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CATHOLIC DIOCESE IN KIEV AND DOMINICANS OF KIEV IN THE 14th AND 15th CENTURIES¹

ABSTRACT: The first permanent Catholic institution in Kiev was – from the 1380s – a Dominican monastery with a wooden church of St Nicholas. It was founded on the initiative of the missionary organization of the order (*Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium propter Christum inter gentes*, SFP) with the support of a small community of the faithful, mostly Polish and Genoese merchants, Lithuanian officials and soldiers, as well as the Armenians of that confession. Until 1456, it belonged to the Ruthenian Vicariate of the SFP, but the monks – as in other monasteries of this Vicariate – were recruited almost entirely from the environment of the Polish Dominicans. The stability of the monastery was guaranteed by the subsidy of Włodzimirz Olgierdowicz, the prince of Kiev district, half-brother and vassal of the Polish king Władysław II Jagiełło. That subsidy was given after he had assumed the throne in February 1386. The endowment included nearby landed estates and lucrative income from the grain trade in Kiev. The privilege of Grand Duke Alexander Jagiellończyk from 1495 increased the share of Dominicans in the income from trade in Kiev. From 1456, after the liquidation of the SFP, the monastery belonged to the Ruthenian *contrata* in the Polish province of the order. In the 15th century, it had neither novitiate nor conventual studies. The religious priests conducted missions among the local Orthodox Ruthenians and provided pastoral care for Catholic immigrants, mainly Poles and Armenians. The Catholic bishops, permanently or at least frequently residing in Kiev, appeared at the same time, for the Dominican monastery was their only support. Until 1430, they were appointed exclusively from the circle of the

¹ The lecture delivered on-line at the conference in Kiev on 22 April 2021. The following text is a summary version of my treatise dedicated to the Catholic diocese of Kiev in the Middle Ages and the Dominican order in Kiev of this epoch issued in the years 2010 and 2019 entitled “Biskupi dominikanie w średniowiecznym Kijowie”, [in:] *Klasztor w Kościele średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, eds. M. Derwich, A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Warszawa-Wrocław-Opole 2010, pp. 66-108 and “Dwa przyczynki do historii diecezji kijowskiej w XV w.”, “Echa Przeszłości”, vol. XX/1, 2019, pp. 107-128. In the works indicated, I include the entire critical research apparatus, i.e. the sources quoted and the relevant literature on the subject. Here, only the research conclusions with appropriate commentary have been included. In accordance with the requirements of the publication in “Nasza przeszłość”, this text is accompanied by footnotes, containing the main sources for the topic of the treatise and the most important items of literature.

Polish Dominicans. The last time when a Polish Dominican (Michał of Lviv) sat on the bishop's throne in Kiev was in the years 1486-1494. In 1412, the diocese of Kiev was incorporated into the ecclesiastical province of Lviv. This diocese formally encompassed the entire area of Kiev and Czernichów. In 1411, King Władysław II Jagiełło founded a separate cathedral (in a wooden building) on the Castle Hill in Kiev, near the seat of Lithuanian governors, and from 1471, Kiev voivodes. He also granted the diocese a sparsely populated land, bringing meagre income. Throughout the 15th century, the Kiev cathedral also served as a local parish. The clergy working there were few in number. From 1430, from the royal gifts, the bishop's dignity was given to the Polish clergy from both ecclesiastical provinces, Gniezno and Lviv. Only in the years 1473-1474 a bishop was a Lithuanian priest from the diocese of Vilnius, Wojciech Narbut, who came from a noble family. Under the jurisdiction of bishop Klemens of Widawa (1451-1473), two city parishes were established, in Żytomierz and Cudnów. The first one existed until 1492, while the latter did not survive the Tatar invasion in 1482. During this invasion, the chapel in the Kiev castle, founded by voivode Marcin Gasztold in 1471, also burned down.

KEYWORDS: Kiev, Catholic diocese, Dominican monastery.

Endeavours and failures

Against a popular belief, neither in 1320 nor in the following years a real structure of the Catholic Church in Kiev and the Kiev land was established, since no conditions existed, if only minimal, to create it. Principally, from the Tatar invasion (1240) there were no faithful in Kiev of this church denomination except for mobile groups of merchants (trading posts), predominantly from Genoese colonies in Crimea.

The jubilee of the first nomination for the Kiev bishopric of Dominican Henryk in 1320 celebrated in 2020, concerns the event, which occurred with no initiative of the monastery, and which was resultant upon the legal action and missionary plans of the bishop of the Lubuskie province Stefan, and Pope John XXII supporting his intentions. This action ended in failure and did not bring the actual installation of the Catholic bishopric in Kiev, nor the convent, nor even a Dominican missionary station in that city.

We know about this undertaking from two papal bulls (15 December 1320 and 16/18 February 1321).² The former informs that Bishop Stefan

² *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae...*, [henceforth: VMPL], ed. A. Theiner, vol. I, Romae 1860, No. CCLII, CCLV; *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam*

of the Lubuskie province, authorised by the papal indult to fight the schism in Ruthenia (i.e. to convert the Orthodox), appointed Henry, lector of theology from the Dominican monastery at Pozdawilk (Porwalle) in the Diocese of Kamięńsk in Western Pomerania, to the Kiev episcopal throne. Henry was summoned to Lebus, given the episcopal sacrament and a mission.³ He requested Pope John XXII to define the tasks entrusted to him. The Pope granted him a canonical appointment to bishopric (*designatio personae, collatio tituli*), explicating that the entrusted bishopric was “abandoned over hundred years ago”. This is a complete misunderstanding, since in the 2nd quarter of the 13th century a missionary bishopric for the whole of Ruthenia was established (which failed to be stabilised because of the Tartars), while never before had the Roman Church established a bishopric of the Kievan title. In February 1321, Henry was instructed to repeat his episcopal ordination at the papal curia in Avignon. Yet, the order to go to Kiev was not effectuated. Henry remained in the Reich as a suffragan of many dioceses, and died before 27 September 1334.⁴

Ucrainae illustrantia, ed. A. G. We łykyj OSBM, vol. I, Romae 1953, Nos. 37, 38; *Bullarium Poloniae*, [henceforth: BP], eds. S. Kuraś, I. Sułkowska-Kurasowa, vol. I, Rzym 1982, Nos. 1169, 1172. Polish editors dated the second document at 16 February.

³ There are some opinions that this episcopal sacrament took place „somewhere in Ruthenia”. There are no source materials to confirm this. See: W. Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji Kościoła łacińskiego na Rusi*, Lwów 1904, pp. 200-201; A. Weiss, *Organizacja diecezji lubuskiej w średniowieczu*, Lublin 1977, pp. 49, 82.

⁴ Abraham, *op. cit.*, p. 20; P. Nitecki, *Biskupi Kościoła w Polsce, Słownik biograficzny*, Warszawa 1992, pp. 77, 251; M. R. Górnjak, *Kijowska diecezja katolicka*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 8, kol. 1424-1425; B. Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich (968-1939)*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki, Muzea Kościelne” [henceforth: ABMK], vol. 19, 1969, p. 344; K. R. Prokop, *Biskupi kijowscy obrządku łacińskiego XIV-XVIII w.*, Biały Dunajec-Ostróg 2003, pp. 15-18. With reference to this issue, the old Dominican historiography and our Old Polish historiography dedicated to the Kiev bishopric was unreliable. Also the publications of the 19th and 20th centuries followed the wrong track: S. Barącz OP, *Rys dziejów zakonu kaznodziejskiego w Polsce*, Lwów 1861, vol. 1, p. 135, vol. 2, p. 32; W. Cichoński, *Kijów i jego pamiątki*, Kijów 1901, p. 300; K. Iwanicki, *Kościół i kaplice w Kijowie*, Warszawa 1931, p. 27; J. Biłousow, *Kyjówsko-Żytomińska Rymśko-Katolicka Eparchija, Żytomyr 2000*, p. 7; W. Osadczy, *Katolicka cerkwa w Ukraini*, Łuck-Lublin 2001, p. 23. The wrong chronology of the alleged jurisdiction of Henry in Kiev (1321-1350) was supported by the biographical church publications: P. Gams,

The failure was entirely understandable and justified. There was no single Catholic institution in Kiev, nor was there any Catholic clergy.⁵ As has been earlier pointed out, we know nothing about the community of the faithful of this denomination. The then Kiev was the impoverished town with no duke's residence in the southern peripheries of Ruthenia.⁶ After 1300, also the Orthodox metropolitan bishops left the city, going to Vladimir on the Klyazma River and soon to Moscow. Tartar supremacy was, however, acute and tangible. The economic life of Kiev moved closer to the Dnieper to the Podol district, where a large colony of Armenians lived and where Catholic merchants of other nations, Italians from Genoa and Venice, Poles and Hungarians lived episodically.⁷ The Genoese post survived until the Turkish conquest of southern Crimea in 1475. However, there was neither a caring political authority on the spot, nor a solid foundation in the form of an organised community of the faithful, nor an adequate clergy staff. Under such conditions, the success of the mission was also unlikely.

The situation began to change after the great political breakthrough in the 1360s (after 1362). The Kiev Land was incorporated by Grand Duke Algirdas to the Great Lithuanian Duchy.⁸ Algirdas established

Series episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae, Ratisbonae 1873, p. 348 and K. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, vol. 1, Monasterii 1913, p. 290.

⁵ F. Rawita-Gawroński, *Zakon O.O. Dominikanów w Kijowie*, Kijów 1912, p. 19, he wrongly wrote about the wooden Dominican monastery erected in this city in the first quarter of the 14th century.

⁶ M. Hruszewski, *Oczierk istorii kijewskoj ziemi*, Kijew 1891, pp. 441-442, 450-452, 455; W. Antonowicz, *Monografii po istorii zapadnoj i jugo-zapadnoj Rossiji*, vol. 1, Kijew 1885, pp. 224-225; P. G. Klepatskij, *Oczierki po istorii kijewskoj ziemi*, vol. 1, Odiessa 1912, pp.15-16.

⁷ M. Berlinskij, *Kratkoje opisanije Kijewa*, S. Petersburg 1820, pp. 17-19; P. Tołoczko, *Istoryczna topografia starodawnoho Kyjewa*, Kyjiw 1972, pp. 131-133; G. J. Iwakin, *Istorycznyj rozwytok Kyjewa XIII-seredyny XVI st.*, Kyjiw 1996, p. 55.

⁸ *Latopis Hustyński*, by H. Suszko, Wrocław 2003, p. 207; E. Rulikowski, *Opis powiatu kijowskiego*, Kijów-Warszawa 1913, p. 89; N. N. Pietrow, *Kijew, jego swjatyńi i pamjatniki*, S. Petersburg 1896, p. 28; M. K. Liubawskij, *Oczierki istorii litowsko-russkago gosudarstwa*, Moskwa 1910, pp. 23, 37; Hruszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 490; Antonowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 229; Iwakin, *op. cit.*, p. 59; F. M. Szabuldo, *Ziemi Jugo-Zapadnoj Rusi w sostawie Wielikogo Kniażstwa Litowskiego*, Kijew 1987, p. 60; L. Podhorodecki, *Dzieje Kijowa*, Warszawa 1982, pp. 63-64. Klepatskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-24, dated the rule of Olgierd in Kiev at the turn of 1356-1357.

there subsequent district principality of the Gediminas. Although as a pagan, he had two Ruthenian wives of Orthodox denomination (Maria of Vitebsk and Julianna of Tver), he respected the religion of the countries and people he conquered. In the Kiev Land, there was naturally the home Orthodox under the Lithuanian protection, but Algirdas also tolerated the Catholic apostolate. The Catholic group was still insignificant – few merchants and Polish craftsmen, merchants from the Genoese post and some Armenian Catholics (most often from Italian towns of Crimea), second in number to their fellow citizens, believers of monophysitism from the Armenian Apostolic Church (who had their own bricked parish church in Podol).⁹

The lugubrious situation of the Catholics in Kiev at that time is shown by Pope Gregory XI's letter of 16 February 1375 to the Polish Episcopate: the Archbishop of Gniezno, the bishops of Krakow and Płock, in which the Pope asks whether there was even a Catholic parish in Kiev.¹⁰ So not only was there no bishopric, but also no parish. In the encyclical "Debitum pastoralis officii" of 1375, the same Pope erecting a Catholic ecclesiastical province with its seat in Halicz (from 1412 in Lviv) with adjacent dioceses, omitted the Kiev bishopric, since it did not exist, and there were no conditions to form it in accordance with the canonical law. The Holy See knew from the Polish priests that there were no Catholic temples in Kiev and no major centres of the faithful of this confession. In 1378, the Dominican Order established in the territory of the existing contrata of the Polish Dominican Province the Ruthenian vicariate of the missionary organization under the name *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium propter Christum inter gentes* [SFP]. All the monasteries functioning in the area were incorporated into this monastic structure, which was staffed by Polish friars and which operated until 1456 in Ruthenia among both numerous Polish and German settlers integrated into the Kingdom of Poland and native population. In vain will we search there the brothers from Kiev – in 1378, there was no monastery of their own at the Dnieper River.

In such circumstances, the decision was made to reach for the Armenians. Between 1371 and 1378, **Jacob**, a monk of the Armenian

⁹ Pietrow, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Iwakin, *op. cit.*, pp.146,151,155.

¹⁰ VMPL, vol. I, No. DCCCCLXVI, pp. 718-719; BP, vol. II, Rzym 1985, No. 2203.

Basilian Order, is mentioned in numerous documents.¹¹ This order, from 1355 subordinate to the Dominicans, was (like the other Armenian order of the Uniate Brothers) a Catholic corporation using Latin liturgy in the Armenian language (*grabar*). Jacob bore the title *episcopus Kioviensis*, therefore it appears to be clear that he was ordained for all the Catholics in Kiev, not only for the Armenians.¹² It was a clever move for they relied on a large number of converts among a numerous group of Armenians in Kiev Podol.¹³ Yet even this failed: the Armenian Catholics did not have a separate church and their Monophysite countrymen reacted with reluctance to the Roman and Latin apostolate, even if practised in their native language. Anyway, Jacob was only active in Lviv, where his participation in various legal actions between 9 March 1371 and 18 May 1378 is documented.¹⁴ There he died in a Dominican monastery. In this city of the Magdeburg law, populated by Polish and German bourgeoisie, among his fellow countrymen of the Catholic faith, he could freely operate under the patronage of the Catholic authority (then in the Hungarian administration under Prince Władysław Opolski). In turn, he did not have his own seat in Kiev, and so he stayed there only sporadically. We can, therefore, see that the next attempt to install the Kiev bishopric of the Dominican provenance (Jacob belonged to this formation) did not produce a desired result.

¹¹ Old Church historiography (including the Dominican one) provided a lot of inaccurate information about him; study: T. M. Trajd os, *Biskupi dominikanie...*, 69. Nitecki, *op. cit.*, p. 86; Biłousow, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Górniak, *op. cit.*, kol. 1425, did not avoid mistakes as well, but at least noted the correct dates appearing in the sources.

¹² The extent of Jacob's competence and title of dignity could not be dealt with: W. Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji...*, p. 352; *Idem*, *Uzupełniony katalog dawnych łacińskich biskupów katolickich*, „Collectanea Theologica”, vol. 18, 1937, p. 414. Podobną niepewność zachował K. R. Prokop, *Biskupi kijowscy...*, pp. 16-17; *Idem*, *Biskupi pomocniczy w diecezjach polskich w dobie przedtrydenckiej (2 poł. XIII w.-I poł. XVI w.)*, Kraków 2002, pp. 319-320.

¹³ Researchers of the history of the Armenians in Poland have been unable to determine the extent of Jacob's jurisdiction. The contemporary historian studying the Polish Armenians has changed his views several times on the said issue: K. Stopka, *Początki organizacji Kościoła ormiańskiego na Rusi*, Warszawa 1983, p. 8; *Idem*, *Ormianie w Polsce dawnej i dzisiejszej*, Kraków 2000, p. 37; *Idem*, *Odpust bocheński z 1354 roku i jego ormiański kontekst*, [in:] *Polska i jej sąsiedzi w późnym średniowieczu*, Kraków 2000, p. 73, fn. 89; *Idem*, *Armenia christiana*, Kraków 2002, pp. 260-261.

¹⁴ See also, AGZ, vol. I, No. 22.

The last such attempt took place at the beginning of the 1380s. We know from the chronicles of Janek of Czarnków that a Dominican monk **Nicholas** who was then the suffragan bishop of Gniezno and who died in 1383, was also a titular bishop of Kiev. As can be inferred, he never visited Kiev.¹⁵

The successful breakthrough: the Dominican monastery and the first bishops residing in Kiev

Better times were approaching. Decisive was the patronage of the Grand Prince of Kiev Vladir Olgerdovich, of Orthodox denomination, loyal to his stepbrother, the Grand Duke of Lithuania Jagiełło, from 1386 the King of Poland known as Władysław II.¹⁶ Vladimir paid homage to the King of Poland in Krakow, maintained vassal allegiance towards the Kingdom of Poland and often stayed in its capital. During his rule in Kiev, we can observe significant economic development of the town after a long period of stagnation.¹⁷ Podol grew to the level of the emporium of the transit wholesale, it contained the production centre of a few craft branches. Vladimir Olgerdovich gave consent to found the **permanent seat of the Dominican order** in Kiev. It certainly occurred after 1378, more so in the first half of the 1380s.¹⁸

¹⁵ Abraham, *Uzupełniony katalog...*, p. 414; *Idem, Powstanie organizacji...*, p. 313; Nitecki, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Górniak, *op. cit.*, kol. 1425; Białosow, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Prokop, *Biskupi kijowscy...*, pp. 17-19; *Idem, Biskupi pomocniczy...*, pp. 337-338. Cf. Biblioteka PAU i PAN, Kraków, ref. 4807, manuscript, *Notaty, zapiski... ks. Jana Fijałka dotyczące biskupstwa kijowskiego* [henceforth: *Noty Fijałka*], p. 964.

¹⁶ On the chronology of the rule in Kiev of Vladimir Olgerdovich, see: F. M. Szabuldo, *Wkluczennia Kyjiwśkoho knjazistwa do skladu Litowskoji derżawi u druhij polowyni XIV st.*, „Ukrajnińskij Istorycznyj Żurnał”, vol. 6, 1973, p. 84, 86; J. Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia Gedyminowiczów*, Poznań-Wrocław 1999, pp. 81, 83; *Idem, Rok 1394 w dziejach Kijowszczyzny*, „Pamiętnik Kijowski”, vol. 6, 2002, pp. 20, 24.

¹⁷ Pietrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135; Klepatskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 337, 339, 342-344; Antonowicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-255; *Istorija Kyjewa*, Kyjiw 1960, vol. I, pp. 116, 122; Iwakin, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 204; Podhorodecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-74; M. I. Marczenko, *Kyjiw i joho rol w žytti Ukrajinu w XIV-perszij polowyni XVII stolittja*, [in:] *Istorija mist i sil URSR*, Kyjiw 1968, p. 40.

¹⁸ The Act of the foundation of the Ruthenian Vicariate SFP of 1378 does not record this order. See: R. Loenertz OP, *Les missions dominicaines en Orient et la Société des Freres Perégrinants*, Paris 1933, p. IV, p. 1-2.

It was a breakthrough. The Kiev convent was founded following a formula called *fundatio mixta*: the wooden buildings of the church and monastery were erected by lay brothers and religious clerics with the help of hired professional carpenters, “poor funding” for the necessary equipment and decoration of the temple were granted by the Ruthenian Vicariate of the SFP, while wealthier believers may have donated some subsidies. The community of the worshippers, however, was still meagre – merchant families, mainly the Poles,¹⁹ the Genoese from the post and a still growing number of the Armenian Catholics. The alms and small donations alone were not sufficient to build this seat, even with the modesty of the new buildings and very simple furnishings. Financial difficulties were dealt with owing to the support of Vladimir Olgerdovich (see below).

In this way, the first Catholic pastoral centre was established in Kiev, providing catechisation, re-baptism of the converts, universal preaching and confession according to the privileges of the Dominican missionaries, who had a number of prerogatives under papal bulls, including dispensations and absolutions. The wooden monastery and church of St Nicholas was built in Podol, a district of the manufacturers and merchants, west of Zhytniy Market, at the foot of the Castle Hill (later Kisielówka) – the seat of the “Lithuanian castle” or political and administrative authority. It was the location ideally chosen.²⁰ It allowed the missionary and pastoral activities in the town,

¹⁹ Cf. *Torhiwlja na Ukrajinu XIV-seredyna XVII stolittja, Wołyn i Naddniprovszczyna*, Kyjiw 1990, No. 9.

²⁰ Most accurate about the location of this monastery were: Iwanicki, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 28, 35, Pietro w, *op. cit.*, p. 143, Kliepatskij, *op. cit.*, p. 336 and Iwakin, *op. cit.*, p.156. More chronological and localization mistakes were made by Rawita-Gawroński, *op. cit.*, p. 24, Ciechowski, *op. cit.*, p. 297, Podhorodecki, *op. cit.*, p. 62 and J. M. Giżycki, *Wykaz klasztorów dominikańskich prowincji ruskiej*, Kraków 1923, p. 89. Utterly incompetent were the statements of the Ukrainian authors: O. Popelnýčka, *Majetnosti Katolyčkojji Cerkwy XVI-XVII st. na kijowskomu Podoli*, „Pamiętnik Kijowski”, vol. 6, 2002, pp. 39-40 (a grave mistake in the date of the foundation, but the precise indication of the localization), O. Horbyk, *Katolycki chramy Kyjewa*, „Kyjiwska Starowyna”, No. 6 (330), 1999, p. 43; *Eadem*, *Rymo-Katolycki kost’oly Kyjewa ta Kyjiwszczyny*, Kyjiw 2004, p. 68 (mistakes in the evaluation of the function of this monastery, chronology of its establishment and its dedication); O. Braśławec, *Kyjiw prawoslawnyj*, Kyjiw katolyckij, Kyjiw 2001, pp. 21, 41-42 (correct localization, yet a mistake

and provided a guarantee of security – care of the Lithuanian administration. The monastery existed there for over two hundred years, during which it was burnt twice and pillaged by the Tartars (1416 and 1482), yet each time was re-built of wood. According to the Marcin Gruneweg's account (1584/1585), written in 1602, Poles lived in the vicinity of the monastery (the area of Jarosławska Street).²¹

And therefore, Dominicans in a natural way “attracted” Polish immigrants who felt at home in this neighbourhood. The Kiev Dominicans had in their surroundings elaborate craftsmanship and great trade, but more importantly, a multi-denominational urban environment.²² Kiev retained strong structures of Orthodoxy; in Podol alone there were six Orthodox churches, including two brick churches.²³ Apart from this, the Armenian (Monophysite) community was concentrated on Gnılna Street with a brick Church of the Mother of God (wooden since 1482).²⁴ Hence, the confessional and ecclesiastical rivalry was intense and difficult, and it must be remembered that in the Middle Ages both Churches, Catholic and Orthodox, applied re-baptism to converts.

Despite the collective foundation initiative there would not be a new Dominican monastery in Kiev, if not for the support of Prince Vladimir

concerning dedication of the Dominican church) and finally a set of errors in the publications: T. Pałładiny, *Rymsko-katolycka cerkwa w Kyjewi*, Kyjiw 2002, p. 25.

²¹ *Die Aufzeichnungen des Dominkaners Martin Gruneweg (1562-ca.1618) über seine Familie in Danzig, seine Handelsreisen in Osteuropa und sein Klosterleben in Polen*, ed. A. Bues, Wiesbaden 2008, vol. 2, o. 885; J. Isajewycz, *Ukrajina dawnja Inowa*, Lwiv 1996, p. 134; *Idem, Altana posered raju, Lwiv u 1582-1602 rr.*, [in:] *Lwiv, Istoryczni narysy*, Lwiv 1996, p. 30; *Idem, Mandry Martina Grunewega, malowidomyj nimeckyj opys Ukrainy na perelomi XVI-XVII st.*, [in:] *Nimecki koloniji Halyczyny*, Lwiv 1996, p. 38.

²² Ciechowski, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Kliepatskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-335, 339-344; Tołoczko, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-131; M. M. Szulkiewicz, *Kijew. Istoriko-architekturnyj oczierk*, Kijew 1968, pp. 52-53; *Istorija Kyjewa*, vol. I, pp. 116, 122-124; Iwakin, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

²³ Pietrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36; Berlinskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-109; Tołoczko, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-136.

²⁴ Pietrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-162; Iwakin, *op. cit.*, pp. 146, 151, 155; *Istorija Kyjewa*, vol. 1, p. 124; Isajewycz, *Mandry Martina Grunewega...*, p. 38. In 1475, King Cassimir IV gave his own law to the district of the Armenians (after Lviv) and a status of the trading post with their own parish church. See: *Kataloh dokumentiw z istoriji Kyjewa XV-XIX st.*, Kyjiw 1982, No. 2.

Olgerdovich, who wisely decided to give a donation to the monks (that is the foundation endowment, *dos vel elemosina*), most probably in the years 1385-1386, as the aftermath of the Union of Krewo, in which he participated as a vassal and relative of Jagiełło, member of the dynasty ruling in Lithuania.²⁵ He did it despite his ties with the Orthodox religion, perhaps under the influence of the Jagiełło's suggestions, around whom, from the date of the Catholic baptism (February 1386), Dominicans performed important functions of chaplains, confessors and evangelists. A new king supported the evangelist order by all means and offered help to the Dominican missions.

Vladimir Olgerdovich offered the Kiev Dominicans a lucrative perpetual income in the form of a toll on the trade in grain brought into the city and sold at the Zhytniy Market. This fee was called there "pokłodne" vel "pokładne", later "myto pomiernoje paszennoje". So far only the leading Orthodox church in Podol – the Pyrogosha Mother of God, 250 years older than the Dominican monastery, had such income in Kiev. And, hence, the preaching friars, newcomers in Kiev, received serious material advancement right away, only by the grace of the prince. Prince Vladimir's donation encompassed estate, so far in the conditional possession of the Boyars.²⁶ These were: the village over the Gorne Syrce (with income, profits, benefits) located near Podol, to the north of Kiev, and a Chłopacz farm called Pashnia (i.e. an estate cleared in the forest – an agricultural and livestock farm) near Hostomel and Irpin, a dozen or so kilometres away. The prince gave these estates without immunity, meaning that the monastery had to pay tributes from it, and the property was charged to the state by servants, stations, carriages and coachmen and labour performed at the Kiev castle.

The donation of Prince Vladimir Olgerdovich is known from a document of his son, Prince Oleško, issued in 1441 or 1451. According to my

²⁵ Deatiled, critical study of the source basis, see: Trajdos, *Biskupi dominikanie...*, pp. 76-79. Source publications: [J. B o ł c h o w i t i n o w], *Opisanije Kijewosofijskogo Sobora i Kijewskoj Jerarchii*, Kijew 1825, Pribawlienije, doc. No. 5, pp. 15-19; *Skarbiec dyplomatów*, ed. I. D a n i ł o w i c z, vol. II, Wilno 1862, No. 957; Vitoldiana, *Codex privilegiorum Vitoldi Magni Ducis Lithuaniae*, ed. J. O c h m a ń s k i, Poznań 1986, No. 15; *Ukrajński hramoty XV st.*, ed. M. R u s a n i w s k y j, Kyjiw 1965, No. 1.

²⁶ Rawita G a w r o ń s k i, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-36; Giżycki, *op. cit.*, p. 92; R u l i k o w s k i, *op. cit.*, p. 58; W. B o b i ń s k i, *Województwo kijowskie w czasach Zygmunta III Wazy, studium osadnictwa i stosunków własności ziemskiej*, Warszawa 2000, p. 83.

assessment, it happened earlier, for in 1411, since Grand Duke Vytautas, who took direct power over the Kiev land in 1395, issued the conformation for this privilege. It is certain that the original privilege was written in Latin, and therefore issued at the recipient of the grant, i.e. at the Dominican monastery. In 1605, publication of this document was made. From 1614, we have a credited copy, and the kings of Poland issued confirmations in 1614, 1633 and 1649.²⁷

The Kiev monastery, filled with Polish monks, could at last serve as a temporary seat of the Catholic bishops in Kiev. The first who could stay in the city was a Dominican monk **Philip**, mentioned as the Kiev bishop in the years 1383 and 1395, for some time also the suffragan bishop of the Płock diocese.²⁸ Contrary to the monastic legend, he did not appear in any document of the King Władysław II Jagiełło during the foundation, donation and erection of the Vilnius Cathedral in 1387, but the tradition about his participation in the Lithuanian mission should not be disregarded. Philip was ordained bishop of Kiev before 5 February 1383. He stayed in Krakow and most probably in Vilnius, but his permanent seat was the Kiev monastery of St Nicholas. In 1405, he most probably left Kiev for the reason of the fulfilment of the plan of the establishment of the Church Lithuanian Province by Vytautas, encompassing also the Kiev diocese. In view of the imminent failure of this plan, already in 1406, he returned to Kiev, but for a short time, since the end of his life he spent in the Dominican monastery in Lublin, which he donated and where he was buried before the autumn of 1410.²⁹

At this point, we shall explain the conception of Vytautas in the sphere of the ecclesiastical policy, but against the background of the geopolitical changes in the Kiev land at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. From 1385, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania functioned as a multitude of district principalities of a fief character to the Kingdom of Poland. From 1392, Vytautas, with the King's consent, commenced to consolidate the principalities by removing the Gediminas dynasty. In 1394, Vladimir was transferred from Kiev to the small principality

²⁷ More on these documents, see: T r a j d o s, *Biskupi dominikanie...*, pp. 76-77.

²⁸ P r o k o p, *Biskupi kijowscy...*, p.19; *Idem, Biskupi pomocniczy...*, pp. 211-212.

²⁹ *Idem, Biskupi kijowscy...*, p. 20; A b r a h a m, *Uzupełniony katalog...*, p. 415; J. D ł u g o s z, *Liber Beneficiorum*, ed. A. P r z e ż d z i e c k i, vol. III, Kraków 1864, pp. 458-459.

of Kapył-Slusk. The King returned the Kiev principality to his most beloved brother Ivan Skirgaila, who at the end of 1394 was poisoned by a group of Kliros and Boyars.³⁰ From 1395, the Kiev Land was taken over by a Catholic, Duke Vytautas the Great, from 1401, The Grand Duke of Lithuania, subject to the King of Poland. He ruled in Kiev through the governors.³¹ In the plan of the construction of the sovereign Lithuanian state (which failed completely) Vytautas also used the church instrument, trying after 1401 to create a separate Catholic province (metropolis) for the whole area of the Grand Duchy. In Kiev, he used **Borzysław**, abbot of a monastery that he founded in the spring of 1405 in Old Trakai in the Vilnius diocese. The indulgence bull of Pope Innocent VII (27 July 1405) presents him as the Bishop of Kiev.³² The abbot (a favourite of Vytautas) did not, however, have any support in Kiev apart from the castle. The Kiev Dominicans recognised the legitimacy of their still living and active confrater, Bishop Philip. Their position was shared by the faithful Catholics in Podol, and naturally the king accepted the succession of the Dominican bishops. In view of this, Borzysław quickly relinquished not only his illegitimate Kiev title, but also his abbot dignity, and disappeared without a trace from the pages of extant written sources. Vytautas's plan fell through.

From 1412 onwards, the Catholic diocese of Kiev was definitively assigned to the ecclesiastical province of Lviv, and thus jurisdiction from the territory of the Kingdom of Poland. It is worth recalling that the Metropolitan Archbishopric of Lviv was filled by the hierarchs from the circle of the Polish clergy, closely linked to the royal court. We shall as well note that in those years (until 1390, 1395-1397 and 1404-1406) the prestige of the Orthodox hierarchy in Kyiv increased, thanks to the presence of Metropolitan Cyprian, a Bulgarian by origin, who maintained good relations with Jagiełło, and after 1395 also with Vytautas.³³

³⁰ Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia...*, p. 83; *Idem, Rok 1394...*, pp. 24-25.

³¹ Pietrow, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Iwakin, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

³² The above issue is thoroughly discussed in: T. M. Trajdos, *Benedyktyni w Starych Trokach (XV-połowa XVII w.)*, „Lituano-Slavica Posnaniensia”, vol. 12, 2007, pp. 207, 238-239; *Idem, Z dziejów opactwa benedyktynów w Starych Trokach (XV-połowa XVII w.)*, „Przegląd Historyczny”, vol. 100, 2009, vol. 2, pp. 255-258.

³³ *Latopis Lwowski*, [in:] *Połoje Sobranije Russkich Lietopisiej*, vol. XII, S. Petersburg 1910, pp. 205, 218, 221; T. M. Trajdos, *Metropolici kijowscy Cyprian i Grzegorz*

Times of Cathedral foundation and Dominican bishop's jurisdiction of Michał Trestka

The period in question is characterised by advantageous changes in the new diocese. The person of bishop **Michał Trestka** (1410-1426 *post quem*) shines like a jewel. Likewise, difficulties arose referring to the functioning of the Catholic structures in Kiev caused by the old weakness: lack of a sufficiently large social background. The immigration of the people of the Catholic denomination was still insignificant in comparison to the autochthonic Ruthenian Orthodox population.

In the discussed period, the Kiev bishopric finally received the legal status, stabilising its existence among the Catholic Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, yet with the insufficient number of the clergy and the faithful its functioning was not possible in accordance with the canon law.

Let us begin with a profile of the bishop, a close confidant of King Władysław II Jagiełło. He came from a family of Polish nobility, settled in Sandomierz Province.³⁴ Already as a priest of the Dominican Order and a well-known missionary, in 1404, he endowed the hospital of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem in Żarnowiec. In 1422, he donated a piece of his family estate in Gębartowa Wola to the same hospital. In 1425, he persuaded the king to grant land for this hospital. In 1426, as Bishop of Kiev, he founded a literary fraternity at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Żarnowiec and headed it with his own chaplain. Thus, we can state that he was a protector and benefactor of the Order of Holy Sepulchre in Żarnowiec.³⁵ Most probably certain

Camblak (bułgarscy duchowni prawosławni) a problemy Cerkwi Prawosławnej w państwie polsko-litewskim u schyłku XIV i w pierwszej ćwierci XV w., [in:] *Balcanica Posnaniensia*, vol. 2, Poznań 1985, pp. 215-220.

³⁴ Z. M a z u r, *Michał Trestka*, [in:] *PSB*, vol. 20, pp. 617-618; P r o k o p, *Biskupi kijowscy...*, pp. 21-23; A b r a h a m, *Uzupełniony katalog...*, p. 415; *Noty Fijalka*, pp. 971-985; T r a j d o s, *Biskupi dominikanie...*, p. 85.

³⁵ *Rocznik Miechowski*, ed. A. B i e l o w s k i, [in:] *MPH*, vol. II, p. 802; *Zbiór Dokumentów Małopolskich*, eds. I. S u ł o w s k a - K u r a ś, S. K u r a ś, p. VI, Wrocław 1974, No. 1664, 1701; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, ed. F. P i e k o s i ń s k i, vol. IV, Kraków 1905, No. 1231, 1240; M. T o b i a s z, *Bożogrobcy w Miechowie*, „*Nasza Przeszłość*”, vol. 17, 1961, p. 48; J. W i ś n i e w s k i, *Miasto Żarnowiec w Olkuskiem i jego pamiątki*, Marjówka Opoczyńska 1934, pp. 11, 23-26; M. S t a r n a w s k a, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem, Zakony krzyżowe na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 1999, p. 85.

preferences and family tradition must have decided about this. At any rate, this was a unique phenomenon against the then relations between the Orders of Dominicans and the Holy Sepulchre. Michał Trestka was also engaged in other church issues in the Krakow diocese. In 1411, he certified a favourable verdict in a property dispute for the monastery of St Mark (Canons Regular of Penance) in Krakow.³⁶

From the beginning of his monastic career, he was strongly associated with the Jagiellonian court. At the request of the royal couple, Jadwiga and Władysław II, Pope Boniface IX gave him the dignity of minor penitentiary and permission for missions in the whole area of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania.³⁷ After 1389, Michał Trestka must have travelled as the “king’s man”, for instance, to the Kiev region, and thus became acquainted with the working conditions of St Nicholas Monastery. Already as the ordinary of Kiev, in 1413, he took part in the Union of Horodło at the conclusion of another Polish-Lithuanian union and signed its act. In 1419, he was a guarantor of the agreement between the Polish Crown and the King of the Kalmar Union (the union of the Scandinavian monarchies) Eric of Pomerania, and in 1424, he performed the honourable function of one of the baptismal fathers of Prince Władysław.³⁸

Pope John XXIII gave him dignity of the Bishop of Kiev on 19 November 1410 as the successor of the deceased Philip from the presentation and recommendation of King Władysław II.³⁹ Pope ordered him to reside in the capital of the diocese. When on 28 August 1412 at the request of the king the Pope moved the metropolitan seat from Halych to Lviv, he incorporated to this province six dioceses, including the Kiev one, apart from Lviv Archbishopric.⁴⁰ Hence, it finally received permanent jurisdictional affiliation, binding Catholic

³⁶ A collection of documents of the Krakow Cathedral and diocese, ed. S. Kuraś, vol. 1, Lublin 1965, No. 188; BP, vol. III, Rzym-Lublin 1988, No. 60; T. M. Trajdos, *Krakowscy „markowicze” za panowania Władysława II Jagielly (1386-1434)*, „Studia Historyczne”, vol. 25, 1982, parts 3-4, p. 375

³⁷ W. Abraham, *Sprawozdanie z poszukiwań w archiwach i bibliotekach rzymskich do dziejów Polski w wiekach średnich za lata 1899-1913*, „Archiwum Komisji Historycznej PAU”, series 2, vol. 1, Kraków 1923, p. 50, *Registrum bullarum Bonifacii IX*, f. 151.

³⁸ *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi Ducis Lithuaniae 1376-1430*, ed. A. Prochaska, Kraków 1882, No. 1184.

³⁹ Abraham, *Sprawozdanie...*, p. 6, Lateran regesta; BP, vol. III, No. 1277.

⁴⁰ BP, vol. III, No. 1398.

Kiev to the Church in the Polish state. These decisions were an important factor for not only ecclesiastical, but also political integration in the area of influence of the Polish Crown, even though Kiev belonged to the Grand Duchy and not to the Crown until 1569. This integration was substantially strengthened by the Polish Dominicans. After the decisions of 1412, the boundaries of the Catholic Diocese of Kiev were finally established. It encompassed the lands of Kiev, Chernihiv and Siverskyi, i.e. the then Lithuanian south-eastern Rus.⁴¹ Whether in the 15th century it also encompassed the Smolensk land is doubtful, especially as there was no Catholic church even in Smolensk itself in that century.

With the Kiev bishopric staffed by a trusted royal associate, the possibility arose for the **foundation of the cathedral** as a separate building and institution. This foundation was, of course, made by the sovereign, King Władysław II Jagiełło. According to my analysis of all the available sources and the evidence I have examined, I believe that this foundation took place **in 1411**, during the special and ceremonial visit of the King to Kiev.⁴² He was accompanied by Grand Duke Vytautas and his wife Anna; apart from numerous servants and valets, the monarch was surrounded by the dignitaries of the crown, the courtiers and chancellery workers. The church host was Michał Trestka, a bishop and Dominican, living at the time in St Nicholas Monastery. The foundation of 1411 was an act of thanksgiving for the victory at Grunwald the year before.⁴³ The patronage of the bishopric and cathedral remained the prerogative of the kings of Poland, together with the right of presence, i.e. putting forward the candidates for the episcopal dignity. The new cathedral, also wooden, stood within the fence and ramparts of the “Lithuanian castle”, on the Castle Hill. There is no evidence of its name for the 15th century. The patronage of St John the Baptist, the Blessed Virgin Mary or St Catherine concern the modern era.

⁴¹ K u m o r, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

⁴² See: T r a j d o s, *Biskupi dominikanie...*, pp. 86-87. The chronology of this event can be traced back to the thorough analysis of Długosz's annals, which contain Jagiełło's itinerary from 1411. Cf. A. G ą s i o r o w s k i, *Itinerarium króla Władysława Jagiełły 1386-1434*, Warszawa 1972, p. 58.

⁴³ Cf. *Relacja o stanie diecezji kijowskiej biskupa K.K. Cieszkowskiego z roku 1793*, author and editor: B. K u m o r, ABMK, vol. 62, 1993, p. 152, fn. 20.

Thus, Michał Trestka gained his own cathedral, but there was an insufficient number of the priests. He was therefore unable to establish the curial offices stipulated by law, there was no consistory and vicariate general, and nothing is known about the organisation of the bishop's chancery. There was no question of establishing a chapter. He probably brought a few, or perhaps more than a dozen diocesan priests from the Diocese of Krakow, and that was all. There only appeared a note of the bishop's chaplain. The predominance of Orthodoxy in Kiev was still crushing.

Following the example of Lviv and Kamieniec, the city Catholic parish in Kiev was situated next to the cathedral building, since there was no separate parish church in this city throughout the 15th century. After 1411, the Dominicans were left with the typical mendicant missionary and pastoral tasks, but they certainly had to take on quasi-parochial duties, for there were not enough diocesan priests. Incidentally, we do not know a single name of the parish priest or vicar in 15th century Kiev.

We also do not know about the date of the donation of King Władysław II Jagiełło to the Bishopric of Kiev. On the basis of the retrospective analysis, it can be assumed that it was the land in the upper Ros River basin called "On Orzechować", later referred to as Bisho's Land, and lost in the early 17th century. There were most probably desolate land on the Sejm River near Putyvl.⁴⁴ All in all, these were depopulated lands with no income. Bishops were also given the square around the cathedral. Nearby, in the castle complex, there was the governors' manor (from 1471 the manor of the voivods), the houses of the administrator, the steward, the treasurer, the usher, as well as the barracks for the army (the Kiev garrison consisted of the Lithuanians, Poles and Ruthenians) and the arsenal.⁴⁵

After the foundation and royal subsidy, the Kiev bishopric entered into the papal curial registers.⁴⁶ This indicated that the bishops were

⁴⁴ A. Jabłonowski, *Ziemia ruskie*. Ukraina, Kijów-Braclaw, Warszawa 1897, pp. 16,19, 561-565; cf. Kliepatskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-279; Bobiński, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 178-179.

⁴⁵ Much information is given by Długosz, especially on the castle Staff in Kiev. Cf. *Istoriya Kyjewa*, vol. 1, p. 116; Marczenko, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Popelnyc'ka, *Opys...*, pp.111-113.

⁴⁶ Abraham, *Sprawozdanie...*, p. 50. *Archiwum kanoników laterańskich S. Pietro in Vincoli, liber taxarum XV w.*; J. Lisowski, *De servitiis: communi et minutis*

obliged to pay *servitium commune*, i.e. 1/3 of the income from a known benefice in the year in which they took over the cathedral. The nominating bishop had one year to accomplish this and could pay in two instalments. This was due for the papal appointment. The bishopric of Kiev was taxed at the lowest rate of 33 1/3 florins. The annual income was therefore thought to be around 100 florins. This was a complete misunderstanding. If the Kiev bishops of the 15th century drew a quarter of this sum annually from their endowed estate, they would be happy. The Kiev bishopric was then much poorer than the bishoprics of Kamieniec, Chełm, Lutsk and Miedniki, which were as well taxed. And in the poverty of the subsidies it could only be compared to the Moldova bishopric.⁴⁷ In addition, every nominee had to pay *servitia minuta* for the maintenance of the personnel of Chamber, the Apostle Chancery and the College of Cardinals in the amount of 5 florins (from 1470 each of these 5 small fees amounted to 1/28 *servitium commune*).⁴⁸

The young and poor Kiev Cathedral soon felt horror of the Tartars' invasion of Edigu (1416) and instantly the wisdom of the localization was revealed: the castle defended itself, so the cathedral survived, while Podol was burnt and plundered, therefore the Dominican monastery required fast re-construction, which was effectuated. Kiev as well had to be re-built, for instance in the plundered Pechersk Lavra. Bricked Orthodox churches and monasteries survived, as the bricked church of the Monophysites-Armenians.⁴⁹

Completely unknown is Bishop Michał Trestka's involvement in the policy of the Orthodox church of Vytautas and Jagiełło in the years 1414-1418: the expelling of the pro-Moscow metropolitan, the Greek Photios (1414), the synod of 1415 electing as metropolitan of the Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian state Bulgarian Gregory

episcoporum Poloniae, Romae 1982, pp. 41-41, 46-49, 71, 81-83; M. D. K o w a l s k i, *Proventus Camerae Apostolicae debiti, Oplaty duchowieństwa polskiego na rzecz papieżstwa w latach 1717-1484*, Kraków 2010, pp. 47-50.

⁴⁷ Cf. K o w a l s k i, *op. cit.*, pp. 63,78-79.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 53-54.

⁴⁹ On this: D ł u g o s z, *Dzieje*, vol. IV, pp. 181-183; *Latopis Lwowski*, p. 231; *Latopis Hustyński*, p. 211; *Chronika litowskaja i zmojtskaja*, [in:] *Połn. Sobr. Russ. Lietopisiej*, t. XXXII, Moskwa 1975, p. 80; cf. Antonowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 258; Pietrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 66; Rulikowski, *op. cit.*, p. 91; Iwakin, *op. cit.*, p. 91; *Istorija Kyjewa*, vol. 1, p. 118; Podhorodecki, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

Tsamblak, and finally sending of the Orthodox delegation (1418) to the Council of Constance from the inspiration of the monarch to conclude the union. It can be assumed that Bishop Michał's relations with Metropolitan Gregory were at least correct, while with Photios rather antagonistic.

Michał Trestka established good relations with Grand Duke Vytautas despite being an exponent of the political interests of the King and the Polish Crown. On 8 November 1420, he stayed in Lutsk for a meeting with Vytautas and certified the document granting the aldermanship in Peremyl.⁵⁰ On the New Year's Eve of 1425, he was invited to Vytautas's castle in New Trakai, where he assisted in the act of granting aldermanship in Tykocin.⁵¹ In both cases, he was among the political and church dignitaries of the Grand Duchy, to whom he undoubtedly belonged as the Bishop of Kiev.

The last time he is recorded is on 22 September 1426. He died between the autumn of 1426 and the end of 1429. His burial place is unknown. It is possible that he was buried in the Kiev Cathedral, or at the Dominicans in Kiev, or else at the Krakow Dominicans.

The end of the 1420s is the time of the rule of the alleged Bishop of Kiev **Andrew**, also a Dominican. He is not recorded in the documents of the Holy See (papal and curial), nor in the royal diplomas. Yet, old historiography of the Dominican Order recorded him as well as the local Lublin tradition. Władysław Abraham in his catalogue of the Bishops of Kiev hastily undermined the authenticity of this person,⁵² however, the contemporary historian Leszek Wojciechowski showed fundamental evidence in the work on the reliquaries of the Holy Cross (2003) in favour of the probability of this monastic narration,⁵³ with which I agree.⁵⁴

Monastic historians portrayed Andrew as a Polish Dominican of the plebeian origin, monk of the Krakow monastery. He must have received

⁵⁰ *Vitoldiana* No. 185.

⁵¹ *Vitoldiana* No. 187; I. Daniłowicz, *Skarbiec dyplomatów*, vol. II, Wilno 1862, No. 1427.

⁵² Abraham, *Uzupełniony katalog...*, p. 416.

⁵³ L. Wojciechowski, *Drzewo przenajszlachetniejsze. Problematyka Drzewa Krzyża w chrześcijaństwie zachodnim (IV-połowa XVII wieku). Od legend do kontro wersji wyznaniowych i piśmiennictwa specjalistycznego*, Lublin 2003, pp. 330-331, 336-341, 345, 350, 366-367.

⁵⁴ More on this topic: Trajdos, *Biskupi dominikanie...*, pp. 91-92.

the Bishopric of Kiev from the royal presentation. Little was known of his stay in Kiev, but it was remembered that he acquired there the precious and miraculously powerful Byzantine relics of the Holy Cross. Forced to leave Kiev, he went to the Dominican monastery in Lublin (like his predecessor Philip). As a result of miraculous events, he left his relics behind and was also buried there. The legend contains a plot with the so-called *topoi* – about the supernatural apprehension of the bishop in Lublin, about the first miracles (1434) caused by the relics. As is well known, the relics of the Holy Cross have received the veneration of pilgrims visiting the Lublin monastery for centuries.

The legend of the translation of the reliquaries on the route Constantinople-Lublin can be confirmed by the preserved Greek inscription on the silver plate covering the reliquary. A note included in the 15th-century antiphonary of the Lublin Dominicans (of the years 1434-1507), hence the early and reliable source, records the arrival of the Bishop-Dominican Andrew from Kiev to Lublin and miraculous events around the reliquaries. Despite the fact that this version was a different version than the one in *Liber Beneficiorum* by Długosz, the Lublin legend was developed and maintained by other historiographers: Walerian (1537), Wargocki (1619) and Ruszel (1655). The tombstone of the Bishop Andrew on the left side of the main altar in the Dominican church in Lublin was seen by Szymon Okolski in 1646, although it was damaged.⁵⁵

In my opinion, it is quite possible that after the death of the late Bishop Michał Trestka OP, at the end of 1426, King Władysław II Jagiello, in agreement with the Polish province of the Dominicans and the SFP Ruthenian Vicariate, sent another Dominican from the Krakow order to Kiev. In the Kiev cathedral, Andrew stayed 2-3 years at most. On his return journey, he stopped with the acquired reliquary in the Lublin monastery and there he died. The problem is that in those years the Orthodox metropolis of Kiev was again ruled by Photios (†1431). In this situation, friendly coexistence was out of the question of the Catholic and Dominican bishopric with this metropolitan bishop, who hated “the Latins”. And hence, the Byzantine reliquaries could not come as a gift to Andrew from the Orthodox or monastic treasury, as was claimed by the

⁵⁵ S. Okolski OP, *Biskupów kijowskich i czernihowskich świętego Katolickiego Kościoła Rzymskiego porządek i liczba*, Kraków 1863, pp. 29-31.

monastic historiographers. Perhaps the manner of their acquisition forced Andrew to leave Kiev hurriedly despite the fact of holding the formal care of the Lithuanian administration over the Catholic Cathedral. The Lithuanians did not wish to deteriorate the relations with the Orthodox clergy in Kiev, although Vytautas (†1430) despised Photios. It is as well unresolved whether Andrew acquired papal appointment and became the anointed bishop, or remained the royal ad hoc nominee administering the Kiev Cathedral in anticipation of the papal decision.

A period of confusion and stagnation

In 1430, the Dominicans lose their episcopal throne in Kiev for a long time. The bishopric, with their completely provisional structure, is entrusted to the Polish clergy from other dioceses. This period is characterised by the same problems: the lack of a parish network, a chapter, the offices of the episcopal curia and even a chancellery. Nothing is known about scribes, chaplains and confessors at the bishop's court. There was a constant shortage of pastoral staff; even in Kiev there were few priests.

In 1430, we observe a case of claims to the Kiev Cathedral of the Hungarian clergy, most probably inspired by a fierce enemy of Poland, Roman emperor and the King of Hungary Sigismund. Some Fr. Francisco ordered Thomas de Diaco, parish priest of the collegiate church of St Peter at the Eger castle who was staying in Rome, to pay *servitium commune et minutum* for the issuing of the appointment for the bishopric.⁵⁶ Although the taxes were paid, Francisco did not manage to assume benefice in Kiev, since it could not happen against the will of the King of Poland. The Polish candidate who won of the presentation by Władysław II Jagiełło was **Stanisław, son of Nicholas of Budzów**, priest of the Archdiocese of Gniezno. Pope Martin V granted the appointment and ordered that the bishop sacrament be accepted on 13 February 1430.⁵⁷ However, he did not enjoy his jurisdiction in Kiev, as he died in the autumn of 1431 at the latest.

⁵⁶ *Polonica ex libris „Obligationum et Solucionum” Camerae Apostolicae ab A. 1373*, colligit J. L i s o w s k i, Romae 1960, No. 323; A b r a h a m, *Sprawozdanie...*, p. 28, L i s o w s k i, *De servitiis...*, p. 74; G ó r n i a k, *op. cit.*, kol.1425.

⁵⁷ E u b e l, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 290, provides the date of the appointment at 13 February 1430, L i s o w s k i, *De servitiis...*, Appendix, No. 150, at 11 February, A b r a h a m,

Perhaps he even did not manage to assume power. In the meantime, the time was bad for the Catholics in the Kiev region, because after the death of Vytautas (27 September 1430), Jagiełło's rival but still a Catholic, the grand ducal power was assumed by Švitrigaila, admittedly king's brother, a formal Catholic, but faithless, rebellious and very hostile to the Polish Crown.

The next Bishop of Kiev was the Polish priest from the Kamieniec diocese (church province of Lviv), **Stanisław, son of Marcin**, so far the vicar in the parish church of Corpus Christi in Braclaw in the eastern Podolia (c. 1436 this parish church together with the whole eastern Podolia was incorporated from the Kamieniec diocese into the Lutsk diocese).⁵⁸ This clergyman had the so-called reservation for the Kiev bishopric, issued by Pope Martin V already during the reign of his predecessor. He received appointment on 19 November 1431, and in the autumn of 1432, he made the visit *ad limina* prescribed by law in the papal Curia in Rome.⁵⁹ In June of 1432, he paid a small amount from *servitium minutum*, and on 4 July he made a promise to pay the first instalment of *servitium commune* within half a year, and the second instalment in the following one. Owing to the poverty of the bishopric, Pope Eugene IV (from 1431) allowed him to keep the presbytery in Braclaw with the income. The above Pope granted the first **indulgence privilege** for the bishop's supplication of Stanisław on 29 June 1432. The faithful were to be given indulgence of 4 years and 4 *quadragesima* for visiting the cathedral on particular feasts.⁶⁰ It referred to the enrichment of the religious life of the small Catholic community in Kiev.

Bishop Stanisław son of Marcin ruled for quite a long time, since he died before the summer of 1439. He certainly struggled with the reluctant

Uzupełniony katalog..., s. 415, at 16 February, whereas BP, vol. IV, Romae-Lublina 1992, No. 2429, at 17 February 1430 for the bull with reference to the sacrament, whereas under No. 2535 at 13 February 1431 for the act of appointment. The corrected date of the appointment was determined by Kowalski, *op. cit.*, p. 261 for 13 February 1430, see: Noty Fijałka, pp. 988-989; Nitecki, *op. cit.*, p. 194; Biłousow, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁵⁸ T. M. Trajdos, *Kościół Katolicki na średniowiecznym Podolu*, [in:] *Kościół chrześcijański na Podolu*, ed. T. M. Trajdos, Warszawa 2015, pp. 142-145.

⁵⁹ Lisowski, *De servitiis...*, *Apendix*, No. 155; BP, vol. V, Romae-Lublina 1995, No. 59, 361; Abraham, *Sprawozdanie...*, p. 7; *Idem, Uzupełniony katalog...*, p. 415; Kowalski, *op. cit.*, pp. 80,87, 261.

⁶⁰ BP, vol. V, No. 140.

Polish Catholic rule of Švitrigaila in Kiev from 1432 to 1438. This prince, after being expelled from Lithuania, resided in Kiev at the castle from 1435 to 1438.

The situation improved in 1440, when the new Grand Duke of Lithuania Casimir Jagiellon, son of King Właysław II, king of Poland from 1447, entrusted the Kiev district to his cousin Oelko Vladimirovich, prince of Kapył and Slutsk, and after his death in 1454 to his son Simon.⁶¹ They received only the lifetime administration of this district under the political authority of the monarch. These last princes of Kiev, Lithuanian by lineage, but spiritually ruthenised, had considerable authority over Orthodox church patronage, the judiciary, the economy and field administration. At the end of 1470, the dying Simon sent a valuable gift to the king and entrusted him with the care of his family. Both princes are buried in the Pechersk Lavra.

These orthodox princes, like their father Vladimir Olgerdovich respected the Catholic clergy, cared about the Dominican monastery and did not breach freedoms of the Catholic faithful. As I have already mentioned, Oelko confirmed the donation privilege of his father for the monastery of St Nicholas. The bishopric, though, was still weak – longer vacancies occurred.

The Council of Basel of 17 July 1439 accepted the report of the bishop commissioner about the vacancy in the Kiev cathedral after the death of Stanisław.⁶² It is not known whether any Catholic bishop stayed in Kiev during this critical period of the introduction of the Council of Florence in the Orthodox Kiev metropolis (1439-1441). Nothing is known about the behaviour of the Kiev Catholics, and especially the local Dominicans during the stay of Cardinal Isidore as the Uniate metropolitan (1440 and 1441).

It is also worth adding that the Catholic hierarchy of the Lviv Province led by the Archbishop of Lviv Jan Odrowąż (1437-1450) opted for conciliarism, that is the Council of Basel, and yet the Union of Florence was the work of Pope Eugene IV countered by the conciliarists.

⁶¹ D ł u g o s z, *Dzieje*, vol. V, p. 514; *Latopis Hustyński*, p. 218; *Chronika Bychowca*, [in:] *Poľn. Sobr. Russ. Lietop.*, vol. XXXII, p. 162; cf. I w a k i n, *op. cit.*, p. 102; P i e t r o w, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32; L i u b a w s k i j, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 70; *Idem, Oblastnoje dilienije i miestnoje upravlienije litowsko-russkago gosudarstwa*, Moskwa 1892, pp. 37-38; K l i e p a t s k i j, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72, 76.

⁶² BP, vol. V, No. 1535.

As a result, the Polish Episcopate of this province (and partly of Gniezno) referred with reluctance to Cardinal Isidore. It is also not known what was happening then among the Kiev Catholics.

Not until in the letter of Pope Nicholas V of 27 April 1448 the next Bishop of Kiev is mentioned, consecrated by Archbishop of Lviv Jan Odrowąż (date unknown), most probably a conciliarist, who died before 24 April 1449.⁶³ At that time, in a letter to Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, the Pope paints a picture of neglect, i.e. the dreadful state of the Kiev diocese, devoid of an ordinarius and stifled by the “Ruthenian schism”. The status of monk John (†1451), known only from a royal document approving the donation to the Franciscans in Vilnius, was unclear. Some accounts record his title of the Bishop of Kiev.⁶⁴

Attempts at improvement

At the request of the patron of the Kiev Cathedral, King Casimir IV Jagiellon of Poland, Pope Nicholas V instructed by a bull issued in 1449 to ordain a Polish priest from the Diocese of Krakow, **Klemens of Widawa**, from a peasant family (Długosz: “of low birth”), but of great moral qualities (“righteous and noble”), as the new bishop,⁶⁵ whose family lived in the Sieradz Province.⁶⁶ For the Diocese of Kiev, this was an extremely fortunate event. The annual income of the bishopric was estimated at the time at most at 70 florins. Klemens was to be consecrated by two or three bishops of the papal obedience, and the consecrator, Archbishop of Lviv Jan Odrowąż (d. 1450), was forbidden to interfere. On behalf of Klemens, on 1 April 1450, the canon of Krakow, John, son of John, promised in Rome to pay the *servitium commune* of 33 1/3 florins every half a year in two instalments and 5 florins *servitium minutum*,⁶⁷ which he fulfilled.

⁶³ BP, vol. VI, *Romae-Lublina* 1998, No. 145; A b r a h a m, *Uzupełniony katalog...*, p. 416; P r o k o p, *Biskupi kijowscy...*, pp. 25-26.

⁶⁴ O k o l s k i, *Biskupów kijowskich...*, pp. 34-35; *Idem, Russia florida*, Lwów 1646, p. 58.

⁶⁵ D ł u g o s z, *Dzieje...*, vol. V, p. 550. In other editions: *Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, ed. J. W y r o z u m s k i, vol. 12, Kraków 2006, p. 321; Joannis D ł u g o s s i i, *Historiae Polonicae Libri XII*, ed. A. P r z e z d z i e c k i, vol. V, Liber XII, Cracoviae 1878, p. 583.

⁶⁶ P r o k o p, *Biskupi kijowscy...*, pp. 27-28.

⁶⁷ L i s o w s k i, *De servitiis...*, Appendix, No. 200; *Polonica...*, No. 439; W. A b r a h a m, *Sprawozdanie z poszukiwań w archiwach i bibliotekach rzymskich, a szczególnie*

Bishop Klemens of Widawa ruled the Kiev diocese in the years 1451-1473. He died on 13 June 1473. He is the only Kiev bishop of the 15th century about whom we know that was buried in his cathedral.⁶⁸ Two Catholic parish churches outside Kiev were established during his jurisdiction.

The first one in **Żytomierz**. It was a market town with the Lithuanian wooden castle erected before 1394 by Vladimir Olgerdovich, from the half of the 15th century the seat of the governor, from 1471 the seat of one of 9 counties of the Kiev district.⁶⁹ From 1444, Żytomierz possessed the right of free trade and tax exemptions. The town was inhabited by the Ruthenian people of various legal categories (hospodar burghers, private subjects, castle servants, boyars and landowners). Almost all were of the Orthodox faith. There was no Catholic population. Thus, the area was completely missionary. The decision of Bishop Klemens to establish a parish was not only courageous, but also risky. A wooden church of the Blessed Virgin Mary was erected (in the second half of the 17th century a cathedral was located on this site, expelled from Kiev by Cossacks and Russians).⁷⁰ In a subsidy from the royal will, the princes Olenko or Simon (from 1454) assigned the hospodar's village of Ivanovce, as well as the annual tribute to the parish priests: a fur coat and a vat of honey. The presbytery also received half of the hospodar's toll that is three score of Lithuanian groschen annually.⁷¹ According to the lustration from the second half of the 16th century donation included tavern rent and grain measure. A wooden cemetery church was built for the Catholics of St Nicholas on the outskirts of Kokryn, endowed with the village of Popowce. Its prebendary received tribute in honey and grain, he also had profit from propination. It needs to be explicated that in this town in c. 1471 120 taverns existed!

Archiwum Watykańskim w latach 1896/7 i 1897/8, AKH, vol. 5, 1902, *Libri obligationum pro servitiis*, p. 156; *Idem, Sprawozdanie... 1899-1913*, p. 30; *Idem, Uzupełniony katalog...*, p. 417; Kowalski, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 261.

⁶⁸ Długosz, *Dzieje...*, vol. V, p. 550.

⁶⁹ Kliepatskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-243; *Urzednicy województw kijowskiego i czernihowskiego XV-XVIII wieku*, Spisy, by E. Janas, W. Kłaczewski, Kórnik 2002, pp. 8, 138.

⁷⁰ *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego* [SGKP], vol. 14, p. 903; J. Chachaj, *Rozwój sieci świątyń katolickich obrządku łacińskiego na terenie diecezji kijowskiej do połowy XVII wieku*, [in:] *Ecclesia, Cultura, Potestas*, eds. P. Kras, A. Januszek, A. Nalewajek, W. Polak, Kraków 2006, p. 90.

⁷¹ *Litowska kaja Mietrika*, p. I, vol. 1, S. Petersburg 1910, vol. III, No. 38.

The invasion of Tartars of the Crimean horde in 1482 caused the destruction of the town, the castle and both churches.⁷² The parish church was soon rebuilt. King Casimir IV ordered the payment of Kiev tolls to parishes.⁷³ Accounts of the years 1487-1489 are also known. However, the parish fell after the death of the ruler in 1492.

The second parish under Bishop Klemens was established in **Cudnów**, also in the Żytomierz district. In the second half of the 15th century it was a rich and densely populated town.⁷⁴ A hospodar's castle with a manor stood there, managed by the governor since 1471. Cudnów was the centre of the hospodar's domain, with a toll chamber. Large fairs were held on St Peter's Day. After 1450, a parish church was erected, wooden of course, built with contributions from merchants and visitors of the Catholic faith.⁷⁵ He received the village of Serbinovka in a grant. In 1482, Mengli Giray's Tartars ravaged Cudnów, and the church burned down. At the end of the 15th century, the town was rebuilt, but the church was later reconstructed in a new location.

Although during the jurisdiction of Bishop Klemens we can observe certain improvement in the diocese, the balance of the creation of the parish organization was unsatisfactory. Only three parishes were established throughout the whole century in large trade towns under the attentive eye of the monarchical administration. It was then rather a failure than a success. It could not be otherwise since contrary to the regions of Ruthenia, Podole and Bełz (from 1462), within the borders of the Kingdom of Poland, no settlers moved in to the Kiev Land of "the Catholic nations" (the Poles or Lithuanians). Even in the district towns Orthodox Ruthenians took absolute hold. Churches were not to be built without worshippers, as this meant discrediting both the king and the bishop of the ruling religion. The bills of the Grand Duchy also hindered the immigration of the Polish gentry. Local boyars and landowners were solely of Orthodox denomination. Royal privileges assured them total freedom of native creed.

Despite this, King Casimir IV tried once again to strengthen the position of Catholicism in Kiev. This was facilitated by changes

⁷² K l i e p a t s k i j, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-241, 245; M. F. W ł a d i m i r s k i j - B u d a n o w, *Nasieienije Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossijiot polowiny XV w. do Liublinskoj Unii (1569 g.)*, Kijew 1891, pp. 7,77.

⁷³ *Litowskaja Mietrika* p. I, vol. 1, ks. IV, No. 18.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, ks. III, No. 37.

⁷⁵ SGKP, vol. 1, pp. 714-715; C h a c h a j, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

in the Orthodox metropolis and, above all, political and administrative changes in the Kiev region.

Although, in terms of the relations with the Orthodox Church, it was not possible to achieve union with Rome (subsequent attempts: the Uniate Metropolitan Gregory, supported by Pope Pius II, in 1458-1460 declaring papal obedience; in the years 1475-1476, Metropolitan Misael Pstrucz negotiating a union with the Roman Curia under the royal pressure), yet a permanent division followed of the Orthodox metropolis of Rus into Moscow metropolis and Kiev metropolis (with the residence in Vilnius) for the Polish-Lithuanian state.⁷⁶ This, in turn, greatly increased the influence of the Catholic monarchy on the activities of the Orthodox hierarchy.

In the political aspect the King decided to liquidate the Kiev district duchy and appointed an ordinary Kiev province modelled on the Polish-Lithuanian administration, comprised of 9 districts.⁷⁷ The first voivod was a Catholic, Lithuanian Marcin Gasztołd (1471-1480), regarded as a Pole by the foreigners owing to his erudite skills, mental culture and knowledge of the Polish language and Latin.⁷⁸ This appointment was shocking for the Kiev boyars and burghers. Gasztołd was an enthusiast and a benefactor of the Bernardine Order. Their missionary group was brought to Kiev who was entrusted with castle chaplaincy.⁷⁹ In this manner, he established a separate Catholic chapel in the castle.

⁷⁶ Makarij [Bułgakow], *Istorija russoj cierkwi*, ks. 5, Moskwa 1996, pp. 28-31, 41-50; E. Gołubinskij, *Istorija russoj cierkwi*, vol. 2, Moskwa 1900, p. 503; F. Papée, *Polska i Litwa na przelomie wieków średnich*, vol. 1, Kraków 1904, pp. 25-27; Kliepatskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-166; W. I. Uljanowski, *Istorija cerkwi ta religijnoji dumki w Ukraini*, vol. 1, Kyjiv 1994, pp. 36-39, 43-45, 47-49, 144-145; *Akty istoriczeskije sobrannyje i izdannije Archieograficzieskiju Komisijeju*, vol. 1, S. Petersburg 1841, Nos. 61,62; *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica*, vol. IX-X, Romae 1971, No. 4. The contemporary discussion about these venets, see: [in:] H. Lulewicz, *Problem identyfikacji postaci na Rusi litewskiej w drugiej połowie XV wieku*, [in:] *Świat pogranicza*, Warszawa 2003, pp. 104-115; L. Korsak, *W kręgu litewskich zwolenników unii kościelnej w drugiej połowie XV wieku*, [in:] *Polska i jej sąsiedzi w późnym średniowieczu*, Kraków 2000, pp. 324-326.

⁷⁷ Antonowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 257; Papée, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-79; *Urzednicy...*, p. 7.

⁷⁸ *Torhiwlja na Ukraini...*, No. 13.

⁷⁹ Cf. H. E. Wyczawski OFM, *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, p. 135; W. E. Murawiec OFM, *Bracia Mniejsi zwani bernardynami w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim 1468-1628*, [in:] *Pirmieji Pranciškonu ietuwoje*, Aidai 2006, pp. 122, 127. *Dobrodziejstwa Gasztołda dla bernardyńów gloryfikowała kronika Jana z Komorowa* (see: MPH, vol. V, pp. 224-225).

The time had come for the bishopric to be properly filled. After the death of Klemens (June 1473), King Casimir IV gave the presentation for the first time not to a Pole but to a Lithuanian of the noble family. At last, the position and prestige of the Catholic bishop gained new importance. This was effectuated at the voivode Gasztold, under the protection of the king and in a new administrative structure. The personal qualities of the elector, his social background and his relations with the court brought the desired results.

According to my detailed findings, **Wojciech Narbut** probably came from the family of the Trąby coats of arms, residing in the Niemenczyński district of the Vilnius voivodeship.⁸⁰ The royal envoy Jan Narbut, son of Jan was probably his brother. In 1475, he went on a royal mission to Livonia, and was killed there in a tournament at the castle of Kokenhausen. There is much circumstantial evidence that Wojciech Narbut was regarded by the King as a dependable person coming from a family of merit to the Jagiellonian dynasty. So far, he has been considered a “royal nominee” who quickly died or resigned, for there is no documentation about his appointment, but we have an appointment note for another candidate dated 29 October 1477, “in the 3rd year of the vacancy”. Yet, I found a splendid note in an account of the ambassador of Venice Ambrogio Contarini staying in Kiev in the spring of 1474 (on the way to Persia).⁸¹ At the feast at the Kiev castle, Contarini sat next to “the bishop” (*il vescovo*) and the governor’s brother, prelate Jerzy Gasztold, parish priest of the Vilnius Cathedral, in 1476 royal envoy to Venice and Rome regarding anti-Turkish alliance. Undoubtedly, it was Wojciech Narbut, who in May 1474 fulfilled the dignity of the ordinary in Kiev. Hence, from the summer of 1473 to May 1474, Kiev had a Catholic bishop in office.⁸²

King Casimir IV’s aim was to consolidate the political system of the southern lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, to strengthen the monarch’s authority, to reinforce the strategic borderland with the Tartar horde, and hence to strengthen the structures of the Catholic Church.

⁸⁰ My detailed study identifying this person and the analysis of his family relations can be found in: T. M. Trąjdó s, *Dwa przyczynki do historii diecezji kijowskiej w XV w.*, „Echa Przeszłości”, vol. XX/1, 2019, pp. 108-114.

⁸¹ *Cudzoziemcy w Polsce, relacje i opinie*, selected and discussed by J. Gintel, Kraków 1971, vol. I, p. 7.

⁸² Trąjdó s, *Dwa przyczynki...*, pp. 116-118.

This task had to be performed by trusted people such as Wojciech Narbut. He probably brought in priests from Vilnius and Trakai, from the cathedral and collegiate circles. He may have started a parish school in Kiev (a cathedral school was unthinkable under the Kiev conditions). The ecclesiastical historians of the modern era attributed to him merits in the educational and catechetical fields. Public support for these initiatives was still modest. Catholics predominated among the Lithuanian castle staff and officials in the governor's entourage. Polish merchants and craftsmen, still not very numerous, lived in Podil, along with the Armenian Catholics, fed by migration from the Italian colonies in the Crimea until 1475.

Bishop Adalbert left Kiev in the autumn of 1474 at the latest, since the papal legate Louis had to seek lodgings with the Dominicans at Podil, and in consequence the cathedral was again deserted. It is not known whether he died or resigned from his dignity.

Dominicans in Kiev in the second half of the 15th century

In 1456, the liquidation of the Dominican missionary congregation SFP ensued, including the Ruthenian vicariate. All the Dominican monasteries in the Ruthenian Land in the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy returned to the Polish monastic province, from which monks working there were recruited.⁸³ In 1474, the Kiev monastery was visited by papal envoy Louis, titular patriarch of Antioch, who issued an indulgence privilege during his visit for the Dominican monastery in Lviv.⁸⁴ Two names were noted of the Kiev abbots from the second half of the 15th century, Piotr and Maciej, in the obituary of the Lviv monastery.⁸⁵ It is known from the General Archives of the Order in Rome that in 1478 Father Enoch from the Kiev monastery was sent to the monastery of St Trinity in Płock as an organist. We can therefore claim that this monk embellished services in the Kiev church of St Nicholas with his play.⁸⁶

⁸³ W. Koszewierski, *Dominikanie klasztorów ruskich, połowa XV-XVI wiek*, Lublin 2006, pp. 86, 88.

⁸⁴ AGZ, vol. IV, No. 111.

⁸⁵ *Liber Mortuorum Monasterii Leopoliensis Sancti Dominici*, ed. W. Kętrzyński, [in:] MPH, vol. V, p. 543, 545.

⁸⁶ Abraham, *Sprawozdanie... 1899-1913*, p. 53.

From 1468, we hold records about the Kiev monastery in the acts of the monastic chapter of the Polish province. In 1468, the monastic priest Marcin was moved to the monastery in Horodlo.⁸⁷ In 1477, the monk Szymon Zemelka was sent back to the monastery in Sieradz.⁸⁸ We also have some information referring to crimes. In 1478, Brother Jan Dębek stole two silver patens in the Kiev monastery, for which he was sentenced to monastic imprisonment; the execution of the sentence was entrusted to the prior of Kamięnsk or Trembowla. Another monk, Szymon Grzymałka, went to the dungeon for stealing a silver-embroidered amice with gold applications.⁸⁹ The worst act was that of Jan from the Przemyśl convent, recorded in the records of 1489. He came to the monastery in Kiev, stole a Mass chalice and sold it to the Jews. He was sentenced to life imprisonment for committing this sacrilege.⁹⁰

It can be seen from these references that the Kiev monastery in the 15th century had a large staff and a rich supply of ecclesiastical apparatus (liturgical vessels and paraments). Monks from far reaches of the Polish province were sent there, and vice versa – Kiev monks travelled as far as to Płock and Sieradz. There is no mention of a conventual study in Kiev (school of grammar and theology).⁹¹ It seems that there was no novitiate either.

At the end of the century the Kiev monastery received income reclamation. In 1495, abbot Tomasz requested the Grand Duke Alexander to regulate the perpetual income and confirm the estate from the donation of Prince Vladimir Olgerdovich.⁹² The ruler complied with this request, conditioned the collection of tolls on grain trade (“pokłodne”) for half a grosh from the mercantile carriage and added water toll to the monastery from the transport at the Dnieper. In 1496, so far vigorous abbot Tomasz neglected to appear at the province

⁸⁷ *Acta Capitulum Provinciae Poloniae Ordinis Praedicatorum*, [ACPP], ed. R. F. M a - d u r a, vol. 1, Romae 1972, p. 93.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 108.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 110.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 117.

⁹¹ Cf. K. K a c z m a r e k, *Szkoły i studia polskich dominikanów w okresie średniowiecza*, Poznań 2005, pp. 86-87, 117, 140-146.

⁹² *Skarbiec dyplomatów*, vol. II, No. 2090; *Opisanije...*, p. 18; Rawita G a w r o Ń s k i, *op. cit.*, p. 29; *Katalog dokumentów...*, No. 5.

chapter in Lublin, for which he was dismissed from the office.⁹³ The abbacy was given to Marcin of Mościska. Brother Jakub Płachetka was sent to the Kiev monastery.

In summary, the Kiev monastery of the Dominicans managed well in these difficult conditions of existence in Kiev in the 15th century, preserved large fortune, cared for income and did not let it be removed to the shadow in “the sea of Orthodoxy”. If anyone contributed to Catholic conversion in this area during this epoch, it was certainly the Dominican missionaries. Between 1471 and 1480, the Bernardine friars from the castle chapel also had some success in this field.

The time of cataclysm and arduous reconstruction of the diocese

Wojciech Narbut was followed by elect **Jan**, a highly enigmatic figure, completely unknown to the Polish and Lithuanian sources. It is known from papal sources that in October 1477 he received an appointment for the Bishopric of Kiev.⁹⁴ At the time, he was in Rome. He paid *servitia minuta* and the first instalment of *servitium commune*. We do not know whether he appeared in Kiev at all. No mention specifies his further fate.

The next Bishop of Kiev was again Polish clergyman **Stanislaw**, the third of the same name in the 15th century in the Kiev bishopric. It is not known when he took over the bishopric. Yet, he survived the invasion of the Crimea Tartar horde of Khan Mengli Giray in 1482, which caused the ruin of the Kiev province.⁹⁵ The governor Iwan Chodkiewicz (1480-1482) neglected the intelligence and Kiev was taken by surprise. Chodkiewicz, Orthodox Lithuanian, former Vitebsk governor and court marshal, was to perform a function of a mediator between the Catholic monarch and Orthodox Kiev elite, but did not succeed in the role of a defender of this land. Tartars attacked on 1 September 1482, destroyed Kiev Podil, seized the castle (so far not conquered), slaughtered the defenders, burnt the cathedral, among

⁹³ ACPP, p. 122.

⁹⁴ K o w a l s k i, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 121, 261.

⁹⁵ K. Pułaski, *Stosunki z Mengli-Girejem*, Kraków-Warszawa 1881, pp. 24-25; Papée, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-91; Pietrow, *op. cit.*, p. 67; Antonowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 258; Rulikowski, *op. cit.*, p. 91; Podhorodecki, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Iwakin, *op. cit.*, p. 105; Władimirskij-Budanow, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

other things. The governor and his family were taken into captivity (in 1484 he died, as his daughter and wife; his son was ransomed by the king), as well as Bishop Stanisław with his assistant clergymen (presbytery) and part of the richer burghers. The king ransomed them too.⁹⁶ In 1483, the king ordered to rebuild the towns and castles of the Kiev province.⁹⁷ From 1484 on, the province was led by the third governor, Lithuanian Catholic, Jerzy Pac of the Gozdawa coats of arms, so far the Kowno governor. In 1492, the town and the castle were rebuilt. Dominicans from Podil were the fastest in reconstructing their wooden monastery and the church. The wooden Catholic Cathedral was again erected, most probably in the area of the castle hill, but its localization after 1482 is uncertain. In 1555, the existence of this cathedral was confirmed in the sources, yet no localization was provided. However, the existence of only the Catholic chapel was recorded in the accounts of 1552.⁹⁸

In order to rebuild the cathedral after the catastrophe of 1482, at the king's request, Pope Sixtus IV granted it a second **indulgence** privilege (the first was issued in 1432, see above). Bishop Stanisław died in the spring of 1486 at the latest.

He was succeeded by the last Dominican on the Kiev episcopal throne, **Michał of Lviv**, from a family of Polish or German burghers, a monk of the Corpus Christi Order in Lviv.⁹⁹ He received the appointment of King Casimir IV on 14 July 1486, and after paying the *servitium com mune*, he received the appointment from Pope Innocent VIII on 22 June 1487.¹⁰⁰ The late, well-known Church historian Jerzy Kłoczowski mistook this

⁹⁶ *Pisał o tym papież Sykstus IV w liście wysłanym do króla 1 marca 1483 r.*, see: A b r a h a m, *Uzupełniony katalog...*, p. 417.

⁹⁷ *Źródła do dziejów Polski wydawane przez Mikołaja Malinowskiego i Aleksandra Przędzieckiego*, vol. II, Wilno 1844, pp. 119-120; P a p é e, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95, 103; K l i e p a t s k i j, *op. cit.*, p. 330; W ł a d i m i r s k i j - B u d a n o w, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

⁹⁸ P o p e l n y ć k a, *Majetności...*, p. 39; *Eadem, Opys...*, p. 113; H o r b y k, *Katolickie świątynie...*, p. 43; Z. A n d r z e j e w s k i, *Kościół i kaplice katolickie w Kijowie*, „Pamiętnik Kijowski”, vol. 3, 1966, p. 212; J. G r z y w a c z, *Nominacje biskupów w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Lublin 1960, p. 95.

⁹⁹ The person of this monk is discussed in detail in: T r a j d o s, *Dwa przyczynki...*, pp. 121-123.

¹⁰⁰ *Lietuvos Metrika Knyga nr 4, Užvašynie Knyga No. 4*, Vilnius 2004, Nos. 13.2; A b r a h a m, *Uzupełniony katalog...*, p. 418; *Idem, Sprawozdanie... 1899-1913*, p. 31; L i s o w s k i, *De servitiis...*, Appendix, No. 311.

Michał for his namesake, the Dominican Michał Burza, vicar of the Ruthenian province, abbot of Lviv, the local lector of theology, who died in 1496.¹⁰¹ I have already corrected this error in several publications, and I take this opportunity to do so again.¹⁰²

Michał of Lviv found the Bishoprpic of Kiev in a complete ruin. The Bernardine monks left with Governor Gasztold for Trakai in 1480. The diocesan clergymen did not arrive, the cathedral was being reconstructed, the temporary castle chapel was rebuilt by governor Pac after 1484. Of three parishes only the Kiev and Żytomierz survived, but only until 1492. The parish in Cudnów had to wait to be revived until the next century. In fact, only the Dominican monastery in Kiev functioned normally. In 1492, the Kiev governor was changed. Prince Dmitry Drucki (until 1505/1507) succeeded the previous one. Bishop Michał died on 9 September 1494. It is not known where he was buried, most probably in the Dominican monastery, but not in the newly reconstructed cathedral.

The last medieval bishop of Kiev was Father Bartłomiej Soloznicki, the first from the scanty ranks of the local clergy. Pope Alexander VI appointed him on 25 May 1495, allowing the episcopal sacraments in Poland.¹⁰³ He held the jurisdiction until 1512. In 1498, he is still mentioned as an elect, as he promised to pay *servitium commune et minutum*, but never did.¹⁰⁴ He was present at the court of Grand Duke Alexander on 12 May 1499.¹⁰⁵ He was an ex-officio member of the hospodar's council.¹⁰⁶ Accounts of the Kiev steward from the years 1496 and 1499 show that the Grand Duke furnished the clergy of the bishop's presbytery with part of the honey tribute due to the ruler from this land.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ J. K ł o c z o w s k i, *Michał ze Lwowa*, PSB, vol. 20, p. 625.

¹⁰² See: T. M. T r a j d o s, *Kaznodzieje dominikańscy we Lwowie w XV wieku*, [in:] *Kaznodziejstwo średniowieczne – Polska na tle Europy*. Teksty, atrybuty, audytorium, eds. K. B r a c h a, A. D ą b r ó w k a, Warszawa 2014, pp. 150-151.

¹⁰³ A b r a h a m, *Sprawozdanie... 1899-1913*, p. 9; *Idem, Uzupełniony katalog...*, p. 418; L i s o w s k i, *De servitiis...*, Appendix, Nos. 351, 352.

¹⁰⁴ L i s o w s k i, *De servitiis...*, Appendix, No. 366; A b r a h a m, *Sprawozdanie... 1896/7 i 1897/8, Libri obligationum*, p. 157.

¹⁰⁵ P r o k o p, *Biskupi kijowscy...*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁶ K. P i e t k i e w i c z, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie pod rządami Aleksandra Jagiellończyka*, Poznań 1995, p. 80.

¹⁰⁷ L i u b a w s k i j, *Oblastnoje dielienije...*, pp. 844-846; *Torhiwlja na Ukrajini...*, No. 32.

It is worth recalling that it was thanks to Alexander's privileges that, from 1494, Kiev gradually obtained the Magdeburg law, which was so beneficial for the comprehensive development of the urban life.¹⁰⁸

Conclusion

The greatest success of the Kiev diocese in the 15th century was the fact that it was kept alive, although in the permanent provisional state. On the other hand, the Catholic state could not refrain from the structure of the Church of such a symbolic importance (Kiev in the 15th century had very little political significance). The bishopric in Kiev had no solid foundation in the form of the mass immigration of the people of Catholic denomination. The power of other Catholic dioceses in the eastern land of the Kingdom of Poland was created by continuous Polish settlement (sometimes German). Where this phenomenon was inexistent, the Catholic Church vegetated. Neither missions, in fact limited in terms of staff, nor even the care of the local administration sufficed. The example was Kiev. Canonical diocesan institutions could be established not until at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries. The parish network in the 15th century could not be extended to the whole territory, and also later there were huge problems with this. This was simply an Orthodox land for 500 years, inhabited by autochthonous people who were permanently connected to their own Orthodox Church. Fortunately, the Polish-Lithuanian rulers in the 15th century did not attempt to change this state of affairs by force. This was a wise policy.

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¹⁰⁸ Kliepatskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-327; *Kataloh dokumentiw...*, Nos. 4, 6, 7; Iwakin, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

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[For the readers: No manuscript materials (unpublished) on the Kiev bishopric and the Kiev Dominicans of the 14th-15th centuries have survived in the archives and libraries of Kiev, in contrast to the modern archives, which are quite abundant, see: the appendix at the end of bibliography].

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

Several accounts regarding the state of the Kiev diocese in the 17th and 18th centuries have been preserved in the Vatican Archives, with essentially no reference to the affairs from the Middle Ages. An account from 1793 was printed by Fr. Bolesław Kumor (see above). General visitations in this diocese were not organised until 1780, and they did not contain any medieval “memory”. In fact, the diocese lost Kiev as early as 1648 under the sabres of the Cossacks, and in 1660 the Russian authorities expelled Poles, Armenians and Jews from the city, and of course the entire Catholic clergy. The prohibition of residence for them all was valid until the reign of Alexander I. Therefore, we can observe the disruption of social as well as record continuity between 1648 and the 19th century. The Żytomierz diocese was formally the continuation of the Kiev, and in fact it created a new structure.

Numerous documents on the Catholic Church can be found in today’s Kiev collection, yet from the end of the 18th century. In the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine (CDIAU) a collection 442 (fond) deserves special attention that keeps acts of the chancellery of general governorate of Kiev, Podolia and Volhynia. We can find there detailed denominational statistics, description of the still preserved churches and remains of the Catholic monasteries, reports of political and social situation (actions and attitudes of Poles towards the invader), however, with no retrospection to the Middle Ages, which was indifferent to the Russian officials. The case looks similar in collection 486 (Kijewskaja pałata graždanskogo suda), where apart from legal acts we can find historical extracts, but not at the level of poor encyclopaedia (derived from the Russian works of historians-sightseers of the “south-west” country”). In the collection 2227 (Kolekcja dokumentów Muzeum Wołyńskiego) we can find (desc. 1, work 829) a notebook written in Polish by an unknown author of the mid-19th century – notes about the history of the Catholic Church in Podolia, Kiev Land and Volhynia. This text does not bring any revelations about the medieval presence of the Catholics in Kiev. The author’s knowledge on the subject was not as extensive as the one quoted in the publications by Rawita Gawronski or Ciechowski.

In turn, in the Library of the Institute of Literature of the National Academy of Sciences, Manuscripts Division, Ivan Franko Collection, fond 3 (Zbirnyk Cerkownych Materialiw 1780-1810), from the earlier Polonica we can only find interesting material from the times of the Uniate bishop of Chełm and then of Przemyśl Maximilian Ryło in the form of resolutions of synods, bishop’s decrees, pastoral letters, deanery and parish records. Certainly, there are no mediaeval records either in copied materials or in accounts.

At last, in the Institute of Manuscripts of the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, collection 160 [the Archives of the Kiev Spiritual Academy] the archive unit 2347 contains “Materiały po istorii katoliczestwa w jugo-zapadnom kraje Rossiji”. Hence, they concern the Mohilev metropolis during the reign of the infamous Sierstrzeńcewicz and works of the Polish Jesuits in this area. Reference number 18691 described as “Diplomata ruskie i polskie...” comprises in effect the letters and privileges issued in matters of ecclesiastical union until the time of Sigismund III.

The materials mentioned and plenty more, which I explored, are very valuable, nonetheless, utterly useless in terms of the mediaeval study into the church matters in Kiev.

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