

2021

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Recommended Citation

Bystrytska, Ella and Volik, Nadiia (2021) "Integration of the Pochaiv Lavra into the Structure of the Russian Orthodox Church between 1830s and 1860s," *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe*: Vol. 41 : Iss. 6 , Article 6.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/ree/vol41/iss6/6>

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INTEGRATION OF THE POCHAIV LAVRA INTO THE STRUCTURE OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH THE 1830s- 1860s

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Abstract

A series of imperial decrees during the 1820s contributed to the spread of the autocratic and synodal system of government, and the installation of control over the Greek Uniate Church institutions in the territories of Right Bank Ukraine.¹ The Greek Uniate Church was moved in “standby mode” for favorable conditions for the government to rapidly localize its activities. The accusation of the Basilian monks in support of the November Uprising of 1830-1831 in Poland contributed to the liquidation of this order and most of their monasteries. The transfer of the Pochaiv Lavra to the ownership of the Orthodox clergy in 1831 was a milestone in the liquidation of the Greek Uniate Church and the establishment of the Orthodox mono-confessional of a Russian standard. Based on archival documents, the political motivation of the emperor’s decree to confiscate the Pochaiv Lavra with all its property and capital from the Basilians was confirmed. The transfer to the category of monasteries of the First class and the granting of the status of a Lavra indicated its special role in the western region of the Russian Empire. To ensure the viability of the Lavra as an Orthodox religious center, the orders of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church outlined the following key tasks: the introduction of continuous worship, strengthening the personnel of the monastery, the delimitation of spiritual responsibilities, and clarifying the affiliation of the printing house. However, maintaining the rhythm of liturgical, financial, and economic activities installed by the Basilians proved to be a difficult task, the solution of which required ten years of hard work. To carry out rapid changes in the monastery, the emperor and senior government officials as well as government agencies at the local level made certain decisions, which required the coordination of actions of all parties to the process.

Keywords: Pochaiv Lavra, Pochaiv Monastery, Greek Uniate Church, Greek Russian Church, Pochaiv printing house, Russian Orthodox Church, the Most Holy Governing Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church.

¹ Right Bank of the Dnieper River is to the west of the river.

Introduction

The significant contribution of monasteries to the development of the spiritual culture, education, and writing of Ukraine at different stages of the struggle for independence has been properly studied by modern domestic researchers. At the same time, there is a lack of a comprehensive historical and philosophical analysis of the institute of monasteries. Some areas of their activity, in particular administrative, financial, economic, personnel, etc., have only fragmentary coverage. The fundamental cause of that includes not only the specifics of the functioning of monasteries but also the lack of sources. The dominance of Polish or Russian interests in the Ukrainian ethnic territories decisively influenced the public perception of their place and role in church-religious, sociopolitical, and national processes. Thus, research focused on those areas of monasteries that fit into the political context of empires. The jurisdictional variety of the Pochaiv Monastery is a clear example of its inclusion in geopolitical transformations. In particular, the entry of Western Volyn into the Russian Empire, as a result of the division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of the 18th century, made it possible to transform the Pochaiv Monastery into a strong support of Orthodoxy in the western region of the Russian Empire.

In the current conditions of the establishment of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in 2018, the issue of a comprehensive study of the activities of monasteries was actualized by the affiliation of the lavres, in particular the Pochaiv one, that belongs to the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) in Ukraine.

Existing Research and Theoretical Scope

Modern Ukrainian researchers pay considerable attention to study the role of religion and the church in the social and cultural history of Ukraine. The investigators also analyze the church and religious processes and the place and role of monasteries in them.² Moreover,

² О. Буравський. “Конфесійна політика російського самодержавства на Правобережній Україні та Білорусі (кінець XVIII – початок XIX ст.).” (Наукові записки Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка. Серія: Історія. 2016. № 1), 13–17. [“*Confessional policy of the Russian autocracy in the Right Bank Ukraine and Belarus (late XVIII - early XIX centuries)*”]; С. Жилюк. *Релігійна політика царизму на Волині (1793–1917 рр.)*. (Острого: Вид-во НаУОА, 2010). [“*Religious policy of tsarism in Volyn (1793–1917)*”]; В. Климов. *Українські православні монастирі та чернецтво: позиція в національній історії*. (Київ: Інститут філософії НАН України, 2008). [“*Ukrainian Orthodox monasteries and monasticism: a position in national history*”]; Н. Стоколос. *Конфесійно-етнічні трансформації в Україні (XIX – перша половина XX ст.)*. (Рівне: РІС КСУ–ППФ “Ліста–М”, 2003). [“*Confessional and ethnic transformations in Ukraine (XIX - first half of the XX century)*”]; Р. Шеретюк. *Греко-Уніатська Церква в контексті етноконфесійної політики Російської імперії на Правобережній Україні (кінець XVIII – XIX ст.)*. (Рівне: Волинські обереги, 2012). [“*The Greek Uniate Church in the context of the ethnical and confessional policy of the Russian Empire on the Right Bank of Ukraine (at the end of the XVIII-XIX centuries)*”]; В. Рожко. *Нарис історії Української Православної Церкви на Волині (870 – 2000 рр.)*:

Ukrainian historiography has been supplemented by special investigations, according to which the activity of the Pochaiv Monastery has been re-analyzed as a religious, financial, economic, educational, and cultural center.³ However, the initial period of integration of the Pochaiv Lavra into the structure of the ROC, which covers the period of the second third of the 19th century, has practically remained out of researchers' attention.

Prerequisites for the Transfer of Pochaiv Monastery

Geopolitical processes of the late 18th century led to the division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as a result of which Right Bank Ukraine was included in the Russian Empire. The integration of the annexed territories provided the establishment of Orthodoxy as a single dominant-confession in the religious sphere and the liquidation of the Greek Uniate Church (GUC).⁴ At that time, the GUC was a powerful institution, numbering 42 Basilian monasteries, more than one and a half million believers and 1500 parishes, united in four dioceses – Lithuanian, Lutsk, Brest, and Polotsk.⁵ The liquidation of the GUC took

Історико-краєзнавчий нарис. (Луцьк: Медіа, 2001). [*Essay on the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Volyn (870–2000): Historical and local lore essay*]; О. Кравченко. *Монастирі Північно-західної Слобожанщини середини XVII – XVIII ст. як об'єкти культурної спадщини.* Автореферат дисертації кандидата історичних наук. (Київ, 2012). [*Monasteries of North-Western Slobozhanshchyna in the middle of the XVII–XVIII centuries as objects of cultural heritage. Ph.D thesis*]. <http://library.nuft.edu.ua/ebook/datathree.php?ID=870>; І. Сторожук. *Суспільно-політична та культурно-освітня діяльність духовенства Волинської губернії у 1804–1905 рр.* Автореферат дисертації кандидата історичних наук. (Київ, 2015). [*Sociopolitical, cultural and educational activity of the clergy of the Volyn province in 1804–1905. Ph.D thesis*]. https://chtyvo.org.ua/authors/Storozhuk_Iryna/Suspilno-politychna_ta_kulturno-osvitnia_diiialnist_dukhovenstva_Volynskoi_hubernii_u_1804_1905_rr/; О. Карліна. *“Репресії щодо василіан на Волині після Листопадового повстання 1830 року та “стирання пам'яті” про них.*” (Національна та історична пам'ять: Збірник наукових праць. Київ: ПНВЦ “Пріоритети”. 2013. Вип. 6), 69–76. [*Repressions against the Basilians in Volyn after the November Uprising of 1830 and “erasing the memory” of them*”].

³ Я. Ісаєвич. *Українське книговидання: витоки, розвиток, проблеми.* (Львів: Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАН України, 2002). [*Ukrainian book publishing: origins, development, problems*]; В. Бочковська. *“Почаївський духовний осередок в історії та культурі українського народу.”* (Вісник Київського національного університету ім. Т. Г. Шевченка. Серія: Українознавство. 2008. Вип. 13), 21–25. [*“Pochaiv spiritual center in the history and culture of the Ukrainian people”*]; В. Дудар. *Громадсько-політичний та культурний вплив Почаївського монастиря на населення Волині (XIX – початок XX ст.).* Автореферат дисертації кандидата історичних наук. (Переяслав-Хмельницький, 2008). [*Sociopolitical and cultural influence of the Pochaiv Monastery on the population of Volyn (XIX - early XX centuries). Ph.D. thesis*]. <http://www.lib.ua-ru.net/diss/cont/344267.html>; Ю. Мартинів. *Правове становище та фінансово-господарська діяльність Почаївської лаври у 1831–1914 рр.).* Автореферат дисертації кандидата історичних наук. (Тернопіль, 2008). [*Legal status, financial and economic activity of the Pochaiv Lavra from 1831 to 1914 years). Ph.D. thesis*]. http://tnpu.edu.ua/naukova-robota/documents-download/d-58-053-04/aref_Martyniv.pdf

⁴ Here and further we consider it expedient to use the names of institutions, which appear in the documents of the study period: the Greek Uniate Church, the Greek Russian Church, the Greek Uniate Theological Board, as well as the definitions used at the time - Uniate, Greek Uniate.

⁵ Н. Стоколос. *Конфесійно-етнічні трансформації в Україні (XIX – перша половина XX ст.).* (Рівне: РІС КСУ–ППФ “Ліста-М”, 2003), 28. [*Confessional and ethnic transformations in Ukraine (XIX - first half of the XX century)*]; *Історія релігії в Україні: У 10-ти т.* (Київ: Український Центр духовної культури, 1996–1999). [*History of religion in Ukraine (1996–1999): In 10 vols*]. Т. 3. *Православ'я в Україні.* (Київ: Український Центр духовної культури 1999), 234. [*Vol. 3. Orthodoxy in Ukraine*].

place gradually. In 1820, a series of Russian imperial decrees helped establish control over the Church. In particular, in 1828 the Greek Uniate Theological Board was founded, which managed all affairs of the GUC in Russia. That institution was funded by the state treasury.⁶ An imperial decree in October 17, 1828 established control over the personnel of the Greek Uniate Consistories. The administration of the Basilian monasteries passed into their jurisdiction, as the institute of proto-hegumen was abolished.⁷ As a result of this policy, Bilostotskyi, Dubnivskyi, Hoshchanskyi, Dorohobuzkyi, Lutskyi, and Milchanskyi monasteries had been closed in Volyn by 1830, and some monasteries such as Tryhirskyi, Piddubetskyi and Verkhovsyyi were planned to be converted into parish churches.⁸ In 1831, the Pochaiv, Horodyshe, and Ovruch monasteries were transferred to the Greek Russian Church (GRC). The following year, 1832, the tsar issued a decree to close 191 monasteries (35 in Volyn) out of the 305 existing ones in the western provinces. In the same year, OSBM was finally liquidated.⁹

The question of including the Pochaiv Monastery in the jurisdiction of the GOC arose during the Polish November Uprising of 1830-1831, which was supported by individual monasteries and their inhabitants, including Pochaiv. Basilian monks were accused of supporting “the Latin bigotry and the hatred of everything Russian and Orthodox.”¹⁰ In August 1831, Volyn and Podolsk interim military governor V. Levashov reported about the printing of anti-Russian leaflets in the monastery printing house, fundraising in support of the insurgents, and the direct participation of some Pochaiv monks in the uprising.¹¹ His proposals for the transfer of the Pochaiv Monastery to the Orthodox Church were supported by the Minister of Internal Affairs D. Bludov, who brought them to the attention of the emperor.

⁶ О. Буравський. “Конфесійна політика російського самодержавства на Правобережній Україні та Білорусі (кінець XVIII – початок XIX ст.).” (Наукові записки Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка. Серія: Історія. 2016. № 1), 16. [“Confessional policy of the Russian autocracy in the Right Bank Ukraine and Belarus (late XVIII - early XIX centuries)”].

⁷ Р. Шеретюк. *Греко-Уніатська Церква в контексті етноконфесійної політики Російської імперії на Правобережній Україні (кінець XVIII –XIX ст.)*. (Рівне: Волинські обереги, 2012), 180. [The Greek Uniate Church in the context of the ethnical and confessional policy of the Russian Empire on the Right Bank of Ukraine (at the end of the XVIII-XIX centuries)].

⁸ С. Жилюк. *Релігійна політика царизму на Волині (1793–1917 рр.)*. (Острог: Вид-во НаУОА, 2010). [Religious policy of tsarism in Volyn (1793–1917)].

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁰ І. Дубилко. *Почаївський монастир в історії нашого народу*. (Вінніпег: Інститут дослідів Волині, 1986), 115. [Pochaiv Monastery in the history of our people].

¹¹ О. Карліна. “Репресії щодо василіан на Волині після Листопадового повстання 1830 року та “стирання пам’яті” про них.” (Національна та історична пам’ять: Збірник наукових праць. Київ: ПНВЦ «Пріоритети». 2013. Вип. 6), 70. [“Repressions against the Basilians in Volyn after the November Uprising of 1830 and “erasing the memory” of them”].

Allegations of Russian officials about the assistance of Pochaiv Basilian monks to “criminal plans of Polish rebels” seemed convincing to the emperor. In September 1831, Nicholas I issued a decree that “Basilian Pochaiv Monastery with all the church property, real estate and capital to transfer to the Orthodox Greek Russian clergy.”¹²



The picture was painted in 1846 by Taras Shevchenko. Depicts the southern side of the Pochaiv Lavra. Watercolor is stored in the Taras Shevchenko National Museum in Kyiv.

The emperor also approved several proposals made by the Main Department of Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Religions in the case of the transfer of the Pochaiv Monastery. It was a question of transfer of church things, capitals, and other monastic property including real estate, papers, and documents “from those persons in charge of all these,” preservation of church relics, property and valuables, ownership of the printing house, relocation of the Volyn diocesan administration to the Pochaiv complex, clarification of the spiritual responsibilities of the monastery, and eviction of Basilian monks to other monasteries before the arrival of the Orthodox. Nevertheless, the emperor considered it appropriate to temporarily leave in the monastery those monks who were in charge of the monastery property and husbandry. They were permitted to “serve the Divine Service continuously” until the arrival of the Orthodox.¹³

¹² Державний архів Тернопільської області. Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 10. Арк. 2 зб. [State Archives of the Ternopil region].

¹³ Ibid., Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 10. Арк. 2 зб. – 4 зб.

On September 23, 1831, an order was issued by the board of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia, which determined the procedure for the transfer of the Pochaiv Monastery “under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox clergy with all church affiliation, real estate and capital.” A government commission which included representatives of the Ministry of Finance, the Most Holy Governing Synod (Holy Synod) of the ROC, the GRC and GUC, and the gendarme corps was set up.¹⁴ The members of the commission arrived at the Pochaiv Monastery on October 8, 1831, following the order to act quickly and “without publicity.”¹⁵ They took up their duties the next day and worked until November 25, 1831.¹⁶

On October 24, 1831, the Holy Synod adopted a document about the re-subordination of the Pochaiv Monastery. The document referred to the arrangement of the monastery as an Orthodox spiritual center and its management. It was ordered: “to establish the Pochaiv Assumption Monastery with a large number of worshipers, the splendor of its churches, large and huge buildings, as an Orthodox Monastery of the First Class, to give it the name of the Lavra, while the Uniates called it the same way, giving preference to all their monasteries;” the Bishop of Volyn should always be the Holy Archimandrite of the Lavra, and an archimandrite appointed as a deputy bishop must assist him in the management of the monastery.¹⁷ In addition, requirements for the personal qualities of the Holy Archimandrite were immediately stipulated, according to them he should be “known for his intelligence, gentle nature and strict rules,” and as for staff hieromonks, they were required to have “the best behavior and education.”¹⁸

A separate paragraph indicated the need for continuous worship and its “decent implementation.” Therefore, the Holy Synod decided to strengthen the staff of the Pochaiv Monastery and the episcopal staff, so they additionally included 12 hieromonks and four hierodeacons with the required number of service monks or 10 hieromonks, four hierodeacons, and 18 service monks according to the usual staff of first-class monasteries.¹⁹ The rector of the Volyn seminary was the one who had to provide “a sufficient number of monks or priests” to hold continuous services. Additional staff to perform household chores

¹⁴ Державний архів Тернопільської області. Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 7. Арк. 16–16 зв. [State Archives of the Ternopil region].

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Арк. 16 зв.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 10. Арк. 26–26 зв.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 55. Арк. 5.

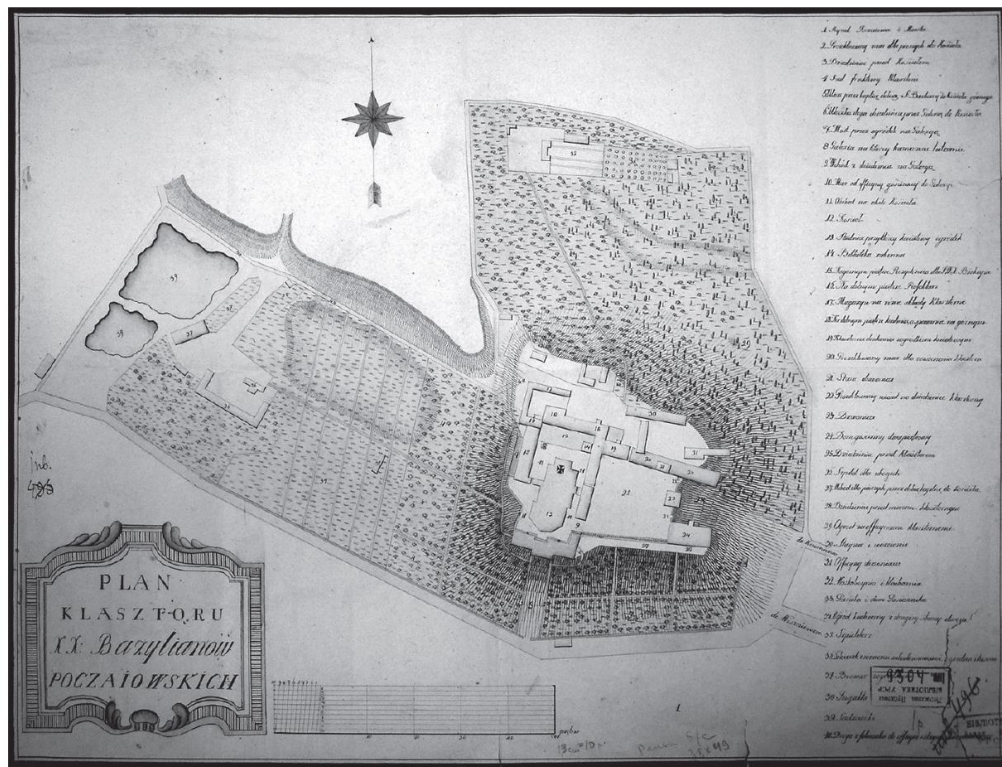
¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Арк. 6 зв.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Арк. 5.

were allowed to be taken from those who were performing that work during the presence of the Basilian monks.²⁰

Staffing and Ensuring “Decency of Service”

After the eviction of Basilian monks from the Pochaiv Monastery, some questions arose concerning the organization of the church and the religious life of the Orthodox Lavra. The transfer to the category of monasteries of the First class and the status of the Lavra indicated its special role in strengthening the position of the autocracy in the western region of the Russian Empire. Moreover, Pochaiv Monastery was a center of continuous pilgrimage, which revived in the spring and lasted till late autumn. On the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, the number of pilgrims usually increased to 15 thousand people. Pilgrims wanted to do the Sacrament of Penance and Eucharist only from Pochaiv monks on that day. Therefore, the Basilian held services in three churches. In each church, worship was accompanied by music and choral singing.²¹ The intensive flow of believers imposed responsibility on the monks and demanded the appropriate organization of all spheres of the monastery’s life.



Plan of the Pochaiv Monastery, compiled by Adam Milewski, 1823. The manuscript plan is in the Cartography department of the V. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine.

²⁰ Ibid., Арк. 5.

²¹ Державний архів Тернопільської області. Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 10. Арк. 17. [State Archives of the Ternopil region].

Consequently, the Holy Synod set the task for the Orthodox leadership not to lose the authority of the monastery, promote the establishment and spread of Orthodoxy, several immediate problems that required urgent solutions appeared. Firstly, there was a lack of monks to perform religious duties. Bishop Amvrosii of Volyn and Zhytomyr²² reported to the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod, that there were up to 100 Basilian monks, and in total their number never reached less than 72 people in the monastery “in recent times.” At the same time, he noted that that number did not include 30 “singers” who needed to be replaced by Orthodox ones. However, by dissolving the Basilian choristers, the archimandrite could provide choral accompaniment to services only on holidays and Sundays.²³

Furthermore, it was also important to preserve the activities of the monastery economy, which included agriculture, handicrafts, candle, and brick productions. The resumption of printing and educational institutions also required replenishment. Analyzing the needs of the Lavra to “maintain order,” Bishop Ambrose asked the Holy Synod for 100 full-time monks.²⁴

In his diocese, Bishop Amvrosii “could find only two hieromonks suitable for the Pochaiv Lavra, which was extremely glorious, huge and beautiful.”²⁵ Therefore, guided by the Holy Synod decree from October 24, 1831, he appealed to the Metropolitan of Kyiv and the Archbishop of Chernihiv with a request to send at least six candidates to increase the number of monks of the Lavra. As a result, two hieromonks and two widowed deacons arrived from Kyiv, and two hieromonks were promised to be transferred to the Lavra from Chernihiv.²⁶

On November 23, 1831, to “establish a new order in the newly created Pochaiv Lavra,” Bishop Amvrosii appealed to the Kursk consistory to send to the Lavra at least six monks of “best conduct and good education” who could “support and establish the long-oppressed and destroyed state of Orthodoxy in this region.”²⁷ However, there were no candidates who would meet the requirements.²⁸ In the end, six candidates were selected to move to the Pochaiv Lavra, but the final decision on them was to be made by Bishop Amvrosii.²⁹

²² Bishop Amvrosii (Morev) of Volyn and Zhytomyr arrived from Annopol in Pochaiv on October 24, 1831.

²³ Державний архів Тернопільської області. Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 10. Арк. 17 зв. [State Archives of the Ternopil region].

²⁴ Ibid., Арк. 19 зв.

²⁵ Ibid., Арк. 14 зв.

²⁶ Ibid., Арк. 15.

²⁷ Ibid., Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 5. Арк. 2.

²⁸ Ibid., Арк. 3.

²⁹ Ibid., Арк. 3 – 3 зв.

The lack of monks of sufficient educational level and high moral virtues hindered the process of establishing Orthodox liturgical practice. Documents indicate that from the moment of signing the decree on the transfer of Pochaiv Monastery to the Orthodox, it has become the subject of close attention of the emperor, his advisers, and ministers. The emperor set the task of maintaining the invariability of the monastery as a center of pilgrimage for Greek Uniates, Roman Catholics, and Orthodox believers from distant places and abroad. He also instructed the Holy Synod to take care of the appointment in “Pochaiv such monks who could be an example of life, meekness, care, education, and diligence in the faith to support and affirm Orthodoxy in this region.”³⁰

The resolution to any crises in the activities of the Pochaiv Lavra was adopted with the approval of Emperor Nicholas I. In particular, to carry out the emperor’s order to ensure “greater splendor in this monastery,” the Holy Synod decided to “send one archdeacon from the court Cathedral, who firmly knows the whole order of service and one psalmist, to arrange the whole service in the monastery on the model of the court.”³¹ The selection of candidates was entrusted to the Archpriest Pavlo Krynytsky.³² He was the member of the Holy Synod and responsible for the condition and management of the court churches. On December 18, 1831, the Holy Synod decided to send Archdeacon P. Dashkovskiy and the psalmist V. Nikitin to the Pochaiv Lavra. The leadership of the Lavra was ordered to allow them to arrange the entire church service and to ensure “the decent maintenance at the expense of the monastery” and wages.³³ At the end of March 1832, P. Dashkovskiy and V. Nikitin fulfilled their task. In memory of their stay in the Pochaiv Lavra, P. Dashkovskiy was presented with a copy of the icon of the Theotokos of Pochaiv in a silver framework.³⁴

Issues of Ownership of the Printing House

The issue of the printing house’s affiliation was written in a separate line in the proposal of the Main Department of Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Religions in the case of the transfer of the Pochaiv Monastery. Correspondence between the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod, Prince P. Meshcherskiy, and Bishop Amvrosii of Zhytomyr and Volyn indicates that

³⁰ Державний архів Тернопільської області. Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 10. Арк. 4 зв. [State Archives of the Ternopil region].

³¹ Ibid., Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 29. Арк. 2 зв.

³² Archpriest Pavlo Krynytskyi – from the Chernihiv province (Eastern Ukraine). In 1808 he was appointed as a royal priest and member of the Holy Synod. After the death of Emperor Alexander I, he remained the clergyman of Empress Maria Feodorovna. In his title, he was called “the former clergyman of the late Empress.”

³³ Державний архів Тернопільської області. Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 29. Арк. 3–4 зв. [State Archives of the Ternopil region].

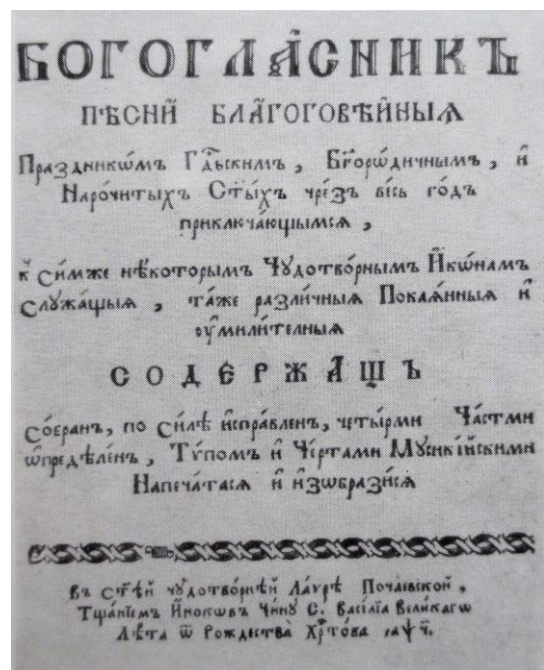
³⁴ Ibid., Арк. 15.

initially, the Main Department for Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Religions agreed to move the monastery printing house to Polotsk (Belarus). They planned to establish a Greek Uniate Theological Academy, which would have a printing house for the needs of its Church, because the printing house of the Basilian monastery in Vilno did not have the necessary capacity.³⁵

However, the Volyn and Podolsk interim governors justified the inexpediency of transporting the printing house and convinced the chief prosecutor. In 1823, the Pochaiv printing house had four printing presses, four machines for stamping icons, 25 “cash registers” (letters of Slavic, Russian, Latin, and Polish languages) and a lithographic workshop, the equipment of which was also subject to transportation.³⁶ The value of printing property was estimated at 10-12,000 assignation rubles.



Povchannia khrystyianske. Katykhizm (Christian teaching. Catechism). Pochaiv: Printing House of the Assumption Monastery, 1790.



Bogoglasnyk z notamy (Collection of religious songs with musical notes). Pochaiv: Printing House of the Assumption Monastery, 1790. Contains 250 songs, of which: 32 – in Polish, 2 – Latin, 216 – in Church Slavonic and Ukrainian languages.

The expediency of leaving the printing house in the ownership of the Pochaiv Monastery was written in the report of the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod dated September 14, 1831, which State Secretary D. Bludov handed over to the emperor. Therefore, Nicholas I ordered to leave the printing house in the Pochaiv Lavra and pay the Basilians

³⁵ Ibid., Арк. 5, 10 зв.

³⁶ Державний архів Тернопільської області. Ф. 258. Оп.3. Спр. 29. Арк. 5. [State Archives of the Ternopil region]

12,000 assignation rubles, which were planned to be spent on the creation of a Greek Uniate printing house in Polotsk. The payment was to be made by the Holy Synod from its own account, “in order not to cause trouble to the State Treasury with special extraordinary expenses in the present state of affairs.”³⁷ The decisions of the emperor were reported to the Greek Uniate Theological Board, Governor-General V. Levashov, and Bishop Amvrosii of Zhytomyr and Volyn.³⁸

As the printing house remained the property of the monastery, Bishop Amvrosii ordered an inventory of the printing property and appointed Archimandrite Flavian who was a rector of the Volyn seminary, as a chairman of the commission. In a report dated December 10, 1831, the archimandrite stated that “the Pochaiv printing house is not very important.” He considered only two machines to be working, “the third is broken,” a certain device was missing in the fourth. Only one machine was suitable for printing icons and paintings. As the books were published mainly in Church Slavonic and Polish, the commission noted the presence of letters in both languages. They were stored in 30 boxes with 3,620 cells. Archimandrite reported the incompleteness of 2760 cells. The commission found 183 red copper plates of various formats for embossing icons and images on paper and velvet, but 98 of them were considered to be unfit; 157 wooden figures for embossing images, however, 122 of which were unusable.³⁹

On December 12, a meeting of the Holy Synod took place. At the meeting, the Chief Prosecutor reported on the issues of the Pochaiv printing house.⁴⁰ In January 1832, the Holy Synod obliged Bishop Amvrosii to assess the property and find out whether the cost of equipment was 12,000 assignation rubles or another amount, whether it was possible to pay the required amount from the monastic revenues at once or in instalments.⁴¹ Thus, the Holy Synod shifted the financial costs of buying the printing house to the Pochaiv Lavra under the personal responsibility of the bishop.

On January 7, 1832, Bishop Amvrosii instructed the Spiritual Synod of the Pochaiv Lavra to revise the estimate of the cost of printing equipment based on the description of the printing house. According to the results of the inspection on January 12 of that year, the

³⁷ Ibid., Арк. 10, 11 зв.

³⁸ Ibid., Арк. 6.

Державний архів Тернопільської області. Ф. 258. Оп.3. Спр. 29. Арк. 7 зв. 8. [State Archives of the Ternopil region].

⁴⁰ Ibid., Арк. 10, 13.

⁴¹ Ibid., Арк. 12.

Spiritual Synod of the Pochaiv Lavra approved a new cost of the printing house, which amounted to 1,460 assignation rubles.⁴²

It is worth noting the difference between the documents written by Archimandrite Flavian and the Spiritual Synod of the Pochaiv Lavra. The first document does not mention the empty boxes in which the letters were stored. The number of incomplete ones is indicated. It follows from the text that the other 860 boxes are fully stocked. Instead, in the document of the Spiritual Synod of the Pochaiv Lavra 860 boxes were “found to be empty,” and the number of incomplete ones is not specified.⁴³ On January 14, 1832, a report was sent to the Holy Synod, emphasizing the wear and tear of the equipment and stating a new amount of value, which the Pochaiv Lavra undertook to pay immediately.⁴⁴

The new cost of the Pochaiv printing house was reported to the Minister of Internal Affairs, D. Bludov, who considered the amount of 1,460 assignation rubles “insignificant.” He said that only one printing press without transportation costs 1,500 assignation rubles. The Minister also pointed out that during the acceptance of “Pochaiv printing house into the jurisdiction of the Orthodox clergy, 500 feet of blank paper for printing were found in it,” a significant number of books with engravings and images, as well as 1,583 assignation rubles and 53 kopeks in silver and continued: “...not mentioning the treasures and huge capitals, which were taken separately, along with the monastery.”⁴⁵

As the amount of 12,000 assignation rubles had been approved and officially announced previously, the minister refused to take responsibility for the sole decision and wrote a report to the emperor. Nicholas I imposed a resolution again on the payment of “12,000 assignation rubles from the general Spiritual Capital.”⁴⁶ On September 1832, the monastery leadership informed the Holy Synod about the lack of sufficient funds and proposed two ways of settling accounts with the Greek Uniate diocesan leadership. In the first case, they suggested distributing the amount of payment in equal parts for six years; in the second case, it was written to offer the “Uniates” to buy a promissory note of the Lavra debtor Graf V. Tarnovskiy, covering 6,000 assignation rubles, and another 6,000 to pay within three years.⁴⁷

⁴² Ibid., Арк. 15.

⁴³ Ibid., Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 3. Арк. 13 зв., 8.

⁴⁴ Державний архів Тернопільської області. Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 3. Арк. 18. [State Archives of the Ternopil region].

⁴⁵ Ibid., Арк. 26 зв., 27.

⁴⁶ Ibid., Арк. 27 зв.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Арк. 30, 30 зв.

The Minister of Internal Affairs did not support the proposal of the Lavra leadership.⁴⁸ Then the Holy Synod obliged Bishop Inokentii (Maksymovych)⁴⁹ to order the payment of 12,000 assignation rubles to the Greek Uniate Theological Board in St. Petersburg and notify the crediting of funds.⁵⁰ On March 14, 1833, the treasurer of the monastery, hegumen Feodosii, accompanied by a security guard and a representative of the Volyn consistory, sent to the Radziwill post office “four barrels of silver money,” which amounted to 3,305 assignation rubles and 79 kopeks in silver.⁵¹ The amount had the equivalent of 12,000 assignation rubles and was sent to the Greek Uniate Theological Board.

On March 22, 1833, the case of resumption of activity of the Pochaiv printing house was heard at the meeting of the Holy Synod. According to the report of Assessor A. Woichevych (Wojciechowicz), the Holy Synod ordered Bishop Inokentii (Maksymovych) to obtain a permit to operate a printing house for the printing of church books and books for teaching church parables and children.⁵²

Removal of the Pochaiv printing house from the property of the Basilian monks caused deficit growth of books among the Greek Uniates. According to the order on the transfer of the Pochaiv Monastery to the Orthodox from September 25, 1831, 2,127 new owners were obliged to return to the Greek Uniates church and liturgical books, many of which remained in the monastery. However, the new leadership of the Pochaiv Lavra thought otherwise. The bishop proposed to consider books “that were successfully sold by Uniates and other infidels” as the property of the monastery because the amount paid by the Lavra for the printing house did not correspond to its value, and the sale of the 189 books left in the monastery could offset the costs to some extent.⁵³ In 1833, the leadership of the Greek Uniate Theological Board repeatedly appealed to the Minister of the Interior to facilitate the return of the books. Nevertheless, the dispute was resolved in favor of the new owners of the Lavra.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Ibid., Арк. 34.

⁴⁹ Bishop Inokentii (Selnokrynov-Korovin Yakiv Maksymovych) of Volyn and Zhytomyr headed the diocese in 1832–1840, from December 25, 1833 – Archbishop.

⁵⁰ Державний архів Тернопільської області. Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 3. Арк. 34 зв. [State Archives of the Ternopil region].

⁵¹ Державний архів Тернопільської області. Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 3. Арк. 46 [State Archives of the Ternopil region].

⁵² Ibid., Арк. 43–44.

⁵³ Ibid., Арк. 54; Арк. 49 зв.

⁵⁴ Ibid., Арк. 56.

Delimitation of the Spiritual Responsibilities

The Pochaiv Monastery had spiritual responsibilities to the donors who helped build it. Among the founders were not only Orthodox but also Greek Uniates and Roman Catholics. After the transfer of the Pochaiv Monastery to the ownership of the Orthodox, the question concerning the fulfillment of such responsibilities as a service of Divine Liturgies, memorial services, *akathist* hymns or prayers *paraklesises* to the Theotokos of Pochaiv for donors arose. The decree of the Holy Synod of October 24, 1831 obliged the leadership of the Lavra to distinguish spiritual responsibilities between the Orthodox and the Greek Uniates. In January 1834, the Minister of the Interior asked the Chief Prosecutor to inform him of the implementation of that decree. It turned out that in the monastery book, “there were the names and surnames of various persons who made donations for the benefit of the Pochaiv Monastery, with the obligation to pray for themselves and their relatives and ancestors,” and there was no information about the confessional affiliation of the donors.⁵⁵ Therefore, the Spiritual Synod of the Pochaiv Lavra considered it practically impossible to separate Orthodox donors from representatives of other religions and offered to perform spiritual duties in the Lavra, following the list compiled by the Basilian monks.

The fact is that religious dissent, which was formed under the influence of Protestant ideology in the 15th to 17th centuries, became commonplace in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and covered a large part of the royal court, magnates, gentry, including Orthodox. The Catholic Counter-Reformation, the conclusion of the Brest Union, and the reform of Orthodoxy only intensified that process. Therefore, the religious difference of members of one family, even in the early 19th century was not something exceptional. The Spiritual Synod of the Pochaiv Lavra informed the St. Petersburg leadership that members of the same family mostly belonged to different religions: “...father and sons belonged to the Roman Catholic rite, mother and daughters had Uniate or Orthodox faith and vice versa.”⁵⁶ Under such conditions, it was difficult to determine the religious affiliation of persons.

It was also noted that spiritual duties could not be performed in any city other than the Pochaiv Monastery, as donations were made “not for the Uniates, but for the Theotokos of Pochaiv.”⁵⁷ The management of the Lavra also drew attention to the fact that thanks to the proceeds from donors, the monastery had been successful in carrying out credit and loan operations for a long time. The monastery provided loans to “various landowners” at interest.

⁵⁵ Державний архів Тернопільської області. Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 55. Арк. 4. [State Archives of the Ternopil region].

⁵⁶ Ibid., Арк. 5.

⁵⁷ Ibid., Арк. 5 зв.

Such activities made it possible to double the number of donations in two centuries, which in 1831, together with the Pochaiv Monastery, passed into the jurisdiction of the Orthodox.⁵⁸

According to the members of the Spiritual Synod of the Pochaiv Lavra, the separation of spiritual responsibilities would have the effect of “cooling down to Orthodoxy” of Catholics and Uniates and slowing down the process of conversion of the local population. The performance of spiritual duties could become one of the reliable means of friendly treatment of people of another faith and eventually bring them to Orthodoxy.⁵⁹

The Minister of the Interior ignored the arguments of the Spiritual Synod of the Pochaiv Lavra. The Greek Uniate Theological Board and the Greek Uniate Consistory searched for documents that indicated the religion of the contributors. Employees of the Consistory were tasked to apply to the Zhytomyr Military Judicial Commission⁶⁰ to write out from the book when, which and from whom the contributions subjected to differentiation had arrived in the Pochaiv Monastery, as well as to verify the records of the former leaders of the monastery.⁶¹



Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (interior view) in Pochaiv Lavra. The picture was painted in 1846 by Taras Shevchenko. Stored in the Taras Shevchenko National Museum in Kyiv.

⁵⁸ Ibid., Арк. 5 зб. – 6.

⁵⁹ Ibid., Арк. 7.

⁶⁰ The Zhytomyr Military Judicial Commission investigated into the theft of capital and property of the Pochaiv Monastery by the Basilians, so some documents of the monastery were seized from investigators.

⁶¹ Державний архів Тернопільської області. Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 55. Арк. 29 зб. [State Archives of the Ternopil region].

The Spiritual Synod of the Pochaiv Lavra instructed Hieromonk Pavlo to study income and expenditure books, and reveal the confessional affiliation of donors.⁶² In February 1836, Hieromonk Pavlo went to Kyiv to obtain books and make the necessary extracts from the Commission of the Military Court.⁶³ In May 1836, after arriving from Kyiv, the hieromonk reported to the Greek Uniate Theological Board that the received monastery books indicated only annual income from various sources. In the first book, there were records of people who once sacrificed pendants, rings, pearls, corals, and other things, but without specifying their religion. In the second book, there were records of the funds that the monastery received from the faithful during services, prayers, *akathist* hymns, and memorial services. Those were small amounts, which were called “*kruzhok*” (“mugs”) and were not considered as contributions.⁶⁴

On May 30, 1836, the case was heard again at the meeting of the Spiritual Synod of the Pochaiv Lavra. It turned out that the book from the Lavra archives was kept in the “administration of the Holy Synod.” In addition, the Lavra hieromonk Mavrykii, who was responsible for the sacristy, donated to the Spiritual Synod of the Pochaiv Lavra a manuscript book – “Synodyk,” which he accidentally found behind a cupboard in the Lavra sacristy on May 5, 1836.⁶⁵ The value of the “Synodyk” was that it contained the records, which listed all the donors before the conclusion of the union in 1596 and up to 1831. Using the received data, it was decided to compile three lists: the first included people who donated to the monastery before 1712; the second contained persons who made donations from 1712; the third consisted of donors whose names were not dated.⁶⁶ Later it became clear that it was advisable to make two lists: “List 1. The builders and donors who donated to the Pochaiv Monastery for their eternal remembrance in it until 1712, that was, as long as Orthodoxy existed in that monastery as well; List 2. The builders and donors who donated to the Pochaiv Monastery for their eternal remembrance in it from 1712 to 1832, when the monastery was owned by the Basilians.” The amounts of donations were calculated. According to the first list, they amounted to 208,000 Polish zlotych, according to the second – 20,503,255 Polish zlotych and 765 chervintsiv.⁶⁷

⁶² Ibid., Арк. 30.

⁶³ Ibid., Арк. 35.

⁶⁴ Державний архів Тернопільської області. Ф. 258. Оп. 3. Спр. 55. Арк. 38. [State Archives of the Ternopil region].

⁶⁵ Ibid., Арк. 40–41.

⁶⁶ Ibid., Арк. 42.

⁶⁷ Ibid., Арк. 61–71.

On March 20, 1837, the lists were approved by the Holy Synod. Furthermore, on June 24 that year, Archbishop Inokentii (Maksymovych) approved the decision on the spiritual duties of the monks of the Pochaiv Lavra.⁶⁸

Conclusion

The integration of the Right Bank of Ukraine into the Russian Empire provided for the spread of the autocratic and synodal system of government in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere. The imperial decrees of the 1820s became a favorable ground for the localization of the activities of the GUC, closing of the Basilian monasteries and removing the Pochaiv Lavra from their jurisdiction. All of those actions proved the emperor's intentions to strengthen the position of Orthodoxy in the western region of the Russian Empire. In this context, the Pochaiv Lavra was conceived as a model of the Orthodox cultic and ritual practice of the Russian standard. The reorganization required some measures, including the introduction of continuous worship, strengthening the personnel of the monastery, delimitation of spiritual responsibilities, and clarifying the issue of ownership of the printing house. However, the administrative perseverance of government officials and hierarchs in replenishing the inhabitants of the monastery was hampered by the lack of monks of sufficient educational level and high moral virtues not only in the Volyn diocese but also in the monasteries of the empire in general. Due to the lack of a certain staff of monks, there were difficulties in conducting continuous worship in the three churches and in general ensuring all spheres of life following the standards set by the Basilians.

The emperor's decision to transfer the Pochaiv printing house to the Lavra was a disclosure of the policy of restricting and banning the use of Greek Uniate liturgical literature. In the future, a powerful publishing house was to provide the needs of the Orthodox with liturgical literature, displacing the Basilian seals also from the sphere of education and culture, and to become a source of considerable income. The purchase of the printing house at the expense of the Lavra treasury was the main point in the process of valuing the printing property and procedures for payment of its value.

The separation of spiritual responsibilities initiated by the government was evidence of levelling historical memory, cultic and ritual traditions, as well as outlining a direction of the ethnic and religious policy of the tsarist regime. Despite the difficulties, and hence the conditionality, of finding out the confessional affiliation of the donors and members of their

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Apk. 78.

families, in 1837, a new memorial list was approved for the performance of spiritual duties by the monks of the Pochaiv Lavra.

Thus, arranging Pochaiv Monastery, the leadership of the Lavra faced some complications, which slowed down the rapid pace of reorganization which the authorities expected. The forced introduction of Orthodoxy in a powerful religious and economic complex required systemic changes in all spheres of its life, which were closely related. Consequently, that process took place with the direct participation of senior government officials in the region.

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