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The Conflict between the Secular and the Religious Clergy in Eighteenth-Century Western Ukraine

JOHN-PAUL HIMKA

In the late eighteenth century a conflict between the secular clergy, backed by the episcopate, and the Basilian religious order was one of the dominant features of ecclesiastical life in Western Ukraine.¹ The conflict generated a daunting body of documentation as the monks and bishops took their cases to Rome, Warsaw, and Vienna and as the authorities to whom they appealed tried to sort out the merits of the respective arguments. The conflict concerned property rights, with the Basilian order and the episcopate at odds over cathedrals, estates, and even marketplaces. It concerned episcopal jurisdiction, with the bishops working to reassert their authority over the order. It concerned the selection of bishops, with the Basilians arguing that only they could provide candidates for episcopal office. And it concerned the administration of eparchies, as the Basilians opposed the establishment from the secular clergy of cathedral chapters. These issues were all logically connected, as the present article will demonstrate. The conflict broke out in the 1740s and was essentially resolved, in the secular clergy's favor, in the 1780s.

The first historical account of the dissension was provided by Mykhail Harasevych who was not primarily a historian but a consistorial official in the early nineteenth century. He was still close enough to the conflict for his *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae* to be permeated by a partisan anti-Basilian spirit. The *Annales* even contain a special section entitled "Damna s. unioni a PP. Basilianis illata. Angustiae cleri saecularis,"² but passages directed

¹ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the conference "From Kievan Rus' to Modern Ukraine: A Millennium of Growth" sponsored by the Ukrainian Research Program at the University of Illinois, June 1988. I would like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for a grant to study the Greek Catholic Church, 1772–1918, a research project from which information in this article was drawn. I have profited from the advice of Sr. Sophia Senyk and Iaroslav Isaievych.

² Mykhail Harasevych (Michael Harasiewicz), *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae* (Lviv, 1862), pp. 520–39. It is interesting, however, that in 1801, as a member of a crownland commission, Harasevych supported the Basilians against a group of Polish nobles who tried to remove them from the Przemyśl (Peremyshl') gymnasium, which had been entrusted to their care. Mykhail Malynovs'kyi (Michael Ritter von Malinowski), *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen bezüglich des griechisch-katholischen Ritus der Ruthenen in Galizien* (Lviv, 1861), pp. 416–17.

against the Basilian order can be found in many places in the work. Harasevych's partisan effort had a major influence on subsequent historiography. Mykhail Malynovs'kyi, who edited and published the *Annales* and who was also a consistorial official (but of a later generation than Harasevych), wrote his own historical study of the Ukrainian Church in which the Basilians were treated in exactly the same spirit as in the *Annales*.³ The foremost historian of the Ukrainian Uniate Church, Iulian Pelesh, was aware that Harasevych's work was marred by partisanship and bigotry⁴ with regard to the Basilians, but he found it impossible to liberate himself from Harasevych's viewpoint. Except for two sentences praising the Basilians for educational work, Pelesh's account of the Basilians is at least as damning as Harasevych's and is presented in language no more restrained. The major nineteenth-century Polish historian of the Uniate Church, Edmund Likowski, also accepted Harasevych's negative view of the Basilians. In fact, it played an important role in his explanation of why the Uniate Church was in such a debilitated state when Poland was partitioned at the end of the eighteenth century. He argued that the Basilians were more responsible for the decay of the Uniate Church than was the Polish government.⁵ Władysław Chotkowski, who wrote before the First World War, had a negative appraisal of the Greek Catholic Church as a whole and included the Basilians in his condemnation.⁶

The conflict between the secular and the religious clergy in Western Ukraine has not been the subject of specialized study by later scholars,⁷ and

³ Malynovs'kyi, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, e.g., p. 226. Although the title page bears the date 1861, the book was actually published late in 1863 or in 1864.

⁴ His phrase was: "eine zu ungeschminkte Parteilichkeit und Unbilligkeit." Iulian Pelesh (Julian Pelesh), *Geschichte der Union der ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, 2 vols. (Würzburg and Vienna, 1881), 2: 480.

⁵ Edward Likowski, *Dzieje Kościoła Unickiego na Litwie i Rusi w XVIII i XIX wieku uważane głównie ze względu na przyczyny jego upadku*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., Biblioteka Dzieł Chrześcijańskich (Warsaw and Cracow, 1906), 1: 258–67.

⁶ Władysław Chotkowski, *Historia polityczna kościoła w Galicji za rządów Maryi Teresy*, 2 vols. (Cracow, 1909), see esp. vol. 2, pp. 432–33, 470. Chotkowski's work had a pronounced anti-Ukrainian tone. See Ivan Krevets'kyi, "Halychyna v druhii polovyni XVIII st. Ohliad novykh vydan'," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Shevchenka* (hereafter *Zapysky NTSh*), 91 (1909): 43.

⁷ See Mykhailo Vavryk, "Bibliografichniy ohliad istorii Vasyliians'koho Chyna za 1935–1950 rr.," *Zapysky ChSVV/ Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2 (Rome), sec. 2, vol. 3(9), no. 1/2 (1958): 237–76; and idem, "Bibliografichniy ohliad istorii Vasyliians'koho Chyna za 1950–1970 rr.," *Zapysky ChSVV/ Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 2, vol. 7(13) (1971): 334–424. The conflict between the Basilians and the secular clergy is not treated in a Polish scholar's recent book on the order: Maria Pidtypczak-Majerowicz, *Bazylianie w Koronie i na Litwie. Szkoły i książki w działalności zakonu* (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, 779) (Warsaw and Wrocław, 1986).

the anti-Basilian views of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historians still prevail by default. The present article is not an attempt to reverse the prevalent view and take up the cause of those who lost their struggle at the end of the eighteenth century—the documentary evidence does not allow this—but an attempt to rewrite the history in a synthetic and less tendentious manner and with more attention to the inner connections among the various aspects of the dispute. It also makes use of published and unpublished sources from the Vatican archives that were unknown to the earlier historians; these sources, however, do not alter the general outline of the picture painted by Harasevych and his successors. The article proceeds in chronological fashion, beginning with the background to the dispute that broke out in the 1740s; continuing with the efforts of Bishop Leo Sheptyts'kyi to curb the Basilians, first under Polish rule until 1772, then under Austrian rule; and ending with the defeat of the Basilians in the era of Josephinism.

Shortly after the majority of the Ukrainian and Belorussian hierarchs accepted union with Rome (1596), efforts were made to reform and revive monastic life. Metropolitan Iosyf Veliamyn Ruts'kyi was the outstanding figure in this revival; the culmination of his efforts was the consolidation of the disparate monastic communities into the Basilian order, organized partly along the lines of Western religious orders (1617).⁸ The order developed slowly in the tumultuous seventeenth century but grew rapidly in the eighteenth (there were only 160–180 Basilians in the 1670s but about 1,150 in the 1740s).⁹ Basilians appeared in Western Ukraine only at the turn of the eighteenth century, when the eparchies of Peremyshl' (Przemyśl), Lviv, and Luts'k finally accepted the union with Rome (in 1692, 1700, and 1702, respectively). The West Ukrainian Basilians developed quickly, however, and in 1739 formed their own "Ruthenian" congregation in Lviv (more properly called the Congregation of the Protection of the Mother of God). When in 1743 the Ruthenian congregation formally joined with the "Lithuanian" (Holy Trinity) congregation, it was nearly double the size of

⁸ There is an excellent account of Ruts'kyi's motives and intentions in founding the Basilian order: Sophia Senyk, "Rutskij's Reform and Orthodox Monasticism: A Comparison; Eastern Rite Monasticism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Seventeenth Century," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 48, no. 2 (1982): 406–30. A brief survey of the Basilian order can be found in Petro B. T. Bilaniuk, "Basilians," *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, ed. Joseph L. Wiczynski, vol. 47: *Supplement* (Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1988), pp. 60–65; for a longer, institutional history of the Basilians in Galicia, see Isydor Patrylo, "Narys istorii Halyts'koi provintsii ChSVV," *Analecta OSBM* 17 (1982): 43–130.

⁹ Mykhailo M. Vavryk, *Narys rozvytku i stanu Vasyliians'koho chyna XVII–XX st. Topografichno-statystychna rozvidka* (Rome, 1979) (= *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 1, vol. 40), pp. 1–31.

the older congregation, with 129 monasteries and almost 700 monks. In this period of flourishing, the first half of the eighteenth century, the order boasted a number of schools¹⁰ and wealthy benefices. It also acquired two privileges that were to become bones of contention in the 1740s–1780s. The first of these was a piece of legislation—article 6 of the Synod of Zamość (1720)—which effectively stipulated that only Basilian monks could become bishops in the Uniate Church.¹¹ The second privilege, granted at the union of the Ruthenian and Lithuanian congregations in 1743, was dispensation from episcopal jurisdiction; Basilians henceforth were to be subordinate only to their own protoarchimandrite. To complete this picture of the Basilians on the eve of their conflict with the secular clergy it only remains to mention that many of them—and some of the most influential among them—were members of the Polish gentry who changed from the Latin to the Greek rite to join the order.¹²

While the Basilians flourished, the Ukrainian secular clergy languished. Parish priests were poor¹³ and uneducated.¹⁴ Poverty and ignorance had

¹⁰ Pidtypczak-Majerowicz, *Bazylianie*, pp. 28–55. For the story of a particularly brilliant Basilian theology professor in Lviv, who regularly shamed the Jesuits in public disputations, see Tyt Voinarovs'kyi, *Vplyv Pol'shchi na ekonomichniy rozvii Ukrainy-Rusy. Istorychno-ekonomichna rozvidka* (Lviv, 1910), p. 17. I am grateful to Iwan S. Koropec'kyj for this reference.

¹¹ Harasevych, *Annales*, 482–83. For commentary, see Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 475–77.

¹² Harasevych, characteristically, put it this way: “Magna ex parte religiosi Basiliani erant natione Poloni, e ritu latino propter promotiones ad Abbatias et Eppatus Ruthenos vel plane propter eradicandum ritum Graecum venientes.” *Annales*, p. 521n. Essentially the same information, but modified to suit the author's viewpoint, appears in Likowski, *Dzieje*, 1: 266. Pidtypczak-Majerowicz, *Bazylianie*, p. 27, states that “almost half” of the Basilians had originally been Catholics of the Latin rite but cites no source to support this assertion; moreover, the same author on p. 167 states that the Basilians “derived above all from the Ruthenian nation.” See also Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 566; Anton Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche in Galizien* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1921), pp. 104–5; and Dmytro Blazejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical Seminaries of Lviv (1665–1784)* (Rome, 1975) (= *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 1, vol. 29), pp. 34–35.

¹³ Bishop Leo Sheptyts'kyi, writing to the Roman curia in 1761, lamented that barely one hundred parishes in the extensive Lviv eparchy had endowments of land large enough to support their pastors: *L'vovskaia ruskaia eparkhiia pered stoma lity, opysana po doneseniiu; podanomiu do Rymskoi kurii Preosviashchenniishym L'vom Sheptytskym, Epyskopom L'vovskym, Halytskym i Kamenetskym, perepechatano iz “Zori Halyts'koi—Al'buma na hod 1860* (Lviv, 1860), p. 14.

¹⁴ “Parish priests, with few exceptions, knew little more than how to read, write and perform church rites. Their knowledge of the truths [of the Faith] was usually limited to a superficial acquaintance with the catechism. It happened that some acquired a higher education, but these generally left the ranks of the secular clergy and entered the Basilian order, where they could count on a higher ecclesiastical career.” Likowski, *Dzieje*, 1: 259. For a finely nuanced overview of the problem, see Sophia Senyk, “The Education of the Secular Clergy in the Ruthenian Church before the Nineteenth Century,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 53, no. 2

dogged the West Ukrainian clergy for centuries and they were certainly not introduced by the Basilians. But the Basilians did have some responsibility for the secular clergy's inferior status in the mid-eighteenth century. As a married clergy, the secular Ukrainian clergy was in practice and by tradition excluded from episcopal office, but it had not been excluded explicitly until 1720 when the Basilians managed to have article 6, reserving the episcopate to themselves, accepted by the Synod of Zamość. The same synod had enjoined upon the Basilians the task of establishing seminaries to educate the secular clergy, but the order did not take this duty seriously.¹⁵ Moreover, as the order expanded, it took to acquiring property by the method that was all too common in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: expropriation. The order took church land and buildings into its possession, alienating thus both the secular clergy and the bishops. The alienation of the bishops from the monks was intensified after 1743, when the monks were exempted from the bishops' jurisdiction.

In the mid-1740s the symptoms of discord in the West Ukrainian Church were unequivocal. Bishops Ieronym Ustryts'kyi (1715–1746) and Onufrii Shumlians'kyi (1746–1762) of Peremyshl' had to contend with the Basilians' pretensions to the episcopal estate of Strashevychi near Sambir. According to Pelesh, the Basilians took the estate from Ustryts'kyi simply "on the charge that the bishop had too many estates."¹⁶ The king intervened on Bishop Ustryts'kyi's behalf and the monks withdrew; but when Ustryts'kyi resigned in 1746 and Shumlians'kyi assumed office, the Basilians renewed their claims. In fact, with the help of a mob of peasants, they occupied the estate. The intervention of the papal nuncio and royal authorities forced the Basilians to withdraw again, but now they laid claim to the cathedral in Sambir. An uneasy settlement in the bishop's favor was finally imposed in 1750.¹⁷

(1987): 387–416. For insight into the material circumstances and cultural level of the clergy of the Lviv eparchy in the late eighteenth century, see Melaniia Bordun, "Z zhytia ukrains'koho dukhovenstva L'vivs'koi eparkhii v druhii polovyni XVIII v.," *Zapysky NTSh* 109 (1912): 39–90, and 110 (1912): 55–100.

¹⁵ Likowski, *Dzieje*, 1: 263. Senyk, "Education," pp. 408–9.

¹⁶ Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 684. Pelesh used the archives of the Peremyshl' consistory in his examination of this property dispute.

¹⁷ Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 683–86. *Congregationes particulares Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarussiae spectantes*, vol. 2: 1729–1862, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1957) (= *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 3), pp. 171–203. *Acta S.C. de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarussiae spectantia*, vol. 4: 1740–1769, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1955) (= *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 3), pp. 52, 55, 58. *Audientiae Sanctissimi de rebus Ucrainae et Bielarussiae (1650–1850)*, vol. 1: 1658–1779, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1963) (= *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 3), pp. 125–26. *Litterae S.C. de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarussiae spectantes*, vol. 4: 1730–1758,

In the same period, in 1746 and again in 1747, the secular clergy of Lviv and Peremyshl' eparchies submitted complaints to Rome against the monks. The Basilians, according to the petitioners, were making a mockery of Pope Benedict XIV's decree of 1744 ("Inter plures") which stated that a monastery had to have at least eight, and preferably ten, monks.¹⁸ The Basilians of Western Ukraine had many "monasteries" with only two or three monks, but to comply formally with church law they simply declared communities in several separate localities to be part of the same monastery. The secular clergy objected strenuously to this practice because the Basilians used it as a method to appropriate church property: any residence in which two or three monks lived was declared monastery property. The implications of this will be clearer if one considers where small groups of monks could be found. In the early eighteenth century the cathedrals generally had a few monks attached, since, as the most educated members of the Ukrainian clergy, they were the most suitable personnel for the administration of the eparchy. Sometimes, too, the monks were brought in to parish churches to minister to the needs of the faithful when suitable secular priests could not be found; usually these were more important (and hence more lucrative) parishes. In short, as payment for their services in administration and pastoral work, the monks were taking the property—cathedrals and the better benefices—on which they were stationed. The petition of the secular clergy of 1747 discussed not only the Basilians' aforementioned claims to the Sambir cathedral but to other church property as well: the cathedrals in Lviv and Peremyshl' and the parish churches in Butsniv and Zhovkva. Pope Benedict XIV responded to the secular clergy with a bull dated 14 August 1747 that called upon the Ukrainian bishops to educate secular priests and to promote them instead of Basilians to office in the eparchies. The implication of the pope's response was that the removal of the Basilians from the eparchial administration and benefices would remove the grounds for their claims.¹⁹

The pope's advice was taken to heart by the bishop who ascended the throne of Lviv in 1749 and immediately showed himself to be an outspoken champion of the secular clergy. This was Leo Sheptyts'kyi, a strong and complex personality, a friend of Poland's last and most enlightened king, a

ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1957) (= *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 3), pp. 235–36.

¹⁸ The Congregatio de Propaganda Fide reminded the Basilians of this several times in the following decade. See, e.g., *Litterae*, 4: 277, 289, 295–96.

¹⁹ Harasevych, *Annales*, pp. 495, 522–24. See also *Supplicationes Ecclesiae unitae Ucrainae et Bielarussiae*, vol. 3: 1741–1769, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1965) (= *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 3), pp. 68–71, 88–89 (the publication and discussion of a very similar petition from the same secular clergy, but under the year 1748).

Ukrainian nobleman of Polish culture and—ironically, but inevitably—a Basilian.²⁰ The contention between Sheptyts'kyi and his former brothers broke out on the very day of Sheptyts'kyi's solemn enthronement, on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 29 June 1749. The Basilians demanded to march in the procession ahead of the secular clergy; for their arrogance, Sheptyts'kyi had them excluded from the procession proper and all that the monks were allowed was to follow behind after the procession, dressed in their ordinary clothes.²¹

At the time of this incident, the Basilians were deeply involved in their property disputes with the bishop of Peremyshl' and this may explain why they left the bishop of Lviv in relative peace for the time being. In 1750, however, they disengaged from the battle in the Peremyshl' eparchy, accepting a mitigated defeat, and in the next year began a series of formal property suits against the bishop of Lviv that were to continue for some thirty years.²² At issue were all three of Sheptyts'kyi's cathedrals and some of the eparchy's richest estates. The monks claimed St. George's Cathedral in Lviv, where they had assumed pastoral duties during the reign of Leo Sheptyts'kyi's predecessor.²³ Along with the cathedral, the monks claimed the income from the biannual fair held on the square next to it; this came to about 400 Polish zlotys a year.²⁴ The monks also claimed the cathedral in Kam''ianets'-Podil's'kyi and, according to Sheptyts'kyi, even plundered the ruins of the episcopal residence to obtain construction materials.²⁵ Along with the cathedral in Halych,²⁶ the monks claimed the large estate of Pehynsko, which was an appurtenance of that cathedral.²⁷ The parish and estate of Univ also figured in the monks' claims. Bishop Sheptyts'kyi conceded to the Basilians the parish of Zhovkva,²⁸ even though the secular clergy had contested Zhovkva in their petition of 1747.

²⁰ *Encyklopedyja Powszechna* [Orgelbranda], 28 vols. (Warsaw, 1859–1868), s.v. “Szepetycki (Leon Ludwik),” by Jul[ian] B[łeszczyński].

²¹ From the “Chronologia” of Sheptyts'kyi's life prepared immediately after his death by his scribe, Danyil Verkhrats'kyi; printed in Harasevych, *Annales*, p. 574. There is also a somewhat oblique reference to this incident, which occasioned “great scandal for the dignitaries and people of various estates who gathered for the celebration,” in Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Rome of 1761, *L'vovskaia ruskaia eparkhiia*, p. 17.

²² Harasevych, *Annales*, p. 495.

²³ Sheptyts'kyi, *L'vovskaia ruskaia eparkhiia*, pp. 9–11. Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 673–74. Chotkowski, *Historia*, 2: 435–38, 445–46. Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter, ASV), Archivio della Nunziatura di Vienna (hereafter, ANV), 65, pp. 154–55v.

²⁴ Sheptyts'kyi, *L'vovskaia ruskaia eparkhiia*, p. 13.

²⁵ Sheptyts'kyi, *L'vovskaia ruskaia eparkhiia*, pp. 12, 14.

²⁶ ASV, ANV, 75, pp. 24–25v, 34v–37. *Supplicationes*, 264–65.

²⁷ ASV, ANV, 75, pp. 26v–32.

²⁸ Sheptyts'kyi, *L'vovskaia ruskaia eparkhiia*, p. 17.

Bishop Sheptyts'kyi fought the Basilians' representations in the curia, at the Polish and later Austrian court, and in the Galician gubernium. He was fairly successful in resisting the Basilians' claims, partly because of the political conjuncture. His friendship with the reforming King Stanisław August Poniatowski assured him of a favorable hearing in Warsaw; and the "Josephinism" that was already coming to the fore in Vienna during the reign of Maria Theresa meant that the monks' pretensions would not arouse much sympathy at the Austrian court. Still, the final settlement of these property disputes was not to occur during Sheptyts'kyi's lifetime. As the disputes dragged on, the bishop worked energetically to reorganize his eparchy to make it more resistant to Basilian influence.

Pope Benedict XIV had already suggested the way forward in 1747: educate the secular clergy and replace the monks with educated secular priests. In fact, this policy had already been initiated to some extent by Leo Sheptyts'kyi's predecessor, Bishop Atanasii Sheptyts'kyi (1715–1746).²⁹ Leo Sheptyts'kyi searched out gifted young aspirants to the priesthood and sent them for higher education, primarily to the pontifical college in Lviv.³⁰ In time, he was able to gather about him a coterie of educated secular priests who worked with him in the administration of his eparchy. Already by 1761, it is clear, Sheptyts'kyi was planning to obtain for these priests the formal status of members of the cathedral chapter (in Ukrainian, *krylos* or *kapitul[a]*; in German, *Domkapitel*),³¹ but he proceeded cautiously, correctly anticipating that his plan would meet with great resistance, particularly from the Basilians. In fact, it was not until 11 March 1771 that he formally announced the establishment of a cathedral chapter and began to seek confirmation of his action from the pope and the king of Poland.³² The Basilians found a powerful ally in the Roman Catholic archbishop of Lviv,

²⁹ Senyk, "Education," p. 411.

³⁰ According to Ioan Rudovych, *Korotka istoriia halytsko-l'vivskoi ieparkhii. Na osnovi hretskykh zherel i inshykh noviishykh pidruchnykiv, vidbytka z Shematyzmu Arkhiieparkhii l'vivskoi na r. 1902* (Zhovkva, 1902), p. 46, Sheptyts'kyi also sent students to Rome. But this is not borne out by Dmytro Blazejovskij, *Byzantine Kyivan Rite Students in Pontifical Colleges, and in Seminaries, Universities and Institutes of Central and Western Europe (1576–1983)* (Rome, 1984) (= *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 1, vol. 43). Blazejovskij records twenty-four seminarians from Lviv eparchy who passed through the pontifical seminary in Lviv during the reign of Leo Sheptyts'kyi (pp. 111–14) and one who attended the pontifical seminary in Vilnius (p. 171).

³¹ This is evident from his letter to Rome of 1761 which contains historical justification for a cathedral chapter of the Ukrainian eparchy of Lviv. Sheptyts'kyi, *L'vovskaia ruskaia eparkhiia*, p. 10.

³² The best, most concise account of the complicated history of the cathedral chapter and its confirmation is Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche*, pp. 56–66. See also Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 612–34.

Wacław Sierakowski, who used all his influence to prevent a decision in favor of Sheptyts'kyi's cathedral chapter. The Basilians and Sierakowski said that the Eastern Church did not have cathedral chapters or consistories; therefore, they argued, Sheptyts'kyi was proposing a Latinizing innovation that could only alienate Eastern Christians and contribute to the maintenance of the schism.³³ One of the members of Sheptyts'kyi's unconfirmed chapter, Antonii Levyns'kyi, expressed quite the opposite point of view. The opposition to the chapter on the part of the Polish hierarchy, he wrote in a letter in 1773, was a clear example of Latin oppression of the Uniates and as such might even drive Ukrainian Uniates back into schism.³⁴

In 1772, of course, Lviv came under Austrian rule and the political struggle over the cathedral chapter changed venue from Warsaw to Vienna. This change was eventually to work in favor of the secular clergy in all respects, including with respect to the cathedral chapter. The Austrian empress Maria Theresa was an enlightened absolutist determined to raise the status of the Greek Catholics, as she renamed the Uniates, and to enforce equality between the Latin and Greek rites, goals which could only be served by confirming a Greek Catholic cathedral chapter in Lviv. Her son and co-ruler, Joseph II, and her and Joseph's outstanding advisor, Kaunitz, were deeply distrustful of monastic orders and very concerned to improve

³³ A. S. Petrushevych, *Svodnaia halychsko-russkaia litopys' s 1772 do kontsa 1800 hoda*, pt. 2 (= *Lyteraturnyi sbornyk*, 1888) (Lviv, 1889), pp. 139–41. Malynovs'kyi, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, pp. 362–67. ASV, ANV, 65, pp. 167–68. The Vatican at first accepted this argument. *Litterae S.C. de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarussiae spectantes*, vol. 5: 1758–1777, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1957) (= *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 3), pp. 187–88. For additional discussion of the chapter question, see ASV, ANV, 75, pp. 115–15v, 116v.

³⁴ Levyns'kyi's letter is a very moving and revealing document, well worth quoting at length: "... szkoda, żeśmy się czego uczyli; bo gdybyśmy byli nic tak iak nasi Oycowie nie umieli i nie wiedzieli, tobyśmy i tych krzywd, które niewinnie ponosimy, nie poznawali, a per consequens nie tylko te nas poniżenie, ale y podwod, iak nasi Oycowie czynili, odbywanie nakoniec y samey pańszczyzny robić nakazywanie iako głupim y niewiadomym nie było nam tak przykre, iak uciążliwości terazniejsze. A iesli by się nam były sprykrzyły Pańszczyzny y podwody, to iako prostacy Schizmatycy łatwo mogli byśmy byli znaleźć Protekcją u Moskwy, teraz w caley Europie apprehensią maiącey. I pewnie przedzey byśmy ią byli tam znaleźli, iak teraz w Rzymie. Boga proszę, aby mi dał trwałość w Wierze świętey y nie przypuścił na mnie apprehensyi do desperacyi prowadzącey. Że propter fidem opprimimur a Moschis, opprimimur według ich zdania sprawiedliwie, iako od nich odszczepieni, y to nam iest gloriosum et meritorium. Ale że opprimimur propter Ritum Catholicum a Catholicis, to wzbudza żal nieznośny y do tey desperacyi przywodzi. . . . Szkoda, że Konfederatom nie powiodło się, boby nas już moze byli wycięli, y zaspokoiili się, a tak biał nas biał, a nie zabił. . . . Niech się wola Boza dzieie, ia tego tylko boię się, aby takowe Latinis in Urbe pobłażanie, a nas za nic mianie, gorszey iak Cerulariusz nieznowiło Schizmy." Ant. Petrushevych, "Akta odnosiaschchiiasia do zatverzhdeniia Kapytuly Epyskopskoho Sobora vo L'vovi," *Halychany*, bk. 1, no. 1 (1862), p. 141.

pastoral work, attitudes which would incline them in favor of the arguments of the bishop and the secular clergy rather than those of the monks. Thus, it is not surprising that on 15 June 1774 Empress Maria Theresa issued a decree approving the cathedral chapter in principle and stating that the erection of the chapter was a most suitable means to promoting the Union.³⁵ Archbishop Sierakowski traveled to Vienna to argue in person against the empress's decision and other representations were made, but the empress did not change her mind on the issue.³⁶ On 17 December 1776 she issued a resolution stating that she was prepared to confirm the erection of the chapter, but requested information from Sheptyts'kyi about its organization and funding. After the information was received and examined, she informed the bishop on 3 January 1778 that she would confirm the chapter in the near future.³⁷ But neither the empress nor the bishop lived to see the final resolution of the issue.

Still, Bishop Sheptyts'kyi was on sure enough ground in the Austrian period that he could develop his plans further. He worked to end the Basilians' monopoly of the episcopate. This can be seen partly as an extension of the establishment of a cathedral chapter; having called into being a stratum of the secular clergy with higher education, significant responsibility, and greater ambition, it was natural to allow members of this group the possibility of advancement to episcopal office. Partly too, of course, the recruitment of his successors from the secular clergy would help preserve Bishop Sheptyts'kyi's work to protect the secular clergy and eparchial property from the Basilian order. The Basilians continued to argue that bishops could only be chosen from the religious clergy in the Ukrainian Church,³⁸ but on 22 January 1779 the empress declared she had the right to nominate bishops from either the secular or regular clergy.³⁹

The final aspect of Bishop Sheptyts'kyi's program of action was the reassertion of episcopal jurisdiction over the order. In 1770 he appealed to the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* to protect his right to grant the imprimatur to Basilian publications.⁴⁰ He went much further in the Austrian period. In March 1774, both he and the bishop of Peremyshl', Atanasii Sheptyts'kyi, appealed to the Austrian government for the complete

³⁵ Harasevych, *Annales*, p. 556.

³⁶ Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche*, p. 62.

³⁷ Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche*, p. 62. Harasevych, *Annales*, p. 556.

³⁸ ASV, ANV, 65, pp. 166–67; see also 75, pp. 113–20v.

³⁹ Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 627. Petrushevych, *Svodnaia halychsko-russkaia litopys*, p. 124.

⁴⁰ *Litterae*, 5: 163.

resubordination of the Basilian order to episcopal authority.⁴¹ The Basilians protested strenuously against this reform,⁴² which would seriously have undermined their position, particularly with respect to the property disputes. The matter was not resolved until the Josephine era.

By the late 1770s, Bishop Sheptyts'kyi was also making headway in Rome. On 13 March 1779, the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* wrote to him, condemning in strong terms the cupidity and pretensions of the Basilians and urging the bishop to stand firm and maintain his authority.⁴³ Bishop Sheptyts'kyi thanked the congregation on 12 May 1779,⁴⁴ and within two weeks passed away.

With the death of Bishop Leo Sheptyts'kyi, the question of whether only Basilians could be elevated to the episcopal dignity was posed concretely and acutely.⁴⁵ Empress Maria Theresa nominated Petr Biliansky, a secular priest, in fact, canon (*Domherr*) of the Lviv cathedral chapter. The Basilians resisted the nomination fiercely, both in Vienna and Rome, but only succeeded in delaying, not preventing, his consecration. The Vatican tried to make Biliansky enter the order *pro forma*, but he altogether refused; for a long time he even refused to request a dispensation from the monastic profession, as provided for by article 6 of the Zamość synod. Biliansky wanted to force the point that a secular priest could become bishop. And, on 23 September 1781, already during the reign of Emperor Joseph II, he did become the first candidate from the secular clergy to be elevated to episcopal rank in the Ukrainian Catholic Church.⁴⁶ This settled the issue once and for all. Although the Basilians reiterated their claims to the Lviv

⁴¹ Petrushevych, *Svodnaia halychsko-russkaia litopys'*, pp. 56–60. Malynovs'kyi, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, pp. 348–51.

⁴² Malynovs'kyi, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, p. 351. ASV, ANV, 65, pp. 159–65v. At one point (p. 163v), the Basilians even advanced the curious argument that it was better to have the monks exempt from episcopal authority in case a Greek Catholic bishop should become a schismatic (Orthodox).

⁴³ Harasevych, *Annales*, pp. 536–37. Also in ASV, ANV, 65, p. 153. Partially quoted also in *Pelesh, Geschichte der Union*, 2: 567.

⁴⁴ Harasevych, *Annales*, pp. 537–38. ASV, ANV, 65, pp. 153–53v.

⁴⁵ *Litterae S.C. de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusiae spectantes*, vol. 6: 1778–1790, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1957) (= *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 3), pp. 56, 59.

⁴⁶ *Modern Encyclopedia of Religions in Russia and the Soviet Union* (forthcoming), s.v. "Biliansky, Petr," by John-Paul Himka. *Litterae*, 6: 56, 59–61, 67–68, 72, 88–91, 104–5, 114–15, 118–19. Further documentation of the controversy over Biliansky's nomination can be found in *Epistolae metropolitanarum, archiepiscoporum et episcoporum*, vol. 8: *Epistolae Jasonis Junosza Smogorzewskij Metropolitaniae Kiovensis Catholici (1780-1788)*, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1965) (= *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 3), pp. 245–75.

episcopate during the vacancies of 1798 and 1805–1806, nothing came of these efforts.⁴⁷

The property disputes between the Basilians and the bishops and secular clergy were also settled definitively. On 17 April 1779, just weeks before his death, Bishop Sheptyts'kyi received a favorable settlement from the Austrian authorities; the Lviv and Halych cathedrals and their appurtenances were declared the property of the bishop, not of the monks. On 30 November 1780 the Basilians were ordered to leave St. George's Cathedral; although some remained in the buildings until 1817, the issue had been basically settled.⁴⁸

In 1781–1782 and 1786 Joseph II subordinated Austrian monks in general and the Basilians in particular to the authority of the hierarchy.⁴⁹ With this legislation, almost all that Bishop Leo Sheptyts'kyi had pressed for during his lifetime was brought to fruition. The only outstanding issue was that of the cathedral chapter, which had been on the verge of settlement in 1778. This was not settled definitively in the Josephine period; in fact, Vienna did not finally confirm Greek Catholic cathedral chapters for Lviv and Peremyshl' until 1813 and 1817, and Rome not until 1864.⁵⁰ However, by the early 1780s the issue of the cathedral chapter had developed a new set of complications that had nothing to do with the Basilians. The Basilians lost power completely in the 1780s. Emperor Joseph II, as is well known, closed many monasteries of many orders throughout the Habsburg monarchy. The Basilians of Galicia were not able to avoid the common fate and

⁴⁷ Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 633–34. Malynovs'kyi, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, pp. 405–16; see also pp. 466–85 for a document of the metropolitan ordinariate from 1830 still discussing the question whether only monks can become bishops in the Eastern Church. After the death of the Peremyshl' bishop Maksymilian Rylo in 1794, a Basilian was not to assume the episcopal dignity in Western Ukraine until 1899 when Andrei Sheptyts'kyi became bishop of Stanyslaviv. The leading Ukrainian newspaper of the time, *Dilo*, warned that this would bring about a “repetition of that period in the history of the Uniate Church when the order of St. Basil the Great stood at the head of the white clergy and brought the clergy to that miserable state from which Austria finally delivered our church.” “Halytskii mytropolyt,” *Dilo* 20, no. 7 (1899): 1.

⁴⁸ Harasevych, *Annales*, pp. 551, 557. Petrushevych, *Svodnaia halychsko-russkaia litopys'*, p. 138. Malynovs'kyi, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, pp. 382–84. Chotkowski, *Historia*, 2: 468–69. In 1780 the monks were also ordered to return to the bishop all documents relating to the property of the Lviv bishopric, but no documents were handed over until 1786. Rumors circulated that most of the papers of the former St. George's Monastery were turned over to the monastery in Pochaiv. The cathedral in Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi was not at issue here, because Kam'ianets' was under Polish rule. In 1795 it would pass under Russian rule and the Union would be violently eliminated.

⁴⁹ Petrushevych, *Svodnaia halychsko-russkaia litopys'*, p. 155. Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 736. Harasevych, *Annales*, p. 610.

⁵⁰ Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche*, pp. 65–66.

suffered substantial reduction. Joseph thought to leave them with only six monasteries, but in the end they were able to rescue fifteen.⁵¹ Still, they ceased to be an influential factor in the West Ukrainian Church; indeed, they entered upon a period of grievous decline, which was not to be interrupted until a major reform was undertaken in 1882, a century after they had lost their struggle with the secular clergy.

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⁵¹ Vavryk, *Narys*, p. 56. Forty-two Basilian monasteries had passed to Austria in 1772. Pidtypczak-Majerowicz, *Bazylianie*, p. 23.