

Modernization through Occidentalization: Combining Eastern Traditions and Western Influences in Basilian Monasteries in Eighteenth-Century Poland-Lithuania

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the mechanisms and extent of artistic Occidentalization in Basilian monasteries in eighteenth-century Poland-Lithuania. The prominent Basilian Order was the sole monastic community within the Uniate (Greek Catholic) Church, which merged Byzantine traditions and Tridentine Catholicism. The study makes use of digital humanities research tools: data gathering, analysis, and visualization were done in Nodegoat, GIS, and Gephi. Thanks to the substantial corpus of sources, it was possible to analyze the presence of various Eastern and Western features in all 188 monasteries.

Basilian monasteries underwent numerous changes over time as they began to deviate from the model of their medieval forebearers. New monasteries appeared in urban areas rather than remote locations as had been the case in the past, and the monastery complexes themselves changed in appearance. The church, for example, no longer had to be oriented to the east. The most significant alterations, however, could be seen in the church interior. Inspired by Roman Catholic churches, Basilians introduced numerous side altars, pulpits, confessionals, benches, and choir lofts with organs. The iconostasis, a distinctive feature of a Byzantine-rite interior, was creatively remodeled to include side altars, sculptures, and frescoes instead of icons, or it was amalgamated with the main altar altogether. Conversely, the introduction of Western traditions seems to have scarcely influenced the selection of patron saints for churches and altars. These changes, however, took place gradually and were not uniform across all locations, thereby underscoring the importance of regional variations within the Basilian Order.

The article argues that these aforementioned changes were not part of a process of ideological Catholicization; rather, they stemmed from pragmatic decisions to modernize the Uniate Church in order to facilitate its growing pastoral and educational activities.

KEYWORDS: monasteries, Basilian Order, modernization, Poland-Lithuania

Declaration on Possible Conflicts of Interest

The author has declared that no conflicts of interest exist.

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1 Introduction

The Council of Trent and the activities of those seeking to reform the Catholic Church changed ecclesiastical dynamics and lent them a truly global dimension. Although the initial enthusiasm soon waned, the processes set in motion during this period shaped the world for centuries.¹ Nevertheless, the impacts of this Catholic Reformation differed in each region and community, producing many fascinating stories. This is one of them—a particularly Eastern European one.

This article aims to show how being drawn closer to Roman Catholicism changed the appearance of Byzantine-rite churches by examining the case of Basilian monasteries in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It focuses on art—particularly architecture and church furnishings—rather than the liturgy and ecclesiastical organization, although these aspects were undeniably intertwined.² The significance of this question goes beyond its purely historical aspects, for it relates to modern tensions between the Eastern and Western traditions and central aspects of identity that are still relevant to the descendants of early modern Uniate Ruthenians, namely, Ukrainians and Belarusians.³

The paper's geographical scope covers all monasteries of the Ruthenian Basilian Order (*Ordo Sancti Basilii Magni Ruthenorum*, OSBM) that functioned in Poland-Lithuania and in Rome. Chronologically, it focuses on the eighteenth century, in particular on the period from 1720 to 1795. Although many artistic projects were initiated in the seventeenth century, it was only after the turn of the century that the Ruthenian Catholic or Uniate Church became the almost sole denomination of Ruthenians in Poland-Lithuania. For the Basilian Order, the most artistically productive period can be delimited as stretching from around 1720 (end of the Great Northern War and also an important Uniate synod in Zamość) until 1795 (Third Partition of Poland-Lithuania).

Before turning to examine the sources, some issues of terminology deserve consideration. The words historians use in the present to describe changes that occurred in the early modern past are not always neutral; some of them are anachronistic, and most of them stem from the confessional scholarship and academic discourse of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. “Latinization” refers to the process of adapting Latin (i.e., Roman) solutions in non-Latin communities, in our case in the Ruthenian Uniate Church. Latinization is pre-

1 ROBERT BIRELEY: *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation*, Washington 1999.

2 For an outline of Eastern Christian architecture in Poland-Lithuania, see: PIOTR KRASNY: *Architektura cerkiewna na ziemiach ruskich Rzeczypospolitej 1596–1914* [Orthodox and Greek Catholic Church Architecture in the Ruthenian Lands of the Polish Commonwealth 1596–1914], Kraków 2003.

3 See for instance: JOACHIM BAHLCKE, STEFAN ROHDEWALD et al. (eds.): *Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa: Konstitution und Konkurrenz im nationen- und epochenübergreifenden Zugriff*, Berlin 2013.

dominantly used to describe liturgical changes, which are often condemned and treated as abuses in which Uniates deviated from the “proper” Byzantine rite.⁴ With the terms “Occidentalization” or “Westernization,” on the other hand, the emphasis shifts from a more narrow religious focus (“Latin” vs. “Byzantine”) and assumes a wider perspective that includes the entire spectrum of changes within non-Western communities as they received, adjusted, and adopted Western European cultural influences. It thus seems reasonable to use “Latinization” when referring more narrowly to liturgical changes and to address art within the more general sphere of Occidentalization.⁵ For the sake of this study, other important terms are “reform” and “modernization.” Although often understood as the introduction of new features, “reform” evokes restoring something to the original condition. It is especially vital regarding church reforms, which have historically aimed to bring ecclesiastical structures and practices closer to the early Christian ideal. Implementing new ideas was a means to work more effectively toward this central goal. In this respect, it is possible to discuss the “modernization” of particular religious communities.

The processes of Latinization and Occidentalization occurred both in Uniate and Orthodox Churches, although with a different scope and dynamics. While these processes have long been associated with the synod in Zamość in 1720, recent research has shown that the synod in fact sought to codify and regulate changes that were already occurring. It did not aim to Latinize the Uniate Church but was centered on practical issues of church organization and discipline.⁶ Jerzy Kowalczyk was the first to highlight Latinization and Occidentalization in the art of Polish-Lithuanian Uniates, and subsequent studies by Piotr Krasny and Anna Sołtysiak followed his example.⁷ However, the evidence on

4 For discussions about liturgical Latinization, see: LAWRENCE HUCULAK: *The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in the Kievan Metropolitan Province during the Period of Union with Rome (1596–1839)*, Romae 1990; SOFIA SENYK: *The Ukrainian Church and Latinization*, in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 56 (1990), 1, pp. 165–187; PRZEMYSŁAW NOWAKOWSKI: *Problematyka liturgiczna w międzywyznaniowej polemice po Unii Brzeskiej (1596–1720)* [Liturgical Issues in Interconfessional Polemic after the Union of Brest (1596–1720)], Kraków 2004.

5 TARAS SHMAN'KO: *Latynizatsiia ta oksydentalizatsiia: Proiavy i naslidky* [Latinization and Occidentalization: Manifestations and Consequences], in: JOHANN MARTE, OLEH TURIJ (eds.): *Die Union von Brest (1596) in Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung: Versuch einer Zwischenbilanz*, Lviv 2008, pp. 340–352.

6 PRZEMYSŁAW NOWAKOWSKI (ed.): *Statuty Synodu Zamojskiego 1720 roku: Nowe tłumaczenie z komentarzami* [Statutes of the Synod in Zamość in 1720: New Translation with Commentaries], Kraków 2020; ROSTYSŁAV PARAN'KO, IHOR SKOCHYLIIAS et al. (eds.): *Zamois'kyi provintsiiinyi sobor Rus'koi Uniiinii Tserkvy 1720 roku* [The 1720 Provincial Council of the Ruthenian Uniate Church]. Vol. 1: *Diiannia ta postanovy* [Acts and Resolutions], L'viv 2021.

7 JERZY KOWALCZYK: *Latynizacja i okcydentalizacja architektury greckokatolickiej w XVIII wieku* [Latinization and Occidentalization of Greek Catholic Architecture in the Eighteenth Century], in: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 42 (1980), 3–4, pp. 347–364; PIOTR KRASNY: *Okcydentalizacja czy modernizacja? Uwagi o przemianach unickiej architek-*

their disposal was fragmentary. In this study we would like to provide a systematic analysis of the sources concerning all monasteries of the Ruthenian Basilian Order.

After outlining the topic and our methodology, we will present examples of particular solutions implemented in Basilian monasteries in the eighteenth century. These illuminate traditional Eastern elements, typical Western innovations, and ways in which the two were mixed. This core material forms a basis for further quantitative analysis (an index of Occidentalization) and eventually some broader insight, comparing Basilians with other monastic communities and seeking to pinpoint their place among the early modern confessional and artistic cultures.

2 The Basilian Order in Poland-Lithuania

At the Union of Brest in 1596, the majority of the Orthodox Church hierarchs in Poland-Lithuania recognized papal supremacy and Catholic dogma while retaining their Slavic-Byzantine rite and church tradition; the community of believers they represented was thus recognized as the Uniate Church (later known as the Greek Catholic Church). The seventeenth century was marked by confrontation between supporters and adversaries of the Union. It was not until around 1700 that the Uniate Church encompassed the vast majority of Ruthenians in the country. In the eighteenth century, it was the most numerous denomination in Poland-Lithuania, although less influential than the politically dominant Roman Catholicism. The relationship between the two Catholic Churches was complex and characterized by both cooperation and competition. Uniates were constantly torn between the pressure to adjust their liturgy, organization, religious culture, and art along Latin lines and a desire to remain faithful to established Eastern traditions. Basilians acted at the very frontline of this tension.⁸

tury sakralnej w Rzeczypospolitej w wieku XVIII [Occidentalization or Modernization? Remarks on the Transformations of Uniate Church Architecture in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century], in: *Krakowskie Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze* 5/6 (1996/1997), pp. 129–140; ANNA SOLTYSIAK: *Przemiany wewnątrz cerkwi greckokatolickich po synodzie zamojskim w 1720 roku* [Transformations of the Interior of Greek Catholic Churches after the Synod of Zamość in 1720], MA thesis, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Warszawa 2006.

8 For an introduction to the Uniate Church in Poland-Lithuania, see: ANDRZEJ GIL, I HOR SKOCZYŁAS: *Kościół wschodnie w państwie polsko-litewskim w procesie przemian i adaptacji: Metropolia kijowska w latach 1458–1795* [Eastern Churches in the Polish-Lithuanian State in the Process of Transformation and Adaptation: Kyiv Metropolis 1458–1795], Lublin—Lwów 2014. For its geographical range, see: BOGUMIŁ SZADY: *Geography of Religious and Confessional Structures in the Crown of the Polish Kingdom in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*, Berlin 2019, pp. 283–291.

The Basilian Order, created at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was the only monastic community in the Uniate Church. It thus assumed a number of crucial roles. The order formed the church's elite from which bishops and their officials came. It ran prominent sanctuaries, schools, and printing houses. Its members wrote intellectual religious literature and organized popular missions. Last but not least, the order was responsible for various artistic activities on a scale far exceeding the limited means of most Uniate parish churches.⁹

In the middle of the century, the Basilian network consisted of over 180 monasteries, most of which were densely located within the Ruthenian lands of the Commonwealth, but more isolated outposts also functioned beyond the traditional zone of Eastern Christianity (foremost in the politically important cities of Warsaw and Rome).

The monasteries that joined the Union in the seventeenth century were primarily located in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Volhynia (part of the Kingdom of Poland). The majority of the monasteries in the Polish part of the country, however, did not accept the Union until the beginning of the eighteenth century. There were thus two groups with differing histories and levels of inclusion in the Catholic world. For a while, they functioned totally separately and competed with each other. Only in 1743 was an agreement reached to create one order with two provinces, Lithuanian and Polish (known also as Crown or Ruthenian), unified only at the top level by a common protoarchimandrite (general), consultants, secretaries, and procurator. There was also an independent archimandry of Supraśl that had two subordinated residences in Kuźnica and Warsaw (Fig. 1).

While Basilian monasteries varied between these two provinces, another crucial difference regarding their artistic production was in terms of wealth. While some monasteries were major landowners with significant income and others could rely on the financial support of rich patrons, many were much smaller and poorer, utterly unable to commission any such project. During the period, however, the number of these smallest monasteries was gradually decreasing, as the Holy See demanded that any monastery that could not sustain at least eight monks should be dissolved.

Basilians were also building (quite literally) on the legacy of medieval Orthodox monasticism: Numerous monasteries were founded before the Union,

9 This and the following paragraphs are based on the general outlines on the Basilian Order: MYKHAYLO VAVRYK: *Narys rozvytku i stanu Vasyliians'kogo chyna XVII–XX st.* [Outline of the Development and Status of the Basilian Order from the Seventeenth to Twentieth Centuries], Rym 1979; BEATA LORENS: *Bazylianie prowincji koronnej w latach 1743–1780* [Basilians of the Crown Province in the Years 1743–1780], Rzeszów 2014.



Fig. 1: Basilian monasteries in Poland-Lithuania in the 18th century (author: T. Panecki)

while others had a long history of balancing between and realigning with Catholic and Orthodox sides.¹⁰ Traditionally Eastern characteristics were therefore still omnipresent, although subject to gradual supplementation and replacement by “modern” traits that were either typically Western or a creative combination of influences from both sides.

10 See the case of Poczajów: OLEKSANDR BULYHA: Etapi inkorporatsii Pochaiv's'koho monastyria v Uniinu Tserkvu: Vytoky, spetsyfika, naslidky [Stages of the Incorporation of the Pochaiv monastery into the Uniate Church: Origins, Specifics, Consequences], in: Pochaiv's'kyi fenomen: Vasyliians'kyi monastyr Uspinnia Presviatoi Bohorodytsi v istoriit ta kul'turi Ukrainy, Romac—L'viv 2024 (Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni, Series 2, Sectio 2, 16), pp. 78–99; VOLODYMYR MOROZ: Shliakh Pochaiv's'kogo monastyria v Uniinu Tserkvu naprykintsi XVII – na pochatku XVIII st.: Peredumovy, obstavyny ta istoriia pryiniattia rishennia 1712 roku [The Path of Pochayiv Monastery to the Uniate Church in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries: Preconditions, Circumstances, and the History of the Decision of 1712], *ibid.*, pp. 100–121.

3 Research Methodology

The following analysis builds on a dataset about Basilian artistic activities that was developed as part of the research project “Jesuits of the East? Artistic Network of the Basilian Order in Eighteenth-Century Poland-Lithuania.” The dataset was developed (gathered and managed) in Nodegoat—a web application for modeling historical data;¹¹ it was analyzed spatially in QGIS and in terms of social networks in Gephi.¹² It is available on the Atlas Fontium repository as “Basilian Art Network”¹³ and consists of four tables: “Monasteries”¹⁴ (188 records), “Artefacts” (2,084), “People” (796), and “Actions” (1,701). We extracted this information about artistic activities from a variety of sources: visitations and inventories, chronicles and diaries, deeds of donations, payment registers and bills, contracts with artists and artisans, as well as iconography and cartography. Each detail was then stored in the Nodegoat database and with notation of how it related to other information.

The table on monasteries encompasses data about Basilians’ monastic residences, including their names, locations (geographic coordinates), periods of existence, ecclesiastical and political affiliations, and arrangement types, in other words, each monastery’s internal structures and ties to its wider environment. The table labelled “Artefacts” lists works of art located within the monasteries. We have collected information about type (specific, e.g., “chapel,” and general, e.g., “building/structure”), material, formal solution (specific features of artefacts, e.g., altars or churches), location (monastery), as well as being a part of another artefact (e.g., altar in a church). The list of people includes the names of all the actors related to the order’s artistic network, not only monks but also patrons and contractors. The most important table is “actions,” which links together all of the details mentioned above. An “action” is a temporal event concerning an artefact, monastery, place, and person following the concept of “event” developed by May Yuan, John Mcintosh, and Grant Delozier.¹⁵ This table contains all the information collected during the project along with the name of each action, the monastery where the action took place, its starting

11 PIM VAN BREE, GEERT KESSELS: Mapping Memory Landscapes in Nodegoat, in: LUCA MARIA AIELLO, DANIEL MCFARLAND (eds.): *Social Informatics*, Cham 2015, pp. 274–278.

12 MATHIEU BASTIAN, SEBASTIEN HEYMANN, MATHIEU JACOMY: Gephi: An Open Source Software for Exploring and Manipulating Networks, in: *Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media 3* (2009), 1, pp. 361–362.

13 TOMASZ PANECKI, MELCHIOR JAKUBOWSKI: Basilian Art Network, in: *Data Atlas Fontium*, https://data.atlasfontium.pl/search/?keywords__slug__in=basilian-art-network&limit=5&offset=0 (2024-11-30).

14 The data on monasteries is available in both tabular and GIS format.

15 MAY YUAN, JOHN MCINTOSH, GRANT DELOZIER: GIS as a Narrative Generation Platform, in: DAVID J. BODENHAMER, JOHN CORRIGAN et al. (eds.): *Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives*, Bloomington 2015, pp. 176–202.

and ending date (in some cases, the *terminus ante quem*), its cost, any other monastery or location involved (along with its role), all the relevant artefacts, and the people who played a role in it.

Although quite thorough, the data collected on Basilian artistic activities has its limits, especially in the case of resolution which is not uniform spatially and chronologically. There are only three monasteries with more than 100 actions (Krechów, Krystynopol, and Podhorce),¹⁶ and 25 with no action recorded in the sources. Of those actions recorded, 7 percent happened between 1720 and 1743, 27 percent between 1744 and 1772, and 43 percent between 1772 and 1795. Despite the database's potential shortcomings, it may be considered to reflect the detailedness and availability of sources, and it provides the basis for the following sections. For practical reasons, we decided to reference all cases that are singular and evidenced in one, two, or three sources at the most. All the other data is left without specific references, but interested readers are encouraged to consult the source references available on the repository.¹⁷

4 Eastern and Western Solutions in Monasteries

4.1 Location and Arrangement

Throughout the eighteenth century, Basilian monasteries were adjusting to internal and external developments. Their growing pastoral and educational activities resulted in shifts in preferences regarding the ideal locations and layouts of monastic complexes. These changes were more visible in the younger Polish province that had to catch up with its older Lithuanian counterpart. In the Lithuanian province, much had already been done in the seventeenth century. The differences between the two provinces in locations of the monasteries were striking (Fig. 2): In the Lithuanian province, monasteries were usually located within settlements and often in urban settings. Although the Polish province included some urban complexes (Lwów had as many as three), those established before the Union were much more frequently located in remote places characterized by small villages, open fields, and forests. Many of these monasteries were modest both in terms of size and financial resources and lacked sufficient funds to construct or maintain proper buildings.

In 1744, Benedict XIV's bull *Inter plures* demanded that Basilians close all outposts unable to sustain at least eight monks. Although the monks successfully negotiated a delay in the implementation of this regulation, it led to gradual closures and changes throughout the following decades. There were places where noble patrons, faced with the danger that monastic foundations established by their ancestors could be liquidated, increased emoluments accord-

16 We use the historical Polish place names, providing their contemporary counterparts (for those beyond Polish borders) at the end of the article.

17 PANECKI/JAKUBOWSKI.

ingly to guarantee their further existence. Other smaller monasteries still functioned as residences, subjugated to bigger monasteries nearby. Some were indeed shut down.¹⁸

On the other hand, new monastic foundations were established that demonstrated the new preferences. Franciszek Salezy Potocki founded three new monasteries in his estates in the Polish province: Krystynopol (1763),¹⁹ Humań (1766),²⁰ and Strusów (1771).²¹ All of them were located in towns (although, in Strusów, on the outskirts) and were planned from the beginning as masonry structures intended to serve not only the monks but also the local faithful. In 1775, a new monastery in the town of Drohobycz replaced three old small rural residences that were subsequently turned into the centers of its landed estates.²² Another new monastery, in Poginki (1764),²³ was located in a village, but its location can still not be considered particularly remote.

The fate of the Szarogród monastery is particularly interesting. It was founded at the beginning of the eighteenth century in a village a few kilometers from the town but moved to the town's parish church in 1749.²⁴ The Basilians stayed there until the 1780s, when they received the ruins of the "old castle" in the northern part of the town and built the new church and monastic residence there.²⁵

18 LORENS, *Bazylicanie*, pp. 39–51.

19 VOLODYMYR VUITSYK: Vasylyyans'kyi monastyr u Khrystynopoli ta arkhitektohr Yohan Zel'ner [The Basilian Monastery in Krystynopol and Architect Johan Selner], in: Visnyk Ukrzakhidproektrestavratsiya 14 (2004), pp. 228–241; BEATA LORENS: Inwestycje budowlane bazylianów w XVIII wieku na przykładzie klasztoru i cerkwi w Krystynopolu [Building Investments of the Basilians in the Eighteenth Century in the Example of the Monastery and Church in Krystynopol], in: WOJCIECH WALCZAK, KATARZYNA WISZOWATA-WALCZAK (eds.): Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, vol. 14, Białystok 2020, pp. 521–538; MELCHIOR JAKUBOWSKI: Building a Basilian Monastery in Krystynopol, 1760s–1770s, in: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 87 (2025), 3, pp. 111–138.

20 WOŁYNIĄK [JAN M. GIŻYCKI]: O Bazylianach w Humaniu [On Basilians in Uman], in: *Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki* 27 (1899), pp. 661–664.

21 Acts of Strusów Monastery, in: Tsentral'nyi Derzhavnyi Istorychnyi Arkhiv Ukrainy, L'viv (CDIAL) [Central State Historical Archives of the Ukraine, Lviv], sign. 684: Protoihumenat Monastyriiv Chynu sv. Vasylia Velykoho (PMCVV) [Protoiguminate of the Monasteries of the Order of St. Basil the Great], vol. 1, no. 3005, pp. 3–7v.

22 LORENS, *Bazylicanie*, p. 60.

23 Acts from 1761–1767, in: Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide, Rome (ASPF), Moscovia, Polonia, Ruteni (MPR), sign. 9, p. 365.

24 IUKHIM SITSINSKII: Materialy dlia istorii pravoslavnykh monastyrei Podol'skoi eparkhii [Materials on the History of the Orthodox Monasteries in the Podolia Eparchy], in: *Trudy Podol'skago Eparkhial'nago Istoriko-Statisticheskago Komiteta*, vol. 5, Kamehets-Podol'sk 1890–1891, pp. 424–425 [source appendix].

25 It was inhabitable by 1786: Acts from 1786–1790, in: MPR, sign. 16, pp. 108–109.

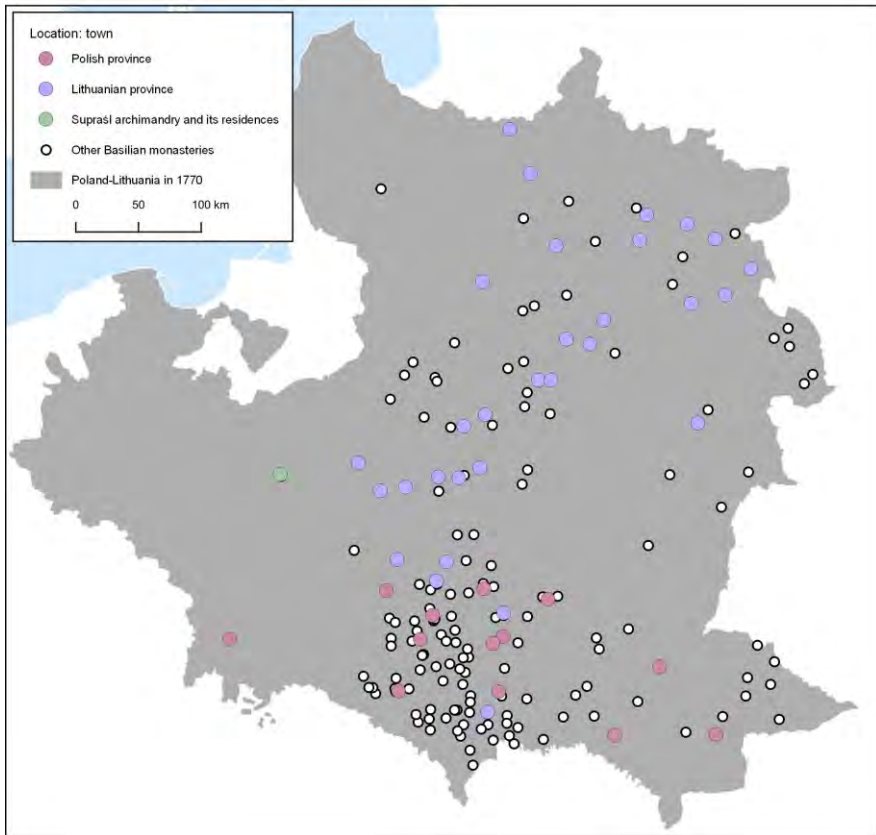


Fig. 2a: Locations of monasteries in towns (author: T. Panecki)

Another case of interest involves the Polish province's ambitious plan to create its outpost in Warsaw, founded in 1768. The king awarded the Basilians a plot of land in the prestigious southern suburb of the city, close to the royal Łazienki residence. Construction was launched in 1776, probably according to a design by the royal collaborator and amateur architect August Fryderyk Moszyński.²⁶ However, the project was never completed due to financial difficulties and the incompetence of the superior.²⁷

26 Projects for the Ujazdów Monastery, in: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie (BUW) [Library of the University of Warsaw], Gabinet Rycin (GR) [Print Room], sign. 8657–8660.

27 BEATA LORENS: Fundacja monasteru bazylińskiego w Warszawie-Ujazdowie (1768–1784): Plany i realizacja [The Foundation of the Basilian Monastery in Warsaw-Ujazdów (1768–1784): Plans and Their Execution], in: *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 63 (2015), 1, pp. 55–66.

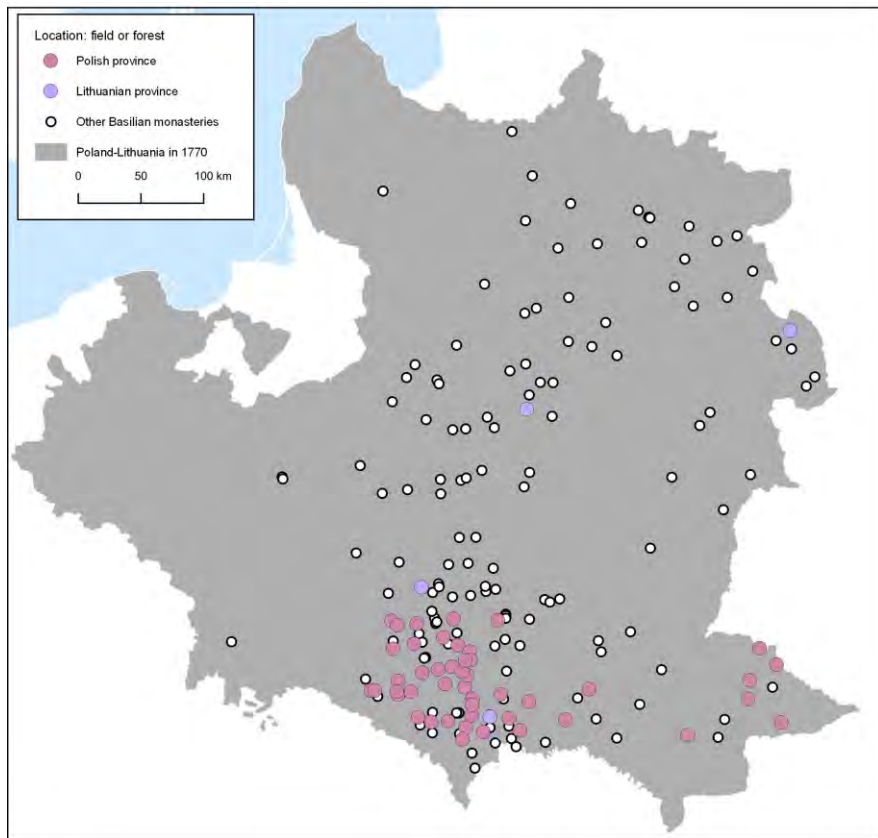


Fig. 2b: Locations of monasteries in remote places (fields and forests) (author: T. Pańnecki)

The Lithuanian province was growing as well, but here it was rather the matter of supplementing the existing monastic network and location in a village (but not in fields or forest) was pretty acceptable. After 1720, the new monasteries were founded in Lady (1732),²⁸ Tadulin (1743),²⁹ Podubiś (1748),³⁰ and Turzysk (1777).³¹

28 WOLYNIAK [JAN M. GIŻYCKI]: Monaster bazyliński w Ladach na Białej Rusi [The Basilian Monastery in Lady in Belarus], Kraków 1891, pp. 7–9.

29 BOLESŁAW BREŻGO: Klasztor taduliński na Witebszczyźnie [The Tadulin Monastery in the Vitebsk Region], in: Ziemia: Dwutygodnik Krajoznawczy Ilustrowany 14 (1929), 13, pp. 218–220.

30 WOLYNIAK [JAN M. GIŻYCKI]: Bazylianie na Żmudzi [The Basilians in Samogitia], Kraków 1891, pp. 7–8.

31 IVAN FRANKO, IASAFAT SKRUTEN': Vasyliiany v Turys'ku: Materiialy do istorii odnoi nevdaloi fundatsii XVIII v. [The Basilians in Turiisk: Materials on the One Unsuccessful Eighteenth-Century Foundation], in: Zapytsky Chyna sv. Vasyliia Velykoho 1 (1924), p. 282 [source appendix].

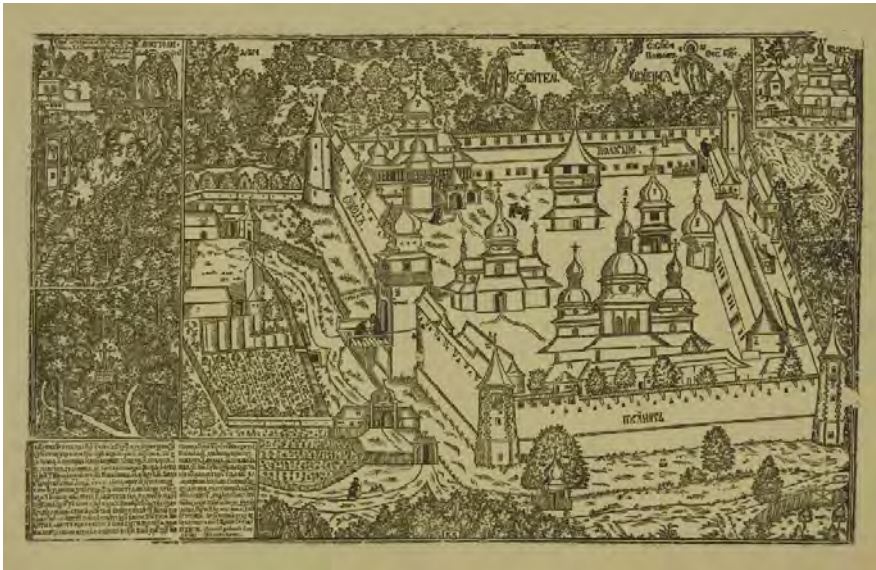


Fig. 3: Krechów monastery. Engraving by Igumen Dionizy Sinkiewicz from 1699 (Biblioteka Narodowa, sign. G.65781/SZ)

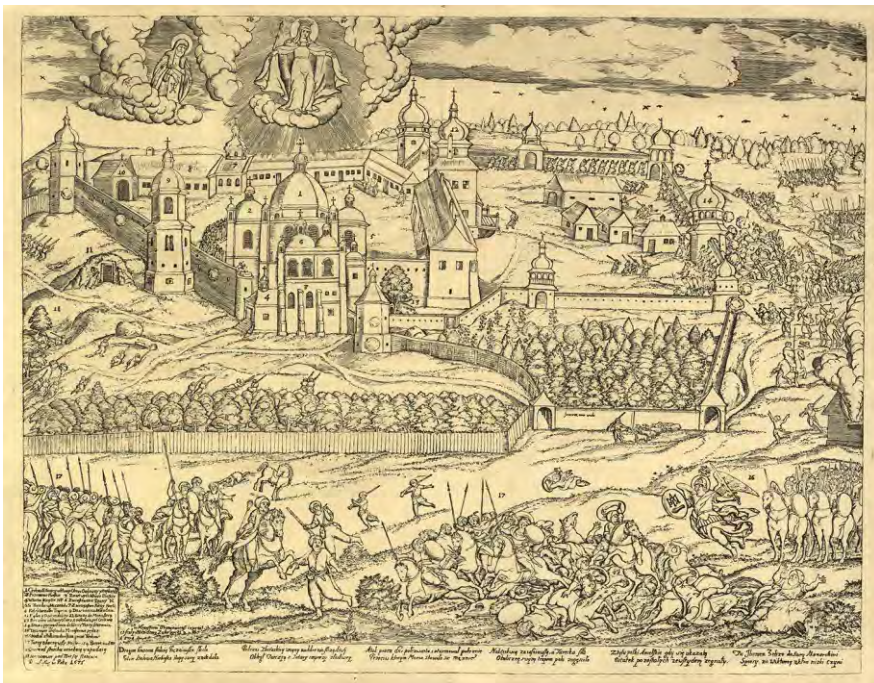


Fig. 4: Defence of Poczajów monastery. Copy of an engraving by Nikodem Zubrzycki from 1704 (Biblioteka Narodowa, G.14521/Sz.)



Fig. 5: Krechów monastery from the South-East (Biblioteka Narodowa, sign. F.120545/I, circa 1909)



Fig. 6: Poczajów monastery from the South-East (Instytut Sztuki PAN, sign. R0000031308, before 1939)

The monasteries were built in accordance with contemporary architectural ideals, which preferred regular (i.e.: symmetrical) and axial compositions that clearly divided the church and monks' premises from the economic parts. This represented a break with older medieval patterns of Eastern European monastic institutions in which multiple separate buildings were often encircled by a wall (that was sometimes the only part of the complex built of masonry). The functions in such cases had been mixed—places for prayer, housing, and agricultural activities could be located next to each other around the same courtyard. This kind of monastic complex is best depicted in two well-known engravings from around 1700 that show the monasteries in Krechów and Poczajów before the later alterations (Fig. 3, 4).³²

These well documented cases of architectural modernization clearly illustrate two distinct approaches. In Krechów, a new gate was added but otherwise the medieval outer walls were preserved. The wooden buildings within the wall were gradually replaced by new masonry constructions.³³ The three separate churches were replaced with one bigger one, which—prior to Soviet destruction—boasted a richly furnished decorative interior. The new monastic residence, constructed between 1775 and 1782, is a two-story masonry building connected to the church. Those structures necessary for the monasteries economic activity were moved beyond the wall's perimeter (Fig. 5).³⁴

The modernization of the monastery in Poczajów followed a much different route. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, the Basilians were redecorating the old church, which suggests that there was little consideration of replacing it. Nevertheless, the tides turned when in 1768 the powerful noble benefactor, Mikołaj Bazyli Potocki, decided he wanted to create something totally new at the site. All the buildings were demolished, and a huge church was constructed in their place. Built on an elevated base with a viewing terrace, the new building with its two towers in the facade and central dome dominated the

32 Monaster bazylianów w Krechowie [The Bazylian Monastery in Krechów], in: Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa [National Library, Warsaw], sign. G.65781/Sz., <https://polona.pl/item-view/af1cc48e-46fc-4662-9f2f-0a31012cc75c?page=0> (2025-01-21); Obrona Poczajowa [Defense of Poczajów], *ibid.*, sign. G.14521/Sz., <https://polona.pl/item-view/ad2da659-dbcf-4352-9e1f-68a8786e28fc?page=0> (2025-01-21).

33 Not everything was demolished. For instance, in 1775, the Church of the Transfiguration was sold to the village of Dobrosin and three monastic cells were remodeled as houses for artisans next to the monastery, see: Dzieje klasztoru Krechowskiego Z. S. Bazylego W. [Chronicle of the Krechów Basilian Monastery], in: L'vivs'ka natsional'na naukova biblioteka Ukraïny im. V. Stefanyka, L'viv (LNB) [Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv], sign. 3, no. 121, p. 3.

34 AGATA DWORZAK: Udział lwowskich artystów w modernizacji cerkwi Bazylianów w Krechowie za przelożęstwa superiora Sylwestra Łaszczewskiego [Participation of Lviv Artists in the Modernization of the Church of Basilian Monks in Krechiv during the Supervision of Sylwester Łaszczewski], in: WOJCIECH WALCZAK (ed.): Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, vol. 8, Białystok 2017, pp. 463–503.

landscape from afar. It was constructed as the center of a giant complex in which neatly organized residential wings surround a central quadrangle (Fig. 6).³⁵ The layout and size of the complex is comparable to the famous abbeys like Klosterneuburg, Melk, Obermarchtal, or Ottobeuren built within Catholic areas of Germany.

4.2 Direction of the Church

In the Middle Ages, churches throughout Christendom were generally (though not without exceptions) built to align with the cardinal directions with the central altar and chancel at the eastern end of the nave and thus geographically as close as possible to the Holy Land and the symbolic location of the Garden of Eden. After the Council of Trent, however, the Roman Catholic Church abandoned this principle to allow new churches to be placed so as to provide the most favorable sightlines and splendid and attractive facades, as well as in consideration of the practical accessibility for the faithful. As a result, urban churches were built in the West during the Baroque period without regard to their geographic orientation, while new Orthodox churches in the East conformed to the old pattern.³⁶

Altogether, in our database, we recorded 78 oriented presbyteries and only 20 where that was not the case (they will be analyzed further below). In many cases direct information is lacking, but generally speaking it is safe to assume that churches constructed before the monastery accepted the Union had to be oriented towards the east. The core question, however, is how commonly new churches built in the eighteenth century followed the principle of orientation.

The documented examples include (in chronological order): Winnica from 1726;³⁷ the new cathedral in Chełm built between 1730 and 1765;³⁸ St. Josaphat

35 Acts of Poczajów Monastery, in: Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów (APPD) [Archives of the Polish Province of the Dominican Order], Kraków, sign. Poczaż 14, pp. 155–155v. The cornerstone of the new object was placed in July 1771: Przesławna góra Poczajowska dawnością cudów Przenajczystrzy Bogarodzicy Panny od cudownego Jey obrazu wynikaiaacych jasnijęca... [The Most Famous Mountain of Poczajów Shining with Old Miracles of Its Image of the Purest Virgin Mother of God...], Poczajów 1807, pp. 14v–17. The main work was carried out in the 1770s and 1780s, although the final decoration extended into the nineteenth century, see: JÓZEF E. DUTKIEWICZ: Fabryka cerkwi Wniebowzięcia N.M.P. w Poczajowie [The *Fabrica* of the Assumption Church in Pochaiv], in: Dawna Sztuka 2 (1939), 2, pp. 151–162.

36 For the orientation of the churches, see, e.g.: KLAUS KRACK, GUSTAV OBERHOLZER: Die Ostausrichtung der mittelalterlichen Kirchen und Gräber, Neubiberg 2015; JAE-LYONG AHN: Altar und Liturgieraum im römisch-katholischen Kirchenbau: Eine bauhistorische Betrachtung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Veränderung des Standorts des Altars nach dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil (1962–1965), PhD Diss., Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule Aachen, 2004.

37 SITSINSKII, p. 270.

38 PIOTR KRASNY: Katedra unicka w Chełmie: O problemach badań nad architekturą sakralną Kościoła Greckokatolickiego w XVIII wieku [The Uniate Cathedral in Chełm:

Church in Włodzimierz built before 1741;³⁹ Satanów from 1741 to 1744;⁴⁰ a new cathedral in Witebsk constructed since 1745;⁴¹ Boruny from 1747 after 1758;⁴² Darewo completed in 1753;⁴³ Zahorów from the 1760s to the 1770s;⁴⁴ Buczacz from 1763 to 1772;⁴⁵ Granów built between 1765 and 1795;⁴⁶ Sućków from 1773 to the 1780s;⁴⁷ Warsaw from 1781 to 1784;⁴⁸ Drohiczyn under construction from 1786;⁴⁹ Lady finished in 1795.⁵⁰ In many cases, the new building simply replaced the old one and can thus be presumed to have kept its original direction. In Warsaw, the decisive factor was that the new facade was along the street that formed the western boundary of the Basilian plot of land.

More intriguing are those new churches that were not oriented along the east-west axis. That was the case with Torokanie completed by 1721;⁵¹ the new

On the Challenges of Researching the Sacral Architecture of the Greek Catholic Church in the Eighteenth Century], in: JAN K. OSTROWSKI (ed.): *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, vol. 3, Kraków 1998, pp. 205–226.

- 39 WOŁYNIAK [JAN M. GIŻYCKI]: *Bazylianie we Włodzimierzu i Tryhórach* [Basilians in Włodzimierz and Tryhóra], Kraków 1912, p. 16 [source appendix].
- 40 SITSINSKII, pp. 358, 362–363.
- 41 WOJCIECH BOBERSKI: *Późnobarokowa cerkiew katedralna w Witebsku i jej rzymski pierwowzór* [The Late-Baroque Uniate Cathedral at Vitebsk and Its Roman Prototype], in: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 62 (2000), 1–2, pp. 105–152.
- 42 *Contracts from Boruny Monastery*, in: *Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka (VUB)* [Vilnius University Library], sign. F4-(A658)25698, 25701; *Chronicle of Boruny Monastery*, in: VUB, sign. F5-F114-30823, p. 5.
- 43 *Visitationes Monasteriorum Ordinis S. Basilii 1751–1755*, in: *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB)*, sign. 3848, p. 176.
- 44 LESYA CHEN, IRYNA POŁOZ: *Issues of Preservation of a Historic Monastery in Zahoriv*, in: ZYGMUNT GARDZIŃSKI, MYKOŁA BEVZ (eds.): *Current Issues in Research, Conservation and Restoration of Historic Fortifications: Collection of Scientific Articles*, Chełm—L’viv 2017, pp. 323–329.
- 45 *Acts of Basilian Monasteries*, in: *Archivio Apostolico Vaticano*, Rome, *Nunziatura di Varsavia*, sign. 110, pp. 37–42; *Chronicle of the Buczacz Monastery*, in: *PMCVV*, sign. 684, vol. 1, no. 1101, p. 5.
- 46 WOŁYNIAK, *O Bazylianach w Humaniu*, p. 745.
- 47 *Visitationes Monasteriorum Ordinis S. Basilii 1793–1798*, in: ÖNB, sign. 3849, p. 144; *Inventories of Sućków Monastery*, in: VUB, sign. F4-(A3870)36470, pp. 1–7.
- 48 *Inventories of Residences in Kuźnica and Warsaw*, in: VUB, sign. F4-(A431)19734, pp. 36–37v, 72. The ceremony of placing the cornerstone is also commemorated on a plaque in the vestibule of the church.
- 49 *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Littuanicae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, p. 208.
- 50 *Visitationes Monasteriorum Ordinis S. Basilii 1793–1798*, in: ÖNB, sign. 3849, p. 232.
- 51 *Acts from 1720 to 1725*, in: *MPR*, sign. 4, p. 255.



Fig. 7: Połock cathedral by the Dźwina River (M. Jakubowski, 2014)

cathedral in Lwów from 1744 to the 1770s;⁵² Różana, designed in 1760s;⁵³ Tołoczyn, started in 1768;⁵⁴ Tadulin, under construction in 1769;⁵⁵ Poczajów, started in 1771;⁵⁶ Krystynopol 1771–1775;⁵⁷ Strusów, initiated in 1772;⁵⁸ Brześć, where construction began before 1780, but completed only in the 1790s;⁵⁹ Jakobsztat, where the core work was done in the 1780s;⁶⁰ and Szarogród, completed in 1786.⁶¹ It is significant that almost all these examples come from the second half of the eighteenth century, suggesting a growing acceptance for orientation.

The most striking, though, is the case of the cathedral in Połock which underwent significant modifications from 1738 to 1761.⁶² The medieval church contained five naves, five domes, and three apsidal chapels arranged along the east-west axis. The remodeling in the eighteenth-century changed this layout completely, keeping only the three eastern apsidal chapels as side chapels. The new building housed the central altar and chancel the north end of the nave, which allowed the splendid two-tower facade at the south end to face the main artery of transportation and axis of the city's composition, the river Dźwina (Daugava, Dzwina) (Fig. 7). Evidently, the aesthetic-symbolic placement of the church within its landscape outweighed historical religious factors.

4.3 Plan of the Church

Christian churches have historically taken very diverse forms depending on time, place, and local circumstances. Despite the great variety, there are recognizable patterns, tendencies, and characteristics within given cultural zones.

52 VOLODYMYR ALEKSANDROVYCH, PETRO RYCHKOV: *Sobor sviatoho Iura u L'vovi* [Cathedral of St. George in Lviv], Kyïv 2008; PIOTR KRASNY: *Katedra św. Jura we Lwowie a tradycyjna architektura cerkiewna Rusi Czerwonej* [Cathedral of St. George in Lviv and the Traditional Eastern-Rite Church Architecture of the Red Ruthenia], in: ANDRZEJ BETLEJ, PIOTR KRASNY (eds.): *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, vol. 5, Kraków 2003, pp. 65–76.

53 *Projects of Różana Monastery*, in: GR, sign. 771–774.

54 *Chronicle of Połock Monastery*, in: *Arkheograficheskii sbornik dokumentov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Severo-Zapadnoi Rusi* [Archeographic Collection of Documents, Related to the History of North-Western Russia], vol. 10, Vil'na 1874, p. 350.

55 INESSA SLIUN'KOVA: *Monastyri vostochnoi i zapadnoi traditsii: Nasledie arkhitektury Belarusi* [Monasteries of the Western and Eastern Tradition: The Architectural Heritage of Belarus], Moskva 2002, p. 456.

56 *Przesławna gora Poczajowska*, pp. 14v–17.

57 See footnote 20.

58 *Construction Logbook of the Krystynopol Monastery*, in: PMCVV, sign. 684, vol. 1, no. 3117, p. 42v.

59 *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Littuaniae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 175v, 492v; *Visitationes Monasteriorum Ordinis S. Basilii 1793–1798*, in: ÖNB, sign. 3849, pp. 278–281v.

60 *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Littuaniae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 18v–20, 445–446v.

61 *Acts from 1786 to 1790*, in: MPR, sign. 16, pp. 108–109.

62 *Chronicle of Połock Monastery*, in: *Arkheograficheskii sbornik*, vol. 10, p. 343.

Thus there are floorplans that can be deemed “typical” for Western and Eastern churches, as even the terminology suggests: the Latin West preferred churches on the Latin cross plan (elongated nave and transept), while the Greek East opted for the Greek cross (all arms equal). In more general terms, this meant elongated Latin and centralized Greek spaces (although there were centrally-planned buildings in the West, as well). In the Ruthenian Orthodox tradition, except for those churches built around a central dome in accordance with Byzantine ideals, a common design was to have three consecutive spaces: narthex, central nave (usually the biggest part), and chancel; often with a separate dome over each of them (the tripartite church).

Our database contains entries about the plans of 101 Basilian churches. However, in many cases, the source information lacks telling details. Of those documented, 21 churches are known to have had a “cross plan,” but there is no specification regarding which cruciform type. The biggest group is composed of 26 rectangular churches. The division into “Eastern” and “Western” solutions—acknowledging that such classification requires a certain simplification—clearly demonstrates the difference between the two provinces (Fig. 8). Plans more typical for the Eastern traditions include tripartite churches (17 total, 16 in the Polish province), centrally-planned (7 total, 5 in the Polish province), and Greek cross (4 total, all in the Polish province). On the contrary, more “occidentalized” options were Latin cross (16 total, 12 in the Lithuanian province) and basilica without transept (9 total, 7 in the Lithuanian province). The cathedral in Lwów presents an especially interesting case: designed by the Western-educated architect Bernard Meretyn, it combined the elongated Latin cross plan with the centralizing dimension of the Greek cross, thus fusing features of both traditions into a “Greek-Latin cross” that might be interpreted as quite symbolic.⁶³ Another structure built along such “Western” lines was the cathedral in Witebsk (initiated in 1745), which, as is evident in sources from the construction period, replicated the Baroque interpretation of the classic Gothic cathedral floorplan as had been achieved in the basilica Santi Ambrogio e Carlo al Corso in Rome.⁶⁴

The difference between the provinces also extended to the churches’ exteriors (Fig. 9). Typical of the Polish province were domed buildings (the number of domes varied between one and nine) with no towers in the facade (Fig. 5). The Lithuanian province preferred two-tower facades and no domes (Fig. 7). The striking demonstration of this rule is the church in Buczacz that, although located in southernmost part of the Commonwealth, received the architectural forms characteristic for the Lithuanian province to which it belonged, despite the fact that these were otherwise entirely unusual in this regional context.⁶⁵

63 ALEKSANDROVYCH/RYCHKOV, p. 76.

64 BOBERSKI.

65 Noticed already by: KOWALCZYK, p. 359.

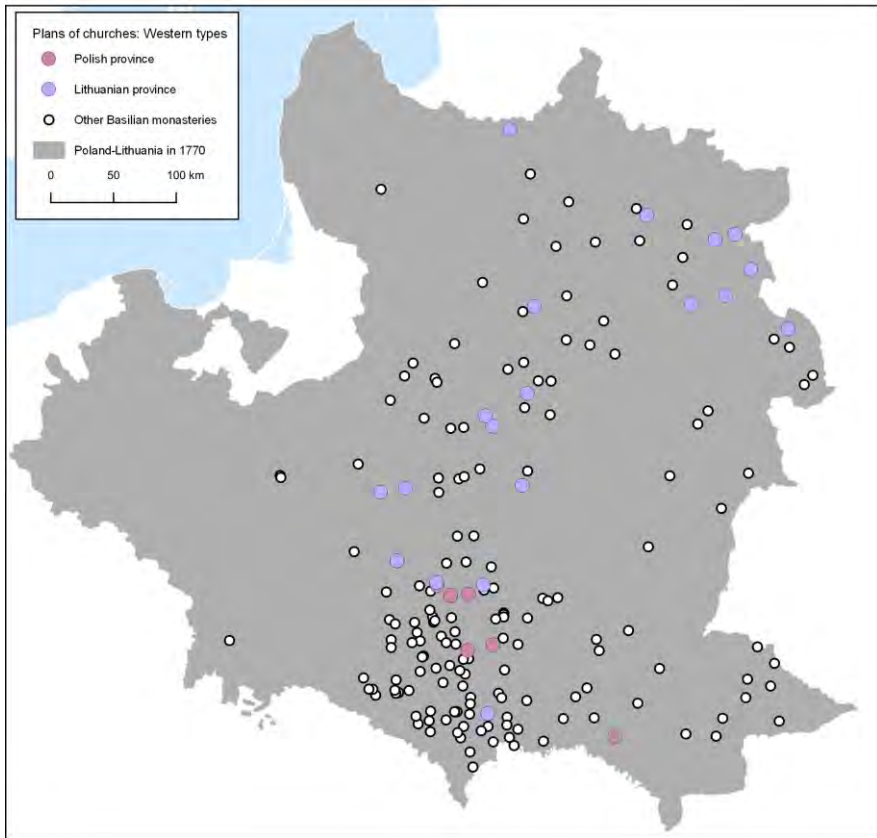


Fig. 8a: Plans of churches “Western” types (Latin cross, basilica without transept) (author: T. Panecki)

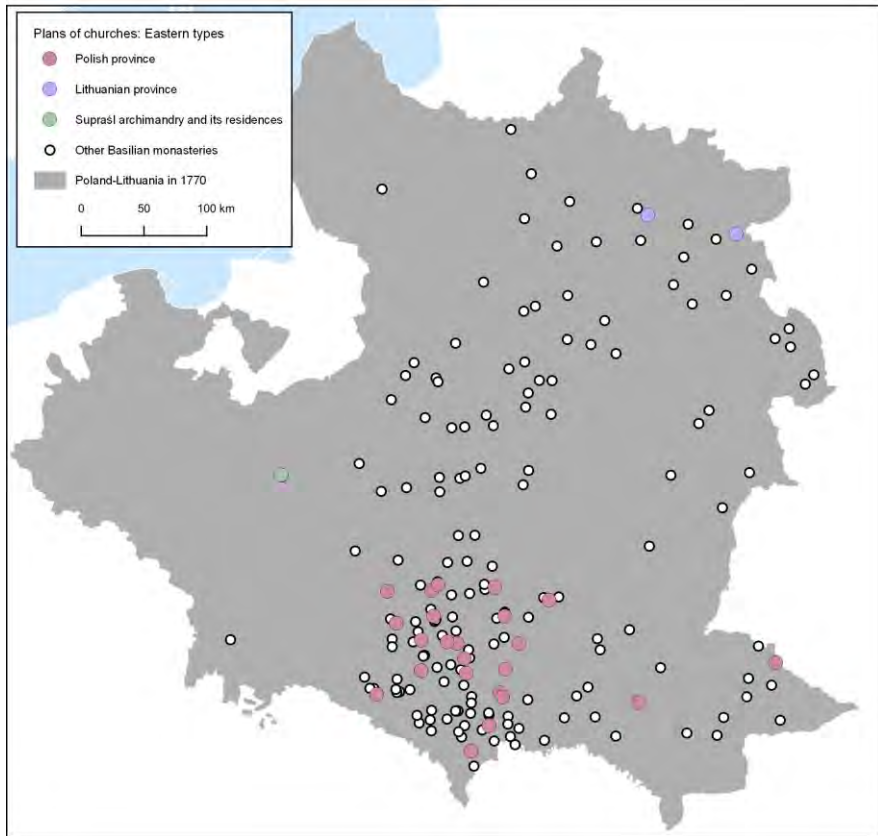


Fig. 8b: Plans of churches “Eastern” types (tripartite, Greek cross, centrally-planned) (author: T. Panecki)

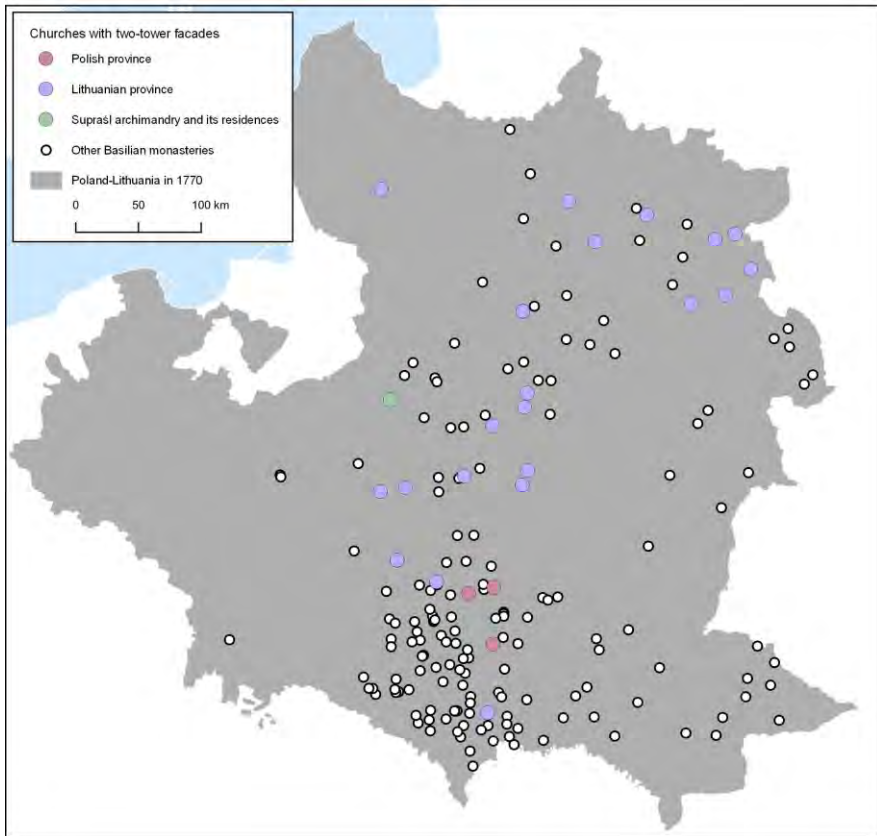


Fig. 9a: External appearance churches with two-tower facade (author: T. Panecki)

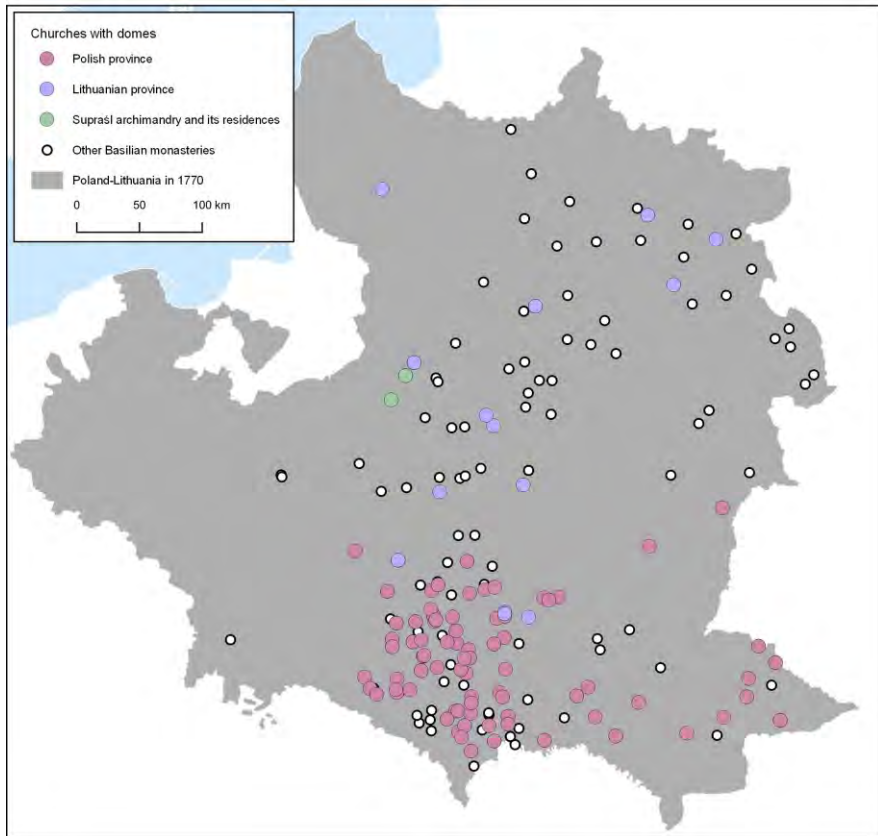


Fig. 9b: External appearance churches with domes (author: T. Panecki)

4.4 Altars and Iconostases

In the Eastern tradition, churches were generally limited to a single altar in the form of a table in the chancel, hidden behind the iconostasis. As Uniates were influenced by Western architectural forms, however, they commonly introduced numerous side altars in the nave as well as were scaling back and redesigning the iconostasis to allow the faithful to see the altar and the liturgical acts performed there.

Side altars were the most common “Western” feature and were virtually omnipresent in Basilian churches. In the database, we recorded over 400 side altars located in 116 monasteries. They could have existed in other places as well, but the available data precludes meaningful statistics. Side altars are rare in (post-) Basilian monuments today, because they were frequently destroyed or remodeled into *kiots* (icon cases) in the nineteenth century, when the majority of Uniate churches were forcefully subsumed into Russian Orthodoxy. Among the preserved examples are the side altars in Boruny or Połock (Fig. 10). Generally speaking, the introduction of side altars was rather straightforward, whereas changes in the arrangement of elements within the chancel—the placement of the central altar in relation to (or without) the iconostasis—were more complicated and thus more interesting in the context of the present study.

In fact, any examination of this issue is complicated by a number of ambiguities within the terminology used in the sources’ description of particular elements in church interiors. In the Polish-language Uniate sources, an “altar” could mean both the retable and the entire chancel. The term “iconostasis” was rarely used; instead the sources spoke of a *Deisus* (*Deesis*) that sometimes could, however, denote only the upper part, i.e., the proper group of *Deesis*.⁶⁶ Another word present in the sources is *bema* (*bima*) that could refer to the chancel or just the iconostasis. It is often possible to deduce the meaning from the context, but not always. The level of difficulty rises in those cases, where the functions and iconography of the main altar and the iconostasis were mixed, as demonstrated below.

66 BRONISŁAW M. SENIUK: Osiemnastowieczna terminologia z zakresu architektury i sztuki cerkiewnej oraz organizacji Kościoła wschodniego: Materiały do słownika na podstawie protokołów wizytacyjnych eparchii włodzimierskiej [Eighteenth-Century Terminology Regarding Architecture and Church Art and the Organization of the Eastern Church: Materials for a Dictionary of Terminology on the Basis of the Visitation Protocols from the Włodzimierz Eparchy], in: STANISŁAW STĘPIEŃ (ed.): Polska—Ukraina 1000 lat sąsiedztwa. Vol. 5: Miejsce i rola Kościoła greckokatolickiego w Kościele powszechnym, Przemysł 2000, pp. 309–346; MIROSLAW P. KRUK: “Deisus dawną zwyczajną robotą y malowaniem”—kilka uwag na marginesie inwentarzy cerkiewnych [“Deisus of the Old Ordinary Work and Painting”—A Few Remarks on the Margin of the Inventories of Eastern-Rite Churches], in: WOJCIECH BALUS et al. (eds.): Ars Graeca—Ars Latina: Studia dedykowane Profesor Annie Różyckiej Bryzek, Kraków 2001, pp. 207–230.



Fig. 10: Interior of the Połock cathedral with iconostasis, side altars, and pulpit (M. Jakubowski, 2014)

One of the most distinctive features of Eastern Christian churches is their use of iconostases. Developed from early Christian chancel screens, in the medieval and early modern period in Eastern Europe the iconostasis became an increasingly elaborate structure—a wall of icons—that symbolically, functionally, and optically divided the chancel from the nave. These generally included sequential tiers (such as feasts, apostles, prophets), a set of central royal doors, and two side diaconal doors.⁶⁷

The vast majority of Basilian churches in the eighteenth century still had an iconostasis. The examples are too numerous to be provided. Many of these, however, looked far different from what we may imagine as the canonical iconostasis. It was the subject of constant experiments, leading to various creative transformations. Indeed, in some cases it was abandoned completely, resulting in a sacral space that closely resembled the one associated with Roman Catholic churches.⁶⁸

67 For an introduction to Eastern European iconostases, see: WALDEMAR DELUGA: *Ukrainian Painting between the Byzantine and Latin Traditions*, Ostrava—Warsaw 2019, pp. 39–70. In broader comparative perspective see: JAROSŁAW B. KONSTANTYNOWICZ: *Ikonostasis: Studien und Forschungen*, vol. 1, Lwów 1939.

68 The recent outline only mentioned the most original solutions from the eighteenth century, cf.: MICHAŁ JANOCHA: *Ewolucja ikonostasu w sztuce cerkiewnej na terenie I Rzeczypospolitej* [The Evolution of the Iconostasis in the Orthodox Art in the Territories of the First Polish Republic], in: *Techne: Seria Nowa 1* (2018), pp. 79–106.

In the database, we recorded 99 iconostases (individual monasteries sometimes had more than one). Because only a fraction of them have been preserved and the available information about their appearances is limited, we have to focus here on singular, though evocative, cases.

Often it is impossible to determine when exactly iconostases were created; many of them certainly predate the period covered by this study. At the same time, new ones were constantly being built—in Ławryszewo, for example, between 1727 and 1730;⁶⁹ in Boruny, contracted in 1739;⁷⁰ in Malejowce before 1741;⁷¹ in Pitrycz in 1749;⁷² in the gate church of St. Trinity in Domaszów before 1753;⁷³ in Hołowczyńce before 1760;⁷⁴ in Mańkóweczka before 1764;⁷⁵ in Lwów cathedral between 1768 and 1772;⁷⁶ in Raków, finished in 1793;⁷⁷ in Zadarów, completed in 1794/95;⁷⁸ and in Granów before 1795.⁷⁹

Several of these more recent iconostases seem to have maintained the traditional set of tiers with icons. In other cases, the iconostasis took on new forms that resembled Latin altarpieces, even while still keeping its function. A perfect such example is the monumental screen in the cathedral in Połock (Fig. 10). Although the exact date of its creation remains unknown, it was presumably associated with the finishing of the church in 1761.⁸⁰ The huge masonry column structure extended partway into the vault, the ceiling of which is adorned with a stucco depiction of the Holy Trinity. Rather than tiers of icons, it included several large painted canvases that have unfortunately not been preserved. Despite its radically different appearance, however, the structure still divides the chancel and nave and includes three doors connecting the two spaces. Another significant late Baroque example in the lost church in Berezwezc included wide openings.⁸¹

69 1717–1730 Inventory of Ławryszewo Monastery, in: VUB, sign. F4-(A722)27951, p. 2v.

70 Contract for the Main Altar in Boruny, in: VUB, sign. F4-(A658)25689.

71 SITSINSKII, p. 327 [source appendix].

72 Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries, in: CDIAL, Hreko-Katolyts'ka Mytropolycha Konsystoriia (HKMK) [The Greek Catholic Metropolitan Consistory], sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, p. 26.

73 1753 Visitation of Domaszów Monastery, in: Archiwum Monasteru Bazylianów w Warszawie (ABW) [Archives of the Basilian Monastery in Warsaw], sign. 85/114.

74 SITSINSKII, pp. 282–283 [source appendix].

75 Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, p. 247.

76 ІЛАРИОН СВИЕНЦІКЪ: Rachunki robót malarskich i rzeźbiarskich w katedrze św. Jura we Lwowie w latach 1768–1779 [Payment Records of Painting and Sculptural Works in St. George Cathedral in Lviv, 1768–1779], in: Dawna Sztuka 1 (1938), 2, pp. 146–151 [source appendix].

77 Visitationes Monasteriorum Ordinis S. Basilii 1793–1798, in: ÖNB, sign. 3849, p. 142.

78 Acts of the Zadarów Monastery, in: LNB, sign. 3, no. 310, p. 66.

79 WOŁYNIAK, O Bazylianach w Humaniu, p. 745.

80 Chronicle of Połock Monastery, in: Arkheograficheskii sbornik, vol. 10, p. 343.

81 PIOTR BOHDZIEWICZ: Kościół pobazyliński w Berezwezc [Post-Basilian Church in Berezwezc], in: Biuletyn Historii Sztuki 45 (1983), 3–4, pp. 327–348.



Fig. 11:
Altar-ikonostasis composition in
Lwów cathedral (M. Jakubowski,
2022)

The complex of the main altar in the Lwów cathedral was completed in the 1770s. The screen was reduced to a monumental arch with doors in the lower part that nevertheless left an open sightline to the chancel in the middle, and crowned by the icon of the Sovereign. Other motifs from the program of the ikonostasis were located on the side walls of the presbytery, depicting apostles, prophets, and feasts (Fig. 11).⁸²

In Krechów, the superior Sylwester Łaszczewski decided to cut the old ikonostasis in half in 1776 and move these halves to the sides of the church, inserting a columnal arch between them (with doors in the lower part) and thus opening up a view of the main altar. The superior himself wrote that the ikonostasis had previously obscured the altar and the frescoes and that it was difficult to hear the priest from behind it.⁸³

Another such mixed composition existed in Lisznia, where the ikonostasis was half-old and half-new in 1764; the new part started from the feast tier (“Deiſus do połowy ze ſpodu ſtary. Z wierzchu zaś od prazników nowy”).⁸⁴

82 ALEKSANDROVYCH/RYCHKOV, pp. 179–198.

83 DWORZAK, *Udział lwowskich artystów*.

84 *Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries*, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, p. 354v. The source publication transcribes this sentence incorrectly, cf.: IURII STETSYK: *Vizytatsii vasylians'kykh monastyriv Peremysl's'koi ieparkhii 1747–1767 rr.* [Visita-

Old paintings were recycled in the monastery of St. Onuphrius in Lwów, where in 1776/77 the iconostasis was remodeled in line with “the new fashion.”⁸⁵ The construction of a new church did not always necessitate a new iconostasis. In Sielec, for example, the iconostasis was transferred from the old church to the new one before 1794.⁸⁶

Paintings could well depart from the traditional icon scheme.⁸⁷ Apostles and prophets were not necessarily represented by singular icons, but joined in pairs or triplets, as can be seen in Lwów both in the cathedral and once in Holy Trinity Chapel of St. Onuphrius Monastery.⁸⁸

Basilian iconostases could consist of sculptures in addition to paintings. Sculpted figures are documented, for instance in Czereja (Biała Cerkiew),⁸⁹ Hoszcza, and Warsaw; known—based on ancient photographs—from the iconography in Krechów; and preserved in Lwów cathedral (Fig. 11). In Warsaw, the iconostasis was an original composition in which a line of sculptures joined the pulpit and metropolitan’s throne.⁹⁰ In Hoszcza, documentation suggests there were entrances between columns, meaning it was an architectural structure, and that these were crowned by six polychrome figures.⁹¹ In Mińsk, a visitor in 1786 noted only the figures of the apostles “ad instar iconostasii” (instead of the screen).⁹² In Horodenka there were icons in 1764, but no royal doors.⁹³

tions of the Basilian Monasteries in the Przemyśl Eparchy, 1747–1767], Zhovkva 2016, source no. 8, pp. 142–153, here p. 143.

85 VOLODYMYR VUITSYK: Skul’ptor Ivan Shchurovs’kyi [Sculptor Ivan Shchurovs’kyi], in: *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka: Pratsi Komisii Obrazotvorchoho ta Uzhytkovoho mystetstva* 236 (1998), pp. 305–319, here pp. 317–318.

86 *Visitationes Monasteriorum Ordinis S. Basilii 1793–1798*, in: ÖNB, sign. 3849, p. 124v.

87 DELUGA, *Ukrainian Painting*, passim.

88 *Expenses of the St. Onuphrius Monastery in Lviv*, in: *PMCVV*, sign. 684, vol. 1, no. 2357, pp. 80–82; *Renovations of St. John and St. Onuphrius Monasteries in Lviv*, *ibid.*, no. 2501, p. 10.

89 Mentioned in the 1785 visitation: *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Littuanae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 24v–27v, and in the 1788 inventory of Biała Cerkiew monastery, in: *Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (LVIA) [Lithuanian State Historical Archives]*, Vilnius, *Lietuvos unitų vyskupystės dvasinė konsistorija (LUK) [Lithuanian Uniate Diocesan Consistory]*, sign. 634, vol. 3, no. 7.

90 *Inventories of Residences in Kuźnica and Warsaw*, in: VUB, sign. F4-(A431)19734, pp. 72–76.

91 *Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries*, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, pp. 114–117.

92 *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Littuanae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 311–316.

93 BEATA LORENS: *Redukcja monasterów w prowincji koronnej Zakonu Ruskiego św. Bazylego Wielkiego w latach 1744–1780 [Reduction of the Monasteries in the Crown Province of the Ruthenian Order of St. Basil the Great in 1744–1780]*, in: *Hereditas Monasteriorum* 8 (2017), pp. 111–117 [source appendix].

Sometimes it is difficult to determine whether an iconostasis was present at all, as a given place of worship could be equipped with just an altar bearing elements of its iconographic program. An inventory of the two monasteries in Dubno in 1760 lists a “second altar in the form of the iconostasis” (“drugi oltarz in forma Deisusu”) in the Exaltation of the Holy Cross Church and an analogous “fourth altar” in the Church of the Transfiguration. Nevertheless, both “altars” contained the tiers of icons.⁹⁴

There were at least nine Basilian churches with no iconostasis at all. The chancel was organized “according to the custom of Latin Christians” (“more Latinorum”) in Dereżyce,⁹⁵ Darewo,⁹⁶ and Włodzimierz.⁹⁷ In Lisianka, there was no rigid structural iconostasis, only paintings on wood and canvas.⁹⁸ In Werchy, the altar stood alone: “altare majus sine bema.”⁹⁹ The 1760s blueprint for the church in Różana did not include an iconostasis, and indeed none is mentioned in any of the subsequent visitation protocols.¹⁰⁰ In Krystynopol, the old church had no iconostasis after 1748 (thus, built before the foundation of the monastery in 1763), providing evidence that not only monasteries but also in Uniate parish churches sometimes elected to have none.¹⁰¹

Such changes could occur in both directions. An inventory from Grodno for 1738 observes that an iconostasis was absent but also that there were “signs that it had been splendid before” (“Deisusa [czyli Ikonostasa] w tej cerkwi niema, ale tylko znaki są, że przedtym musiał być wspaniały”).¹⁰² A later inventory from 1773 describes an iconostasis that had been placed there in the meantime.¹⁰³

94 Inventories of Dubno Monastery, in: APPD, sign. Poczaż 9, pp. 1–18v.

95 1763 and 1764 Visitations: STETSYK, source no. 2, pp. 32–40; Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, pp. 347–352v.

96 1787 Visitation: *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Littuaniae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 387–391.

97 1788 Visitation: *ibid.*, pp. 479v–482. This case is rather obvious since the church had belonged to Jesuits before.

98 1764 Visitation: *Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries*, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, pp. 246–246v.

99 1788 Visitation: *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Littuaniae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 524–527v.

100 *Projects of Różana Monastery*, in: GR, sign. 771.

101 1766 Inventory, in: PMCVV, sign. 684, vol. 1, no. 3075, p. 2v. The process of removing the iconostasis continued up to the nineteenth century. As a reference, in 1840 in the Uniate diocese of Chełm an iconostasis was recorded in only 29 of 396 parish churches, see: PAWEŁ SYGOWSKI: *Prawosławie rosyjskie wobec kościoła w Teolinie po likwidacji unii (1875–1878)* [The Russian Orthodoxy Against the Church in Teolin After the Liquidation of the Union (1875–1878)], in: RADOSŁAW DOBROWOLSKI, MARIUSZ ZEMŁO (eds.): *Śladami unii brzeskiej*, Lublin—Supraśl 2010, pp. 409–418, here p. 409.

102 *Arkheograficheskii sbornik dokumentov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Severo-Zapadnoi Rusi*, vol. 9, Vil’na 1870, p. 411.

103 1773 Inventory of Grodno Monastery, in: VUB, sign. F4-(A2294)35654.



Fig. 12:
Main altar in Lady, visible behind the modern iconostasis (H. Flikop-Svita, 2018)

Another typical characteristic of Uniate churches was the inclusion of side altars in the iconostasis. This solution is referred to in the sources as *oltarze namiestne*. It originated by adding altar tables under the icons of the lower tier, the so-called sovereign or authority (*namiestny* in Polish). The central icons of this tier, located between the doors, were usually devoted to Christ and Mary, and this dedication was adopted for such altars. If there were more than two (i.e., three or four) altars incorporated into the iconostasis, the others were devoted to local saints, as was common with the respective icons, although other motifs could appear as well.¹⁰⁴

The sources examined here mention 25 iconostases with such integrated side altars, although they frequently include no details beyond acknowledging their existence. This is the case in Antopol,¹⁰⁵ Czortków,¹⁰⁶ Milcza,¹⁰⁷ Nowo-

104 For such altars, see: HALINA FLIKOP-SVITA: *Ikanastasy i altary hreka-katalitskikh khramaw Belarusi XVII – pershai treti XIX st.* [Iconostases and Altars of Greek Catholic Churches in Belarus from the Seventeenth to the First Third of the Nineteenth Century], Minsk 2021, pp. 238–266.

105 1787 and 1788 Visitations: *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Lituanae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 346v–350, 502v–509v.

106 1764 Inventory: *Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries*, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, pp. 195–200v.

107 1764 Visitation: *ibid.*, pp. 437–441v.

gródek,¹⁰⁸ and Wołswin.¹⁰⁹ In other places, the sources provide the number of side altars: four in Dobryhory,¹¹⁰ two in Mielce.¹¹¹ The standard designation of altars honoring Christ and Mary are listed in Domaszów,¹¹² Ławryszewo,¹¹³ Nowosiółki,¹¹⁴ Owruć,¹¹⁵ Sokulec,¹¹⁶ Werchrata,¹¹⁷ and the temporary chapel in Buczacz.¹¹⁸

Other designations and further details are scarce. In 1777, the monastery in Krechów paid for round paintings and imitation marble decoration and had altar tables gilded in silver leaf for the four side altars in its iconostasis, devoted to St. Thecla, St. Thaddeus, St. Joseph, and St. John of Nepomuk.¹¹⁹ In Hołowczyńce, altars to the Transfiguration and St. Nicholas were located directly next to the royal doors (“po bokach drzwiczek Deisusa in continuo”).¹²⁰ In Bar, the visitation from 1756 describes an iconostasis “with three altars” (“Deisus o trzech ołtarzach”).¹²¹

Records of a later visitation in Bar introduce another little-studied aspect of this art form as common in Basilian contexts, for they mention that the main altar included an illusionist painting (“w perspektywie za wielkim ołtarzem ściana pomalowana ołtarz prezentuje”).¹²² Aside from Bar, such frescos were used

108 1795 Visitation: *Visitationes Monasteriorum Ordinis S. Basilii 1793–1798*, in: ÖNB, sign. 3849, pp. 194v–204.

109 1764 Visitation: *Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries*, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, pp. 201–205v.

110 1787 Visitation: *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Littuaniae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 421–423v.

111 1760 Visitation: *Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries*, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, pp. 28–39.

112 1753 Visitation of Domaszów Monastery, in: ABW, sign. 85/114; 1768 Inventory of Domaszów Monastery, in: PMCVV, sign. 684, vol. 1, no. 1462; 1779 Inventory of Domaszów Monastery, in: ABW, sign. 85/79.

113 Done with the iconostasis in 1727–1730: 1717–1730 Inventory of Ławryszewo Monastery, in: VUB, sign. F4-(A722)27951, p. 2v; mentioned later in 1785 and 1787 visitations: *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Littuaniae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 108–115, 398–403v.

114 1784 Inventory of the Nowosiółki Monastery, in: PMCVV, sign. 684, vol. 1, no. 3263; 1786 Visitation: *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Littuaniae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 205v–207v.

115 *Opisanie Klasztoru Zaruczajskiego Owruckiego [...] Dnia 22 Maii v.s. 1748 Anno* [Description of the Zaruczaj Monastery in Owruć, 22 May (old style) 1748], in: *Wołyńskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti* 18 (1904), pp. 553–559.

116 1764 Visitation and 1765 Inventory: *Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries*, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, pp. 276–279, 515–519v.

117 1766 Inventory of the Werchrata Monastery, in: PMCVV, sign. 684, vol. 1, no. 1186.

118 1769 Inventory of the Buczacz Monastery, *ibid.*, no. 1103.

119 Chronicle of the Krechów Monastery, in: LNB, sign. 3, no. 121, p. 9.

120 SITSINSKII, pp. 282–283 [source appendix].

121 *Ibid.*, pp. 235–239.

122 *Ibid.*, pp. 239–241.

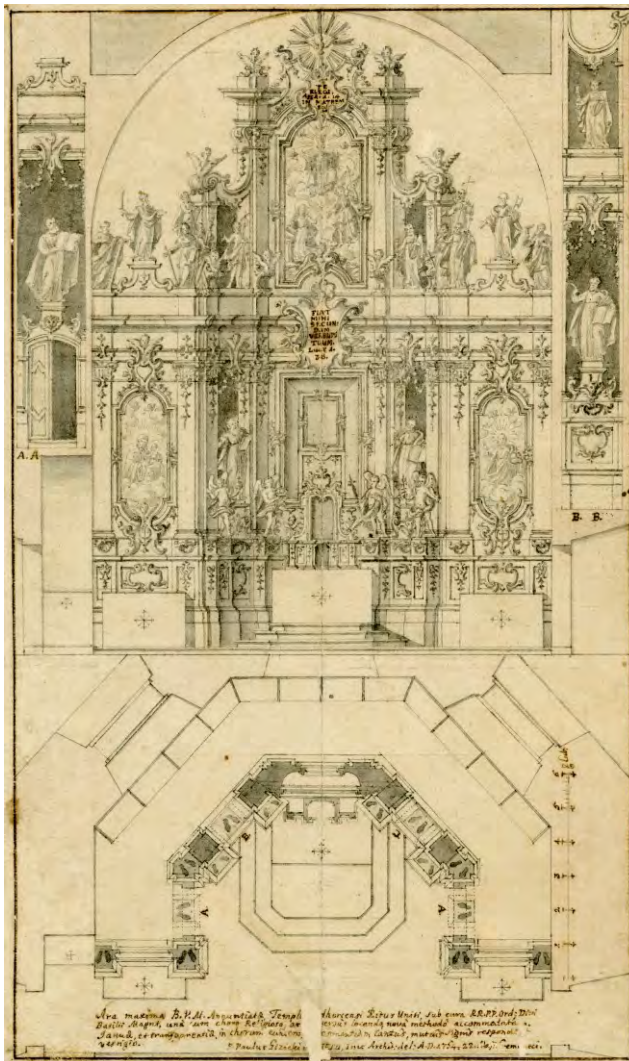


Fig. 13:
Blueprint for the
main altar in
Podhorce, Paweł
Giżycki 1754
(Museum of the
Lubomirski
Princes—Department
of the National
Ossoliński Institute.
The Pawlikowski
Family Collection,
sign. 4135)

in Krechów behind the main altar and two side altars,¹²³ as well as in the chapel of the manor in Sielec, which belonged to Łohojsk monastery.¹²⁴ In Hoszcza, illusionist paintings formed both part of the central altar-iconostasis composi-

123 Main altar painted in 1775: Chronicle of the Krechów Monastery, in: LNB, sign. 3, no. 121, p. 3v; two side altars in 1778: *ibid.*, p. 11v. The main altar and iconostasis are known from archival photographs and are analyzed in: DWORZAK, *Udział lwowskich artystów*.

124 1781 Inventory of Łohojsk Monastery, in: LUK, sign. 634, vol. 3, no. 562.



Fig. 14:
Main altar in Podhorce
(J. Chomeczko, 2025)

tion and also the altarpieces for the two side altars.¹²⁵ Illusionist altarpieces likewise featured in two side altars in Kozaczyzna¹²⁶ and Zamość.¹²⁷ Furthermore, in Krystynopol plans were made to paint the altarpieces of all the church's altars on its walls, but the task was not completed due to the patron's ultimate indifference.¹²⁸ The growing popularity of illusionist paintings around altars is also testified to by a letter from 1786 in which the sculptor Maciej Polejowski complained to the Basilian authorities about the works in Poczajów. Polejowski complained that, although he had been awarded a contract for

125 Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, pp. 114–117.

126 1785 Visitation, in: *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Littuanæ ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 48v–52.

127 1764 inventory, in: *Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries*, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, pp. 455–461v. The altar of St. Basil was located “ex opposite” and supposedly based on the older St. Onuphrius altar, see: *Installationes superiorum of Zamość monastery*, in: *Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (APL)* [State Archives in Lublin], sign. 111-4/8, p. 11; *Diary of Zamość monastery*, in: APL, sign. 111-4/29, pp. 9, 17.

128 The planned iconographical program of the frescoes is presented in: LORENS, *Inwestycje budowlane bazylianów*.

sculptural work in 1781, the new superior wanted to have altar decorations painted on the walls.¹²⁹ Whether or not these altar decorations were ever executed, however, remains unknown. Among Basilian churches, the only preserved example of such a work is the main altar of the church in Lady, assumed to date from the 1790s (Fig. 12).¹³⁰

A final noteworthy object that has been preserved might be seen as a summary of the evolution of the relative placement of altars and the iconostasis, namely, the main altar in Podhorce, which was designed by the Jesuit architect Paweł Giżycki in 1754 and executed shortly afterwards (Fig. 13, 14). At first glance, it looks like an altar typical of churches belonging to the Latin cloistered orders: The central part, which includes a tabernacle and a Marian icon (instead of the royal doors), is connected to the side sections with two perpendicular arches that hide the entrances to the monastic choir located (cf. lower part of Fig. 13) behind the altar. There are, however, some significant references to iconostasis. In the center of the upper part there is a depiction of Christ Enthroned, as one would expect in the upper section of an iconostasis. The sculpted figures represent apostles and prophets, two of the tiers of an iconostasis. There are no royal doors, but the two side entrances can be seen as a parallel to the diaconal doors. Moreover, the paintings on the sides depict Christ and Mary and have their own altar tables below, resembling the side altars within iconostases described above.¹³¹ The creators of this concept were aware that they are doing something new, as the blueprint is entitled “Ara maxima [...] una cum choro religioso [...] novam methodam accommodate.”¹³² This complexity is further reflected in the terms used in fairly recent scholarship. Although Andrzej Betlej rightly calls it an altar, it is nevertheless understandable why Borys Woźnicki calls it an iconostasis and Anna Sołtysiak an “iconostasis-altar.”¹³³ A similar work in Poczajów that was probably erected in the

129 AGATA DWORZAK: “Nie może mi Wielebny Monaster zadać, aby robota niebyła doskonała”: Kilka uwag na temat sporu Macieja Polejowskiego z bazylianami poczajowskimi [“The Reverend Monastery Cannot Accuse Me of not Doing the Work Perfectly”: Some Remarks on the Dispute between Maciej Polejowski and the Basilians of Poczajów], in: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 75 (2013), 1, pp. 101–114.

130 Mentioned in 1795 visitation: *Visitationes Monasteriorum Ordinis S. Basilii 1793–1798*, in: ÖNB, sign. 3849, pp. 232–235. Analyzed in: FLIKOP-SVITA, pp. 79–83, 232–236.

131 Although the current icons are younger, the blueprint suggests that they retained the original iconography.

132 Blueprint for the Main Altar in Podhorce, in: *Muzeum Księżąt Lubomirskich—Oddział Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich* [Museum of the Lubomirski Princes—Department of the National Ossoliński Institute], Wrocław, *Zbiór Pawlikowskich*, sign. 4135.

133 ANDRZEJ BETLEJ: *Paweł Giżycki SJ, architekt polski XVIII wieku* [Paweł Giżycki SJ, Polish Architect of the Eighteenth Century], Kraków 2003, pp. 46–47, 131–134; BORYS WOŹNICKI: *Ikonoostas w cerkwi bazylianów w Podhorcach* [The Iconostasis in the Basilian Church in Podhorce], in: JAN K. OSTROWSKI (ed.): *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, vol. 2, Kraków 1996, pp. 375–380; SOŁTYSIAK, p. 72.

1780s or 1790s—but which is, unfortunately, no longer extant and known only from surviving illustrations—seems to have been a similar synthesis combining traits of each tradition.¹³⁴

4.5 Pulpits, Confessionals, Benches, and Choir Lofts with Organs

Altars are not the only element of church interiors that reflect such Western influences. Uniates also introduced other elements of church furnishing that were alien to Eastern tradition but more typical of Roman Catholic churches. Although these objects were of secondary importance relative to the altar, their presence and appearance could draw praise or condemnation and reveal attitudes towards “Latinization.”

One such common element was the pulpit. The database contains entries concerning 61 pulpits (Fig. 10). Certainly, as in other cases, this can be assumed to underestimate the actual number. All the records regarding the construction of new pulpits come from the latter half of the eighteenth century, but this may well be due to the greater detail of the extant documentation rather than a pivotal or meaningful shift. Pulpits provided practical advantages for delivering sermons, and as such they appeared even in Orthodox churches.

A similar number of entries—67 to be exact—pertain to confessionals. These, too, grew out of practical necessity, in this case more distinctly connected with the Roman Catholic practice of individual confession. Basilian institutions served not only Uniate but also Roman Catholic individuals, which necessitated confessionals within the religious space. There are isolated accounts of their construction in the first half of the eighteenth century: in Rome in 1735 (in which case, there was obviously a slightly different dynamic at play than in the monasteries of Poland-Lithuania)¹³⁵ and in Krechów in 1746.¹³⁶

Unlike in the Orthodox tradition, Uniate churches typically had benches. In this case, as well, the analysis of the sources yields a similar number—we recorded 59 instances. In some cases, it is not easy to distinguish them from monks’ stalls around the chancel, but usually the sources mentioned the location, differentiating between stalls in the chancel and benches in the nave.

One of the main differences between Eastern and Western liturgical practice concerns music. While the Eastern tradition limited liturgical music to the human voice, in the West musical instruments were introduced in the Middle

134 Engraving published in: WALDEMAR DELUGA: L'évolution de l'iconographie dans l'Église gréco-catholique au XVIII^e siècle, à la lumière des sources écrites, in: *Revue des études slaves* 71 (1999), 2, pp. 225–242, here p. 241; painting by Taras Shevchenko from 1846, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sobor_Pochaiivs%27koi_lavry_vnutrisnij_vyhl%27ad_by_Shevchenko.jpg (2025-07-10).

135 IGNAZIO KULCZYNSKYJ, ATHANASIJ WELYKYJ: La Casa e la Chiesa dell'Ospizio Ruteno a Roma, in: *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni* 9 (15), pp. 147–201, here p. 173.

136 Expenses of Krechów Monastery, in: LNB, sign. 3, no. 815, p. 167v.



Fig. 15: Rococo music choir in the former Basilian church in Lublin, nowadays the Orthodox cathedral (M. Jakubowski, 2022)

Ages. Among these, the organ acquired a particular importance; by the early modern period the organ had become an almost indispensable element of the Latin church interior, growing significantly in terms both of size and ornateness.¹³⁷

In older Eastern-rite churches in Poland-Lithuania, there had been a separate place for the music choir, located in the nave near the iconostasis, called *kliros* (*krylos* in Polish). They are infrequently mentioned in eighteenth-century sources. Of the sources on Basilian churches, the only evidence of their existence is in the 1720 inventory of Sielec monastery, but the records of the visitations there from the 1780s and 1790s do not mention such spaces. Furthermore, the church in Sielec already had a choir loft in 1720.¹³⁸

Instead of the traditional *kliros*, Basilians built choir lofts as galleries or balconies at the other end of the nave, above the entrance to the church (Fig. 15). We have recorded 42 choir lofts. In several cases, the date of their construction is known: 1764–1766 in the old church in Krystynopol;¹³⁹ 1769 in Podhorce;¹⁴⁰

137 MARCIN ZGLIŃSKI: *Nowożytny prospekt organowy i jego twórcy* [The Early Modern Organ Prospect and Its Creators], Warszawa 2012.

138 1720 Inventory of Sielec Monastery, in: LUK, sign. 634, vol. 3, no. 601.

139 1766 Inventory of the Krystynopol Monastery, in: PMCVV, sign. 684, vol. 1, no. 3075, pp. 2v–3.

140 1767–1772 Inventory of the Podhorce Monastery, *ibid.*, no. 2627, pp. 6–6v.

before 1785 in Byteń;¹⁴¹ 1788 in Rome;¹⁴² and before 1793 in Raków.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, it seems that the construction of the choir loft was not necessarily connected with the placement of the “Western” instrument of the organ there. Only 16 of these accounts mention an organ. In most cases the information comes from the 1780s visitations of the monasteries in the Lithuanian province. Older examples are limited to Żyrowice, where an organ was played during the coronation of an icon to the Virgin Mary in 1730¹⁴⁴ and Rome, where a portable organ was donated before 1735.¹⁴⁵ Numerous sources confirm the construction of the organ in Zamość in 1762,¹⁴⁶ but Zamość seems to have been the only monastery in the Polish province where the superior (then Herakliusz Kostecki) decided to install an organ. The organ was more popular in the Lithuanian province, but information about the dates of organ construction is lacking. At any rate, these instruments seem to have already been there for a while by the 1780s and 1790s, for repairs were necessary in Biała Podlaska in 1786, 1794, and 1795;¹⁴⁷ in Leszcz in 1784;¹⁴⁸ and in Sućków in 1784.¹⁴⁹

4.6 Designations of Monasteries and Churches

Byzantine and Latin traditions also mingled in the designations of monastic churches and altars.¹⁵⁰ Monasteries usually shared a name with their main church and its central altar, but there were some exceptions. The most popular monastery names referred to the Virgin Mary (Assumption: 27; Nativity of Mary: 26; Protection of Mary: 7; other: 6; altogether 66 monasteries) and Jesus Christ (Transfiguration: 20; Ascension: 8; Epiphany: 1; altogether 29 monasteries). Other designations honored the Holy Trinity (14), St. Nicholas (12), the Exaltation of the Cross (11), St. Onuphrius (9), St. George (7), St. John the Baptist (6), St. Peter and Paul (5), St. John the Evangelist (4), St. Michael (4),

141 *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Littuaniae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, p. 156.

142 *Acts of the Ruthenian Hospice in Rome*, in: ASPF, *Ospizio dei Ruteni*, sign. 1, pp. 270–275, 288–290. The date is also testified by the inscription placed on the choir.

143 *Visitationes Monasteriorum Ordinis S. Basilii 1793–1798*, in: ÖNB, sign. 3849, p. 142.

144 *Aquila grandis magnarum alarum, in Zyroviciana solitudine nidificans, sub corona renascens Beatissima Virgo Maria [...]*, *Supraśl 1730*, p. 76.

145 *KULCZYNSKYJ/WELYKYJ*, p. 173.

146 *Installationes Superiorum of Zamość Monastery*, in: APL, sign. 111-4/8, p. 11; *Diary of Zamość Monastery*, in: APL, sign. 111-4/29, p. 8v; *Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries*, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, p. 455v.

147 *Expenses of Biała Podlaska Monastery*, in: *Archiwum Diecezjalne w Siedlcach (ADS) [Diocesan Archives in Siedlce]*, sign. D162, pp. 21, 23v, 103.

148 *1784 Inventory of Leszcz Monastery*, in: VUB, sign. F5-F114-30883, p. 3.

149 *Inventories of Sućków Monastery*, in: VUB, sign. F4-(A3870)36470, p. 2v.

150 For the cultural transfer aspect of the veneration of saints, see: MATHIAS NIENDORF: *Koexistenz, Konfrontation, Synkretismus: Aspekte des Kulturkontaktes in Heiligenkulten des Großfürstentums Litauen*, in: STEFAN ROHDEWALD, DAVID FRICK et al. (eds.): *Litauen und Ruthenien: Studien zu einer transkulturellen Kommunikationsregion (15.–18. Jahrhundert)*, Wiesbaden 2007, pp. 303–330.

St. Praxedes (3), Pentecost (2), Elias (2), St. Basil (1), St. John the Merciful (1), St. Joseph (1), St. Cosma and Damian (1), St. Sergius and Bacchus (1), and St. Sophia (1). The name of the monastery in Świerżeń honored both the Assumption and St. Peter and Paul.

All these designations were universally Christian and could be applied in churches of both the Byzantine and Latin rites. There are only two options that require closer attention: St. Boris and Gleb and St. Josaphat. Boris and Gleb, known also under their respective Christian names as Roman and David, were Kyivan princes murdered in the 1010s. They were venerated for centuries in the Ruthenian-Byzantine tradition before Pope Benedict XIII finally canonized them as Catholic saints in 1724. Even before their canonization, Boris and Gleb were the patrons of three monasteries in the Lithuanian province that were among the earliest institutions to be united with Rome: Grodno, Nowogródek, and Połock.

Josaphat Kuntsevych is the single distinctively Uniate patron. Kuntsevych was a founder of the Basilian Order and the Uniate archbishop of Połock; he was murdered by opponents of the Union in 1623 and subsequently beatified by Urban VIII in 1643. Although he was not canonized until 1867, eighteenth-century Basilian sources often refer to him as a “saint.” He was the patron of five monasteries of the Lithuanian province, four of which were founded as Uniate institutions (Iłukszta, Małoszkowicze, Witebsk, Włodzimierz) and one that had changed its name (Torokanie).

Several monasteries had more than one church, including chapels over the gate to the monastery or adjacent to the refectory. The sources usually do not give their designations, but in some cases, at least, these are listed as the same as those applied to the main churches. The case of Turzysk seems to have been quite peculiar: The founder granted the Basilians with three older churches, devoted to the Transfiguration, St. Nicholas, and St. Eustachius.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, there were many chapels (altogether 81 in the database) that were either part of a church or another building or free-standing buildings within the monastic complex. In many of these cases, as well, the sources do not give a name or simply repeat those already listed. The more original, yet still universally recognizable as Christian designations, include the Prison of Christ in Żyrowice,¹⁵² the Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple in Wołswin,¹⁵³ the Victory of Mary in the old monastery in Poczajów (adjacent to the refectory, depicted in Fig. 4). The old church in Poczajów also had chapels to honor St. Barbara (built in 1723) and St. Theodore (repurposed as a sacristy in 1730).¹⁵⁴

The database includes a total of 559 altars: 152 main altars (usually listed without a named designation) and 407 side altars (as a minimum, for the num-

151 FRANKO/SKRUTEN', p. 282 [source appendix].

152 Built before the coronation of the icon in 1730: *Aquila grandis*, p. 87.

153 1754 Visitation of Wołswin Monastery, in: APL, sign. 95/106, pp. 386–389; 1764 Visitation: Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, pp. 201–205v.

154 Przesławna gora Poczaiowska, pp. 13–13v.

ber of side altars was not always specified). These numbers may only be seen as a point of reference; the sources likely omitted some altars or listed them with no specific designation. Because there could be more than one altar in a church, and because an altar could depict more than one patron, thus leading to multiple designations, the sources are a bit ambiguous. This renders an exact calculation impossible.

Of the altars with a clear designation, 90 were devoted to the Virgin Mary. Among those, particularly interesting are those referring to icons venerated in other places. In three cases, these were famous Uniate icons: Lady of Chełm in the chapel of the Suche manor, belonging to Leszcz monastery;¹⁵⁵ Lady of Żyrowice in Owruć (in this case a monastery in the Polish province had an altar dedicated to the icon from the Lithuanian province!);¹⁵⁶ Lady of Poczajów in Pitrycz monastery.¹⁵⁷ The numerous copies of these images were venerated both in Uniate and Orthodox churches.¹⁵⁸ A Roman Catholic—or particularly Polish—element was the devotion to the Lady of Częstochowa, noted in Horodenka,¹⁵⁹ Kamieniec Podolski,¹⁶⁰ and Złoczów-Buczyna (here in the main altar!).¹⁶¹ An especially noteworthy designation in regard to Western influences are those churches—in Buczacz,¹⁶² Łuck,¹⁶³ Podubiś,¹⁶⁴ and Żyrowice¹⁶⁵—that honored the Immaculate Conception, a doctrine never accepted in the Orthodox tradition.

While few churches were named for the order's patron, St. Basil, a large number of side altars were devoted to him—45 in total. Two of these are of particular interest, both of which can be found in the records for Sielec, albeit for different points in time. The earlier one, located in the choir loft, was dedicated to the Three Holy Hierarchs, i.e., St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, and

155 1784 Inventory of Leszcz Monastery, in: VUB, sign. F5-F114-30883.

156 *Opisanie Klasztoru Zaruczajskiego Owruckiego*, pp. 553–559.

157 1764 Inventory: Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, pp. 167–173.

158 MICHAŁ JANOCHA: *Niektóre aspekty ikonografii unickiej na terenie Rzeczypospolitej* [Some Aspects of the Uniate Iconography in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth], in: DOBROWOLSKI/ZEMŁO, pp. 495–543, here pp. 510–517.

159 1764 Inventory, in: LORENS, *Redukcja*, pp. 111–117 [source appendix].

160 1772 Inventory of Kamieniec Podolski Monastery, in: APPD, sign. Poczaj 12.

161 1767 Inventory of the Złoczów-Buczyna Monastery, in: LNB, sign. 3, no. 813/1.

162 1769 Inventory of the Buczacz Monastery, in: PMCVV, sign. 684, vol. 1, no. 1103.

163 1752 Visitation, in: VOLODYMYR ALEKSANDROVYCH: *Protokoly vyzitatsii Luts'koho Khrestovozdvyzhens'koho brats'koho monastyria 1752 ta 1763 rokiv* [The Visitation Protocols of the Exaltation of the Cross Brotherhood Monastery in Lutsk from 1752 and 1763], in: *Kovchek* 5 (2007), source no. 1, pp. 354–365.

164 1777 Inventory, in: WOŁYŃIAK, *Bazylianie na Żmudzi*, pp. 5–11, and later visitations.

165 1785 Inventory of Żyrowice Monastery, in: Sankt-Peterburgskii Institut istorii Rossiiskoi akademii nauk [St. Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences], *Collection of Pavel Dobrochotov*, sign. 52, vol. 1, no. 208. Testified also by visitations from the same period.

St. John Chrysostom.¹⁶⁶ The later mention refers to an altar in the nave dedicated to the entire “Family of St. Basil”¹⁶⁷—which may have meant his extended biological family, for it includes a number of saints, or his spiritual family, which would have involved more saints of the Eastern tradition beyond just his kin.¹⁶⁸ In Hoszcza, St. Basil was honored together with another patron of Eastern monasticism, St. Onuphrius.¹⁶⁹ These two saints were often associated and a similar number of altars—43—honored St. Onuphrius. Other popular but unsurprising patrons included St. Nicholas (35 altars), St. John the Baptist (9), St. Anthony (5), and St. Michael (5).

In addition, there were 21 side altars devoted to St. Josaphat, a distinctively Uniate saint, spread quite uniformly throughout the Lithuanian province (Biała Cerkiew, Boruny, Byeń, Leszcz, Lubawicze, Mińsk, Podubiś, Uszacz, Werchy, Wilno, Żyrowice), Polish province (Krechów, Krystynopol, Lublin, Podhorce, Szarogród, Trembowla), and even beyond the provincial division (Rome, Supraśl, Warsaw).

References to female saints in the nomenclature used in the male order’s churches were rather limited. Four altars honored St. Barbara—in Kołodeżna,¹⁷⁰ Łuck,¹⁷¹ Mielce,¹⁷² and Satanów.¹⁷³ Although widely venerated in the Eastern tradition, St. Macrina appeared surprisingly rarely in the context; two side altars were devoted to her, in Byeń¹⁷⁴ and Wilno.¹⁷⁵ Another Eastern saint, Mary of Egypt, was honored in Krechów with an illusionist altar painted in 1778, but this is the only such instance recorded for her.¹⁷⁶ The records also

166 1720 Inventory of Sielec Monastery, in: LUK, sign. 634, vol. 3, no. 601.

167 1787 Visitation, in: *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Lituanae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 404–406.

168 This iconographical motive is analyzed in: JAKUBOWSKI, pp. 129–130.

169 1763 Visitation, in: *Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries*, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, pp. 114–117.

170 1778 visitation known from: WOLYNIAK [JAN M. GIŻYCKI]: *Spis klasztorów unickich bazylianów w województwie wołyńskim* [Register of Uniate Basilian Monasteries in Volhynia Voivodship], Kraków 1905, pp. 39–40.

171 1752 Visitation, in: ALEKSANDROVYCH, *Protokoly vyzitatsii*, source no. 1, pp. 354–365.

172 1760 Visitation: *Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries*, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, pp. 28–39.

173 1765 Visitation: *ibid.*, pp. 508–513v.

174 1785 and 1787 Visitations: *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Lituanae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 156–162, 374–387.

175 1785 and 1786 Visitations, in: AL’FREDAS BUMBLAUSKAS, SAL’VIUS KULIAVICHUS et al. (eds.): *Na perekhresti kul’tur: Monastyr i khram presvatoi triitsi u Vil’niusi* [At a Cultural Crossroads: Holy Trinity Shrine and Monastery in Vilnius], L’viv 2019, source no. 14, pp. 670–671; *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Lituanae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 243–250v.

176 *Chronicle of the Krechów Monastery*, in: LNB, sign. 3, no. 121, p. 11v; testified also in the 1779 inventory, in: PMCVV, sign. 684, vol. 1, no. 2046.

mention an altar devoted to St. Katherine in Żyrowice,¹⁷⁷ to St. Tecla in Krechów,¹⁷⁸ to St. Anne (and St. Joachim) in Werchrata,¹⁷⁹ and to St. Agrippina in Wicyń.¹⁸⁰

Finally, there were a few more unusual or unexpected cases. The main altar in Horodenka was devoted to the Holy Sepulchre,¹⁸¹ as were side altars in Czernelona,¹⁸² Zawałów,¹⁸³ and probably in Lwów (at the Monastery of St. Onuphrius).¹⁸⁴ The main altar in Kamieniec Podolski was dedicated to Jesus the Merciful,¹⁸⁵ as well as side altars in Bilina¹⁸⁶ and Horodenka.¹⁸⁷ A number of rarer early Christian saints were the objects of devotion, as well: an altar in Wilno honored an “Eastern” saint, Simeon Stylites,¹⁸⁸ while in Zamość an altar was devoted to a “Western” saint, Valentine.¹⁸⁹ (Admittedly, however, both of these saints were recognized by both sides of the schism.) Saints associated more strictly with the Roman Catholic tradition were rarely honored, though there were a few exceptions: St. Clare in Szarogród,¹⁹⁰ St. Francis in Żyrowice,¹⁹¹ and St. John of Nepomuk in Krechów.¹⁹²

In summary, the nomenclature used for Basilian churches and altars reveals very little “Latinization.” In this respect, the Uniate order guarded its identity well by using names common within both the Eastern and Western traditions and introducing its own patron—St. Josaphat. Although the introduction of side

177 1785 and 1787 Visitations: *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Lituanae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 135v–155v, 351–359v.

178 Altar painting executed in 1777: *Chronicle of the Krechów Monastery*, in: LNB, sign. 3, no. 121, p. 9.

179 1764 and 1766 Inventories, in: *Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries*, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, pp. 257–262v; PMCVV, sign. 684, vol. 1, no. 1186.

180 1774 Inventory of Wicyń Monastery, in: LNB, sign. 3, no. 276, pp. 2–4.

181 1764 Visitation, in: LORENS, *Redukcja*, pp. 111–117 [source appendix].

182 1785 Visitation: *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Lituanae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 97–101, and from the next two years.

183 1773 Inventory of Zawałów Monastery, in: LNB, sign. 3, no. 613.

184 In 1780, an image of the Holy Sepulchre was there, but the source does not specify whether that was an altar or just a sculptural group: *Expenses of the St. Onuphrius Monastery in Lviv*, in: PMCVV, sign. 684, vol. 1, no. 2360, pp. 3–3v.

185 1772 Inventory of Kamieniec Podolski Monastery, in: APPD, sign. Poczej 12.

186 1763 and 1764 Visitations, in: STETSYK, no. 1, pp. 26–31; *Visitations and Inventories of the Monasteries*, in: HKMK, sign. 201, vol. 4, no. 613, pp. 435–436v.

187 1764 Visitation, in: LORENS, *Redukcja*, pp. 111–117 [source appendix].

188 1785 and 1786 Visitations, in: BUMBLAUSKAS/KULIAVICHIUS, source no. 14, pp. 670–671; *Visitationes Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Lituanae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 243–250v.

189 Made between 1764 and 1770: *Installationes superiorum of Zamość monastery*, in: APL, sign. 111-4/8, p. 13.

190 1760 Visitation, in: SITSINSKII, pp. 421–424 [source appendix].

191 1785 Inventory of Żyrowice Monastery, in: *Collection of Pavel Dobrochotov*, sign. 52, vol. 1, no. 208. Testified also by visitations from the same period.

192 Altar painting executed in 1777: *Chronicle of the Krechów Monastery*, in: LNB, sign. 3, no. 121, p. 9.

altars was itself evidence of Western influences, these altars were typically devoted to saints and causes that were either universal or typical for Ruthenian-Byzantine religious culture.¹⁹³

5 Index of Occidentalization

The biggest advantage of the database is that it enables comprehensive analysis, making it far easier to consider a large body of sources. The best approach is to navigate between the macro and micro levels, as we have tried to do in the previous sections of the article here, by combining general numbers with closer analysis of particularly interesting examples. In this section, we attempt to synthesize these findings with one more experimental quantitative approach, namely by calculating an index of Occidentalization according to the following methodology:

Out of the numerous types of monastery arrangement and types of formal solutions related to church architecture and furnishings, we selected ten that might be considered Western. Each of these was in turn assigned a numerical value that expresses (our own, certainly subjective) estimation of its importance as an indicator of Western influence. For example, three types of iconostasis were awarded two points each, whereas a church without any such structure was awarded four points; this sought to avoid a situation in which a church with Westernized iconostasis would be considered more Western than a church without one, as the absence of an iconostasis is the most obvious indicator of Occidental influence. Having assigned these individual values, we could then sum up the values to create an index of Occidentalization.

A section of the resulting table is included here; it represents all the categories taken into account for the sample of the monasteries that scored the highest in terms of Occidentalization. The map (Fig. 16) shows index scores of all the monasteries in Poland-Lithuania, though this can be seen merely as a rough estimation based on a somewhat academic experiment. The index scores are based entirely on the database with all its limitations. Only information that is explicitly included in the sources was considered. Even in cases like the Basilian church in Rome, where we can nearly certainly assume that there was no iconostasis, no points have been awarded because no source mentions that fact (maybe because it was too obvious). Furthermore, the majority of red dots (i.e., those with the lowest Occidentalization score) can be attributed to the lack of source data rather than confirmed details. Despite these shortcomings, the index and the map are valuable in that they do reveal a certain tendency: Although there are monasteries with exceptionally high scores in both provinces, there is a noticeable and significant difference in the average score of the monasteries in the two provinces—3.1 in the Lithuanian province and 1.6 in the Polish province. Summarized data from various categories confirms that the

193 Thus, the sources do not confirm the thesis about “Latinization” of the altar iconography, cf.: KOWALCZYK, p. 349.

monasteries in the Lithuanian province were much more “Western” in terms of art than those in the Polish province.

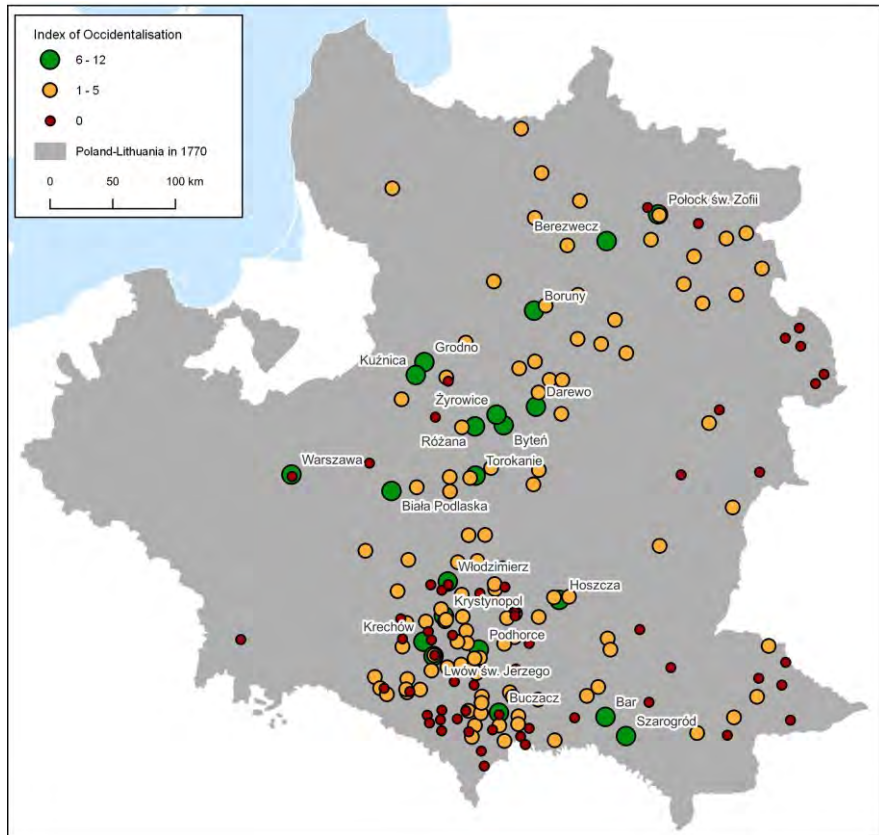


Fig. 16: Index of Occidentalization (author: T. Panecki)

Table 1: Fragment of the 'index of Occidentalization'. 10 monasteries with highest value of index are shown

Monastery name	Province	church-monastery: integrated	buildings arrangement: regular	side altar	pulpit	confessional	side altar-piece: „manistry”	side altar-piece: illusio-nistic	main altar-piece: illusio-nistic	organ	iconostasis with clearances	iconostasis with sculptures	iconostasis joined with an altar-piece	no iconostasis	presbytery not oriented	Index value
Krysztynopol	Polish	1	1	1	1	1								4	3	12
Różana	Lithuanian		1	1	1	1								4	3	11
Zyrowice	Lithuanian		1	1	1	1				2					3	9
Berezwezc	Lithuanian		1	1	1	1				2	2					8
Biała Podlaska	Lithuanian		1	1	1	1				2					3	8
Torokanie	Lithuanian	1		1	1					2					3	8
Bar	Polish			1	1				2		2	2				8
Kuznica	Supraśl archimandry and its residences			1	1					2					3	8
Rome	N/A	1		1		1				2					3	8

6 Basilians and Other Monastic Communities

To what extent were the processes described above specific to the Ruthenian Basilian Order? Which features were common or even universal in the context of other monastic communities? The wider we draw our comparison, the more perspectives it offers. Eighteenth-century activities of Basilians can, in fact, be compared with other monastic orders on various levels, thus allowing for more general conclusions.

Basilians are frequently thought of as the Byzantine-rite counterpart of the Society of Jesus; it was the same wave of Catholic Reform that led to the Jesuit Order in Western Europe and, further east, to the Union of Brest and the creation of the centralized Basilian Order. While scholars have widely assumed that the Basilians were organized on the model of Jesuits, they have not studied in any depth how this might have taken place on the ground. Gathering and analyzing data about Basilian artistic activities thus also provides a means of comparing their network to the better known global operations of the Society of Jesus.¹⁹⁴

As has been shown, Basilian construction projects varied greatly, depending on each monastery's financial possibilities, provincial subordination, and geographical location. A similar pattern can be observed among the Jesuits. Scholars have long ago rejected the concept of a specific "Jesuit style." While it is true that plans for every project had to be sent to the Jesuit headquarters in Rome, the examination of these plans focused on the practical functions of the building, not aesthetics.¹⁹⁵ Due to this regulation, however, the central archive of the Society of Jesus in Rome holds thousands of drawings from around the world—a treasure trove for the global study of Jesuit architecture. The legacy of the Basilian Order, on the other hand, was never as centralized, and parts of it were lost during the disastrous nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Nevertheless, there are grounds to argue that Basilians employed the rule of central control over architectural activities. According to the terms of the constitution of the order's general chapter from 1759, the provincial authorities had to approve any investment.¹⁹⁶ Construction records mention whether a blueprint was approved by the authorities of the order, of the respective province, or both. The design for the new monastic residence in Podhorce was confirmed "with minor

194 For Jesuits and their artistic activities in general, see: JOHN W. O'MALLEY, GAUVIN A. BAILEY (eds.): *The Jesuits and the Arts, 1540–1773*, Philadelphia 2005; ISABEL ÁLVARO ZAMORA, JAVIER IBÁÑEZ FERNÁNDEZ et al. (eds.): *La arquitectura jesuítica: Actas del Simposio Internacional Zaragoza, 9, 10 y 11 de diciembre de 2010*, Zaragoza 2012; MARKUS FRIEDRICH: *The Jesuits: A History*, Princeton 2022; JEFFREY MULLER: *Historiography of the Art and Architecture of the Jesuits*, in: ROBERT ALEKSANDER MARYKS (ed.): *Jesuit Historiography Online*, <https://referenceworks.brill.com/display/entries/JHO/SIM-192594.xml> (2025-01-17).

195 JERZY PASZENDA: *Losy tzw. stylu jezuickiego [On the Fate of the So-Called Jesuit Style]*, in: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 62 (2000), 1–2, pp. 163–174.

196 LORENS, *Bazylician*, p. 225.

changes” by the secretaries of the order, Onufry Bratkowski and Teodozy Ros-tocki, on 20 May 1770.¹⁹⁷ A month later, Bratkowski, together with the general of the order, Hipacy Biliński, accepted a blueprint (never implemented) for renovating the Monastery of St. Onuphrius in Lwów.¹⁹⁸ In 1771, both the central and provincial authorities confirmed the biggest investment project—the total reconstruction of the Poczajów monastery.¹⁹⁹ In 1775, we once again see Bratkowski, now the Polish provincial, accepting the design for the monastic residence in Ławrów.²⁰⁰ A similar case from the Lithuanian province concerns the planned remodeling of the church in Żyrowice in 1785.²⁰¹ In 1790, the Polish provincial Bazyli Rogowski forbade the erection of new altars in Milcza and ordered the construction of a new residence instead.²⁰²

Another well-known fact about the Jesuits is that they had their own artists: architects, sculptors, painters, and artisans, some of whom joined the society after learning their trade and others who learned these skills after having joined.²⁰³ Other monastic communities could boast artists among their members, as well. While our knowledge about Basilian artists and their work is relatively limited, there were certainly Basilian artists. Numerous sources confirm the activity of Basilian painters, who developed the great tradition of icon painting.²⁰⁴ The main center was the school of painting (*malarnia*) in Poczajów that produced portraits in addition to religious images.²⁰⁵ There are only isolated references to sculptural and architectural work in the sources. The superior of the monastery in Milcza, Hieronim Kamczyc, himself sculpted the altar devoted to St. Onuphrius that resembled a rock or desert (“permodum skały albo puszczy”).²⁰⁶ The first known Basilian architect was Hilarion Szystowski, responsible for numerous projects in the Lithuanian province in the 1780s and 1790s, including work on the churches in Jakobsztat²⁰⁷ and Drohiczyn, the resi-

197 Chronicle of the Podhorce Monastery, in: LNB, sign. 3, no. 308, p. 108.

198 IOSAFAT SKRUTEN’: Biblioteka l’vivs’kykh Vasyliian [The Library of Lviv Basilians], in: Zapysky Chyna sv. Vasyliia Velykoho 1 (1924), p. 176 [source reproduction].

199 Przesławna gora Poczajowska, p. 14v.

200 MYKOLA HOLUBETS’: Maliari-Vasyliiany na tli zakhidno-ukraïns’koho tserkovnoho maliarstva XVIII v. [Basilian Painters against the Background of Western Ukrainian Church Painting of the Eighteenth Century], in: Zapysky Chyna sv. Vasyliia Velykoho 3 (1930), p. 322.

201 Visitaciones Monasteriorum (O. S. B. M.) Provinciae Littuanæ ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, p. 136.

202 Summary of Papers of Milcza Monastery, in: APPD, sign. Poczaj 17, p. 182.

203 Regarding Poland-Lithuania, see: JERZY PASZENDA, JAN POPLATEK: Słownik jezuitów artystów [Lexicon of Jesuits Artists], Kraków 1972.

204 HOLUBETS, pp. 447–466.

205 E.g., Incomes of Poczajów Monastery, in: APPD, sign. Poczaj 22, p. 10v.

206 Information from 1770: Inventories of Milcza Monastery, in: APPD, sign. Poczaj 8, p. 114.

207 Visitaciones Monasteriorum Ordinis S. Basilii 1793–1798, in: ÖNB, sign. 3849, p. 94v.

dences in Bytėń²⁰⁸ and Iłuksza, and the continuing construction of the cathedral and monastic residence in Chełm.²⁰⁹

In terms of artistic activities, we can then conclude, Basilians functioned similarly to Jesuits and other Latin Catholic orders: They had central control over architectural projects that focused on practicalities and not on aesthetics. They had their own artists, especially in terms of painting, an emphasis likely stemming from the Byzantine iconic tradition.

Despite their frequently being compared to the Jesuits, the Basilians share significant similarities with older monastic orders rooted in the medieval tradition, as well. In the early modern period, these orders—including Benedictines, Cistercians, Dominicans, and Franciscans—were building, quite literally, on the legacy of the past and modernizing their medieval monastic complexes to satisfy the changing needs of the Church. They chose thereby between various modes of modernization; some limited themselves to adding new furnishings to the old spaces, while others covered the walls with up-to-date decoration or rebuilt their monastery completely.²¹⁰ Other churches, especially medieval cathedrals, were faced with similar decisions.²¹¹ Even when building anew, however, most monastic communities paid significant attention to their past, represented by memorial plaques, their founders' graves, and in historical images, whether engravings or paintings, or monumental frescoes.²¹² Adding towers to Cistercian churches and filling their interiors with overwrought Baroque decoration ran totally counter to medieval ideals of modesty. Monastic communities nevertheless did so, not because they neglected their predecessors, but because their growing involvement in pastoral activities demanded more spacious churches that were inviting and attractive to their contemporary faithful.²¹³ The Basilians were no exception, although the changes they introduced to Ruthenian monasteries were in some regards actually more conservative than those undertaken in many of their Roman Catholic counterparts.

Following the Council of Trent, nearly all Roman Catholic churches witnessed the removal of their medieval rood screens. This partition, often or-

208 *Visitationes Monasteriorum* (O. S. B. M.) *Provinciae Littuanae ab anno 1784 ad annum 1788*, in: ÖNB, sign. 2798, pp. 157, 208, 232v.

209 *Visitationes Monasteriorum Ordinis S. Basilii 1793–1798*, in: ÖNB, sign. 3849, p. 94v.

210 On the modes of modernization, see: MEINRAD VON ENGELBERG: *Renovatio Ecclesiae: Die "Barockisierung" mittelalterlicher Kirchen*, Petersberg 2005.

211 KRZYSZTOF J. CZYŻEWSKI: *Barokizacja czy modernizacja? Przemiany katedry krakowskiej po Soborze Trydenckim [Baroquization or Modernization? The Changes in the Kraków Cathedral after the Council of Trent]*, in: KATARZYNA BRZEZINA, JOANNA WOLANSKA (eds.): *Barok i barokizacja: Materiały sesji oddziału Krakowskiego Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, 3–4 XII 2004*, Kraków 2007, pp. 39–74.

212 MARKWART HERZOG, HUBERTA WEIGL (eds.): *Mitteuropäische Klöster der Barockzeit: Vergegenwärtigung monastischer Vergangenheit in Wort und Bild*, Konstanz 2011.

213 KATHRIN MÜLLER: *Zisterzienser und Barock: Die Kirchen der Oberdeutschen Kongregation im Spannungsfeld von Ordenidentität und lokaler Tradition*, Sankt Ottilien 2016.

nately sculpted, divided the nave and the chancel, preventing the faithful from seeing the actual celebration of the liturgy at the altar. Setting aside the symbolic dimension, the practical function of the iconostasis was the same. Rood screens and iconostases were removed due to the same Tridentine principle that the faithful should be more closely involved in the liturgy by having a clear line of vision to the Host, i.e., Christ's body.²¹⁴

Furthermore, Poland-Lithuania was not the only country where Eastern-rite Christians had to find their way of functioning within the universal Catholic Church. Numerous other Catholic communities of various Eastern rites lived in the Middle East, in the Habsburg monarchy, and in Italy. Catholic Armenians, Maronites, Melkites, Romanians, and many others had to navigate between established local traditions, conscious or unconscious cultural influences, and the demands of the Roman Curia and political authorities. This issue certainly requires further study, but levels of Occidentalization varied significantly, and, even if Polish-Lithuanian Uniates went further than others, they were certainly not alone.²¹⁵

Last but not least, let us ask about the Orthodox Church and, especially, about Orthodox monasteries in Eastern Europe. Orthodox monasteries had their own artists, as well. In no way was the use of contemporary artistic forms distinctive to the Uniates. Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo, and Neoclassicist influences were all felt in both Catholic communities and the Orthodox world. The great churches of the rising Russian Empire may well serve as the case in point here.²¹⁶ The evolution of the iconostasis in Poland-Lithuania paralleled up to a certain point that in Uniate and Orthodox churches.²¹⁷ It is separate issue that deserves its own comprehensive study, but Occidentalization certainly took place in Orthodox churches as well, although its character and scope was more limited than in the churches unified with Rome. For obvious reasons, there was little room to tolerate creative experimentation regarding the iconostasis, the introduction of side altars, or devotion to exclusively Roman Catholic saints.

214 For rood screens, see for instance: FRANCIS BOND: *Screens and Galleries in English Churches*, London et al. 1908. For a description of their removal in Cistercian churches, see: MÜLLER, pp. 262–275; and regarding Roman Catholic churches in Poland-Lithuania, see: CZYZEWSKI, pp. 61–63.

215 For an introduction to Western influences on the art of other Eastern-rite communities, see the following: BERNARD HEYBERGER: *From Religious to Secular Imagery? The Rise of the Image among Christians in Syria and Lebanon in the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, in: BERNARD HEYBERGER: *Middle Eastern and European Christianity, 16th–20th Century: Connected Histories*, Edinburgh 2023, pp. 199–224; ANA DUMITRAN, MIROSLAW P. KRUK (eds.): *Intercultural and Visual Art Transfer in Central Europe and the Balkans: Ruthenian-Ukrainian and Romanian Art from the 15th to the Early 19th Century*, Alba Iulia—Cluj-Napoca 2023.

216 For example, the famous projects by Francesco Bartolomeo Rastrelli: KONSTANTIN MALINOVSKII: *Bartolomeo i Franchesko Rastrelli [Bartolomeo and Francesco Rastrelli]*, Sankt-Peterburg 2017.

217 JANOCHA, *Ewolucja ikonostasu*.

7 Conclusion

The Occidentalization of churches was connected with the Latinization of liturgy. Although Latin influences had already been present before the Union of Brest and were felt in the Orthodox Church as well, Uniates were more exposed to them and more willing to accept them. The processes that began appearing in the seventeenth century became common in the eighteenth, and they were confirmed by the Synod of Zamość in 1720. Nevertheless, Uniates were never of one mind on this matter, and the Latinization of the liturgy was a topic of constant debate. There was thus no single or uniform rule, and significant regional and jurisdictional differences remained in both liturgical practices and artistic preferences. Our study demonstrates not only the forms and degrees of Occidentalization, but also the diversity within the Basilian Order, foremost between its two provinces.

Beyond that, however, this research should be seen as part of a broader story that has yet to be told. This study has been limited to artistic activities, omitting other essential issues like theological thought, liturgy, organization and discipline, education and pastoral services, and books published and possessed by the Basilian monasteries. Studying these issues might prove fruitful in other areas. For instance, the same forces that changed the appearance of monasteries were also felt in regard to the practice of reading. The growing social activity and increased aspirations of the order resulted not only in the relocation of its monasteries and the restructuring and redecoration of their premises, but also in a shift from reading as a reclusive prayer-oriented practice to an emphasis on its role in outreach and education.²¹⁸ The Basilian-led modernization of the Uniate Church thus also concerned their printing activities.²¹⁹

Based on the fragmentary evidence, Piotr Krasny once posed the question “Occidentalization or Modernization?,” suggesting that the changes in Uniate architecture in the eighteenth century were simply a form of modernization that took on seemingly Western features (because, in fact, there was no real alternative) rather than an ideological shift toward the West meant to cut ties with the Byzantine tradition and Orthodox neighbors.²²⁰ Our comprehensive analysis of the vast corpus of the sources confirms his intuition with a slight modification: Modernization was not an alternative to Occidentalization. Instead, the latter provided a means to achieve the former.

218 IVAN AL'MES: *Vid molytvy do osvity: Istoriia chytannia chentsiv L'vivs'koi eparkhii XVII–XVIII st.* [From Prayer to Education: The History of the Reading of Monks of the Lviv Eparchy in the 17th and 18th Centuries], L'viv 2021.

219 JOANNA GETKA: *U progu modernizacji: Ruskojęzyczne drukarstwo bazylikańskie XVIII wieku* [At the Threshold of Modernization: Ruthenian-Language Basilian Printing of the 18th Century], Warszawa—Lublin 2019.

220 KRASNY, *Okeydentalizacja czy modernizacja?*

8 Historical and Contemporary Names of the Monasteries

(except monasteries within the borders of Poland whose names did not change)

Historical name (Polish)	Contemporary official name	Contemporary state belonging
Antopol	Antopal'	Belarus
Bar	Semenki	Ukraine
Berezwezc	part of Hlybokaye	Belarus
Bilina	Velyka Bilyna	Ukraine
Boruny	Baruny	Belarus
Brześć	Brest	Belarus
Buczacz	Buchach	Ukraine
Byteń	Bytsyen'	Belarus
Czereja (Biała Cerkiew)	Bielaja Carkva	Belarus
Czerlona	Plodovaya	Belarus
Czortków	Chortkiv	Ukraine
Darewo	Darevo-Chizh	Belarus
Dereżyce	Monastyr-Derezhytskyi	Ukraine
Dobryhory	Dabryhory	Belarus
Domaszów	Dibrova	Ukraine
Drohobycz	Drohobych	Ukraine
Granów	Tyshkivs'ka Sloboda	Ukraine
Grodno	Hrodna	Belarus
Hołowczyńce	Holovchyntsi	Ukraine
Horodenka	Horodenka	Ukraine
Hoszcza	Hoshcha	Ukraine
Humań	Uman	Ukraine
Iłuksza	Ilūkste	Latvia
Jakobsztat	Jēkabpils	Latvia
Kamieniec Podolski	Kamianets-Podilskyi	Ukraine
Kołodeżna	Kolodiazhne	Ukraine
Kozaczyzna	Kazitiškis	Lithuania
Krechów	Krekhiv	Ukraine
Krystynopol	Sheptytskyi	Ukraine
Lady	Malye Lyady	Belarus
Leszcz	part of Pinsk	Belarus
Lisianka	Monastyrok	Ukraine
Lisznia	Monastyr-Lishnianskyi	Ukraine
Lubawicze	Lyubavichi	Russia
Lwów	Lviv	Ukraine
Ławryszewo	Lavryshevo	Belarus
Łohojsk	Lahoysk	Belarus
Łuck	Lutsk	Ukraine
Malejowce	Maliivtsi	Ukraine
Małoszkowicze	Malashkovichi	Belarus

Historical name (Polish)	Contemporary official name	Contemporary state belonging
Mańkóweczka	Mala Man'kivka	Ukraine
Mielce	Myltsi	Ukraine
Milcza	Mylcha	Ukraine
Mińsk	Minsk	Belarus
Nowogródek	Novogrudok	Belarus
Nowosiółki	Navasyolki	Belarus
Owruć	Ovruch	Ukraine
Pitrycz	Pitrych	Ukraine
Począjów	Pochayiv	Ukraine
Poddębce	Piddubtsi	Ukraine
Podhorce	Pidhirtsi	Ukraine
Podubiś	Bazilionai	Lithuania
Poginki	Pohinky	Ukraine
Połock	Polatsk	Belarus
Raków	Rakaw	Belarus
Różana	Ruzhany	Belarus
Satanów	Sataniv	Ukraine
Sielec	Selets	Belarus
Sokulec	Sokilets	Ukraine
Strusów	Strusiv	Ukraine
Sućków	Navaspask	Belarus
Szarogród	Sharhorod	Ukraine
Świerżeń	Novy Svyerzhan'	Belarus
Tadulin	Sloboda	Belarus
Tołoczyn	Talachyn	Belarus
Torokanie	Imyanin	Belarus
Trembowła	Pidhora	Ukraine
Turzysk	Turiisk	Ukraine
Uszacz	Ushachy	Belarus
Werchy	Verkhy	Ukraine
Wicyń	Smerekivka	Ukraine
Wilno	Vilnius	Lithuania
Winnica	Vinnytski Khutory	Ukraine
Witebsk	Vitebsk	Belarus
Włodzimierz	Volodymyr	Ukraine
Wołswin	Volsvyn	Ukraine
Zahorów	Novyi Zahoriv	Ukraine
Zawałów	Zavaliv	Ukraine
Złoczów-Buczyna	Monastyrok	Ukraine
Żyrowice	Zhirovichi	Belarus

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