, the "other" were portrayed as those *not in union* with the faith, as demonstrated in a prayer that followed the hymn: "lead all pagans to convert (or return) to (the) faith, lead heretics toward confession of true faith, root out all heresy and grant unity in faith to all nations."[215]

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[215] CDIAL 684:(1)1202:4, "Poganom wszystkim niewiernym upros do wiary nawrocenia, heretykom prawdziwey wiary wyznania, y wszelakich herezyi wykorzenienia: Jednosc wiary wszystkim narodom."
(Obtain for all unfaithful pagans, faith toward conversion. For all heretics, obtain the faith of confession and the eradication of heresy and unity of faith for all nations.)

A local past that could be recalled as confessionally liminal, religiously divided or even ambiguous was regularized and made concrete. This approach toward temporality and continuity echoed Lev Krevza's "On the unity of the Church of God," in which a tendency toward union with Rome among previous Ruthenian metropolitans was stressed over temporalities in which allegiance to the Papacy was clearly refused. "The Miracles of the Image of the Most-Blessed Virgin, Famed for Its Ceaseless Graces at the Werchrata Monastery" mirrored Krevza's approach, by regularizing, clarifying and sacralizing an otherwise conflicted past.[216]

The abovementioned account begins in 1668, just one year after the official investiture of Józef Szumlański as the Orthodox Bishop of L'viv. As previously mentioned, Szumlański's appointment was contingent upon a covert confession of Catholic faith. Following this, he was to prepare his eparchy for an official proclamation Union with Rome. At the time, however, this act was still some three decades away. Considering how long Szumlański waited for such a moment, indicates that his position was far from secure. Prior to his official appointment, the L'viv eparchy was heavily contested between a string of Uniate and Orthodox metropolitans. In the midst of the Khmelnytsky Uprising, Szumlański's Orthodox predecessor, Arseniusz Żeliborski was an avid supporter of the staunchly Orthodox Cossacks.[217] Taking into account that the uprising receded in the mid-1650s, Szumlański's crypto-Catholic project had to proceed carefully. Such political realities must have prevented Szumlański from openly proclaiming union for the next three decades after his secret confession. Some historians have interpreted this delay as proof that Szumlański had no intention to bring his eparchy into union. The Russian

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[216] CDIAL 684:(1):1181:1, "CUDA Nieustaiącemi Łaskami Słynącego OBRAZU Nayswięszey MARYI PANNY w Monasterze Wierchackim W.W.O.O. Bazylianow Jeszcze Roku 1688."

[217] Григор Лужнницький, *Українсъка церква миж сходом і заходом*, (Львів: Видавництво „Свічадо," 2008), 357.

imperial historian Sergei Soloviev, for example, claimed that Szumlański's dedication to union

was less then certain in this period, citing that he had distanced himself from Bishop Innocenty

Winnicki, once the latter openly proclaimed union with Rome in the Przemyśl eparchy. In 1692,

Szumlański was even said to have asked Moscow to pressure King Sobieski for the return of

Przemyśl to the Orthodox fold.[218]

"The Miracles (…) at the Werchrata Monastery," written in 1766, demonstrates

Soloviev's doubts about Szumlański's personal desire to bring his eparchy to union are

unfounded. According to the document, the first Basilian arrived at Werchrata in 1678, a mere

year after Szumlański's secret confession. By 1688, there were several Basilians residing in

Werchrata. By that time, the Fathers had a working relationship with the pastor of Werchrata,

even performing liturgical duties in the parish church. How much of a crypto-Catholic was

Szumlański at this time, considering that staunch supporters of union like the Basilians were not

only present in his eparchy, but also hobnobbing with one of his parish priests, saying masses

and boasting of possessing a miraculous icon? In the same year, Szumlański even drew up an

inquisitio to examine miraculous deeds of the icon, eventually confirming its properties and

permanent residence among the Basilians through an officially sealed decretum.[219] Given the

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[218] Сергей Соловьев, *История России с древнейших времен*, vol. XIV, (Москва: 1963), 127.
[219] CDIAL 684:(1):1181:3, "J.W. Jozef Szumlański Biskup Lwowski Halicki y Kamięca Podolskiego Cały Rossyi Administrator do Monastera Werchrackiego ziachał na Jnkwizycyię, y wielu swiadomego wiary godnych, tak Duchownego iako y swieckiego stanu, przed Nayswiętszytm Sakramentem y Cudownym Obrazem Matki Boskiey przysięgaiąc Cuda iezeli (?) prawdziwe były:/ stwierdzić nakazał po ktorey przy sobie wykonaney Cudownemy Obrazowi N.M.P. z licznym ludzi zgromadzeniem głębokie uczynił uszanowanie y uniwersałem czyli Dekretem pieczęcią Pasterskąumocnionym, prawdziwie Cudowny Obraz Matki Boskiey w Werchratckim Monasterze za wszystkie czasy Approbował."
(His grace Józef Szumlański, Bishop of L'viv, Halych and Kam'ianets' Podil's'kyi and all of Rus, Administrator of the Werchrata Monastery gathered an Inquisition of many worthy men of faith, both secular and religious, who, before the Most Holy Sacrament and the Miraculous Image of the Heavenly Mother swore an oath to verify if the miracles that had occurred had been true. Thereafter, before the said image and all gathered, the bishop made a great gesture of respect and through a universal or an episcopally sealed pastoral Decree, declared the image of the Heavenly Mother at Werchrata Monastery to be truly miraculous, approving it as such for all times.)
CDIAL 684:(1):1181:1, "W.W.O.O. Bazylianow Jeszcze Roku 1688 PRZEZ J.W.S.P.. JOZEFA SZUMLAŃSKIEGO (...) Pasterską umocnionym Pieczęcią APPROBOWANE."

public nature of the perpetuation of miraculous reputation of the Werchrata icon, either

Szumlański openly supported and confirmed a religious order that was antithetical to his

Orthodox sentiments, or the Basilians themselves were producing fictive histories some sixty

years after the L'viv eparchy openly proclaimed union with Rome.

To resolve the problem of an inconsistent, confessionally disrupted past, Basilian sacred

histories frequently resorted to a kind of re-sacralization of spaces and temporalities. According

to "The Miracles (…) at the Werchrata Monastery," ten years before the arrival of the first

Basilians, the hill upon which the monastery would be built and upon which the miracle-working

icon would reside, became the site of a supernatural event. On a summer night, a pillar of fire

came down from the heavens and illuminated the night sky. The village sculdasius (head of

municipality) and the reeve, two respectable local authority figures, were apparent witnesses to

the spectacle.[220] The pillar reappeared again in 1688 and in 1766, once the Basilians had

established a permanent monastery there and the icon had already earned a reputation for

miracles.[221] Since their establishment in 1596, the Basilians have used a red pillar of fire rising

toward heaven as their coat of arms. The symbol can be found on all prints produced by the

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(Their Magnificent Graces, Basilian Fathers, approved in the year 1688 by His Grace JÓZEF SZUMLAŃSKI (...) through a pastoral seal APPROVED.)

[220] CDIAL 684:(1):1181:2, "Roku Panskiego 1668. Dnia 2 Lipca, Wedłyg Kalendarza Greckiego. Jakub Stachniak Sołtys obywatel Werchratski w Bazylim Wasiudą. Wyutem Wuytem pod ten czas werchrackim w nocy idąc pod górę na ktorey teraz Monaster widzieli słup do samego nieba ognisty róznego koloru, całe Gorę oswiecaiący."
(In the year of Our Lord 1668, day of 2nd July, according to the Greek Calendar, Jakub Stachnian, the sculdasius (executive official of municipality) citizen of Werchrata, along with Bazyli Wasiuda, the reeve, were walking at night up the mountain on which the Monastery now rests. There, they saw a fiery pillar of light of varied colors reaching all the way to the sky, which shed light on the entire mountain.)

[221] CDIAL 684:(1):1181:2, "Roku zaś 1688 (...) obaczyli przedziwny słup ognisty z nieba Górę Monasterską y cały Las na niey okrywaiący promieniami y pod samą zaś Gorą napadli ludzie w wielkim strachu w trwodze biegaiących." (In the year 1688 (...) they (two Basilians) saw a wondrous pillar of fire extending from heaven to the mountain on which the monastery stood, revealing the surrounding forest with its light. At the foot of the mountain, people gathered, running about with great fear.)
CDIAL 684:(1):1181:3, "Roku 1766 dnia 2 Stycznia według G.K. około pułnocy ukazała się z nieba wielka swiatłość całą Gorę y Monaster na niey oswiecaiąca."
(In the year 1776 on 2nd January, Greek Calendar, around midnight, a great light descended from the sky, illuminating the entire Mountain and Monastery.)

order and frequently adorned Basilian churches and monasteries. As such, it was widely

recognizable, even to the unlettered. The pillar thus became not only a symbol of divine pre-

ordination of a geographic space in which the miraculous icon was to reside – it effectively

foreshadowed the arrival of the Basilians, the establishment of their monastic house, while

legitimating their claim to being caretakers of the said image.

"CONTEMPLATING ALL THOSE HOLY MYSTERIES WHICH THE CATHOLIC FAITH TEACHES US"

Prayer, in its many forms, was a key feature in the Tridentine catechization of Greek-rite

Catholic laity, acting, likewise, as an important means through which the laity internalized the

Tridentine reform project. Louis Chatellier argues for three successive methods of prayer that

had been fostered by missionary orders in the Tridentine era: formulaic prayers, meditations, and

personal prayers. These were logically organized in successive "points," for which booklets of

spirituality furnished the model. According to Chatellier, some missionaries in the west had

attempted this last mode of devotion among the western rural laity, though apparently, with little

success.[222] As the literacy rates among the Greek-rite Catholic rural laity were low, it seems

unlikely that this model of devotion can be derived from the available sources.

As much as that is so, formulaic prayers and meditations were a frequent feature in Early

Modern Greek-rite Catholicism. According to synodal proclamations, The Pater Noster, the Ave

Maria, Credo and the Ten Commandments were to be taught to all young children by the parish

priest or his diak.[223] Routine episcopal visitations were to ensure that not only this first

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[222] Louis Chatellier, *The religion of the poor: Rural missions in Europe and the formation of modern Catholicism, c.1500 – c.1800*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 200.

[223] *Ustawy Rządu Duchownego i inne pisma Biskupa Innocentego Winnickiego*, eds. August S. Fenczak, Ewa Lis, Włodzimierz Filipowicz, Stanisław Stępień, (Przemyśl: Południowo-Wschodni Instytut Naukowy, 1998), 86, "парохіѧн своихъ іако старыхъ такъ и молодыхъ Ѿче нашъ, Богородице Дьво, Вьрүю в едниаго Бога, и Десѧтера Божїѧ приказанѧ оучити."

apprenticeship to religion was being fulfilled, but indeed, that parishioners of all ages were capable of reciting these three prayers.

Meditations, best represented in Lenten *recollectiones*, relied on an internal re-enactment of events from a sacred past. These past events were then connected to specific actions that the participant could perform in the present. Conducted in a communal setting through the recitation of communal prayers and singing of hymns, these meditations invited a recollection of a sacred past that revolved around the miraculous image (as well as its clerical caretakers). This recreation of a sacred past, in turn, found a present-day reflection in the quotidian actions of the laity.

The Basilian Fathers repeatedly demonstrated a skillful ability employ Chatellier's model of meditation to manage an existing cult while placing lay participation within Tridentine structures. Far from negating or denying the physical powers ascribed to the images, they made corporeality a fundamental piece of the catechization and confessionalization of a rural, largely illiterate lay population. As stated earlier, lay devotions to miraculous images revolved around bodily concerns. For example, in the "Cause," the Basilian Fathers readily stressed the active role of the local peasants who sought physical protection when gathering around the Wicyń icon. According to the text, their tearful pleas for protection from the scourge of Khmelnytsky, Charles Gustavus Vasa and the Tatar Khan, resulted in an equally tearful response from the sacred image.[224] The pain of bodily harm found reflection in a static painted object that acted like a corporeal body.

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(You are to teach your parishioners, elderly as well as young: Our Father, Hail Mary, I Believe in one God and God's Ten commandments.)

[224] CDIAL 684:(1):1201:2-3, "Opustoszała ta kaplica czy cerkiew bo Chmielnicki Roku 1648 podniosły Bunt na Ukrainie z Kozakami z kupiwszy się z Istanagierciem Hanem Tatarskim R. 1649 Ukrainy Podole, Wołyń y Ruś pustoszyli własnie ogien zły stotysięcy czerni czyli Chłopstwa po buntowanego, a w kilkanaście tysięcy Tatarow przyszed po Zborow przeciw Nayiasnieyszemu Janow Kazimierzowi Królowi Polskiemu (...) Nie dosyć natym Roku 1653 z prowadził do Polskiej Króla Gustawa Króla Szwedzkiego."

Inquisitorial testimonies overwhelmingly demonstrated the appeal of the cult of miraculous images as a means of overcoming physical ailments. Interaction with the images reportedly cured paralysis, contagious disease, blindness, deafness, various forms of possession and insanity, as well as the occasional malady that threatened to wipe out entire herds of cattle. When a lengthy sacred history was rendered more digestible to a gathered laity in the form of hymns and prayers, it became possible to notice a connection between a sacred past and a sacred present that was deliberately fostered by the clergy.

Retrospective accounts of spiritual cures of sins, on par with sacramental rituals, are completely absent from the inquisitorial sources. The involvement of the Basilian Fathers in a local cult of a miraculous icon usually marked a clerically led attempt to broaden the lay comprehension of lay devotions, with the intent of expanding the discourse around the image that included a social and a spiritual benefit. Yet perhaps most importantly, it invested the local community and throngs of distant pilgrims with a new sense of temporality. An image that may have exuded corporeal symptoms of miraculous potency long before an official proclamation of union with Rome became deliberately tied to a sacred past that foreshadowed the arrival of the Basilian Fathers and the confessional union they espoused.

The Wicyń "Cause" included two version of a hymn that had been composed by the Basilians and consequently taught to the local parishioners. The 1700 version, written especially for the formal recognition the L'viv eparchy's union with Rome, included the expected litany of physical miracles attributed to the icon, including cures for immobility, blindness, various internal diseases, satanic possession (resulting in external symptoms) and seemingly imminent

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(The chapel was left empty, for in 1648 Khmelnyts'kyi with the Cossacks fomented a revolt, having colluded with Tatar Khan Istanagierci. In 1649, Podolia in Ukraine, Volhynia and Rus' was devastated by the evil conflagration of a hundred thousand rebellious peasants. Several thousand Tatars arrived at Zborów, against His Majesty Jan Kazimierz, the King of Poland. (...) As if that were not enough, in 1653, he (presumably Khmelnyts'kyi) invited the Swedish King, Gustavus Adolphus, into Poland.)

death. It concluded with a plea for an end of "all discord among nations in permanent unity with the Catholic faith," but without further elaboration.[225] A second version of the hymn, written some sixty years later, sought to expand the role of the cult from the curative to an agent of social cohesion. Indeed, in addition to the usual collection of miracle cures, the Blessed Mother of Wicyń was credited with forging and maintaining social bonds. "Widows and orphans become mothers and daughters. Marriages find accord, enmity turns to alliance, all estates find cohesion, and vices - undoubtedly destructive to all the former - are abandoned."[226] Thus, the cult was put into a different perspective by the Basilians who composed the hymn. According to the Fathers, the local population found peace and cohesion specifically because of their collective devotion to the Blessed Mother of Wicyń.

Looking back at the beginning of the Wicyń "Cause" puts this discourse of unity and social cohesion into perspective. Were the Basilian Fathers effectively writing a new narrative in which contemporary divine protection that flowed from the miraculous image stood in contrast with an earlier past of persecution, destruction, war and physical uncertainty?

This exercise in affirmation of confessional unity was by no means entirely limited to an outward, public display of sighs and tears. A prayer that immediately followed the hymn elaborated the meaning of its text to the laity. Yet whereas the hymn used a first person plural, the prayer employed a first person singular, thus demonstrating that the latter was meant to stir

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[225] CDIAL 684:(1):1201:4, "Matko Wicyńska y nowe nieżgdy / Usmiersz utwierdzaj y wszystkie niezgody narody / W iednosci stałej katolickiey wiary."
(Mother of Wicyń, these new quarrels / abridge all conflicting nations / affirm them in the unity of constant Catholic faith.)
[226] CDIAL 684:(1):1202:3, "Wdowy sieroty tu matki to cory / Syny oycowie z okradzionych ktory / Boże moy Matki Twej w kazdym złym stanie / Ratunku nie wzioł w Wiecynskim Obrazie / Małzenstwo zgody, nieprzyjazn prymierza / nieszczęsny szczęscie, nędzarz sukkurs bierze / Wszelakie stany są w takiey całosci / Długie nałogi rzuca wtomnosci."

the individual conscience.[227] Since neither the hymn nor the prayer was printed, it may be safely

assumed that both were taught to the laity through repetition. The former was then sung during

liturgy, while the latter could be recited in a collective setting, as well as in a moment of private

devotion, perhaps as a means of reflection upon the content of the hymn. As such, the individual

devotee was encouraged ask the Virgin for spiritual, as opposed to physical, guidance and

protection: "Grant me true contrition in times of bodily temptation, satanic seduction, occasion

for mortal sin, and the evil of transgressions from habit."[228] Thus, even though the personal

prayer may have been originally learned in a communal setting in a process of repetitive

recitation, it lent itself to being used in a more private, individually oriented spiritual space. A

plea for divine protection from mortal sin and vices inevitably invited a personal examination of

one's state of conscience, fostering an affective piety that was rapidly becoming a fixture in

western as well as eastern Early Modern Catholicism.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, in this moment of personal reflection, the Basilian

composed prayer invited the devotee to partake in ritual actions which themselves required

further acts of internal religious reflection. "Frequent and agreeable participation in regular

confession and communion" required a contemplation of involvement in activities which then

demanded to be contemplated themselves.[229] These ritual actions and their contemplation were

thus displayed as markers of Catholic confessional identity, intended to stand in contrast to

"pagans and heretics."[230] Indeed, religious contemplation, if not spiritual athleticism, in addition

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[227] CDIAL 684:(1):1202:3, "Bron _nas_ od grzechu broń od wieczney kary." (Defend us from sin, (defend us) from eternal punishment.) "Day _mi_ w każdym czasie..." (Grant me at all times...)

[228] CDIAL 684:(1):1202:3, "Day mi w każdym czasie, potrzebie, akcie, a osobliwie w zgonie zycia moiego zal szczery w Pokusach cielesnych; Bądz osłoną w wszelakich natarczywościach Szatanskich, Broń mnie od grzechu smiertelnego, y od wszelakich bliskich onego okazyi, od wszelakich złych grzechowych nałogow."

[229] CDIAL 684:(1):1202:3, "Częste i zgodne do PrzenaySS: Sakramentu przystępowania, do Swiętey spowiedzi z skruchą serdeczną uczęszczanie."

[230] CDIAL 684:(1):1202:4, "Poganom wszystkim niewiernym upros do wiary nawrocenia, heretykom prawdziwey wiary wyznania, y wszelakich herezyi wykorzenienia: Jednosc wiary wszystkim narodom."

to performance was increasingly being encouraged by clerical elites, as demonstrated by a 1749 treatise recited before ritual *recollectiones* by Jan Rudnicki, the Greek-rite Catholic bishop of Luts'k: "I'll ask first: what is meditation? Meditation is nothing more than the placing in one's mind, or contemplating of all those holy mysteries which the Catholic faith teaches us. It is contemplation of last things, of death, of judgment, of hell and heaven, of the Lord's Passion (...) on all these things upon our salvation is contingent and which are the basis of our faith."[231]

As demonstrated, Early Modern Greek-rite Catholic ecclesiastical elites employed Tridentine guidelines for the management and channeling of lay devotions. Visitations, *inquisitiones*, translations, processions, construction of new sacred venues, ornamentation both through artistic and literary means provided a clerically oriented framework for lay devotions. Further evidence shows that the Fathers were not acting without precedent. Among its collection of various religious tomes, the Werchrata monastery possessed a History of the Częstochowa Image, the popularity of which had exploded in the decade of the Deluge. In the "Inventarium Monasterii Werchratensis," it's simply referred to as "Hystorya obrazu Częstochowskiego," which may have simply been a reprinting of a mid-sixteenth century text, entitled "Historya o obrazie w Częstochowie Panny Maryjej."[232] According to Robert Maniura, the sixteenth century text provided not only a laundry list of miracles associated with the Częstochowa icon, it also gave accounts of the way the Częstochowa Paulines dealt with the throngs of pilgrims who gravitated to that hierophanic object on top of Jasna Góra. The interaction of laymen with the icon, such as through the leaving of votives or participation in processions, provided a means of

(Obtain for all unfaithful pagans, faith toward conversion. For all heretics, obtain the faith of confession and the eradication of heresy and unity of faith for all nations.)

[231] CDIAL 684:(1):1202:16, "Co to się naypierw pytam medytacye? Medytacye nic innego nie są tylko stanowienie w mysli albo rozmyslanie tych wszystkich swiętych taiemnic ktorych nas nienaruszon Katolickich naucza wiara. Rozmyślanie o ostatecznych rzeczach o Smierci, o Sądzie, o Piekle, o niebie, o grzechach, o Męce Pańskiey o nikczemnosci naszey, o Stanie naszym o Powinnosciach Jego, o tym wszystkim naczym nasze zawisło zbawienie y gruntowanie wierzenne."

[232] CDIAL 684:1186:31, "Hystorya obrazu Częstochowskiego...1." (A History of the image of Częstochowa…1.)

directing lay performance before the image.[233] Judging by a copy of the Częstochowa image in

the Werchrata monastic sacristy along with the fact that the Blessed Mother of Hoszów was

actually a copy of the Częstochowa icon, the Basilian Fathers were undoubtedly aware of the

largest point of pilgrimage in the Commonwealth.[234] Their possession of a volume that could

effectively be interpreted as a user's manual for the lay cult of a miraculous image, demonstrated

the deliberateness with which they sought to channel and maintain potentially unruly lay

devotions within ecclesiastical structures. Despite the availability of this supposed ready-made

blueprint for the maintenance of a miraculous image and its placement in the context of sacred

history, the Basilians still faced a unique set of challenges in adapting a confessionally

contentious past within a Tridentine framework of seamless continuity.

Devotions to miraculous icons were a long-held and deeply cherished part of Ruthenian

popular piety by the time the Przemyśl and L'viv eparchies joined confessional union with Rome

at the turn of the seventeenth century. Venerated by Orthodox Ruthenians across many locales,

the Basilian Fathers innovatively adapted and standardized the cult of miraculous icons in a way

that not only subverted potential Orthodox resistance but also cultivated a Greek-rite Catholic

community of devotion. The imagined histories composed by Basilians for these miraculous

icons silenced their Orthodox past, proclaiming them, instead, to have been faithful, long-time

intercessors, caretakers and protectors of the community. Integrated into a Greek-rite religious

milieu, through these imagined histories of continuity, miraculous icons also became a

confessionalizing tool of the episcopate: legitimating the notion of a Greek-rite Catholic Church

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[233] Robert Maniura, *Pilgrimage to Images in the Fifteenth Century: the Origins of the Cult of Our Lady of Częstochowa*, (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2004), 94-115.

[234] CDIAL 684:1186:30, "Obrazek Częstochowskiey Beatissimae maiący przy sobie Igielnice y tabliczką srebrną z głową rysowaną."
(A picture of the Blessed (Mother) of Częstochowa which has a mounting brackets (?) with an engraved silver head.)

that was part of a larger, Rome-oriented institution, cultivating a Greek-rite faithful identification and encouraging an individualized, affective form of piety that included participation in auricular confession and Communion.

Indeed, notions of continuity underpinned the Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic confession-building project even prior to Union in 1596, beginning with the missionary campaign of Jesuit polemicists. Following the Union of Brest, these histories asserted a cultural continuity of faith, devotional practice and hierarchical organization. These imagined histories of continuity were foundational in the process of disciplining the clerical corps, catechizing the Ruthenian faithful, and promoting the internalization of confessional ideas.
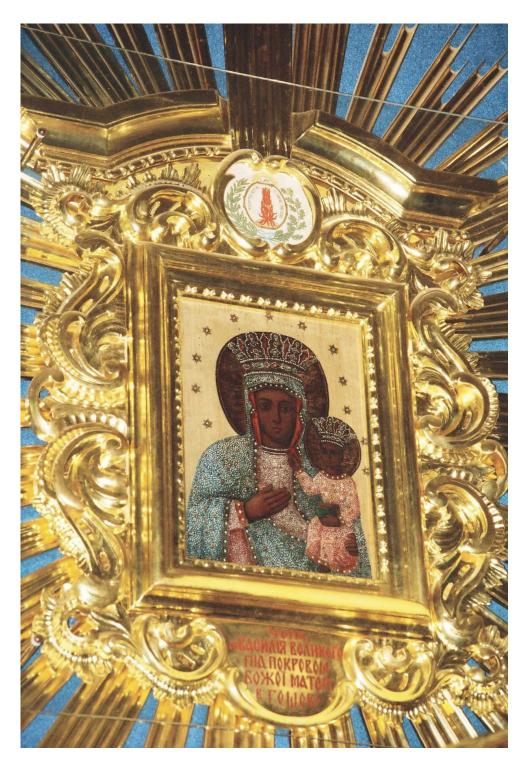
Image 5.1: Miraculous Image of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Hoszów (Гошів) at the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Monastery of the Order of St. Basil the Great (OSBM), with seal of the Basilian Fathers above and their claim to the icon inscribed below. The icon is copy of the Black Madonna of Częstochowa (see below).
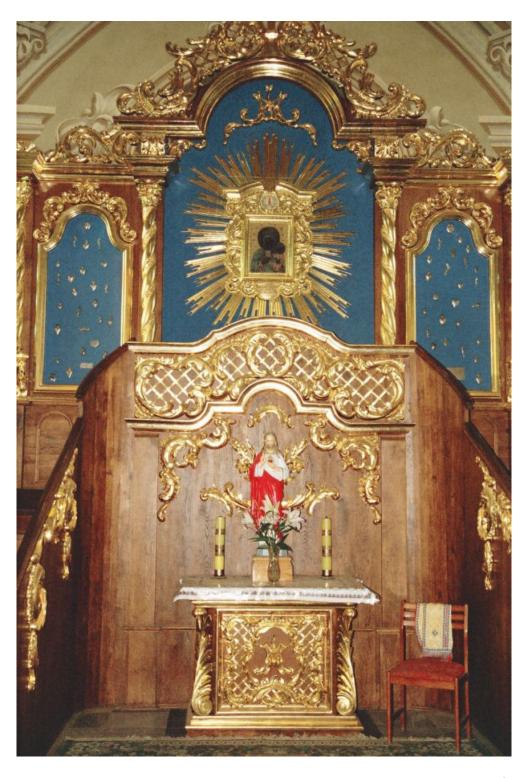
Image 5.2: Miraculous Image of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Hoszów (Гошів) at the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Monastery of the Order of St. Basil the Great (OSBM), with votives on each side. The votives are intended to act as visual proof of the miracles ascribed to the image.

Image 5.3: Miraculous Image of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Werchrata, now at Ukrainian Greek Catholic Monastery of St. Nicholas in Krekhiv (Крехів), belonging to the Order of St. Basil the Great (OSBM).

Image 5.4: Miraculous Image of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Zarwanica, now at the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of the Zarvanytsia Mother of God in Zarvanytsia (Зарваниця).
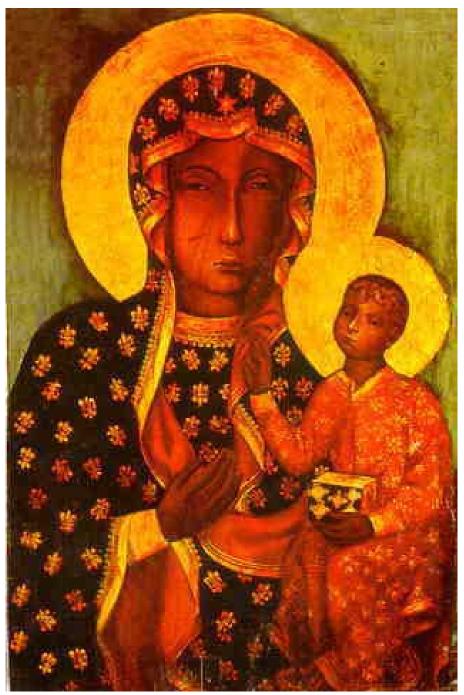
Image 5.5: Black Madonna of Częstochowa, now at the Jasna Góra Monastery, originally at Belz. The cult of the Częstochowa image served as a blueprint for Basilians wishing to manage and promote local cults of miraculous icons.

Image 5.6: Basilian Father (OSBM)
(From Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, plate 28).

Image 5.7: Seal of the Order of Saint Basil the Great (OSBM). The pillar of fire is described as a miraculous apparition in the 1766 "The Miracles of Werchrata Monastery," illuminating the hill which eventually became home to Blessed Virgin Mary of Werchrata icon.

CHAPTER 6: EPILOGUE

This dissertation concludes in 1772, a year marking the beginning of the end of the

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, rapid changes across the confessional landscape and the first

of three partitions in 1772, 1793 and 1795 respectively. There is little historiographical

consensus regarding the principle causes for this dismantling, though internal divisions, external

influences and repeated invasions are often cited; in any case it is far beyond the scope of this

dissertation to speculate.[1]

However, the historical reality of the partitions had far and wide reaching repercussions

for Greek-rite Catholics at the center of this work. The vast majority of the territorial

Commonwealth was brought into the Russian Empire, who also claimed the largest percentage of

Uniate faithful. Prussia briefly acquired some sixty parishes, including the famous Basilian

monastery at Supraśl, which for the next decade, functioned as episcopal seat of the sole Greek-

rite Catholic diocese within the Hohenzollern-run state.[2]

Habsburg Austria likewise acquired territory, claiming the bishoprics of Przemyśl and

L'viv. It would be more than a century before Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, or Ukraine would

again proclaim independence, by which time many Greek-rite Catholics had left Central and

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[1] A brief sampling of scholarship addressing the issues of partition include: Jerzy Lukowski, *The Partitions of Poland: 1772, 1793, 1795,* (New York: Longman Publishing, 1999); Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland Volume 2: 1795 to the Present,* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1982); Piotr S. Wandycz, *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795-1918,* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974).

[2] Bolesław Kumor, "Kościół unicki w zaborze pruskim. Diecezja w Supraślu (1795-1807)," in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce,* vol. 1, part 2, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 173-5.

Eastern Europe for the shores of North America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These civic, political and demographic changes created a series of long-lasting, even ongoing questions regarding the Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic Church. Principal among these uncertainties was its very continuance.

The Union of Brest in 1596 was championed by the Polish crown, the territorial reach of the Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic Church delineated by the borders of the Commonwealth while the Uniate confessional ethno-religious identity was deeply rooted in place. The partitioning of the Commonwealth under three ostensibly confessional rulers, Lutheran, Orthodox and Roman Catholic, and the emigration of Uniates from those places raised a series of questions: Would a religious institution so profoundly tied to a political state be able to function without the support of that state? Could a religion tied to place maintain its cohesion and be recognized away from its native land? How would these profound ecclesiastical disruptions alter the identities of the Uniate faithful? Ironically, the very arguments of "historical continuity" would again be deployed, this time order to question the very legitimacy the Uniate Church; confessional disputes dead for hundreds of years given new life in these new polities, unleashing renewed conflict.

THE GREEK-RITE UNDER PARTITION: ROMAN CATHOLIC HABSBURGS AND ORTHODOX TSARS

The Habsburg state already possessed a considerable number of Greek-rite Catholic subjects, brought into union with Rome first via the Union of Uzhhorod in 1646, followed by a number of regional unions, including those in 1664 at Mukachevo and 1697 at Iulia Alba.[3] As

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[3] William O. Oldson, *The Politics of Rite: Jesuit, Uniate, and Romanian Ethnicity in 18th Century Transylvania*, (New York: University of Columbia Press, 2005), 63.

such, the Ruthenian Uniates that became Habsburg subjects following the partitions of 1772 and 1795 were not viewed as a novel religious entity. Their claim to continuity with Rome was already validated by the existence of several non-Roman Catholic communities within the Habsburg state.

Once incorporated into the Habsburg Empire, the Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic community faced a relatively benevolent, though sometimes contentious, set of religious policies. Starting with the rule of Emperor Joseph II, the Habsburgs sought to make churches an effective tool in governing a newly acquired province, turning it into an extension of an absolutist enlightenment state. These "enlightened" policies of the Habsburg crown wreaked havoc on monastic life and waged war against beloved forms of Uniate devotion such as feast days, pilgrimages, processions and devotions to miraculous icons.

However, the institutional life of Greek-rite Catholicism flourished as the Austrians built Uniate seminaries, increased clerical education (sponsoring them at Viennese institutions), raised clerical salaries and freed Greek-rite priests from feudal obligations. Over the course of next century, the education, pastoral capability, material and social standing of Uniate clergy increased substantially.[4] L'viv in particular, materially benefitted from Habsburg rule, becoming a principal location of Byzantine learning, beginning with the 1774 establishment of a Greek-rite Catholic seminary, the Barbareum. The Greek-rite Catholic See was also moved to L'viv, where it functioned as the resurrected Metropolitanate of Halych.[5]

See also:Ks.Walerian Bugel, *W Obawie o Własną Tożsamość:Eklezjologia Unii Użhododzkiej*, (Lublin: RedakcjaWydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2000), 37-52, 97-104.
[4] John-Paul Himka, "German Culture and the National Awakening in Western Ukraine," in *German-Ukrainian Relations in Historical Perspective,* eds. Hans-Joachim Torke, John-Paul Himka, (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1994), 29-44.
[5] Hanna Dylągowa, *Dzieje Unii Brzeskiej,* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Interlibro, Warmińskie Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 1996), 61-2.

The state-sponsored marginalization of the Basilian Fathers, which had begun with the closing of smaller provincial monasteries, also extended to their exclusion from episcopal ranks. In the Commonwealth, the Basilians functioned as a pool of new bishops and episcopal administration. Under Habsburg rule, the episcopate was increasingly drawn from established clerical families. Over the course of the nineteenth century, these clerical sons became the founders of a Ukrainian national awakening, which bolstered a specifically ethnic character of Greek-rite Catholicism in the Austrian Empire.[6] The Greek-rite Church in the Austrian-ruled provinces of Halychyna and Podolia continued to function largely unimpaired until World War II.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, confessional identification in Halychyna and Podolia were increasingly tied to mother tongue. Over time, speakers of Polish identified as "Latins," whereas speakers of Ukrainian were associated with "Greeks."[7] Ethnic tensions, particularly among elites and especially over cultural property, flared up with some frequency.

The Austrian state, eager to head off potential conflicts, used its diplomatic muscle in Rome to secure religious accommodations for its subjects. These efforts culminated in the *Concordia* of 1863. In order to prevent the age-old accusation of Latin "poaching of souls," Latin-rite priests were barred from baptizing children whose parents were Greek-rite Catholic in all but the most extreme cases. In the matter of ever-frequent mixed marriages, sons were to follow the father's rite, while daughters embraced that of the mother. The dilemmas of mixed households regarding keeping fasts and obligatory holy days were to be remedied with frequent episcopal dispensations. Faithful were permitted to use confessors of either rite, but were

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[6] Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół greckokatolicki w Galicji (1815-1918)" in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 2, pt. 1, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 639-43.

[7] Hanna Dylągowa, *Dzieje Unii Brzeskiej (1596 – 1918),* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Interlibro, Warmińskie Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 1996), 67.

likewise encouraged to receive the Eucharist in the form accorded to the rite of their birth. However, when facing death, last rites were dispensed by the closest available priest, whether "Latin" or "Greek."

In many ways, the Habsburg Empire fulfilled the goals the Ruthenian Greek-rite Catholic episcopate had always longed for, particularly in balancing out the often unequal institutional levels of social respectability and legal status that had existed between the Greek and the Latin rites. Bishop Innocenty Winnicki's dream of clerical equality across varying rites at last became law in this new political reality. According to Tadeusz Śliwa, by the latter half of the nineteenth century, the level of respect owed to a cleric resulted from his standing within the church hierarchy, not the rite he belonged to.[8]

The Greek-rite Catholics absorbed into Tsarist Russia were faced with a set of hostile pressures that stood in stark contrast to their coreligionists in the Habsburg Empire. Beginning with Catherine II, the Greek-rite Catholic Church could not be allowed to coexist with a state-sanctioned Eastern Christian church. An example of this was the passage of a 1780 law which "allowed" for the "return" of Greek-rite Catholics into Orthodoxy, a provision effectively outlawed in the Commonwealth. Upon the death of its Greek-rite Catholic pastor, a parish was distributed to a loyal Orthodox cleric, who then had the resources, support and weight of the official state religion behind him.[9] Uniate clerics were incorporated into the Saint Petersburg Russian Orthodox Church and the Greek-rite episcopate barred from direct contact with the Papal See. Bishoprics whose episcopal head had died were left vacant for years.[10]

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[8] Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół greckokatolicki w Galicji (1815-1918)" in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 2, pt. 1, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 648-9.

[9] Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół greckokatolicki w zaborze rosyjskim (1772-1815)" in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 2, pt. 1, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 220-1.

[10] Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół greckokatolicki w zaborze rosyjskim (1772-1815)" in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 2, pt. 1, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 219-25.

By 1839, under the autocratic rule of Nicholas I, the Union had formally ceased to exist in the lands of the Russian Empire. Greek-rite Catholics residing within the semi-autonomous Kingdom of Poland were spared for a few more decades.[11] In the aftermath of the January Uprising of 1863, which resulted in the dissolution of the Kingdom of Poland as a political entity, the state-sponsored project of gradual conversion of Uniates to Orthodoxy finally gave way to use of armed force. The post-uprising military terror unleashed across the Polish partition, provided the Russian government with the perfect opportunity to dismantle the last remnants of Greek-rite Catholicism that up to then still functioned as the bishopric of Chełm. The worst excesses occurred in the villages Drelów and Pratulin, where peasants in the hundreds gathered to prevent the armed takeover of their church were dispersed with gunfire.[12] The 1875 incorporation of the bishopric of Chełm into Orthodoxy was the last step in the institutional destruction of Greek-rite Catholicism in the Russian Empire.[13]

THE GREEK-RITE IN THE UNITED STATES: LATINIZATION, AMERICANIZATION AND ORTHODOX REUNIFICATION

Tsar Paul I (1796-1801), though far more benevolent in his policy toward Greek-rite Catholicism than his mother, Catherine II,[14] contemptuously described the confession as "neither fish nor fowl;"[15] believing it to be neither Catholic nor Orthodox and therefore of dubious legitimacy. Sharing in this opinion was the Roman Catholic Church in the United States who, starting in the late nineteenth century, witnessed the arrival of a new kind of Catholic on

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[11] Jerzy Kłoczowski, *Dzieje chrześcijaństwa polskiego*, (Warszawa: Świat Książki, 2000), 237.

[12] Hanna Dylągowa, *Dzieje Unii Brzeskiej (1596 – 1918),* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Interlibro, Warmińskie Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 1996), 158-74.

[13] Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół greckokatolicki w zaborze rosyjskim (1815-1875)" in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 2, pt. 1, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 510.

[14] Григор Лужнницький, *Українсъка церква між сходом і заходом: нарис історії української церкви*, (Львів: Видавництво „Свічадо," 2008), 420.

[15]"Neither Fish nor Fowl" is the English translation of Tsar Paul I's phrase, "ni miaso ni ryba" which is literally translated, "neither meat nor fish."

American shores. These Slavic-speaking immigrants did not worship in Latin, communicated in two species and were ministered to by married priests, all the while claiming to be fully Catholic and undeniably loyal to the Papacy. Unused to anything other than the Latin-rite expression of their creed, the American episcopate's reaction to these new arrivals ranged from skepticism to outright horror.

The arrival of Greek-rite Catholic immigrants to the United States coincided with the rise of cultural Ultramontanism in the American Church. Devoid of post-Napoleonic European political implications, the American variant of Ultramontanism championed a Roman approach to devotion, discipline and theology as a church-wide movement.[16] French Gallicanism and its historical liturgical exceptionalism were frequently disfigured by Ultramontanists into a bogeyman of "heresy and schism."[17]

Given this prevailing mood in late nineteenth century American Catholicism, the seemingly "foreign" Ruthenian practices and liturgies were increasingly viewed as "at odds" with "proper" Romanitas of Catholicism. As such, Roman Catholic American bishops denounced Eastern Catholicism as improper, specifically with regard to their maintenance of a married clergy. An early twentieth century American Ultramontanist author was perhaps even more blunt, stating that "compared with the Latin rite, the Byzantine is and always will be in a state of inferiority." [18]

Greek-rite Catholics, like most Protestant denominations, celebrated communion under both species (bread and wine), while maintaining a vernacular liturgy and a married secular priesthood; practices explicitly protected at the Union of Brest in 1596. Commonplace in

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[16] J. Derek Holmes, *The triumph of the Holy See: a short history of the papacy in the nineteenth century*, (London: Burns & Oates, 1978), 135.

[17] Patricia Byrne, CS J, "American Ultramontanism," *Theological Studies* 56 (1995): 311.

[18] Foraneus, "Some thoughts on the Ruthenian Question in the United States and Canada," *The Ecclesiastical Review*, Volume 52 (1915): 46.

Central Eastern Europe, these traditions, once transplanted from their native birthplace to the American continent, unleashed a firestorm of controversy. The predominantly Irish-American episcopate in the United States connected these practices, particularly clerical marriage, with Protestantism. Indeed, in Western Europe the issue of clerical marriage was a historical marker of confessional identity, an identity fostered in oppositional terms between rival Catholics and Protestants.

Ultimately, the Roman Catholic episcopate in the United States so reviled these long-standing Ruthenian traditions, specifically with regard to married priests,[19] that they outright rejected their legitimacy, repudiating the Ruthenian claim to historical adherence to Catholicism, while demanding a "return to proper practice." These forceful attempts by the American episcopate to bring Ruthenian Catholics into line with Ultramontanist cultural ideals of uniformity had an unexpected consequence. In the final decade of the nineteenth century, a trickle, then a torrent of Ruthenian American Greek-rite Catholics migrated to the Orthodox faith.

The rise of an American brand of Ultramontanism provides but one explanation for the resulting conflict between the American episcopate and a church of Ruthenian immigrants. Another contributor to the fallout was anti-immigrant nativism and anti-Catholic feeling that pervaded the Progressive Era in the United States. Catholic clerics, as both a product of that movement and as a means of self-defense against external threat, began instituting Americanizing policies within their flock, promoting: less ethnically distinct dress, American patriotism, temperance, and the adoption of the exclusive use of the English language. This campaign of assimilation was largely pushed by the English-speaking Irish American episcopate

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[19] Some scholarship also hypothesizes that the unease regarding married Ruthenians priests stemmed from the fear that Roman Catholic priests would eventually demand the same privilege. Marvin R. O'Connell, *John Ireland and the American Catholic Church*, (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988), 270.

who took particular aim at the newly arrived Germans, Italians, Poles and immigrants from a host of other Central European peoples.[20] However, the "exotic" religious customs of Ruthenians were particularly objectionable to American bishops, and without their own separate ecclesiastical structure in the United States, Greek-rite Catholics were particularly vulnerable against competing ecclesiological visions of the Roman Catholic majority.[21]

The underlying tensions between the Latin-rite episcopate and the Greek-rite faithful exploded in 1888, when a community of Ruthenian immigrants in Minnesota sought to establish a new Greek-rite parish. Such an undertaking entailed the familiar steps of raising funds, acquiring property, erecting a church and hiring a priest to perform the usual pastoral tasks. As no seminary America was equipped to produce a Greek-rite parish priest, the gathered laity called on the Greek-rite Catholic Bishop of Prešov (currently eastern Slovakia) to send one their way. In 1889, Father Aleksii Toth arrived in Minneapolis, charged by his overseas bishop to minister to this new community of Ruthenian immigrants. Upon arriving, Toth dutifully met with the Archbishop of Saint Paul and Minneapolis, John Ireland, to obtain official sanction and blessing for his post. As it happened, John Ireland was one of the principal architects and promoters of ecclesiastical Americanization. The ensuing meeting turned so hostile, that it has since reached the status of a legend, particularly within the American Orthodox community [22]

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[20] Jay P. Dolan, *In Search of an American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension*, (Oxford UK: Oxford University Press, 2002), 140-145; Marvin R. O'Connell, *John Ireland and the American Catholic Church*, (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988), 290- 3.

[21] Starting in the 1880s, the first waves of Ruthenian Catholic immigrants began settling in the United States predominantly in coal mining communities. By 1910, some 370,000 made their home in America, predominately in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey and Ohio, organized within a hundred parishes. See: Tadeusz Śliwa, "Kościół greckokatolicki w zaborze rosyjskim (1815-1875)" in *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, vol. 2, pt. 1, eds. Bolesław Kumor, Zdzisław Obertyński, (Warszawa: Pallotinum, 1974), 649-50; Martin E. Marty, *Modern American Religion, Volume 1: The Irony of It All, 1893-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 130-5.

[22] Marvin R. O'Connell, *John Ireland and the American Catholic Church*, (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988), 269-71.

Ireland left no record of the meeting, but Toth's memoirs described the encounter in great detail, illustrating the intense antagonism born out of cultural differences. Apparently, the meeting started badly, as the Ruthenian priest observed the Eastern rather than Western protocols of respect. Toth allegedly began by kissing Ireland's hand and bowing, rather than kissing his ring and kneeling. The remainder of the meeting fared no better. Toth reported that once Ireland had discovered that he was an Eastern-rite Catholic widower and father of grown children, the conversation devolved into Ireland throwing papers and both clerics yelling at one another. Amidst the shouting, Ireland refused to recognize Toth's authority as a priest, nor even as a Catholic:

> I have already written to Rome protesting against this kind of priest being sent to me! I do not consider that either you or this bishop of yours are Catholic. Besides I do not need any Greek Catholic priests here. A Polish priest in Minneapolis is quite sufficient. The Greeks can also have him for a priest... I shall grant you no jurisdiction to work here.

Toth, in turn, demanded an acknowledgement of the rights and privileges guaranteed by confessional union: "I know the basis on which the Union was established and shall act accordingly."[23]

In the aftermath of this confrontation, Ireland moved to bring Toth and all Greek-rite Catholics under stricter control. Ireland not only forbade Toth from having contact with his parishioners but also demanded that the clergy in his jurisdiction denounce him from the pulpit. Closing ranks, Ireland and other prominent members of the American Roman Catholic episcopate successfully lobbied Rome, and in 1890, secured a proclamation that placed all Byzantine-rite clergy under the jurisdiction of the Latin Rite Ordinary. Any new priests were to remain celibate, while those who were already married were ordered to return to their countries of origin.

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[23] This exchange has been widely quoted see for instance, Marvin R. O'Connell, *John Ireland and the American Catholic Church*, (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988), 269-71.

These proclamations were reiterated by Pope Pius X in 1907[24] via a formal response from the Rome, in an apostolic letter entitled *Ea Semper*. The Ea Semper prohibited the ordination of married Greek-rite clergy in the United States, banned Greek-rite priests from immigrating to the United States without the explicit approval of the American Roman Catholic episcopate and demanded the surrender of all titles and properties of Greek-rite parishes to the local Roman Catholic bishop. While these exhortations aroused considerable anger in the Greek-rite community, they also went largely unenforced until the proclamation was reiterated in 1927 proclamation entitled *Cum Data Fuerit*, which once again insisted that "priests of the Greek-Ruthenian Rite who wish to go to the United States of America and stay there, must be celibates."[25]

This ban on married clergy has remained in effect for the American Greek-rite Catholics until the present day, while their ordained co-religionists in modern-day Poland, Ukraine and Belarus face no such barriers to ordination or ministry. As such, the continuity of practice as expressed through clerical marriage has been largely left alone in places where Greek-rite Catholicism came into being. Outside that native geographical location, the Greek-rite episcopate and clergy form a church that is administratively divorced from that sense of continuity, as it answers not to its traditional metropolitan heads, but directly to the Roman pontiff.

While the Roman Catholic episcopate sought to discipline Greek-rite Catholics in the New World, the Ruthenians did not willingly yield to these Latinization attempts. In fact, the vast majority of Uniates in America abandoned the Catholic Church "returning" to Orthodox Christianity. The leader of this "return" was none other than Father Aleksii Toth who, failing to

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[24] Bohdan P. Procko, "The Establishment of the Ruthenian Church in the United States," *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 24, no. 2, (April 1975): 146-7.
[25] *Cum Data Fuerit*, Article 12.

reach a satisfactory agreement with the episcopate in the United States, sought out the Orthodox

Bishop Vladimir Sokolovsky of the Alaskan Diocese of the Russian Synod (living in San

Francisco where the diocese had been headquartered since the mid-19th century). With

Sokolovsky's help, Toth led a flock of more than 300 Ruthenian Greek-rite faithful "back" into

the Russian Orthodox Church in 1892.[26] Thereafter, Toth embarked upon a campaign to

"reunite" all Ruthenians in America to the Orthodox Mother Church from which they had

wrongly been separated. Scholars believe that as a direct result of Toth's evangelization, 29,000

Ruthenians joined the Orthodox Church.

However, following the Ea Semper and the Cum Data Fuerit that number drastically

increased and conservative estimates indicate that 100,000 former Uniate Ruthenians joined the

Russian Orthodox Church in America (OCA) accounting for 93% of the founding members of

the Church. Later, Orthodox Greeks and Russians[27] also reached the shores of the United States,

further swelling the church's membership. For his efforts in "reuniting" Ruthenians with

Orthodoxy, Toth was canonized in 1994; though many faithful ironically refer to Bishop Ireland

as the true father of the Orthodox Church in America.[28]

THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

While the Second Vatican Council has since normalized a variety of practices which

were once held suspect by Latin-rite bishops, such as vernacular liturgy and Eucharist in both

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[26] Marvin Richard O'Connell, *John Ireland and the American Catholic Church*, (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1988), 269-71.
See also: Athanasius B. Pekar, "Sheptyts'kyi and the Carpatho-Ruthenians in the United States" in *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptits'kyi*, ed. Paul Magocsi, (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989), 364-5.
[27] The majority of Russian immigrants prior to the early part of the 20th century were Jewish rather than Orthodox. Nicholas Ferencz, "The Toth Movement," *American Orthodoxy and Parish Congregationalism,* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), 147-67.
[28] Fred J. Saato, *American Eastern Catholics*, (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2006), 74.

kinds, the issue of clerical marriage remains as contentious as it had been in Archbishop John Ireland's time. Although in practice since the 1980s, the recent admission of married, formerly Anglican priests into the Catholic Church, has received widespread coverage within the mainstream media in the past decade.[29] Many columnists and commentators have unknowingly referred to the event as "unprecedented," even to the point of asking readers to "think of how different the Catholic Church would be today if we had married priests on the altar, with wives and children in the pews,"[30] thereby perpetuating old myths about an all-celibate Catholic priesthood.

That being said, the long tradition of married Eastern Catholic priests and the most recent influx of married, formerly Anglican clergy has not meant the end of episcopal uneasiness with even a minority, non-celibate priesthood in the Catholic Church. During an *ad limina* visit of American Eastern-rite bishops in May of 2012, Cardinal Leonardo Sandri, the Prefect of the Congregation for Oriental Churches in the Roman Curia, urged for the "maintaining formation programs, integrating immigrant priests (and) embracing celibacy in respect of the ecclesial context."[31] Cardinal Sandri's attitude, if only for that moment, brought back the ghost of John Ireland's unitary ecclesiology, in which certain long-approved church practices and traditions, while needing to be tolerated, would be better extinguished all together.

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[29] http://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/22/world/22church.html?_r=2&hp
[30] http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/mary-kate-cary/2009/10/23/anglican-deal-could-lead-to-married-catholic-priests
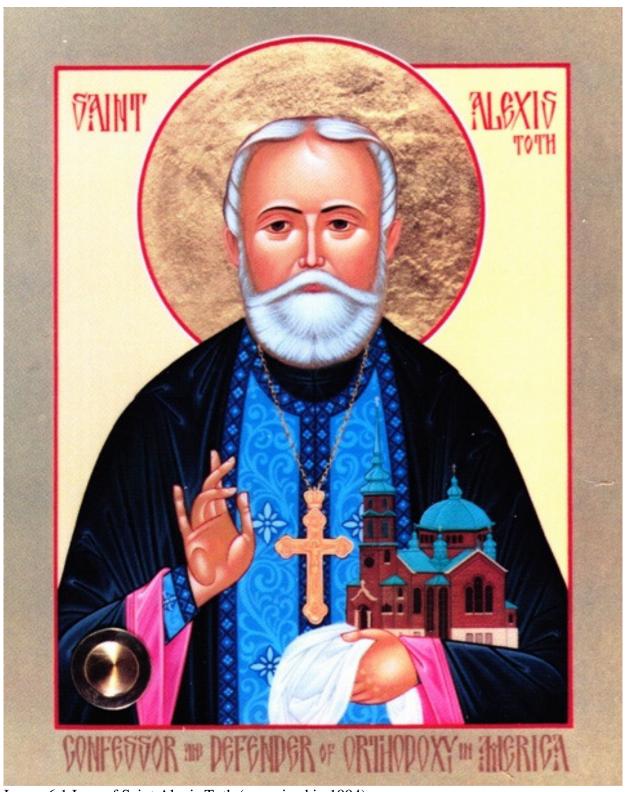[31] http://www.catholicnews.com/data/stories/cns/1201976.htm

Image 6.1 Icon of Saint Alexis Toth (canonized in 1994)

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Центральний державний історичний архів України (Львів):

129:2:1465 Молитви, проповіді і церковні пісні невстановленого автора, ca. XVIII
129:2:1483 Проповідь невстановленого свяшеника на евято Беіаговіщення, 1771
129:2:1484 Проповіді невстановленого свяшеника на święta Bożego Ciała, Wielkanocy i innych, 1772
129:2:1485 Проповіді (Sermo Funebralis, De poenitentia, Slovo s' pamiat' stago ... Archidiakona Stefana, Contio pro purificatione B Virginis Maria(e)), 1772
129:2:1524 Повчання, молитви і проповіді невстановленого автора, ca. XVIII
132:1152 Лист львівського греко-католицького єпіскопа Йосипа Шумлянського до коронного гетьмана Яблоновського Станіслафва із скаргою на борецького старосту Даниловича за вторгнення під час богослуження в церкву у Малих Дідушичах, вчиненная бешкету і побиття священника. Оригінал. 22 січня, 1701
408:911 Протоколи опитуван свідків для підтвердження фактів щодо "cudotwórczej siły" ikony в cerkwi z Zarwanicy, 1742
684:(1):1231 Декрет Київского митрополита й Львівского єпіскопа-Atanasa Szeptyckiego na ustanowienia religijnego kultu cudotwórczej ikony panny Marii w Goszywskiej monasterskiej cerkwii i innymi dokumentami dotyczących historii monastyra, 1737-1847
684:(1):1180-1 HISTORYA Monasteru Werchratskiego Zakonu Sgt. Bazylego, 1770
684:(1):1186 Інвентарний опис Inventarium Monasterij Verchratensis cum Residentia applicata 1766-1775
684:(1):1201-2 Рукописі тексти релігійних пісень і modlitw, przemów poświęconych cudotwórczemu obrazowi, 1759-1768

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