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The history of Protection of the Most Holy Virgin Mary Uniate Parish in Ciotusza in the light of the 18th century church post-visitation protocols

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Introduction

Ciotusza, the seat of now non-existent Protection of The Most Holy Virgin Mary Uniate Parish, is a village located on the northern edge of Susiec commune in Tomaszów district, in Lubelskie Province. This settlement was founded by the Olesnickis around 1591.¹ Until the first partition of Poland it had belonged to Belz Voivodeship. After the first partition of Poland, it was annexed by the Habsburg Empire where it weathered through until 1809, when it was ceded to the expanding Duchy of Warsaw. Soon afterwards, in 1815, another political turn took place and the former Duchy of Warsaw was established as Congress Kingdom of Poland in personal union with the Russian Empire, which meant being de facto a Russian puppy state.

For centuries the territory Ciotusza is located on had always been distinguished by diverse ethnic and religious characteristics; the Polish population professing Catholicism in the Latin rite was mixed with the Ruthenians representing Eastern Orthodox Church, therefore, local communities affirmed their faith in either of these two distinctive religions and rites; after 1595 (the Union of Brest) they followed suit.²

The present article presents the history of now nonexistent Protection of The Most Holy Virgin Mary Uniate parish in Ciotusza in the eighteenth century. Its earlier history is not well known due to rather scant amount of primary sources as rarely were post-visitation protocols drawn up or simply original documents have not survived. Lots of different factors may have had an impact on such scarcity of written sources, e.g. the adverse impact of wars and natural disasters.³ Not immaterial might be the general lack of commitment by Eastern Church priests to document their activities and organizations, as oral system of law was overwhelmingly applied, therefore, therefore, parish operations cannot be fully recreated.

The present article is based on abundant primary sources housed in the National Archives in Lublin, especially in the section of Chelm Greek Catholic Consistory, of which parish post-visitation protocols constitute the main part. Their importance stems from the fact that not only do they describe factual circumstances and needs of the parish, but also they attest to the benefice of a parish priest, inventory of the church, the condition of the cemetery and ancillary utility buildings. Another complementary source is Paweł Sygowski's elaborations, which deal with visitations of Uniate parishes in the Diocese of Chelm in the eighteenth century.⁴

The overview of church post-visitation protocols as a historical source as well as the literature pertaining to this particular issue might be found in Stanisław Litak, Hieronima Edwarda Wyczawski and Stanisław Librowski's works.⁵ Another significant source of information employed while preparing this article has been numerous compilations about the widely understood functioning and

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¹ NIEDŹWIEDŹ (2003) 78.

² GIL (1999) 167; MIRONOWICZ (1993) 48-58; BIEŃKOWSKI (1988), v. 3, column 132.

³ Collateral damages in the Diocese of Chelm in the second half of the 17th century. See: GIL (2005) 61-66.

⁴ SYGOWSKI (2000) 233-285; SYGOWSKI (2007) 199-232.

⁵ LITAK (1962) 43; WYCZAWSKI (1964) 5-186.

activities of the Eastern Church in Poland. Despite the time passed, Ludomir Bieńkowski's⁶ elaborations are still greatly valued. Having carried widespread archival research he presented the entire history of the Uniate Church seen from the Church and local institutions point of view. His masterly written compilation of the history and organization of the Eastern Church on the territory of the Polish Commonwealth between 15th and 18th century has not been surpassed.⁷ Witold Kołbuk, Bieńkowski's continuator, is the author of numerous articles and monographs mainly about the situation of both the Union and the Uniates in the 18th and 19th century.⁸ His works on the organizational structure of the Eastern Church in the Polish Commonwealth territory in the 18th and 19th century, which was based upon numerous sources, both archival and written, as well as exceptionally comprehensive and competently selected literature proved to be the most helpful to the present article. Another essential source of information pertaining to the present article has been Andrzej Gil's numerous publications about the functioning of the Chelm Eparchy as well as the history of the Chelm Uniate Diocese.⁹

Creation of the parish

A parish constitutes the basic unit in the organizational structure of the Church while forming the most stable element in the cultural landscape.¹⁰ The life of local communities in the period this article is concerned with was inseparably tied with their parish, which used to play a far more important role than it does nowadays. The closeness and affinity of the parishioners to the Church constituted one of the most essential factors that would integrate local community. Parish coercion that legitimated the basic binding norms regulating such contacts perpetuated and emphasized bonds that were naturally created through interactions with the Church, thus, strengthening the process of consolidation of the community living in that parish resulting in them being a tightly knit group.¹¹

Unfortunately, due to lack of any records or documents related to the founding and erecting of the church, it is not known when the first Orthodox church was constructed.¹² It must have happened before 1620, as the parish was mentioned in the register of "Parishes in the diocese of Chelm after the list of parochs /parish priests/ in 1619-1620 [1627]".¹³ Subsequent confirmation of the functioning of this particular community of the faithful comes from the register of the Uniate Deaneries of the Chelm Diocese from 1683-1685 with the specification of the number of Orthodox churches.¹⁴ Another piece of information might be obtained from "The Registry of Orthodox churches in the Chelm Diocese being in the Holy Unity with the Roman Church with the list of priests assigned to the corresponding Protopresbyteries compiled on 3rd June 1696."¹⁵ And again these registers do not shed more light apart from acknowledging the functioning of the church in Ciotusza. An astute analysis of the aforementioned primary sources reveals that throughout the period of 76 years the parish in Ciotusza belonged to three different Deaneries, first to the Protopopy of Szczebrzeszyn, then Protopresbitery of Tyszowce and the Deanery of Tomaszów.¹⁶ Neither the underlying reason for such changes nor circumstances have been established.

⁶ BIENKOWSKI (1989A), 107-125; BIENKOWSKI (1989B) 241-270; BIENKOWSKI (1992) 275-373.

⁷ BIENKOWSKI (1970) 781-1050.

⁸ KOŁBUK (1992a); KOŁBUK (1992b); KOŁBUK (1994) 329-336; KOŁBUK (1998).

⁹ GIL (1999); GIL (2000) 29-61; GIL (2005).

¹⁰ NOWODORSKI (1892), 200; KOZIEJ (2010), col. 1324-1326.

¹¹ WIŚNIEWSKI (1965) 9; WIŚNIEWSKI (1966) 237-238; WIŚNIEWSKI (1969) 207.

¹² Essential function of the founding documents was to determine basic financial support without which the church could not be able to fulfill its roles. See: WÓJCIK (1989), col. 760-761.

¹³ GIL (2005) 302.

¹⁴ GIL (2000) 43

¹⁵ After: GIL (2000) 52.

¹⁶ A unit that constituted an intermediate link in diocesan administration was the protopopy-protopresbitery, corresponding to the Latin dean, headed by a protopope or protopresbiter, who carried administration, control and juridical duties, the latter was stripped in the 18th century. See: LIKOWSKI (1906) 38-59; GIL, SKOCZYLAŚ (2014) 325-342.

The exact date of the establishment of the Protopopy of Szczebrzeszyn and Tyszowce is unknown. However, it is known that in 1573 Tyszowce was the seat of the Orthodox Protopresbitery.¹⁷ After the Union of Brest, the structure of the Eastern Church did not undergo any serious changes, therefore, the Protopopy of Tyszowce and Szczebrzeszyn must have become the Uniate Deaneries after 1596. The exact date of the establishment of the Deanery of Tomaszów is also unknown, however, one piece of information may suggest it happened at the end of the seventeenth century as both the registry of parishes belonging to the Chelm Diocese in 1619-1620 and the registry of deaneries of this diocese in 1683-1685 make evident that 3 Uniate parishes in Tomaszów belonged to the Deanery of Tyszowce.¹⁸ The first written record of the Deanery of Tomaszów might be found in the registry of Orthodox churches in the Dioceses of Chelm and Belz in 1696.¹⁹ The Deanery of Tomaszów as well as two other Deaneries of Horodlo and Zamość was created by the division of bigger units. The Protopopy of Tomaszów was cut away from the Protopresbitery of Tyszowce. Post-visitation protocols from 1720 evidence that the parish encapsulated the villages of Ciotusza and Podrusów, whereas after 1744 another village, Długi Kał, was affiliated with the parish.²⁰ The status of the Uniate parish in Ciotusza changed with the partition of Polish Commonwealth and annexation of this land by the Habsburg Empire. The period of Josephinism resulted in the liquidation of lots of smaller parishes and demoting their churches into branch churches.²¹ According to Wasyl Słodobian such was the fate of this particular parish at the end of the 18th century, as its church was demoted to the branch church to St. Thomas the Apostle Uniate church in Majdan Sopocki.²² It is known that branch church in Ciotusza existed until 1875, i.e. the annulment of the Union of Brest.

Parish church

The first written record about Protection of the Most Holy Virgin Mary church in Ciotusza comes from the post-visitation protocol in 1720.²³ Apart from vague comments that the church existed and a remark that “the walls and the roof are solid” there is no information about the look. The same applies to the church bell tower, of which it is known that it existed and 3 bells were suspended. Although the source does not specify the material the church was built from, it might be safely deduced that it was a timber structured church with a shingled or thatched roof, as it was the most popular material utilized to erect sacral buildings both in towns and country villages.²⁴ The next post-visitation protocol in 1744 does not provide any additional information about the church or the bell tower.²⁵ Much more information is brought forward in the post-visitation protocol drawn up on 6th June, 1761 by the Bishop of Chelm Maksymilian Ryłło.²⁶ Apart from the general statement confirming the overall good condition of the church, a short note that sheds some light on the look of the church comments that timber-frame windows were installed and the door was set upon iron hinges and could be locked. Although there is no further information about the bell tower, for the first time the cemetery is mentioned with the information emphasizing the fact that it was fenced. No exact location, whether it was by the church or outside the village, was forwarded, but since majority of parish cemeteries were located by the church, we might safely deduce that was the case here as well.²⁷

¹⁷ Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (AGAD), Archives of the Crown Treasury (ASK), catalogue number 36, column 307v.

¹⁸ GIL (2005) 305-307; GIL (2000) 43-44.

¹⁹ GIL (2000) 43-44.

²⁰ National Archives in Lublin (APL), Chelm Greek Catholic Consistory (ChKGK), catalogue number 101, column 22v; catalogue number 107, column 271; *ibid.* 110, p. 488.

²¹ KOŁBUK (1992a) 15-17; OSADCZY (1999) 51.

²² СЛОБОДЯН (2005) 447. More information about the parish in Majdan Sopocki see.: FRYKOWSKI (2015).

²³ APL, ChKGK, catalogue number. 101, column 22.

²⁴ GÓRAK (1986); GÓRAK (2004).

²⁵ APL, ChKGK, catalogue number 107, column 270v.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, catalogue number. 110, pgs. 487-488.

²⁷ Cemeteries in Szarowola, Grodysławice, Podlódow, Nabroź, Maziły, Siemnice, Steniatyn and Nedeżow were located by the church. See.: *Ibid.*, catalogue. 110, p. 397, 408, 488, 499; catal. 122, col. 272v; catal. 245, col. 22v.

Also, the Bishop hinted that a new church was going to be erected as he noted down: “As the collator (Antoni Glogowski, the Treasurer of Grabowica, has declared to erect a church of stone, therefore, a paroch (parish priest) and parishioners should put a lot of effort to ensure such a saintly initiative shall be implemented, especially so by providing a lot of stone.” Indeed, a new church was erected as it is well documented in the post-visitation protocol of 14th October, 1811 drawn up by Jan Panasinski, the Dean of Tomaszów, who elaborated that: “In everything a great church with two towers and a cupola, with solid walls and the roof and the only thing to lament is that the parish is neither populous nor prosperous.”²⁸

The indicator of the affluence and prosperity of a church is not only its size, splendor and endowment but also the abundance of ecclesiastical utensils and accessories, the presence of which attests to its sacral character since they constitute indispensable part of church ceremonies. Among them the following might be singled out: ecclesiastical vessels, altar furnishings and liturgical vestments and paraments, which means official attire for officiating celebrants and priests.

Among the requisites for the celebration of Mass, the liturgical sacred vessels hold a place of honor, as not only do they serve as receptacles for the Eucharistic bread, water and consecration of hosts but also they are the requisites for the liturgy, i.e. the washing of hands (*lavabo*). The most important of which, the chalice and paten, which are used in presenting, consecrating, and receiving the bread and wine, are made of gold or gilded metal, while *lavabo*, ciborium, pyx, vasculum, monstrance, lunula (melchizedech) and custodia that serve as receptacles for the blood or bread are usually made of gilded metal, whereas ampullae are usually made of glass. The first record about liturgical vessels in this particular church comes from the post-visitation protocol in 1720.²⁹ According to the inventory, the church was furnished with a wooden pyx *pro conservando venerabili*, a silver chalice and a tin paten, and a liturgical spoon.³⁰ Another group of utensils comprised of altar cloths as well as chalice cloths in the form of two corporals.³¹ According to the post-visitation protocol in 1744, the number of sacred furnishings did not change, however, their quality improved.³² The wooden pyx was replaced by a tin one, the chalice, paten and asterisk were made of silver and richly gilded and only a tin spoon remained the same. The number of corporals did not change, either. Some improvement was also stated by Bishop M. Ryllo in the protocol from the year of 1761,³³ which acknowledged that not only did a paroch acquire a pyx and a liturgical spoon made of silver and gilded inside, but also he obtained a tin receptacle (miernica) for fragrant oil and ciborium,³⁴ which were mentioned for the first time.³⁵ However, the latter must have been in a terrible state, as the Bishop instructed a paroch to obtain a more adequate vessel. The number of chalice cloths also rose, as a new corporal appeared, so there were 3 corporals in total.

Altar furnishings comprise of various accessories and ornaments, i.e. crosses, candlesticks, veils, frontals and altar cloths, which beautify and add splendor during services and celebrations. These furnishings are made of various materials, from precious metals through anything made of tin, brass or timber to various kinds of textiles.

The first record about altar furnishings comes from the post-visitation protocol drawn up in 1720.³⁶ According to the source, the church was not well-equipped with ecclesiastical utensils. The visitor recorded 2 antimins (antimensions), 15 “various white cloths and veils”, a silver cross on the coaster, brass thurible, mass bell and 2 beads of natural material (most probably votive offerings).³⁷

²⁸ Ibid., catalogue number 139, column 116.

²⁹ Ibid., catalogue number. 101, column 22.

³⁰ Ibid., catalogue number. 101, column 22.

³¹ Corporal– linen cloth upon which the chalice and paten are placed during the Eucharist service. See: *ibid*, p. 53.

³² APL, ChKGK, catalogue number 107, column 270v.

³³ Ibid., catalogue number 110, p. 487.

³⁴ Ciborium– a covered cup for holding hosts from the Christian Eucharist. Miernica – a receptacle for fragrant oil or myrrh. Myrrh is aromatic oil that comes from dried resin, used as an ingredient in holy oil, as fragrance or as incense during liturgical celebrations. See.: MARKUNAS, UCZITIEL (2001) 24.

³⁵ Ibid., catalogue number 110, p. 487.

³⁶ Ibid., catalogue number 107, pgs. 270v-271.

³⁷ Antimins (from Greek Antimension: “in place of the table”) – a rectangular piece of cloth, either linen or silk,

Much more detailed information might be obtained from the post-visitation protocol brought forth 22 years later.³⁸ It reveals that the church could boast of 3 altars “on which the Divine Liturgy could be celebrated” with 12 pieces of various cloths and 5 veils of “plain material”. To add splendor, there were the following accessories: a linen antependium (frontal), a tin cross on the coaster, a brass thurible, a pair of tin candlesticks, 3 fabric banners, a procession cross and a mass bell as well as 2 beads of natural material mentioned earlier. The last visitation in the eighteenth century was conducted by Bishop M. Ryłło in 1761.³⁹ Although he did not mention the altars in the protocol, it is highly unlikely they were missing, he must have just considered them as something inevitable, therefore, there was no point in specifying them. The protocol makes it known that since the previous visitation the church came into possession of 3 antimins, a tin bowl, 1 brass candlestick and 1 mass bell, however, there was no information about banners, a timber processional cross or 2 beads. Two former items might have just fallen into ruin or decayed, the latter might have just been stolen, which was not a rarity.⁴⁰ The visitor could not have been fully satisfied with the state of the church as he counseled a paroch (parish priest) to: “have a timber cabinet for Holy Oils installed” and “have a cavity for relics and blessed items prepared.”

Another essential component of any church furnishings is liturgical books. Liturgical books contain the text and directions for the liturgy so as to have it celebrated strictly and adherently. Such books form the standard so various liturgical rites of the Church (the Mass, baptisms, confession, etc.), prayers or ceremonies are official, uniform and liturgical. Apart from liturgical books there are also books of prayers. Prayer books were either printed or written by hands, the latter could still be manufactured in the nineteenth century. The actual format of the books varied, as general sizes ranged from *in folio (the largest)*, *in quarto*, *in sexto* to *in octavo (the smallest)*, *the latter being a sheet of paper folded four times to produce one eighth the size of an original sheet. Prayer books were published in either Uniew, Lviv, Vilnius, Pochayiv or Suprasl, since the Uniate printing houses were located only in the a/m towns.*⁴¹

The table no.1 evidently demonstrates that only three protocols registered liturgy books for that particular church, all of which came from the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, the information about the books is scarce. The author of the protocols divide the books into handwritten and printed, the latter constituting majority. In 1720, the second Book of Gospel, Irmologion and both Triodons were handwritten, in 1744 only the Book of Gospel and Irmologion remained as handwritten books, whereas the protocol in 1761 makes it known that no book remained handwritten. In three case the publishing house is revealed. Missals mentioned in 1720 and 1744 were issued in Lviv, the one listed in 1761 came from Pochayiv. Additionally, the visitor described the Euchologion specified in 1744 as “small”.

with an Icon of the entombment of Jesus Christ depicted on the top along with the Icons of the four Evangelists and with a small relic of martyr sewn into it in memory of the first Christians who celebrated the Divine Liturgy on tombs of the Martyrs. No Eucharist might be celebrated without the antimins that has been consecrated and signed by a bishop. After the Litanies, it is unfolded on the Holy Table and the chalice, disks and the Gifts are placed thereon. See.: SMYKOWSKA (2004) 10. Thurible (censer). See.: MARKUNAS, UCZITIEL (2001) 113.

³⁸ APL, ChKGK, catalogue number 100, column 51-51v.

³⁹ Ibid., catalogue number 110, p. 487-488.

⁴⁰ This information provided by the Dean of Tomaszow, Jan Panasiński might be found in his post-visitation protocol of the church in Werechanie: “church furnishings listed in the inventory are not kept in church but at home by a paroch, as the church, located in the forest, outside the village and on a hill, is frequently robbed by thieves, a lot of equipment has already been stole” See.: Ibid, catalogue number. 139, p. 282.

⁴¹ The printing houses existed in: Uniew, where it functioned by the Order of Saint Basil monastery between 1648-1770; Vilnius, where it functioned by the Holy Trinity church and Basilian Monastery between 1628-1839; Lviv, where 2 printing houses operated: Józef Szmuliński’s in 1687-1688 and by the Basilian Monastery between 1700-1708; Pochayiv, where it functioned by the Basilian Monastery (Holy Dormition Pochayiv Lavra) between 1733-1830; Suprasl, where it functioned by the Basilian Monastery between 1695-1804 with the period of inactivity between 1697-1711. See.: NARBUTT (1979) 41, CUBRZYŃSKA-LEONARCZYK (2007).

Table no. 1 Liturgical books in the parish church in Ciotusza in the 18th century

Sources: APL, ChKGK, catalogue number 101, column 22; catalogue number 107, col. 27; cat. 110, p. 488.

The name of the liturgical book	Dates of the book being acknowledged				
	1720	1744	1761	1760	1775
The Book of Gospel	2x	2x	x		
Hieratikon (Sluzhebnik) ⁴²	x	x			
Menaion (<i>Trefoloj</i>) ⁴³	x	x	x		
<i>Flowery Triodon</i> ⁴⁴	x	x	x		
Lenten Triodon	x	x	x		
Epistle Book ⁴⁵	x	x	x		
Psalter ⁴⁶	x	x	x		
Euchologion (Trebnik) ⁴⁷	x	x			
Octoechos ⁴⁸	x	x	x		
Horologion ⁴⁹	x	x	x		
<i>Irmologion</i> ⁵⁰	x	x			
<i>Missal</i> ⁵¹			x		

⁴² Hieratikon (Sluzhebnik) "book of the priest" being the deacon or presbyter's service book for liturgical services along short instructions for the Chanters or the Reader. See.: MARKUNAS, UCZITIEL (2001), 100.

⁴³ Menaion (Trefoloj) – "of the month" liturgical book containing the propers for annual fixed cycle of services in the Orthodox Church. Each menaion contains the services for an entire month. See.: NARBUTT (1977) 128.

⁴⁴ Triodon – is the Orthodox Church liturgical book that contains the variable portions of the Liturgy and other services for a particular period of the Orthodox ecclesiastical calendar. Flowery Triodon is the liturgical book used during the Paschal Season which extends from Pascha(Easter) to the Sunday following All Saints Sunday. Lenten Triodon contains the propers for the fasting period preceding Easter and for the few weeks leading up to the fast. See.: PAŃCZUK (2004), column 110.

⁴⁵ Epistle Book– contains the readings from the Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles. See.: MARKUNAS, UCZITIEL (2001) 13.

⁴⁶ Psalter – contains the Book of Psalms, often with other devotional material, forming the services of the Daily Cycle within four weeks. See: MARKUNAS, UCZITIEL (2001) 92.

⁴⁷ Euchologion (Trebnik) – "book of prayers" contains the fixed portions of the services such as sacraments, and other services of blessings which are said by the priest and deacon, as well as some of the variable portions which the clergy use. See.: MARKUNAS, UCZITIEL (2001) 112.

⁴⁸ Octoechos – "of the eight tone" created as a hymn book with musical notation contains a repertoire of the weekly variable texts and hymns ordered in eight parts according to the eight tone organized in an eight-week cycle. See.: MARKUNAS, UCZITIEL (2001) 73-74.

⁴⁹ Horologion (Czasoslow) – "book of hours" provides the fixed portions of the Daily Cycle of services, as well as some numerous moveable parts of the services, essential for the Reader and the Chanters in a week or a year cycle. See MARKUNAS, UCZITIEL (2001) 25.

⁵⁰ Irmologion – Byzantine- Slavonic liturgical book that contains texts for liturgical singing in Church. It contains irmoi (introductory hymns) for the various canons which are chanted by the Reader or the Chanters. See: NARBUTT (1977) 63.

Liturgical vestments, otherwise known as parements (from Latin: adornment), refers to the liturgical garments and articles on and around the altar. Various vestments serve several different functions, as they may mark the rank or serve as awards of distinction, therefore, they emphasize the importance of a priest adorned with it. According to the Christian tradition, the liturgical parements change in color depending on the liturgical season of the church year, so distinct liturgical colors appear.⁵²

The post- visitation protocol in 1720 gives the specific number of parements that a paroch had at his disposal- only two sets of clerical clothing, which suggests a paroch was poorly stocked.⁵³ One of them was made of red kitajka (cotton cloth), the other was blue made of the textile called mora (moire).⁵⁴ The next protocol in 1744 indicates the improvement in the number of vestments, as there were three sets of clerical clothing an additional one being brand new, complete and made of pink damask, and two new albs of linen textile.⁵⁵ The next protocol, drawn up by Bishop M. Ryllo, does not indicate any changes in the number of vestments, however, apart from the clerical clothing of pink damask that remained, of another two that appeared, one was a mourning vestment made of arus, while the other being green lame.⁵⁶

An astute analysis of the church furnishings discloses the overwhelming influence of the resolutions passed at the Synod of Zamosc, whose resolutions were aimed at liturgical latinisation of Eastern Church, the result of which might be deduced by the absence of iconostasis, the royal door and the appearance of altars, ciborium and church banners.⁵⁷

Endowment of the clergy

With the establishment of a parish, a benefice for a paroch (parish priest) that was to support him in that parish was arranged. Not only was benefice in an Orthodox parish much lower than in

⁵¹ Missal – is the liturgical book that contains the texts and rubrics for the celebration of the Mass. See.: MARKUNAS, UCZITIEL (2001) 65.

⁵² White (silver) symbolizes the brightness of Lord's Glory and enlightenment of the mind, is used during the most important seasons: Easter and Christmas; yellow (gold)- symbolizes angels, most often used during a liturgical year; red-the robe Jesus Christ was wearing before Pilate and it is associated with blood of martyrs; black- is the traditional color of mourning and sorrow, used during the Lent and masses for the dead; blue- symbolizes the color of the sky, used to honor Mary; green-used during Holy Trinity Day. See: SNELA (2002), column 385-386.

⁵³ APL, ChKGGK, catalogue number 101, column 22.

⁵⁴ Kitajka – thin but quite dense cotton textile with plain weave, one-colored or shining, the most common and simplest of all cotton textile, manufactured in the East, imported to Poland from Turkey. During the reign of Stanislaw August was manufactured in Gdansk. Mora (moire) – smooth, one-colored, usually made from blended cotton and manufactured fibers, rarely woolen, with distinctive water-marked wavy pattern on the face of the fabric, achieved by the process of calendaring. Calendaring-the process of finishing textile, at which wet fabric is folded and passed under iron or leather ribbed rollers at high temperatures and pressures. The ribs produce the characteristic irregular watermark that reflects light quite differently. See: TURNAU (1999) 87, 117.

⁵⁵ APL, ChKGGK, catalogue number 107, column 271.

⁵⁶ Arus (harus) -woolen or blended woolen fabric of different width worn in Poland in 17th-18th century. Lame- a plain or patterned woven fabric using flat silver or gold metal threads to create either the design or the background in the fabric, most often in the form of foil strips. See: TURNAU (1999) 16, 103.

⁵⁷ The Synod of Zamość held in 1720 sanctioned earlier decisions and introduced new modifications to assimilate and unify the Uniate rite with the Latin while codifying the canons and rendering them obligatory. The Synod introduced the Solemnity of the Most Holy Body, everyday mass, unified administration of the sacraments, monstrance for Eucharistic adoration on the altar and the Tabernacle. Church organs were introduced, church gonfalons, standards, feretories and church bells were to be used during processions. Furthermore, the way of the cross, bitter lamentations and rosaries were also encouraged. The Uniates placed benches, confessionals and side altars inside the churches. These major modifications resulted in the absence of iconostasis in erected churches in the second half of the 18th century. The priests were called on to give sermons and catechism lectures, they could wear the cassock of the Latin rite and be shaven. The Synod demanded parochs have their children educated. See.: CHRUSCEWICZ (1880) 155-267; CIOŁKO (2014).

Roman Catholic parish, but also the territory of an Orthodox parish was much smaller.⁵⁸ A single Orthodox parish comprised fewer villages and fewer parishioners. An average area of Orthodox parish property amounted up to 2-3 quarters of the field, there was also a tribute from the faithful of the parish.⁵⁹ Only bishoprics were endowed with larger ecclesiastical estate.⁶⁰ Benefice comprised fixed goods, property rights and ecclesiastical revenues. The fundamental source of income of Uniate parochs came from cultivation of farmland and animal breeding, management of the church property as well as ecclesiastical revenues for services rendered, i.e. administering of the sacraments, as well as tithes (iskop) and form of donations (meszne, stołowe).⁶¹ As far as *iura stolae* is concerned, due to the absence of normative standards, it could be abused by parochs by demanding higher fees.⁶² Supplementary entitlements stemmed from granted easements: free felling for heating and building purposes, rights to fish and rights to use grassland. As mentioned above, the benefice of Orthodox parishes was generally more meager than that of Catholic parishes due to their smaller sizes and fewer parishioners.

There is no written record about the primary benefice of the church in Ciotusza, as the earliest data, which is outlined in the post-visitation protocol, comes from 1720.⁶³ According to this primary source, the benefice of the parish comprised 2 quarters of farmland and the sheaf tithe that amounted to half of kopa (number of sheafs) from a quarter of the land. The first quarter of the church farmland stretched from the river (most probably the Sopot) to the forest. The other quarter was located on the maidan between collective fields. Much more information about the church benefice is disclosed in another protocol from 1744.⁶⁴ As far as the first quarter of the church land is concerned, it began from the church, however, since the previous entry stated that the farmland stretched from the river, it might be safely deduced that the church was situated close to the river. The visitor acknowledged that the land was of poor quality as “barely half of the (Tomaszow) unit of dry grain it yields, as it is sabulous”.⁶⁵ Opposite this quarter of the land was the only grassland whose size was delineated as “for one haymaker”, which means that a haymaker would need one full day (from dawn to dusk) to scythe it.⁶⁶ The other quarter of the church land was situated in the village of Sopot (at present Majdan Sopocki) and it was the one that previous entry described as located on the maidan between collective fields. It was not cultivated by the paroch, as the visitor noted down: “*quandam antecessores* the land has been seeded during the present paroch, now a peasant holds it as serfdom, though there is no document.” It must have been a small plot of land, as the note informs that a tiny plot located on

⁵⁸ Relative poverty of eastern parishes was brought about by three factors: small size of parish farmland and the territory it encompassed, meager obligatory tributes and scanty *iura stolae* fees.

⁵⁹ PÓŁĆWIARTEK (1974) 21.

⁶⁰ The Catholic Bishop of Chelm, in the 17th century, held 3 small towns, 9 villages in his possession and collected revenues from the houses in the city, whereas the Uniate Bishopric of Chelm owned 6 villages. See.: AGAD, ASK, Dz. I, catalogue number 71, column 69-71, 507-507v.

⁶¹ Tithe-compulsory contribution usually paid in grain, in the amount of 10% of the income, which was appropriated for the laity or church needs. See: DUDZIAK (1985), column 600-601. Iskop- a form of the sheaf tithe collected in the certain number of sheafs. See.: KOŚĆ, (1988) 73; PÓŁĆWIARTEK (1974) 93. Meszne – a form of donation collected by the faithful to a paroch, either agricultural or monetary (most probably for performing different church services). Stołowe- kind of rent from each family house. See: ZAJDA (1979) 126, 186.

⁶² *Iura stolae* was fees paid by the faithful to the clerfy for certain liturgical services, i.e. baptisms, banns, weddings, burials and blessing of women after marriages and baptisms of their children that constituted a part of a paroch benefice. See.: KARBOWNIK (1980); KARBOWNIK (1995); KARBOWNIK (1998) 49-52. In order to avoid abuses by parochs demanding higher fees, the official table of *iura stolae* fees was introduced. See: APL, ChKGK, sygn. 604, pgs. 438-439.

⁶³ APL, ChKGK, catalogue number 101, column 22v.

⁶⁴ Ibid., catalogue number 107, column 271.

⁶⁵ Korzec – Polish pre-partition unit of capacity for dry commodities, 1 korzec = 32 garnec, 1 korzec = 120,605 litres, 1 garniec = 3,7689 liters. See. IHNATOWICZ (1967) 42. No exact capacity of 1 Tomaszów korzec is available.

⁶⁶ Similarly, arable land was delineated by the number of days required to plough, which meant how many days it would take to plough it from dawn to dusk. More widely see: SZYMAŃSKI (2005) 182-183.

the wygon (collective pasture) where the church was erected.⁶⁷ Tithe was still collected from the faithful from Ciotusza in the amount of half of kopa (number of sheafs) from one quarter of the land, which, in total “could amount up to 4 kopa according to the paroch”. The next protocol drawn up by Bishop M. Ryllo in 1761 states that a paroch: “holds the same land as during the previous visitations,” and that “A collator has bestowed a piece of land called Kuryłowka, located between Iwan Romanczuk’s land and the former church’s land, with the expected yield of one and a half of the (Tomaszow) unit of grain upon a paroch.”⁶⁸

Presbytery and farm buildings

Although it is not known when the first presbytery and other parochial buildings were built, it must have taken place at the time of the establishment of the first Orthodox church or soon after, as it would seem impossible for a paroch and his family not to have a place of residence.

The first written record about the presbytery in Ciotusza is inserted in the post-visitation protocol of 1720, however, it is limited to a laconic statement that “The presbytery stands on the wygon (collective pasture).”⁶⁹ Much more abundant information about the presbytery and farm buildings can be obtained from the post-visitation protocol drawn up in 1731.⁷⁰ According to this primary source, the presbytery was a timber structured building comprising a white room, chamber and a vestibule.⁷¹ It also confirmed earlier information that a paroch had a small croft for his disposal described as “a tiny grange”.⁷² Farm buildings were arranged to form a gumno (a barnyard), around which a barn, pantry and “other timber pigpens” were erected.⁷³ It might be safely deduced that the other farm buildings the visitor mentioned were just henhouses to keep poultry for consumption purposes. They cannot have been valuable as they were omitted in the protocol by the visitor who must have regarded them as of no value or it might have been the paroch’s private property.

The clergy

Up until the eighteenth century, there was no division into prebendaries, parish priests (presbyter) or assistant priests among the Uniate clergy. Were there more than one clergyman, they would split their duties evenly, so they served at Liturgy, they celebrated baptisms, marriages, funerals and any sacraments of the Church. Only after the Synod of Zamość was the term “paroch” accepted as the administrator of the parish. However, assuming the position of a paroch was inextricably connected with the approval by a Collator, as the estate owners had the right to grant property for the church benefice and they held the right of patronage, which included the right of presentation. However, it is worth mentioning that obtaining consent on the part of a Collator was bound with bringing in appropriate fee by the candidate for the benefit of a Collator.⁷⁴ Having complied with the necessary

⁶⁷ Wygon – collective pasture.

⁶⁸ APL, ChKGK, catalogue number. 110, column 488.

⁶⁹ Ibid., catalogue number 101, column 52v.

⁷⁰ Ibid., catalogue number 107, column 271.

⁷¹ White room – it was a representative room used for ecclesiastical ceremonies: weddings, baptisms or funerals, also used for safekeeping of Sunday bests and precious items. There was no heating stove. See: KAROLCZUK-KĘDZIERSKA (2004a) 86; BRÜCKNER (1990) 466-467; GLOGER (1985) 277.

⁷² “Each grange in Poland is either for the owner to live in or keep just a steward, the former needs a dwelling for the owner apart from other farm buildings while the latter does not. See: GLOGER (1985) 161; KAMLER (1981) 173-176.

⁷³ Gumno (barnyard) – an inside open space between farm buildings; a barnyard encircled by granaries, barns and other farm buildings, whose purpose was to store grains and thresh it. It also could be a farm building where sheafs were kept before threshing or a place inside a barn with tamped soil where grains were threshed with flails. See.: KAROLCZUK-KĘDZIERSKA (2004b) 224.

⁷⁴ Collator – a patron or a benefactor providing care of the church, holding the right to give their opinion on candidates for the position of a paroch. See: SENIUK (2000) 337.

conditions, the candidate for a paroch was presented, instituted and entrusted with parochial care by the Bishop and then the presbyter was introduced to the parish by the Dean.

The parish priest (paroch) was to fulfill parochial care of the parish entrusted to him by exercising the pastoral care of the community committed to him, so he was to carry out the functions of teaching, sanctifying, and governing. He was entrusted with celebrating the Divine Liturgy for the people entrusted to him on each Sunday and holy days, the administration of baptism, the assistance at marriages and the nuptial blessing, the performance of funeral rites as well as observing more solemn Eucharistic celebrations on Sundays and holy days. Another important aspect of his work was to proclaim the word of God in its entirety, which meant reciting the rosary and catechization of the faithful. Furthermore, he was to maintain parochial registers, i.e. those of baptisms, marriages and deaths as well as perform tasks and commands from superiors thoroughly while presenting himself as a man of moral integrity, thus, setting exemplary Christian leadership. More often than not, the Uniate clergy fulfilled their duties in accordance with Orthodox principles with few exemptions.

The clergy would prepare for their ordained priesthood in a twofold way. One way to get used to responsibilities and duties of a priest was to serve the church under the supervision of a local paroch.⁷⁵ This way of teaching and fostering of vocations held on until the half of the eighteenth century. Although some attempts to establish minor seminaries were taken up even in the seventeenth century, they all failed and so did a plan to establish Uniate Mission Seminary.⁷⁶ The Basilian Order, which had already gained solid reputation, ran schools in many localities to raise the level of education of the would-be clergymen. One of such schools was established in Chelm in 1639.⁷⁷ The situation improved in the second half of the eighteenth century with the establishment of Uniate seminaries, one of which was opened in Chelm in 1759 as a Uniate Diocesan Seminary, which functioned until 1833.⁷⁸

Due to scanty, fragmentary and random information found in the primary sources, the only personal data that can be obtained relates to four parochs in the parish of Ciotusza, therefore, it is hardly possible to draw any conclusions or extrapolate any generalization. The first the post- visitation protocol in 1720 mentions was Elias Prusinowicz.⁷⁹ According to the source he was about 56 years old, so he must have been born about 1664. The post-visitacion protocol of 1744 specifies Fr. Symeon Suprynowicz as a paroch.⁸⁰ At the time of drawing up this document he was about 40, so he must have been born around 1704. Having analyzed the above-mentioned data, one might conclude that S. Suprynowicz stepped in as a paroch directly after Prusinowicz, who died in-between these two inspections, which is not so unexpected once his age is taken into account. Another name that appears in the next post-visitacion protocol of 1761 is Jan Suprynowicz, who must have been Symeon's son, which suggests he took over from his father.⁸¹ As it has been mentioned before, it was not so rare, as in the 18th and 19th centuries, most of the Uniate parish clergymen were descendants of the clergy. According to Ludomir Bieńkowski, in the eighteenth century, 70-80 per cent of the Uniate clergymen were the sons of clergy families.⁸² The last inspection sheds more light on the latter paroch, as some more pieces of information was inserted into the protocol where the hierarch had the paroch "preach the Words of God to all the faithful every Sunday and holy days after the mass." Furthermore, he "is to visit Krasnobród, a Dominican Monastery, and celebrate an eight-day long retreat there at his free

⁷⁵ KOŁŁATAJ (1953) 214.

⁷⁶ To see more: RECHOWICZ (1984).

⁷⁷ RECHOWICZ (1975) 579-589; WINIARZ (1995) 31, 38-39.

⁷⁸ For much wider information, see: KANIA (1993).

⁷⁹ APL, ChKGK, catalogue number 101, column 22v.

⁸⁰ Ibid., catalogue number 107, column 271.

⁸¹ Ibid., catalogue number. 110, p. 488.

⁸² BIENKOWSKI (1970) 963. The ratio of the Uniate parish clergymen being the sons of the clergy in the Deanery of Tyszowce between 1810-1966 amounted to 68,1%, whereas those from common townspeople background totaled 4,2%, catholic or secular 2,2%, from peasantry 1,1%, whereas 24,2% of the Uniate clergy were of unknown background. See.: FRYKOWSKI (2014) 248. W. Kołbuk calculates that as far as the Diocese of Chelm between 1835-1875 is concerned, 77,2% of the Uniate clergy were descendants of the clergy, from common townspeople background 8,4%, peasantry 3,3%, nobility 2%, secular with no further information 3,8%, whereas 4,6% of the clergy were of unknown background. See.: KOŁBUK (1992a) 37.

time”.⁸³ J. Suprynowicz provided parochial care in this parish until 22nd January, 1769 when he rendered his resignation from the position.⁸⁴ Such resignations were not relatively rare, especially so when a clergyman was offered the post of a paroch in a more attractive parish or his health did not let him fulfill his parochial duties. Once J. Suprynowicz had stepped out, Fr. Michał Dmitrowski was presented to the church benefice.

The faithful

The first written data regarding the number of the Uniates in the parish in Ciotusza comes from the eighteenth century church post-visitation protocols. The first such protocol of 1720 does not shed a lot of light, as the visitor briefly indicated that the parish comprised two country villages: Ciotusza and Podrusów.⁸⁵ Not until the protocol that was drawn up 22 years later can we obtain more information.⁸⁶ The first information indicates that the parish grew bigger as it acquired the third village of Długi Kąt, the other being that parish villages were inhabited by 24 parishioners that could receive the sacraments: “there might be 24 parishioners”. At that point it is worth emphasizing that taking the number of villages belonging to one parish, this particular parish did not stand out in the Belz Official where one-village communities amounted up to 65,7% of all village parishes, while two-village communities totaled 9,3%.⁸⁷ The subsequent 18th century source in the form of the post-visitation protocol from 1761 acknowledges the previous number of the villages in the parish, but specifies the data about the parishioners. Bishop M. Ryllo, who conducted the inspection of that parish, recorded the number of the parishioners, which reached 150: “able to go to confession.”⁸⁸ What clearly catches the eye is the striking difference or even disproportion in the number of worshippers receiving communion between the consecutive protocols drawn up in 1744 and 1761, which amounts to 126 in 27 years. It is now difficult to made an assessment of potential factors that led to such big growth in the number, however, it is worth bearing in mind that it was not something rare or uncommon in the Deanery of Tomaszów; e.g. the parish of the Protection of the Most Holy Virgin Mary in Podhorce had 20 parishioners in 1743, whereas in 1761 the number rose to 80;⁸⁹ the parish of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Mazily had 30 parishioners in 1744, whereas in 1761 there were already 100;⁹⁰ the parish of St. Demetrius the Great Martyr in Nedezow had 20 parishioners in 1743, whereas in 1761 the number rose to 80;⁹¹ St. Thomas the Apostle Parish in Majdan Sopocki indicated the number of 40 parishioners in 1743, whereas in 1761 that number reached 135;⁹² the number of the faithful of St. Michael Parish in Losiniec, which totaled at 160 parishioners in 1743, grew resoundingly to up to 600 parishioners in 1761;⁹³ St. Nicholas Parish in Jarczow had 28 parishioners in 1744, in 1761 there were 100 parishioners;⁹⁴ the community of Saints Cosmas and Damian Parish in Przeorsk grew from 20 in 1744 up to 100 in 1761.⁹⁵ These figures, however, are to be taken at face value, since the margin of error is unknown and the visitors tended to approximate the number. Such disproportion in the number of parishioners might have been caused by military activity, e.g. either passing or stationing of the army as well as natural disasters. Such occurrences or circumstances

⁸³ More about clergy retreat. See: BOBRYK (2005) 72-74.

⁸⁴ APL, ChKGK, catalogue number. 636, p. 28.

⁸⁵ APL, ChKGK, catalogue number 101, column 22v.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, catalogue number 107, column 271.

⁸⁷ The biggest parish in the Belz Official was the parish in Losiniec, which comprised 7 villages. See: *Ibid.*, catalogue number 107, kolumn 84v. More information about the parish in Losiniec, see: FRYKOWSKI (2015) 237-266.

⁸⁸ APL, ChKGK, catalogue number 110, p. 488.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, catalogue number 107, column 265v; catalogue number 110, p. 497.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, catalogue number 107, column 269v; catalogue number 110, p. 483.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, catalogue number 107, column 266; catalogue number 110, p. 499.

⁹² *Ibid.*, catalogue number 107, column 271v; catalogue number 110, p. 486.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, catalogue number 107, column 84v; catalogue number 110, p. 484.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, catalogue number 107, column.268; catalogue number 110, p. 476.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, catalogue number 107, column.269; catalogue number 110, p. 477.

inevitably led to the rise of fatality and mortality rate, whereas malnutrition and uncertainty of the future resulted in significant drop in birth rates. Unfortunately, due to the absence of primary sources, no scientific research on that matter is possible.

One of the most indispensable aspect of the profile of a parish community is its religious and moral attitudes. Regrettably, as far as the parish in Ciotusza is concerned, the scarcity of written primary sources impedes any scientific research on the aspect of religiosity of that community. The only information that might be obtained comes from the post-visitation protocol drawn up by Bishop M. Ryllo in 1761, from which it might be deduced that not all parishioners were well acquainted with the fundamental truths of the Faith as the Bishop had the paroch: "not officiate a wedding ceremony of the people who do not know the most fundamental Acts of Faith and the Creeds."⁹⁶

Conclusion

The Protection of the Most Holy Virgin Mary Uniate Parish in Ciotusza is known to have had its roots at least in the beginning of the seventeenth century. However, due to the scarcity of primary sources dating from that century we may only assume that this parish, like many other similar parishes, was granted enough benefice and endowment to enjoy some financial support to celebrate Uniate ceremonies. Available data from the eighteenth century comes from post-visitation protocols, thanks to which not only may we recreate the general look of the church and ancillary buildings, but also church benefice may be determined. The number of the parishioners poses a problem due to inaccuracy, as the visitors did not try to verify the exact number, being content with rough figures. Due to the deficiency in the written sources, the complete list of parochs (parish priests) has not been compiled.

The present article does not exhaust the relevant issue, as new historical sources or evidence about this parish will make it worth pursuing further.

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Summary:

The history of Protection of the Most Holy Virgin Mary Uniate Parish in Ciotusza in the light of the 18th century church post-visitation protocols

The present article presents the history of now nonexistent Protection of The Most Holy Virgin Mary Uniate parish in Ciotusza in the eighteenth century. The present article is based on abundant primary sources housed in the National Archives in Lublin, especially in the section of Chelm Greek Catholic Consistory, of which parish post-visitation protocols constitute the main part.

Keywords: Uniate Church, parish church, Ciotusza