

**THE CATHOLICIZATION OF POKUTIA: ETHNO-CONFESSIONAL  
AND HISTORICAL MYTH OF THE UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY**

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**Abstract:** *This article is devoted to the issue of the so-called “Catholicism” (ritus latini) on the territory of ethnographic and historical region of Pokutia in the 11<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>st</sup> centuries. It refutes the thesis common in Soviet and, at times, in Ukrainian historiography concerning the forcible “catholicization” of the local population during the period of gradual incorporation of these lands by the Kingdom of Poland. The authors provide the timelines of the Western Church influence on Galicia, and at the same time on Pokutia. The systematic inclusion of the above lands under the Polish rule didn’t happen until 1531, after the victory over Moldavian troops in the Battle of Obertyn. The process of the so-called “catholicization” lasted until the first partition of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1772, when the new Austrian administration, led by Emperor Joseph II, liquidated monastic centers of all ranks due to the widespread 18<sup>th</sup> century ideas of Enlightenment.*

**Keywords:** *Catholicization, Pokutia, myth, Ukrainian, historiography, Galicia, Poland, church, monastery*

**Rezumat:** *Catolicizarea Pocuției: un mit istoric și etno-confesional al istoriografiei ucrainene.* Articolul analizează chestiunea catolicismului (ritus latini) în spațiul geografic al regiunii istorico-etnografice Pocuția, în secolele XI-XVIII. Se respinge ideea încetățenită în istoriografia sovietică și prezentă, uneori, în istoriografia ucraineană, privitoare la „catolicizarea” forțată a populației locale în timpul încorporării progresive a ținutului în cadrul Regatului Poloniei. Autorii propun o periodizare a exercitării influenței Bisericii occidentale în Galiția, implicit în Pocuția. Includerea definitivă a acestor teritorii în cadrul domeniilor Coroanei poloneze s-a produs abia după 1531, în urma victoriei împotriva trupelor moldovene în Bătălia de la Obertyn. Procesul așa-zisei „catolicizări” s-a întins până la prima împărțire a Uniunii Polono-Lituaniene, în anul 1772, când noua administrație austriacă, sub Iosif al II-lea, a desființat toate centrele monastice, în spiritul ideilor iluministe din secolul al XVIII-lea.

**Résumé : La catholicisation de la Pocutie: un mythe historique et ethno-confessionnel de l'historiographie ukrainienne.** L'article ci-joint analyse la question du catholicisme (ritus latini) dans l'espace géographique de la région historique-ethnographique Pocutie le long des XI-e – XVIII-e siècles. Les auteurs rejettent l'idée de l'historiographie soviétique et présente, parfois, dans l'historiographie ukrainienne concernant la "catholicisation" forcée de la population locale pendant la compréhension progressive de la région dans le Royaume de la Pologne. L'étude propose une périodisation de l'exercice de l'influence de l'Eglise occidentale en Galicie, y inclus la Pocutie. L'inclusion définitive de ces territoires dans le cadre des domaines de la Couronne polonaise se produit à peine après 1531, à la suite de la victoire contre les troupes moldaves dans la bataille de Obertyn. Le procès de l'ainsi-nommée "catholicisation" se déroula jusqu'à la première division de l'Union Polonaise-Lituanienne, l'année 1772, lorsque la nouvelle administration autrichienne, sous Joseph II, détruisit tous les centres monastiques, à l'esprit des idées illuministes du XVIII-e siècle.

## INTRODUCTION

The material cultural heritage is already a historical source that perfectly illustrates the epoch which it belongs to. It really matters, when the researcher has no other important kind of historical sources: the written materials. The latter are considered to be the most informative for historical research. That is why historians are painstakingly trying to find, to study, and to analyse, comparing different multilingual texts, in order to "develop" the best interpretation of their own concepts which would be regarded as the most objective ones. Creation of a proper historical image of the period is an incredibly difficult task for every researcher. After all, a researcher has only those historical facts, which are considered representative, sufficient for presentation and confirmation of one or another conclusion, interpretation, etc. As a rule, the postulates and the statements accepted by the majority of the so-called "authoritative" researchers become concepts, schemes, "concrete" (in sense of deep, inviolable) "dogmas" which are passed from generation to generation, from century to century. They are deemed without any scientific criticism. These theses often become the basis for creation and circulation of national myths and long-existing stereotypes. Therefore, it's extremely important and valuable to introduce new historical sources, which haven't been previously used and have remained on the side-lines of research, but at the same time can give a more accurate picture of the past. Often, we are witnessing how the concepts previously introduced into scientific circulation become axiomatic. The attempts to question them cause at least indignation, often – rejection of the established scientific environment. Persistence and conservatism of the latter, which often act as its virtue, can play a

reactionary role in this case. We don't intend to destroy or reject Ukrainian historical narrative (for this we must be able to manipulate not just a scientific article, but also a much wider scope of the study). At the same time, we're sure it's possible to express a number of thoughts and statements, which, in our opinion, will allow us to make some changes to the already existing concepts of late medieval and early-modern Ukrainian history, the relations with the nearest neighbours, in particular the Poles. Therefore, we consider it's reasonable to use the informative part of the Roman Catholic churches (*ritus latini* by the sources) located in the ethnographic and historical region of Pokutia as historical and cultural monuments of the region together with the both written sources of the epoch, which they functioned in and scientific works of present day historians, artists, and ethnographers.

At the same time, we would like to note that we don't want to analyse the artistic value of churches. This is a separate research topic, which probably belongs to the history of art and culture of the borderlands. We shall only point out that the most profound, extensive detailed review of the appearance, construction, functioning and the existing state of the Catholic monasteries of the region has been given in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> volumes of a 22-volume series *The Churches and Roman-Catholic monasteries in the Ancient Ruthenian Voivodeship*<sup>1</sup>. In our opinion, as of today, this is the most complete edition of its kind. Unfortunately, Ukrainian historiography can't boast of something similar. However, it must use the above edition as the example for creating its future image of the monuments of sacral architecture of Pokutia.

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

The history of the bilateral centuries-long Ukrainian-Polish relations has accumulated a lot of myths, stereotypes, and finally – well-established approaches to the interpretation of various events or processes. Moreover, they haven't been always the product of painstaking, scrupulous work of the national professional historians\*. It's worth remembering the example of the dichotomy of Ukrainian

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<sup>1</sup> J. K. Ostrowski [coord.], *Kościół i klasztorzy rzymskokatolickie dawnego wojewódstwa Ruskiego* [The Churches and Rome-Catholic monasteries in the Ancient Ruthenian Voivodeship], Kraków, 2006, cz. 1, t. 14, 582 s.; t. 18, 386 s.

\* Polish phobia moods largely increased in Ukrainian propaganda and education during USSR times, when Poland was regarded in history as "oppressor" of the Ukrainian people, the cause of forced Polish assimilation and catholicization (Л. Зашкільняк,

historiography of the 20's–late 80's of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. On the one hand, Ukrainian history was written by Ukrainians outside their own ethnic territory, in exile. Not having a sufficient source base, they produced romantic and state concepts of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century rather than contributing to the objective reproduction of the Ukrainian past<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, it was textualized by those, who were actually forced by the occupier to work in terms of the Marxist ideological doctrine of formative development on the basis of class warfare (and, as it is known, history is written by the victors)<sup>3</sup>. The above also related to the

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*Образ Польщі та поляків у сучасній Україні* [The image of Poland and the Poles in the modern Ukraine], in “Проблеми слов’язнознавства”, 2011, Вип. 60, с. 68–80).

<sup>2</sup> See, in particular: Г. Лужицький, *Українська церква між Сходом і Заходом. Нарис історії української церкви* [Ukrainian Church between East and West. The Essay of Ukrainian church history], Філадельфія, 1954, 662 с.; М. Андрусак, *Унія з Римом і коронація Данила* [The Union with Rome and the coronation of Daniel], in “Збірник документів V наукової конференції НТШ”, Торонто, 1954, с. 132–137; Т. Коструба, *Нариси з церковної історії X–XIII століття* [The Essays of the Church history of the 10<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>st</sup> century], in Т. Коструба, *Вибрані твори* [The Selected Works], Торонто, 1956, 136 с.; М. Чубатий, *Історія християнства на Русі-Україні (до р. 1353)* [The History of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine (till 1353)], Рим ; New-York, 1965, т. 1, 816 с.; А. Великий, *З літопису християнської України. Церковно-історичні радіолекції з Ватикану* [From the Chronicle of the Christian Ukraine. The Church-historic radio collections from Vatican], кн. 2 : (XII–XIII–XIV ст.), Рим, 1968, 277 с.; І. Хома, *Нарис історії вселенської церкви* [The Essay of the universal Church history], Рим, 1990, 464 с.; М. Стахів, *Христова Церква в Україні 988–1596* [The Church of Christ in Ukraine 988–1596], Львів, 1993, 585 с. (the latest two – distinctly in the traditions of diaspora history writing) and many others.

<sup>3</sup> See, in particular: В. Т. Пашуто, *О политике папской курии на Руси (XIII век)* [About the policy of the Papal curia in Rus' (the 13<sup>th</sup> century)], in “Вопросы истории”, 1949, № 5, с. 52–77; И. Шаскольский, *Папская курия – главный организатор крестового похода против Руси 1240–1242 гг.* [The Papal Curia – the main organizer of the crusade aggression against Rus' during 1240–1242], in “Исторические записки”, 1951, т. 37, с. 169–188; Б. Я. Рамм, *Папство и Русь в X–XIII вв.* [The Papacy and Rus' during the 10<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>st</sup> centuries], Москва-Ленинград, 1959, 284 с.; Д. Похилевич, *Уніатська церква – ворог українського народу* [The Uniate Church – the enemy of the Ukrainian people], Львів, 1960, 84 с.; Ю. Ю. Свідерський, *Боротьба Південно-Західної Русі проти католицької експансії в X–XIII ст.* [The Struggle of South-Western Rus' against the Catholic expansion during the 10<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>st</sup> centuries], Київ, 1983, 128 с.; С. Лозинский, *История папства* [The history of Papacy], М., 1986, 382 с.; Б. Флоря, *Древняя Русь, папство и католический мир в XIII в.* [Ancient Rus', the

editions by the Russian Orthodox Church of the Moscow patriarchate with its typical ideological and confessional background<sup>4</sup>. Created in other methodological tradition, foreign editions were different in some positive manner<sup>5</sup>.

Папacy and the Catholic World in the 13<sup>th</sup> century], in *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье. Древняя Русь в системе этнополитических и культурных связей* [Eastern Europe in the Ancient and Mediaeval period. Ancient Rus' in the system of the ethno-political and cultural connections], Москва, 1994, с. 70–72; and many others.

<sup>4</sup> See, in particular: Е. Голубинский, *История Русской Церкви* [The history of the Church of Rus'], Москва, 1901, t. 1. *Периодъ первый Кіевскій или Домонгольскій. Первая половина тома* [The First period – Kievan or Pre-Mongolian. The first part of the volume], 968 с.; Е. Голубинский, *История Русской Церкви. Периодъ второй, Московскій* [The history of the Church of Rus'. The Second period – Moscovian], Москва, 1900, t. 2. *Отъ нашествія Монголовъ до митрополита Макарія включительно. Первая половина тома* [Since a Mongolian invasion till Metropolitan Macarius inclusive. The first part of the volume], 919 с.; М. Таубе, *Русь и Рим в домонгольскій период* [Rus' and Rome in the Pre-Mongolian period], in “Католический временник”, Париж, 1928, с. 1–78.

<sup>5</sup> See, in particular, W. Abracham, *Powstanie organizacji kościoła łacińskiego na Rusi* [The establishment of the Latin Church organization in Rus'], Lwów, 1904, t. 1, 418 s.; Idem, *Jakób Strepa arcybiskup halicki 1391–1409* [Galician archbishop Jakób Strepa 1391–1409], Kraków, 1908, 115 s.; Idem, *Założenie biskupstwa łacińskiego w Kamieńcu Podolskim* [The foundation of the Latin bishopric in Kamyanets-Podilsky], Kraków, 1911, 39 s.; Idem, *Początki arcybiskupstwa łacińskiego we Lwowie* [The beginning of the Latin archbishopric in Lviv], Lwów, 1909, 63 s.; Idem, *Z dziejów dawnego biskupstwa łac. w Łucku* [From the history of the ancient Latin bishopric in Lutsk], Lwów, 1937, 9 s., and also more scientific research works by Polish and Hungarian historians on the edge of the 20<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> centuries: T. Trajdos, *Kościół Katolicki na ziemiach ruskich Korony i Litwy za panowania Władysława II Jagiełły (1386–1434)* [The Catholic Church in the Crownlands of Rus' and Lithuania during the reign of Władysław II Jagiełło (1386–1434)], Wrocław ; Warszawa ; Kraków ; Gdańsk ; Łódź, 1983, t. 1, 329 s.; J. Orzechowski, *Okcydentalizacja Rusi Koronnej w XIV, XV, XVI w.* [The occidentalization of Crown Rus' in the 14, 15, 16<sup>th</sup> centuries], in *Państwo, naród, stany w świadomości wieków średnich. Pamięci Benedykta Zientary 1929–1983* [The State, peoples, states in the consciousness of the Middle Ages. To the memory of Benedykt Zientara 1929–1983], Warszawa, 1990, s. 215–243; J. Wyrozumski, *Początki organizacji Kościoła Katolickiego na Rusi Halicko-Włodzimierskiej* [The beginning of the Catholic Church organization in Galician-Volodymyrian Rus'], in “Szkice historyczne”, Kraków, 1996, s. 29–38; M. Font, *A latin és az ortodox kereszténység határán Halics-Volhínia a 14–15. században* [On the border of the Latin and ortodox Christianity of Galicia-Volhynia' during the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries], in T. Fedeles, I. Horváth, G. Kiss [coord], *A Pécsi egyházmegye vonzásában. Ünnepi*

The Ukrainian-Polish relations were often described as frequent opposition and hatred, constant struggle, confrontation. Moreover, such a vector of historical interaction remained largely dominant. The well-known Ukrainian historian from Lviv, Leonid Zashkilnyak analysed the situation: “Due to the first historiographical works of Mykola Kostomarov, later Volodymyr Antonovych, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Dmytro Doroshenko, and many other contemporary historians, the awareness of “centuries-long Poland-Rus’ struggle”, the “main enemy” of Ukrainian independence, carrier of the “alien Western values and Catholicism” has ingrained in consciousness of Ukrainian patriots. The researcher, supporting the opinion of another famous modern Ukrainian historian of the 20<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Nataliya Yakovenko, also rightly notes that “Russian society of that time (we are talking about the period of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup>– early 20<sup>st</sup> century – *Author*) united liberals and conservatives, and Slavophiles, and Ukrainophiles on a shared Polonophobic platform”<sup>6</sup>.

The recent Ukrainian historical science is trying to stray from such *clichés*, forming a new image of Poland and the Poles in the Ukrainian public awareness. The above is proved by the works of the young researchers, dedicated to the reception of historical memory<sup>7</sup>. We’re witnessing an increasing number of the scientific works in the modern historical, political and other scientific literature, where the Ukrainian-Polish relations are reviewed against the backdrop of the actual historical timeline, rather than against the current concept of the inter-dynastic, inter-national, inter-state or inter-ethnic relations of the past, which is so different to each of us. The works of L. Zashkilnyak, L. Kravchenko, O. Lukinov, A. Portnov should be mentioned as the examples of such studies<sup>8</sup>.

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*tanulmányok Timár György tiszteletére*, Budapest, 2007, old. 69–84; R. K. Prokop, *Arcybiskupi Haliccy i Lwowscy Obrządku Łacińskiego. Szkice biograficzne* [The Latin archbishops of Halych and Lviv. The biographical essays], Biały Dunajec, Óródek “Wołanie z Wołynia”, 2010, 449 s., and many others.

<sup>6</sup> Л. Зашкільняк, *Образ Польщі та поляків у сучасній Україні* [The imagine of Poland and the Poles in modern Ukraine], in “Проблеми слов’янознавства”, 2011, вип. 60, с. 68–80.

<sup>7</sup> N. Khrystan, *Drohiczyn battle: history academic discipline versus politics* [The Soviet historical thought of the 30–80’s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century], in “Codrul Cosminului”, XXIII, 2017, № 1, p. 187–202; І. Скочиляс, *Галицька митрополія XIV – першої половини XV століть: особливості еkleзіального, правового та суспільного статусу* [Galician Metropolitanate of the 14<sup>th</sup> – the first half of the 15<sup>st</sup> centuries: peculiarities of religious, legal and social status], in *Княжа доба: історія і культура*, 2011, вип. 4, с. 246–279.

<sup>8</sup> Л. Зашкільняк [coord.], *Українська історіографія на зламі XX і XXI століть: здобутки і проблеми* [Ukrainian historiography at the turn of 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries:

We shall focus on one of the concepts, which have been almost consistently prevailing in national mediaeval and early-modern history for almost two centuries. We are talking about so-called “catholicization” (or the acceptance of *ritus latini*) of the Ruthenian population, including in Pokutia. It was actively used by founders of Ukrainian historical science, such as M. Hrushevsky, D. Doroshenko, their followers and students in the 20<sup>th</sup> – early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, namely Ivan Krypyakevych, Volodymyr Grabovetsky<sup>9</sup> and many others. This term is also actively used now in historical textbooks at both secondary school and university levels<sup>10</sup>.

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achievements and problems], Львів, 2004; В. Кравченко, *У пошуках квадратури кола: “Национальные истории в советском и постсоветских государствах”* [In the searching of a quadrature of the circle: “The National histories in the Soviet and Post-soviet states”], Москва, 1999, in “Український гуманітарний огляд”, Київ, 2004, вип. 5, с. 125–135; М. Лукінов, *Обережно, міфи! Спроба системного підходу до висвітлення фальшування історії України* [Attention, myths! The Attempt of the systematic approach for the reflecting of the falsification of the Ukrainian history], Київ, 2003; А. Портнов, *Винаходячи Річ Посполиту* [Discovering Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth], in “Критика”, 2006, № 9, с. 2–24; Idem, *Історіографії на краях* [Historiographies at the edges], in “Критика”, 2006, № 3, с. 15–16.

<sup>9</sup> М. С. Грушевський, *Історія України-Руси* [The History of Ukraine-Rus’] : в 11 т., 12 кн., Київ, 1992–1993, т. 3, 1993, 592 с.; т. 4, 1993, 544 с.; т. 5, 1994, 704 с.; т. 6, 1995, 680 с.; Д. Дорошенко, *Нариси історії України* [The essays of the Ukrainian history] : у 2-х т., Мюнхен, 1966, т. 1–2, 360 с., І. П. Крип’якевич *Історія України* [The History of Ukraine], Львів, 1990, 520 с.; В. Грабовецький, *Ілюстрована історія Прикарпаття. Друге доповнене видання* [The illustrated history of Pre-Carpathia, The Second edition], Івано-Франківськ, 2002, т. 1, 432 с.

<sup>10</sup> М. Мудрий, *Образ поляка (Польщі) та німця (Німеччини) в сучасних українських шкільних підручниках з історії* [The image of Pole (Poland) and German (Germany) in Ukrainian school history textbooks], in W. Bonusiak [coord.], *Polska – Niemcy – Ukraina w Europie. Narodowe identyfikacje i europejskie integracje w przededniu XXI wieku* [Poland – Germany – Ukraine in Europe. The National identifications and European integrations on the eve of the 21<sup>st</sup> century], Rzeszów, 2000, s. 139–145; В. Середа, *Конструювання образу іншого та історичної ідентичності України і Польщі: порівняльно-текстуальний аналіз шкільних підручників з історії* [The construction of the other image and historical identity in Ukraine and Poland: the Comparative-textual analysis of the school history textbooks], in *Методологія, теорія та практика соціологічного аналізу сучасного суспільства. Збірник наукових праць*, Харків, 2003, с. 270–276; В. Середа, *Вплив польських та українських шкільних підручників з історії на формування польсько-українських етнічних стереотипів* [The influence of the Polish and Ukrainian school history textbooks on

In terms of the professional terminology, it's worthwhile to understand the meaning of the term "catholicization". Modern Ukrainian encyclopaedic publications don't contain the explanation. The official historical reference literature doesn't actually use it. And this fact should accordingly not promote the use of the above term in the research works.

There is no the explanation of the term "catholicization", for example, in the authoritative encyclopaedic edition of Soviet times *The Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopaedia*, in 12 volumes, edited by Mykola Bazhan<sup>11</sup>. But this term interpretation could be found in several cultural publications of the same period, such as the fifth volume of *The Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language*, in 11 volumes. In our opinion, it is quite poor, tautological: "CATHOLICIZATION, noun, action and state in the meaning of **to make catholic** and **to become catholic**. Foreign conquerors tried to enslave Ukraine not only by a sword, but also by enforced catholicization"<sup>12</sup>. That is the authors convince readers that "catholicization" is actually "catholicization", and should be taken for granted without any explanation. The only thing that one can clearly understand from this definition is that "catholicization" is an enforced process or action aimed at the enslavement of Ukraine.

A meaningful analysis of the term "catholicization" (at first, the acceptance of *ritus latini*), which is used in the Ukraine's history textbooks, referring to the princely and early-modern period, gives us a reason to believe, that it means a forced conversion of the local non-Catholic population to Catholic faith by the Polish authority in the Ukrainian lands. At the same time, this process is described as unerringly existing and increasing. It occurred *a priori*, with the beginning of

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the Polish-Ukrainian ethnic stereotype formation], in "Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична", Львів, 2000, вип. 35–36, с. 389–390; Н. М. Яковенко, *Польща та поляки в шкільних підручниках історії, або відлуння давнього й недавнього минулого* [Poland and the Poles in the school history textbooks or the echo of the ancient and recent past], Еadem, *Паралельний світ. Дослідження з історії уявлень та ідей в Україні XVI–XVII ст.* [The parallel world. The Study of history of the representations and ideas in Ukraine of the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>st</sup> centuries], Київ, 2002, с. 366–282. The analysis of the latest Ukrainian school textbooks of history, in order to highlight the history of Poland and the Poles, leads to some depressing conclusions. See: Л. Зашкільняк, *Історія «своя» й історія «чужа»* [The "own" history and the "another" history], in "Критика", Київ, 2009, ч. 9–10 (143–144), с. 24–27.

<sup>11</sup> М. П. Бажан, О. К. Антонов та ін. [Coord.], *Українська радянська енциклопедія*: в 12 т. [The Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopaedia], Київ, Головна редакція УРЕ, 1977–1985.

<sup>12</sup> І. К. Білодід [coord.], *Словник української мови*: в 11 т. [The Dictionary of the Ukrainian language], АН УРСР, Інститут мовознавства, Київ, 1970–1980, т. 5, с. 661.



the Polish Kingdom power, spread during the times of the king Casimir III, and lasted till the first partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772. This is the origin of this concept, which continues to prevail in the academic and educational communities in a form of stereotype, as well as in scientific publications, and promotes the image of the Poles and Polish state as a certain enemy of the Ukrainian state and people.

Do we have the right to raise assertion of the enforcement of Catholicism by the Polish authorities on the lands of historical and ethnographic Pokutia? If we do, then from which period? Could the means of process implementation vary during different periods? Or was it, as it is sometimes said today, exclusively violent? And what do we mean by Polish authorities that “catholicized” the local population of Pokutia? Let us try to answer these questions.

It is generally recognized that the land, ruled by the Piast dynasty, enthroned in the historical Polonia Maior, Polonia Minor, Masovia, Silesia, later in Pomerania, Kuyavia, etc., during the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>st</sup> centuries together with Hungarian kings of the Arpad dynasty, and from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century with the Anjou, became the outpost of the Roman popes’ influence in the East. The confessional border touches till the Rurik dynasty lands. They didn’t mind such a neighbourhood and systematically concluded various matrimonial alliances with crowned representatives of the Latin world, the number of which during the 10<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>st</sup> exceeded more than 50. The most of them, namely forty bilateral marriages falls on the dynasty of Polish Piasts, Hungarian Arpad and Anjou dynasties, as well as the Czech and Moravian Přemyslids<sup>13</sup>.

The historical Pokutia has been known under this name from the sources from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and local people belonged to possessions of Rostislavich and Romanovich dynasties since the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Those dynasties alternately controlled historical Galicia at the time of so-called “state of the Carpathian Croats”, (“*Great Croatia*” according to the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos<sup>14</sup>), which was conquered by the Grand Prince of Kyiv Vladimir at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Since the end of the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>st</sup> centuries Christianity of rather eastern model (though not necessarily, because the old Cyril and

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<sup>13</sup> М. Волошук, *Жінки з династії Рюриковичів при європейських дворах XI–XIV ст.* [The woman from the Rurik dynasty on the European courts of the 11<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>st</sup> centuries], in <http://likbez.org.ua/ua/zhenshhiny-iz-dinastii-ryurikovichej-pri-evropejskih-dvorah-v-hi-hiv-vv.html> (Accessed in: 17.07.2017)

<sup>14</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* [About the Empire management], Gy. Moravcsik [ed.], Dumbarton Oaks, 1967, p. 153.

Methodius tradition, known here from the 9<sup>th</sup> century, must be still alive in the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>st</sup> centuries) was gradually adopted here. The adepts of it were the Rurik princely families<sup>15</sup>. It was the territory that became the frontier of religious (confessional) interaction of the Christian world of the Princely epoch and subsequent epochs. It is worth to start talking about the attempts to spread “Latin faith” or “Latin rite” (Catholicism, in modern terms, or *ritus latini* in the rite sense – by Latin) in Galicia, however, on the Dniester-Prut interfluve, later known as Pokutia, during the Princely epoch.

Although the storytelling Tivertsy and Ulichy were well aware of Christianity of the Eastern rite (*ritus graeci*) in a certain territory, the missionaries of the so-called “Latin world” repeatedly appeared there since the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>st</sup> centuries. In the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century Prince Daniel Romanovich tried to find allies to struggle against the Mongolian threat. He decided to tolerate the Pope by recognizing his suzerainty in exchange for a union with the Eastern rite maintaining and military assistance. In 1253, the papal legate of Oppido from Mezzana, on behalf of the pontiff Innocent IV, crowned Daniel as “the King of Rus’”<sup>16</sup>. His title was immediately recognized by all neighbours, who had repeatedly called Prince Daniel a King. Having been introduced to the family of Christian monarchs in Europe, who recognized the Pope as their suzerain, Daniel had, at least, not to preclude the activities of the Western missionaries in the territory of Rus’ under his control. L. Voitovych correctly stated, that by the territory of Rus’ they meant all Ruthenian lands with a centre in Kyiv<sup>17</sup>. Family of King Daniel treated “Latin

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<sup>15</sup> This is professionally demonstrated by Bogdan Tomenchuk (Б. Томенчук, *Археологія некрополів Галича і Галицької землі. Одержавлення. Християнізація* [The archaeology of the necropolises of Halych and Galicia land. Governmentalization. Christianization], Івано-Франківськ, 2006, 328 с.).

<sup>16</sup> А. И. Тургенев, *Акты исторические, относящиеся к России* [The historical acts related to Russia], Санкт-Петербург, 1841, т. 1, № 62–65, 74, 76–77; С. А. Большакова, *Папские послания галицкому князю как исторический источник* [The Popes Messages to the Galician Prince as a historical source], in *Древнейшие государства на территории СРСР. Материалы и исследования. 1975 г.*, Москва, 1976, с. 122–129. Also see: В. Нагірний, М. Волощук [coord.], *Colloquia Russica*, Івано-Франківськ ; Краків, 2017, series II, в. 3: *Данило Романович і його часи* [Daniel Romanovich and his times], 275 s.; М. Волощук, *Князь і король Данило Романович у житті міста Галича XIII сторіччя* [The Prince and the King Daniel Romanovich in the life of Halych city of the 13<sup>th</sup> century], in *Галич: збірник наукових праць*, Івано-Франківськ, 2017, вип. 2: *До 650-ї річниці магдебурзького права в Галичі*, с. 127–146.

<sup>17</sup> Л. Войтович, *Польський король Казимир III і боротьба за спадщину Романовичів* [The

rite" (*ritus latini*), if not favourably, then in no way hostile, because his children were married with the representatives of the neighbouring princes and royal families – the Polish Piasts, Hungarian Arpads, Austrian Babenbergs, German Schwarzburgs etc. By the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century western culture has deeply penetrated into everyday life of the local population of the Kingdom of Rus' in the form of Latin record-keeping, Magdeburg Law of the towns, workshop production, knight culture and military technologies of upper social strata, fashion and so on.

However, after the death of the last Romanovich dynasty ruler, began the struggle for the vacant throne between neighbouring pretenders "for the tow" and "for the sword", especially Polish King Casimir III and Lithuanian Gediminids family<sup>18</sup>. The value of the control over these territories was further strengthened by other factors. Since 1340, effectively counteracting serious threat of the systematic attacks on their lands by the Tatars, that the last rulers of the Kingdom of Rus' condoned, the Polish ruler had effectively used the sudden poisoning of the Prince Bolesław-Jerzy II in March 21, 1340 in the Volhynian town Volodymer. In April of the same year, Casimir III's troops with the support of Hungarian forces sent by the King Charles Robert, stormed Lviv (Lwów), robbed royal treasury and took enthronement jewels of Romanovich dynasty (including two crowns and two fragments of True Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ) to Krakow, so that no one could be crowned by them in the capital<sup>19</sup>.

Therefore, this fact has become an unconditional proof of the Kingdom of Rus' inclusion to the Polish state in the spring of 1340 for some of the representatives of the Ukrainian historiography<sup>20</sup>. Another part of the scientists, whose approach, in

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Polish King Casimir III and the struggle for the heritage of Romanovich dynasty], in "Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична", Львів, 2011, вип. 46, с. 23–24.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* с. 2–26.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* с. 2–3. Also see: М. Волощук, *Животворящий Хрест Господа нашого Ісуса Христа в історії середньовічного Галича (на маргінесі студій Ельжбети Домбровської та Олександра Майорова)* [The Life-giving Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ in the history of medieval Halych (on the margins of studios of Elżbieta Dąbrowska and Aleksandr Mayorov)], in *Галич: збірник наукових праць*, Івано-Франківськ, 2016, вип. 1, с. 35–67.

<sup>20</sup> М. Грушевський, *Історія України-Руси* [The History of Ukraine-Rus'], Львів, 1905, т. 3, с. 126; т. 4, Київ; Львів, 1907, сс. 22–24, 39–44, 81, 89–94, 101, 241; М. Кордуба, *Болезлав-Юрій II. Останній самостійний володар Галицько-Волинської держави. З нагоди 600-ліття його смерті* [Boleslav-Juriy II. The last independent ruler of the Galician-Volhynian State. On the occasion of the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death], in "Минуле і сучасне", Краків, 1941, ч. 7; О. Мазур, "Лотка князь руський, прибув до

our opinion, is more considered and reasoned, believes that this happened not earlier than 1387 as a result of the Polish troops' campaign led by the young queen of Poland Jadwiga of the Anjou dynasty<sup>21</sup>. We also refer ourselves there.

We would like better to explain some fragments of the historical development of Galicia and Pokutia in the Kingdom of Poland being between "Catholic" religion (*ritus latini*), as a conditional "state" religion, and the "Eastern rite" (*ritus graeci*) of the Ruthenians, Vlachs etc.

We are sure, that, in general, the process of active "Catholicization" (by acceptance of *ritus latini*) of Pokutia could be conditionally chronologically\* to divide into 4 stages:

1. The end of the 11<sup>th</sup> – the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century
2. 1253–1387

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*Вишеграда*": гіпотетична ідентифікація особи ["Ruthenian Prince Lotka, which came to Vishegrad": the hypothetical person identification], in "Дрогобицький краєзнавчий збірник" Дрогобич, 2003, вип. 7, с. 72–79, and many others.

<sup>21</sup> І. Крип'якевич, *Галичина* [Galicia], in *Українська Загальна Енциклопедія* [Ukrainian General Encyclopaedia], Львів; Станиславів; Коломия, 1935, т. 3, с. 641–642; Idem, *Галицько-Волинське князівство* [The Galician-Volhynian Principality], Львів, 1984, с. 111–115; Львів, 1999, вид. 2, с. 140–146; Я. Д. Ісаєвич, *Загарбання земель Галицько-Волинського князівства іноземними державами* [The seizure of lands of the Galician-Volynian Principality by the foreign states], in *Торжество історичної справедливості* [The Triumph of the historical justice], Львів, 1968, с. 74–80; Idem, *Галицько-Волинське князівство після навали Батия* [The Galician-Volynian Principality after the Batu-khan attack], in *Історія української культури* [The history of the Ukrainian culture], Київ, 2001, т. 2, с. 219; Л. Войтович, *Князівські династії Східної Європи (кінець IX – початок XVI ст.): склад, суспільна і політична роль* [The East-European Princes dynasties (the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 16<sup>st</sup> centuries): the composition, social and political role], Львів, 2000, с. 437–439; Idem, *Княжа доба на Русі: портрети еліти* [The Princely epoch of the Rus': portraits of the elites], Біла Церква, 2006, сс. 38–39, 73, 486, 613–614, 668–670; Я. Ісаєвич, Л. Войтович, *Перехідний час: 1349–1387* [The Transition time: 1349–1387], in *Історія Львова* [The history of Lviv], Львів, 2006, т. 1, с. 63–71; Л. Войтович, *Польський король Казимир III, с. 2–26*. Also see: А. Федорук, *Облога Галича 1387 року у світлі вітчизняної історіографії* [The Siege of Halych in 1387 in the light of the national historiography], in *Галич: збірник наукових праць*, Івано-Франківськ, 2017, вип. 2 : *До 650-ї річниці магдебурзького права в Галичі*, с. 194–206.

\* The above provided years should not be regarded as the beginning or the end of some historical processes. However, the above suggested, as any historical phenomenon, must have its own periodization.

3. 1387–1531
4. 1531–1772\*

During the first stage, that chronologically coincided with the time, when Ruthenia were ruled by the representatives of the Rostislavich and Romanovich dynasties, Latin spread slowly, mainly due to the fact, that Western princesses married there (the most eloquent example is the wife of the Prince Leo I of Galicia – Constance, daughter of the Hungarian King Bela IV) and because of merchants, first missionaries, monks, settlers, all kinds of adventures etc. Therefore, both objects of the “Western” cult found in archaeological layers, and entire architectural complexes, in particular rotundas, inherent mainly to the countries of so-called “Older Europe” aren’t accidental in Rus’<sup>22</sup>. They had to serve confessional needs of the population that observed “Latin rite” (*ritus latini*). At that time, the rich people from different lands of Rus’ often made pilgrimage to the holy places of the West. For instance, Ivan and Semko Ninoslavovich, who at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century went to the Galician Santiago de Compostella (modern – Spain) to pray near the relics of St. James the Apostle and left a message about their visit in the form of graffiti on the walls of two French churches<sup>23</sup>. Though, some Western church leaders called on chivalry to turn “infidel Ruthenians” to the true faith<sup>24</sup>, by force of arms. This was rather an exception to the rules of a general tolerant relation to each other. This is also noticeable in the long history of numerous boyars from Halych supports of Hungarian princes and kings against Volhynia, Chernihiv and other princes of the Rurik dynasty throughout the late 12<sup>th</sup> – early 13<sup>st</sup> centuries.

At the second stage, the process of penetration and spontaneous spread of

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\* The reforms of Habsburg dynasty changed little bit the Catholicism and Greek Catholicism status and possibilities in Pokuttya. But there is the topic for another article.

<sup>22</sup> Ю. Дибя, *Етноконфесійна приналежність ротонд Х–ХІІІ ст. українсько-польського та українсько-угорського порубіжжя* [The Ethnic and confessional belonging of the rotundas from the Ukrainian-Polish and Ukrainian-Hungarian borderline during the 10<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>st</sup> centuries], in “Народознавчі зошити”, Львів, 2002, вип. 2, с. 222–227.

<sup>23</sup> A.-S. Brun, A. Hartmann-Virnich, E. Ingrand-Varenne, S. M. Mikheev, *Old Russian Graffiti Inscription in the Abbey of Saint-Gilles, South of France*, in “Slověne = Словѣне”, 2014, vol. 3, № 2, с. 110–129; A. Gordine, *Des graffiti à Saint Vivien de Pons*, in “Archéologie Pontoise”, 2016, vol. 116, p. 14–30.

<sup>24</sup> M. Plezia. *List biskupa Mateusza do św. Bernarda* [The letter of bishop Mateusz to saint Berdard], in: Z. Budkowa [coord.], *Prace z dziejów Polski feudalnej ofiarowane Romanowi Grodeckiemu w 70 rocznicę urodzin* [The works from the history of mediaeval Poland, dedicated for Roman Grodecki on the occasion of the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary], Warszawa, 1960, s. 123–140.

“Catholic” faith (*ritus latini*) wasn’t enforced. It followed an evolutionary and natural path without any records of local resistance. Beginning with the coronation of the Prince Daniel as the King of Rus’ in Drohiczyn, at the end of 1253, his acceptance of papal supremacy and consent of the court chronicler to call his suzerain the “King”, occurred after long multilateral negotiations, childhood and youth experience of the relationship of older Romanovich with the countries of “Latin world”, the awareness of their capabilities and values. The end of this stage is marked with a gradual establishment (based on the results of more than 40 years of confrontation) of the power of the Kingdom of Poland in the greater territory of historical Galicia. However, the violent conversion of the Eastern rite (*ritus graeci*) adepts has not been recorded by any document either from the office of Popes in Avignon or from the royal court in Krakow. Quite a few noble people from Rus’ changed the confession, rather from personal career reasons<sup>25</sup>.

In such conditions of a regular alteration of power, incompliance with generally accepted norms of law, any enforcement of the local population to change public, moral consciousness would be objectively imposed to resistance. This might have caused the rejection of the power, which not only established its own laws and regulations, but also forced people to change their worldview and interpretation of the basic spiritual values.

So why wasn’t Latin rite (*ritus latini*) actually forced on the local population? Firstly, from King Daniel’s times until the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, historical land of Pokutia was more or less under the influence of the Kingdom of Rus’. The rulers of it on the edge of the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>st</sup> centuries were the followers of the Eastern rite (*ritus graeci*), in spite of the Latin missionaries’ tolerance. Under other conditions and circumstances, the attempts of enforced catholicization would certainly result in the rejection of the power, which not only establishes its own laws and regulations, but also forces people to change their worldview and interpretation of the basic spiritual values, established by generations, sometimes not even always connected with Christianity.

A striking example of complete mutual understanding is the assertion of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania authority in a part of the territory of former Rus’, particularly in Kyiv region. Gediminids family came to Volhynia, Podilia and the Right-bank of Dnipro River in the name of preserving existing law and the

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<sup>25</sup> See about the noble Dymitr from Goraj, who permanently lived on the lands of Pyasts since 1352: K. Myśliński, *Dzieje kariery politycznej w średniowiecznej Polsce. Dymitr z Goraja (1340–1400)* [The history of the political career in the medieval Poland. Dymitr from Goraj (1340–1400)], Lublin, 1981, s. 73–74.

economic system. Casimir III (and his descendants) had to use similar principles, as his main goal was eventually to solidify his position on whole Galicia, as well as in Pokutia. First years of his reign have been marked by very careful use of the titles *dominus et heres Russiae*, *Russieque dux et heres* and *rex Polonie et Russiae*<sup>26</sup>, and not imposing too much intervention in church affairs. Moreover, the king of Poland, of course, along with the patronage of “Catholics”, tried in every possible way to support the church hierarchy of *ritus graeci*, initiating in 1370, shortly before his death, to restore Galician metropolitan rule<sup>27</sup>. And that is despite the fact that popes in Avignon, with the assistance of new king of Hungary and Poland Louis I of the Anjou dynasty, believed that the only possible way to strengthen their positions on the territory of the former Kingdom of Rus’ is to replace the “schismatic” priests with the “Latin” ones. This is also confirmed in the text of the papal bulla *Debitum pastoralis officii* dated February 13, 1375, where the Pope Gregory XI declared the creation of the Catholic Archdiocese of Galicia and “removal” of Orthodox bishops in his territory<sup>28</sup>. However, there was no forced conversion of “Orthodox” locals of Galicia, Pokutia into “Catholicism”, or, even worse, the physical destruction of the “schismatics”.

The main functions within the mission of *ritus latini* spread in Rus’ were provided by two Orders: the Dominicans and the Franciscans. A quite successful analysis of the activities of particular St. Francis’ and St. Dominic’s ranks within the ancient Kingdom of Rus’ and, in times of the Ruthenian Voivodship was performed recently by Ukrainian scientists<sup>29</sup>. The authors clearly indicate that, in

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<sup>26</sup> L. Ryszczewski, A. Muczowski [coord.], *Codex diplomaticus Poloniae* [The Code of diplomas of Poland], studio et opera, Varsaviae, 1858, t. 3, ss. 226, 253, 278, 282, 284, 288–289, 294, 298, 301, 305; St. Kuraś i I. Sułkowska-Kuraś [coord.], *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich* [The Collection of the Lesser Poland documents], Wrocław; Warszawa; Kraków, 1969, cz. 4: *Dokumenty z lat 1211–1400* [the documents from the years 1211–1400], s. 111, 121.

<sup>27</sup> A. Bielowski [coord.], *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* [The Monuments of the Polish history], Krakow, 1872, t. 2, s. 626–628.

<sup>28</sup> Львівська латинська архієпископія XV–XVIII ст. у документах Наукової бібліотеки Львівського університету [The Latin Archdiocese of Lviv of the 15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries in the sources of the Scientific Library of the University of Lviv], [http://library.lnu.edu.ua/bibl/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=596:lvivska-latynska-arhidijecezija-xv-xviii-st-u-dokumentah-naukovoji-biblioteki-lvivskogo-universytetu&catid=1:latest-news&Itemid=1](http://library.lnu.edu.ua/bibl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=596:lvivska-latynska-arhidijecezija-xv-xviii-st-u-dokumentah-naukovoji-biblioteki-lvivskogo-universytetu&catid=1:latest-news&Itemid=1) (Accessed on 17.07.2017).

<sup>29</sup> А. С. Стасюк, *Місіонерська діяльність Ордену францисканців на Русі XIII – першої третини XV ст.* [The missionary activity of the Franciscan Order in Rus’ in the 13<sup>th</sup> – the

the 13<sup>th</sup> century, these Orders didn't interact with parish priests, who weren't popular in these new lands. And therefore there weren't many Catholic churches. In the end, the authors of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> volumes of above-mentioned special edition also confirm the absence of sacred architectural structures of *ritus latini* adepts until the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently, the absence of characteristic temples of this time indicates the absence or the presence of a very small number of the parishes. We allow, this attests to actual absence or low level of expansion of *ritus latini*. Catholic churches themselves, as an institution, took a weak part in this process. In other words, there are no arguments to talk about total catholicization during these first two periods. In fact, the historian from Lviv Modest Chornyi actually asserts the same by saying: "An analysis of the foundation and activity of the monasteries during the first centuries... in the Ukrainian lands proves that the Catholicism expansion was a very long process. The fact that conditionally Catholic population was heavily outnumbered by the Orthodox sharply reduced the Order's chances [in this case the Dominican. – *Author*] to collect money donations and completely eliminated the punitive work of the Order against the infidels. The material and political efforts of the Dominican Order leaders and the representatives of state government that were loyal to monks led to the emergence of only a few influential and wealthy monasteries of the Order in areas of compact settlement of the Catholic population. The sharp material disproportion between the monasteries of the Order had negatively affected the ability of this structure to respond adequately to changes in church and political life of the Ukrainian lands in the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>st</sup> centuries"<sup>30</sup>.

According to the Polish historian Jerzy Kloczowski, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century only 25 new foundations of the Dominican monasteries were founded in Galicia and Podilia<sup>31</sup>. Moreover, according to M. Chornyi and Andriy Stasyuk, in Pokutia during the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>st</sup> centuries there were a small number of monasteries of both ranks (Franciscans and Dominicans): in Kolomyia, Sniatyn, later Horodenka. They

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first third of the 15<sup>st</sup> century], Автореферат дисертації на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата історичних наук, Львів, 2016, 16 с.; М. Чорний, *Становище монастирів Домініканського ордену в Галичині та Поділлі (друга половина XIII – середина XIV ст.)* [The situation of the monasteries of the Dominican Order in Galicia and Podilia (the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> – the middle of the 14<sup>st</sup> centuries)], in "Проблеми середньовічної історії Центральної та Східної Європи", Львів, 2012, вип. 3, с. 56–64.

<sup>30</sup> М. Чорний, *op. cit.*, с. 62.

<sup>31</sup> J. Kloczowski, *Europa słowiańska w XIV–XV wieku* [The Slavic Europe in the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries], Warszawa, 1984, s. 124.



didn't have enough material resources and the opportunity to influence the socio-political processes of the region in context in which the process of so-called "catholicization" is covered<sup>32</sup>.

In this context, we should differentiate between the attitudes of one or other confessional elite's liking (the nobility) and ordinary residents, whose religious ideas in Pokutia are still the subject of the research. Pre-mountainous regions greatly conserved pre-Christian believes, stratified by the doctrine about Christ. Only since the 12<sup>th</sup> century, we can speak about more or less purposeful policy of local dynasties, targeted at implementing of church religion (under the patronage of Kyiv metropolitan, and since 1302/1303 – Galician metropolitan) in the controlled lands<sup>33</sup>. In terms of hierarchy, the situation remained the same, in spite of the appearance and growth here of "Latin" missionaries and permanent church centres.

Although the third stage was marked with permanent stay of authorities of the Kingdom of Poland in Pokutia, nevertheless, in our opinion, it wasn't also characterized by a particularly expansion *ritus latini* among the local population. Foreign policy issues, especially the confrontation with the Teutonic, Livonian Orders in the north and the Moldavian principality in the southeast (the Battle of Grunewald and the Battle of Obertyn, respectively – July 15, 1410 and August 22, 1531), have set the outlined problem aside.

In the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, due to joint efforts of several Central European dynasties, the hegemony of the Teutonic and Livonian Orders had been overcome in the north of the continent. The leading political role in this process was undoubtedly played by the Kingdom of Poland headed by Władysław II Jagiełło and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania under the leadership of the Grand Duke Vytautas<sup>34</sup>. This somewhat "gave a free hand" to the Polish nobility in its strive to acquire new lands in Podilia, Polesia, the Right-bank of Dnipro river. Pokutia remained as a region bordering with a new, relatively strong state – Moldova<sup>35</sup>. At that time, its lands had become a serious obstacle to

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<sup>32</sup> А. Є. Стасюк, *op. cit.*, с. 11; М. Чорний, *Op. cit.*, с. 59–60.

<sup>33</sup> Б. Томенчук, *op. cit.*, с. 133.

<sup>34</sup> Ф. М. Шабульдо, *Грюнвальдська битва 1410* [The Grunvald battle of 1410], in В. А. Смолій [Coord.], *Енциклопедія історії України* [The Ukrainian history encyclopedia], НАН України. Інститут історії України, Київ, 2004, т. 2 : Г–Д, 688 с., in [http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Gryunvaldska\\_bytva\\_1410](http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Gryunvaldska_bytva_1410) (Accessed in: 02.05.2017).

<sup>35</sup> В. Великочий, *Покуття як край пограниччя у польсько-молдавських відносинах XV–*

the Tatars and Turks raids, which was a special “Orthodoxy” island between so-called “Catholic West” and “Muslim South”.

During the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> – the first half of the 16<sup>st</sup> centuries Pokutia peacefully devolved between Poland and Moldova (as a pledge in terms of a money loan)<sup>36</sup>, and as a result of military operations. Therefore, the catholicization, that is, the forced introduction of Catholicism in a frontier territory that might result in opposition of local population, was a poor prospect. The royal court in Krakow and the elites clearly understood that. That is why, when possessing lands of the region, noblemen promoted transition of peasants to the new settlements by extending the dead line for paying taxes and serfdom to 20–40 years<sup>37</sup>. At the same time, the government of Poland had to accept the existence of three types of rights in Pokutia: traditional Ruthenian, new Magdeburg (or as it was called – German), mostly (but not always) spread in cities and towns; and the Vlach, which appeared due to the Vlachian settlement. Under such circumstances, it was the product of a well-balanced policy. At the same time, we should note that as any process, and furthermore strengthening of power in another ethnic territory, it wasn't lack of separate cases of violence, but of a religious nature<sup>38</sup>. But they, if at all, were more likely to be an exception to the rules. The sources don't record the so-called “anti-Catholic” oppositions to be widespread.

But the presence of a strong foreign policy opponent on the south-eastern borders of the Kingdom of Poland, in Pokutia, turned this region into an arena of open and sometimes hidden inter-dynastic struggle. A bright example of this may be the so-called “*Uprising of Mukha*” of 1490–1492. This was a military action, however, useless for that time, inspired by the ruler of Moldova Stephen III against the King of Poland Casimir IV of the Jagiellonian dynasty. Its goal was rather to

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XVI століття [Pokuttya as a border region in the Polish-Moldavian relations of the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>st</sup> centuries], in “Ямгорів. Літературно-краєзнавчий і мистецький альманах”, 2013, № 22–23, с. 132–139.

<sup>36</sup> А. Королько, *Межі Покуття в історико-картографічних та етнографічних дослідженнях XVI – початку XXI століття* [The boundaries of Pokuttya in historical-cartographic and ethnographic studies of the 16<sup>th</sup> – on the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries], in “Галичина. Науковий культурно-просвітній краєзнавчий часопис”, Івано-Франківськ, 2011, ч. 18–19, с. 128.

<sup>37</sup> Н. Полонська-Василенко, *Історія України* : у 2 т. [History of Ukraine], Київ, 1993, т. 1: *До середини XVII ст.* [till the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century], с. 360.

<sup>38</sup> І. Крип'якевич, *Історія України*, с. 134.

weaken Polish influence on Moldova, which was achieved after the defeat of troops of the next King John Albert in October 2, 1497 in Cosmin forest<sup>39</sup>.

For obvious reasons, Ukrainian Soviet historiography named this so-called “uprising” as anti-feudal and anti-Polish. Yet, in the first decades of the Ukrainian independence, it was much misinterpreted so that Mukha’s uprising was considered almost national liberation movement<sup>40</sup>. Of course, there is still no recorded evidence and testimony in relation to the indisputability of such a concept. But Olexandr Gurzhiy clearly indicates in his article to *The Ukrainian history encyclopaedia* that “there are grounds to believe that, in addition to the social component, the uprising has become an important factor in international politics and political intrigues of European rulers. The chroniclers of those days associated the beginning of the uprising with the policy of Moldavian ruler Stephen III the Great, vassal of the King of Poland Casimir IV Jagiellon, who instigated Mukha to rise against the King of Poland, since the latter hadn’t defended the principality of Moldova against the attacks of Ottoman Empire and Hungary”<sup>41</sup>. The fact that in the summer of 1490 the ruler of Moldova Stephen III began military occupation of Pokutia can also confirm such development of events<sup>42</sup>.

The Polish-Moldavian confrontation over these lands was finally resolved in 1531 by the brilliant victory of the Polish Crown forces, led by hetman Jan Tarnowski at the town of Obertyn. This victory resulted in final and irrevocable, up to 1772, incorporation of the region into the Kingdom of Poland<sup>43</sup>.

The expansion starts of “Catholicism” of the Latin rite (*ritus latini* of Catholic and after 1596, maybe also Greek Catholic forms) should, in our opinion, be considered the upper margin of the third stage and the lower margin of the fourth stage of outlined process. Final establishment of the power of the Kingdom of

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<sup>39</sup> J. Eagles, *Stephen the Great and Balkan Nationalism*, in *Moldova and Eastern European History*, London ; New York, I. B. Tauris & Co., 2014, pp. 58, 62–63.

<sup>40</sup> В. Грабовецький, *Люстрована історія Прикарпаття. Друге доповнене видання* [The Illustrated history of Pre-Carpathia. The second edition], с. 225–226.

<sup>41</sup> О. І. Гуржій, *Мухи повстання 1490–1492* [Muha rebellion 1490–1492], in *Енциклопедія історії України* [The Ukrainian history encyclopaedia], НАН України. Інститут історії України, Київ, 2010, т. 7: Мі–О, in [http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Mukhy\\_povstannia\\_1490](http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Mukhy_povstannia_1490) (Accessed on 02.05.2017).

<sup>42</sup> В. Стати, *История Молдовы* [The History of Moldova], Кишинев, S. n., 2002, с. 75.

<sup>43</sup> М. Plewczyński, *Obertyn 1531* [Obertyn battle 1531], Warszawa, 1994, s. 3; Д. Вирський, *Обертинська битва 1531* [Obertyn battle 1531], in *Енциклопедія історії України*, т. 7 : Мі–О, in [http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Obertynska\\_bytva\\_1531](http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Obertynska_bytva_1531) (Accessed on 03.05.2017).

Poland in Pokutia ensured the spread of a large “folwark” (in mediaeval Poland, serfdom-based farm) economy here, the strengthening of power of the Polish, “Catholic” nobility as opposed to the “Orthodox” Ruthenians, Vlachs etc. The predominantly peaceful spread of *ritus latini* was replaced with active, offensive, sometimes even militant actions, caused by the threats of expansion of Protestantism ideas<sup>44</sup>. In combating the so-called “Orthodox schism”, the Polish nobility gained support of Catholic nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, especially after the Union of Lublin (1569).

In reality, during the final stage in 1531–1772, many Catholic churches and monasteries of *ritus latini* appeared in Pokutia, which is certified by the data of the above already mentioned volumes of the edition *The Churches and Roman-Catholic monasteries in the Ancient Ruthenian Voivodeship*<sup>45</sup>. The processes of the enslavement, spread of the “Polish world” took place in parallel. The Ruthenian elites more or less experienced the pressure of the so-called “catholicization”, even to a greater extent than, in particular, peasants, who were also sometimes forced to conversion, and there had been many evidences of that. It should be noted that this phenomenon must be thoroughly researched and reinterpreted, and it deserves numerous research surveys.

We consider it’s possible to state that it seems more acceptable, more justified, more precise, in terms of content, to use the term “occidentalization” (like a form of accepting not only *ritus latini* in the religion life, but in cultural as well) instead of current common term “catholicization”, used in Ukrainian historical literature. It fully reflects the content of the fourth stage of forced conversion to Catholicism of *ritus latini*, outlined in sources by the Ruthenian population in Pokutia. Let’s note at once that the occidentalization of the Ruthenian nobility was one of the main reasons of conclusion of the Brest Union in 1596, the appearance of the Greek Catholic Church (November-December 1989 –The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church). We allow that since the latter was under the supervision of the Pope and at the same time remained faithful to *ritus graeci* and the Church Slavonic (Ruthenian) language of services, it played a key role in preserving of the Ukrainian culture, language and traditions and approaching with West. The training of intelligentsia as leading layer of the future Ukrainian society was also concentrated within the church. We would also like to note a well-known

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<sup>44</sup> M. Shkribliak, O. Balukh, *European Reformation and distinguishing features of the institutional design of the early Protestant currents in the Ukrainian lands*, in “Codrul Cosminului”, XXIII, 2017, № 1, p. 137.

<sup>45</sup> J. K. Ostrowski [coord.], *op. cit.*, vol. 14, 18.

fact: the church union, agreed by the King of Poland Sigismund III Vasa, wasn't approved by the Polish nobility. The latter didn't want to compete with Ruthenian church, which had equal rights, and moreover was of the "other" not Latin rite.

Here it is appropriate to recall the attempts to reach mutual church understanding on the so-called "Great Ukraine" in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. We refer to the project of Metropolitan Peter Mogila aimed at creating of the Kyiv Patriarchate as a component of unified Christ Church with recognition of primacy of the Roman Pontiff among the patriarchs. However, according to O. Dzyuba, the "change in the political situation, the death of Mogila and the King of Poland Władysław IV Vasa precluded the plan of reconciliation, and the beginning of national revolution of 1648–1676 excluded the implementation of this project"<sup>46</sup>.

Stating the process of the Ruthenian population occidentalization (using *ritus latini* as well) in Pokutia, its mostly violent nature during 1531–1772, we will still raise the question: was it so forthright and one-sided? In our opinion, it was not.

Without going into a deep analysis of reasons and grounds for such statement, caused by limited possibilities of research work form, we should note the following. By the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century territorial borders and, accordingly, administrative system of the Catholic Archdiocese of Lviv had been finally defined and remained unchanged until 1772. It included the territory of Lviv and Galicia (however, Pokutia) of the Ruthenian Voivodeship. However, only 153 parishes were founded in this territory of Archdiocese until 1772, the year of the First partition of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth<sup>47</sup>. Taking into account that the Ruthenian Voivodeship occupied the territory of present Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and most of Ternopil regions, this figure isn't impressive. We allow, it can only mean that occidentalization, in particular, of Pokutia hasn't reached its goal, and wasn't much effective accordingly.

Secondly, the Catholic monasteries were certainly responsible for occidentalization of the ethnic Ruthenian (and probably not only Ruthenian, but

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<sup>46</sup> О. Дзюба, *Могिला Петро Симеонович* [Mohyla Petro Symeonovych], in *Енциклопедія історії України*, in: [http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Mohyla\\_P](http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Mohyla_P) (Accessed on 03.12.2017).

<sup>47</sup> *Львівська латинська архидієцезія XV–XVIII ст.* [The Latin Archdiocese of Lviv of the 15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>st</sup> centuries], [http://library.lnu.edu.ua/bibl/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=596:lvivska-latynska-arhidijecezija-xv-xviii-st-u-dokumentah-naukovoji-biblioteki-lvivskogo-universytetu&catid=1:latest-news&Itemid=1](http://library.lnu.edu.ua/bibl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=596:lvivska-latynska-arhidijecezija-xv-xviii-st-u-dokumentah-naukovoji-biblioteki-lvivskogo-universytetu&catid=1:latest-news&Itemid=1) (Accessed on 17.07.2017).

also another “non-Catholic” Christian) population in Pokutia regardless of their social status. At the beginning of secularization reform of Joseph II in 1781, there were 86 Catholic monasteries in the Ruthenian Voivodeship. Provided with a considerable amount of the land and subordinate villages, the monasteries had the opportunity to make the process of occidentalization “more smooth”, so to speak “velvet”. This must have brought them enough money. However, according to M. Chorny, “after 1456, when the structure of *Societas* was finally abolished, leaders of the Order [Dominican. – *Author*] faced a problem of legal liquidation of very poor monasteries in Smotrych, Kolomyia, Terebovlia, Pidkamin, Chervonohorod (Chervone) and Łańcut”<sup>48</sup>. The situation hadn’t changed radically until 1781, after which only Pidkamin and Chervonohorod (or Chervone) Dominican monasteries continued their existence. They had no relation to Pokutia. So, on the one hand, a considerable number of Catholic monasteries must have certified the spread of occidentalization, and on the other, their poverty was a clear indicator of their poor influence.

Another argument of a financial nature is, in our opinion, a clear evidence of poor effectiveness of occidentalization, despite its enforcement application. In the 14<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>st</sup> centuries the Catholic archbishops of Lviv were the second most authoritative people in Poland after primates, the archbishops of Gniezno. But at the same time the Archdiocese of Lviv was one of the poorest in the country: if “in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>st</sup> centuries profit of the Krakow bishopric averaged 56 thousand Roman ducats, then the Lviv bishopric earned no more than 4 thousand”<sup>49</sup>. This may be either a testimony to the poverty of parishioners, or their small numbers (which is more likely). The Local peasantry largely continued to go to “their” Greek Catholic churches. Otherwise, with the amount of population, which according to the data of Paul Robert Mágocsi was almost 600 thousand only in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>50</sup>, the numbers of Catholics of *ritus latini* must have been higher. But figures are stubborn things...

Finally, another, but, in our opinion, extremely conspicuous fact is the following. In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Kaniv starosta Mikołaj Bazyli Potocki possessed significant territories in Pokutia. His land allotments mainly in Ukraine were so significant that traveller could go from the city of Horodenka to Kyiv, without going beyond their bounds. You would think what had prevented

<sup>48</sup> М. Чорний, *op. cit.*, с. 64.

<sup>49</sup> Львівська латинська архієпископія XV–XVIII ст.

<sup>50</sup> П. Р. Магочій, *Історія України. Науково-популярне видання* [The history of Ukraine. A popular scientific publication], Київ, Критика, 2007, с. 129.

the above large land-owner, tycoon, representative of the Polish nobility, from Latinizing of the local sin Pokutia? But he simultaneously built Roman Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (1745–1769) and Greek Catholic Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (1763) in Horodenka. Moreover, the same people participated in design and decoration of both churches: an architect Bernard Meretyn and a sculptor, artist Johann Georg Pinsel<sup>51</sup>. And this is a convincing testimony to the lack of occidentalization enforcement by representatives of Polish authorities in Pokutia, which wasn't on the agenda of ruling elites.

### CONCLUSION

Thus, the analysis of sacred art memorials, Roman Catholic churches in Pokutia, in conjunction with a new interpretation, gives us grounds to state the following.

First, the usage of the term “catholicization” in Ukrainian historical science requires an official interpretation and verification.

Second, it is incorrect to use it in the context of eventual enforcement of the so-called “Catholic” faith by the Polish authorities, as an ever-growing process in Pokutia during the 13<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>st</sup> centuries. Besides the concept itself requires the demythologization.

Third, the process of “catholicization” (the acceptance of *ritus latini*) expansion in Pokutia passed at least in four stages – since the end of the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>st</sup> centuries till 1772 and the secularization reform of Joseph II in 1781. During the first three stages, which lasted till 1531, it is inappropriate to speak about the enforcement of “Catholicism” among the Ruthenian (and non-Ruthenian, though of *ritus graeci*) population. And this makes the concept of “Catholicizing” meaningless in its current etymological sense, at least, in Ukrainian historical science.

Fourth, during the years 1531–1772, so-called “Catholic faith” of the Latin rite was actively imposed in Pokutia. This process would be more objectively called “occidentalization”. This is evident both from information on the number of Catholic monasteries in the region, and from the condition of Catholic churches

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<sup>51</sup> *Городенка. Церква Успення Пресвятої Діви Марії (1763 р.). Івано-Франківська обл.* [Horodenka. The Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (1763). Ivano-Frankivsk region], in <https://templesua.jimdo.com/церкви-муровані/городенка-діви-марії/> (Accessed on 15.07.2017).

and monasteries. We are sure that the Greek Catholic Church, which was considered “their Catholic” by ethnic majority of the region, played a significant role for low achievements of occidentalization. In addition, during the final stage, the Polish nobility repeatedly supported and financed the construction of the Greek Catholic churches.