CONCORDIA OR CONSENT. CATHOLICS *UTRISQUE RITUS* OF THE LVIV ECCLESIASTICAL PROVINCE IN THE ORBIT OF CANON LAW AND CUSTOMARY REGULATIONS

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Abstract. In the area of the Lviv church province the coexistence of Christians of the Greek and Latin traditions had developed for centuries. After the introduction of the church union in the dioceses of Lviv and Przemyśl at the beginning of the 18th century, the entire Christian population found itself within the Catholic Church. Despite the doctrinal community, Catholics of various rites were subject to different religious customs and functioned according to different calendars. During the widespread nationalisation of the local people on the basis of religious traditions, various national identities emerged, becoming more and more radical and hostile to each other. Hence, on the ecclesiastical level, initiatives appeared to alleviate tensions and introduce order and harmony resulting from Christian teaching. Concordia of 1863 was such an attempt at an agreement, which under the canon law consolidated the established customs that had been present in the religious life of Galicia for centuries.

Keywords: Concordia; Galicia; union; Lviv metropolis; rite

INTRODUCTION

The charm of the multiculturalism of the former borderlands was deeply rooted in the harmonious coexistence of various nations and mutually complementary religions, creating the picturesque colouring of the space where this phenomenon occurred. The lands of historical Red Ruthenia¹ were regarded since the times of the beginning of their historical life as areas of contention between Poland and Ruthenia, and the western and eastern Slavs. The shaping of the Polish-Ruthenian borderland is lost in the

¹ Red Ruthenia – the historical name of the area on the Polish-Ruthenian border, referring with its etymology to "the Cherven Cities". It is noted that it was not an ethnographic and permanent concept, but a geographic and changeable one. During the reign of Casimir the Great, Red Ruthenia became a part of the Polish Kingdom in 1340. During the reign of King Władysław Jagiełło, the name of the Ruthenian Voivodeship was given to Red Ruthenia [Glogier 1903, 212-14].



thicket of presumptions, contradictory historical testimonies, and mutually exclusive historical concepts concerning "the Cherven Cities" mentioned in chronicles. It is known that these lands, formed in the 12th century as an integral part of Ruthenia, were captured by the Grand Duke of Kiev, Vladimir the Great, from Poles in 981. In 1091, the Polish king Bolesław the Brave, during his expedition to Kiev, joined "the Cherven Cities" to his territories, which, however, did not ensure their permanent belonging to the Piast state [Koneczny 1920, 12-13]. Red Ruthenia was incorporated into the Polish Kingdom, first as a separate part of the state "Regnum Russiae", then as eastern voivodeships of which Lviv became the centre, the capital of the Ruthenian voivodeship, and also an important centre of religious life not only in the Borderlands, but also of the entire Polish state. Belonging to the Orthodox Church, or also known as the Ruthenian Church, and to the Latin Church, was a boundary between the Ruthenian and the Polish populations. The coexistence of these two nations went through a series of experiences, including religious ones, resulting from the relations between religious centres in Constantinople and Rome.

As we know, the only until 1054 Church of both the Latin and Byzantine traditions maintained dogmatic unity despite various adversities. In Rus, the divisions among Christians were not apparent, or at least did not occur with such a load of hostility and aggression as, for example, in the lands belonging to Byzantium. As the Polish settlement intensified in the 14th century and as a result of the organisation of social and political life on the basis of the privileged position of the Catholic – Latin – population, there were more and more problematic situations that required regulation in everyday life as well as conceptual solutions with a universal dimension. Church unions facilitated the formal regulation of the coexistence of Christians belonging to different traditions.

1. THE HISTORY OF THE MULTI-RITE TRADITION OF THE BORDERLAND LANDS

Leaving aside the dependency associated with the beginnings of Christian missions on the Polish-Ruthenian borderlands of interest to us, we must take as a starting point the fact that in the 12th-13th centuries the Ruthenian Church had its hierarchical structure there. Episcopal seats were established in Halicz, Przemyśl, Chełm and Łuck [Gil and Skoczylas 2014,

² "The Cherven Cities" – a term used in Ruthenian chronicles to describe the territories of contention between Poland and Ruthenia. They covered the area between the Wieprz and Bug rivers reaching in the south to the springs of the San, Dniester and Styr. The name comes from the town of Czerwień [Dominiczak 2018, 24-25].

62-63]. In terms of religion and culture, the Byzantine-Ruthenian character was preserved here, the Ruthenian population belonged to the Orthodox Church.

At the junction with the countries originating from the Latin civilisation circle - Poland, Hungary - the Orthodox and Catholic populations interpenetrated in a natural way and the areas of shared residence were created. In the territories of "Red Ruthenia", Polish settlement advanced, which intensified after the incorporation of the country into the Polish Kingdom in the second half of the 14th century. The borderland areas were relatively sparsely populated, hence the settlement movement from the west was quite intensive. The royal administration settled foreigners in empty areas, who founded new cities, gathered franklins around them, and expanded the economy and defence. Poles came to the Ruthenian lands not only as donors of vast estates, but also as a poor free people, petty nobility. The greatest number of settlers came from Mazovia [Jabłonowski 1912, 89-90]. The settlements of the incoming population, situated at the crossroads of trade routes and in places associated with the extraction of salt, became important centres of political and economic life. Along with this, also centres of the religious life of the Roman Catholic Church were established. In 1375, the capital of the Latin metropolis was established in Halicz, the second after the primate one in ancient Gniezno. Soon, in 1414, the capital of the metropolis was moved to Lviv [Urban 1984, 17-19], which assumed the role of the capital city in the region.

St. Józef Bilczewski,³ Metropolitan Archbishop of Lviv (1901-1923), described the situation of the Polish element in the Ruthenian lands as follows: "But not only the Ruthenians lived in the Ruthenian lands. For centuries, it was also inhabited by Poles and Germans, who came here to trade. More Polish merchants, Polish craftsmen and peasants settled here when King Casimir the Great incorporated a large part of the Ruthenian lands into Poland [...] The immigrant Polish and German populace lived mainly in the cities where the first Catholic churches and parishes were established. Soon Polish

³ Józef Bilczewski (1860-1923), Lviv Metropolitan Archbishop of the Latin rite, a saint of the Catholic Church; priest ordination 1884; studied in Vienna, Paris and Rome. 1900 Rector of the University of Lviv, on 20 January 1901 he took over the rule in the Archdiocese of Lviv. Merit for the development of the parish network of the archdiocese, religious architecture, Christian-social and educational activities among the faithful. During his reign, 21 parishes and 96 branches were erected in the archdiocese, 328 new branch churches and chapels were built. The last "primate of Galicia and Lodomeria", author of numerous publications, including scientific publications in the field of Christian archeology and dogmatics, co-founder of "Przegląd Theologiczny". In 1959, the process of beatification began, completed with beatification on 26 June 2001, and on 23 October 2005, he was canonised [Nitecki 1992, 30; Krasowski 1996, 32-36; Tarnawski 1924].

settlements appeared around courts in the countryside. If this Polish population was not to lose the rite and faith it was necessary to visit them with pastoral ministry as often as possible."4

Gradually, the situation of the followers of the Eastern and Western Christian traditions living together in the same areas consolidated in the borderlands. Generally, it coincided with the understanding of the ethnic composition of the population of the south-eastern borderlands, Ruthenians were Orthodox, and Poles were Catholics. As a result of socio-cultural processes in these areas, Polish and Latin cultures dominated in cities, noble houses, and compact Polish settlements. The Russo-Byzantine element was the basis of life of rural communities. No areas of residence were hermetic, and both Ruthenian-Orthodox enclaves – larger or smaller – existed in cities and towns, and Polish and Latin rite families were represented in almost all Ruthenian villages [Pawłowski 1919, 24].

Before the church union was established, both groups existed side by side, and with the development of the Catholic Baroque culture, the conversion to Catholicism of the Ruthenian elites (princes, boyars, nobility) and the bourgeoisie intensified. After the formal recognition of the pope's authority by the Kiev metropolis of the Ruthenian Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1596 [Osadczy 2019] and the actual acceptance of the union by the dioceses of Lviv and Przemyśl at the beginning of the 18th century, the obstacle of religious otherness in relations between Christians, Catholics belonging to the Greek Catholic and Latin rites disappeared. From then on, the practice of mixed – in terms of rituals – marriages, engaging in common religious practices, receiving the sacraments in one or the other rite become the norm. These tendencies were favoured by the policy of the Austrian authorities, applying the principles of Josephinism – subordination the Church to the state machine – equalising Latin and Uniate rights and promoting the emancipation of the Greek Catholic rite [Śliwa 1979b, 294].

In terms of the church, these areas included in the 19th century the Archdiocese of Lviv of the Latin Rite, the Archdiocese of Lviv of the Greek Catholic Rite, the Przemyśl Diocese of the Latin Rite and the Przemyśl Diocese of the Greek Catholic Rite. In 1885, these structures were completed with the Stanisławów diocese of the Greek Catholic rite [Śliwa 1979a, 630].

For the sake of accuracy, one should also mention the structures of the Catholic Church of the Armenian rite, established in 1630 after the union with Rome of Armenians, inhabiting the lands annexed to the Polish Kingdom in the fourteenth century. The Armenian population was a separate hermetic group, living mainly in towns and cities in the borderlands. In the

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⁴ Pamiątka pięćsetnej rocznicy śmierci błog. Jakóba Strepy franciszkanina, arcybiskupa lwowskiego 1409-1909. Kazania, Nakładem oo. Franciszkanów, Lwów 1910, p. 18.

18th century, however, the process of assimilation of Armenians intensified, as they merged into a common national group with Poles, especially in large cities. On the outskirts of the then civilisation influences, e.g. in Kuty on the Cheremosh River, the Armenians still retained their national and religious identity. As a minority nationality adding cultural colour to the religious palette in the borderland, they did not play any role in the tendencies and currents of inter-ritual relations [Obertyński 1974, 327].

2. THE PURSUIT OF AGREEMENT

The accession of the Przemyśl and Lviv dioceses to the union opened the door to mass mixed marriages, not in terms of denomination, but in the ritual sense. Representatives of the same denomination - Catholicism - united with each other in common families, without a problem for either party in connection with the possibility of betraying the Church or exposing children to apostasy. Poles and Ruthenians doctrinally belonged to the same Catholic Church under the authority of the same Pope, and living next to each other willingly married each other. According to Franciszek Bujak's calculations, at the beginning of the 20th century, 20% of Greek Catholics were married to persons of the Latin rite [Bujak 1908, 80]. Due to numerous relationships by marriage at the municipality level, in the interwar period, "all Polish-Ruthenian families were more or less closely related to each other. Only a few entered into purely Polish or Ruthenian marriages" [Sobków 1999, 16]. Well-known Polish ethnographer Eugeniusz Romer, describing the population situation in Galicia, aptly noted that the border between nationalities crossed the marriage bed here.

The general climate of the borderland was very special and unique. It was mentioned by an inhabitant of borderland Koropiec upon the Dniester: "On Christmas days, both Polish and Ruthenian, schools, the post office, the municipality and all shops were closed. The double celebration was fun especially for children from mixed families with sons and daughters, two Christmas Eve parties were prepared and Easter was celebrated in the same way, so that no one would be disadvantaged. It should also be mentioned that on church holidays, purely Ruthenian families refrained from hard work, prohibited by religious canons, and Poles reciprocated in the same way. The ceremonies related to the Epiphany, commonly known as Jordan, had a special character. The Koropczyk River ran near the church. When the procession was leaving the church to celebrate the service on the altar carved in the ice, the same procession was going out from the Orhodox church. The greeting consisted of the banners bent three times, then the priests greeted each other, to finally unite and go down together towards the riverbed. Ruthenians, in turn, or Greek Catholics, after fourteen days celebrated the

same ceremony on the same river, but not in this place [...]. The reason was that their procession should go near the church. The ceremony was the same" [ibid., 19].

The permanent coexistence of Catholics of various rites created a unique atmosphere of mutual getting to know each other, real everyday biculturalism, and harmony in interpersonal relations. Generally, at the church level, benevolent openness to the faithful of the other rite was maintained, and active participation in religious practices in both rites was facilitated. The "Polish" and "Ruthenian" temples were visited in great numbers by the faithful of both rites, the mode of celebrating services was commonly known. Indulgences were a special occasion for this, particularly those celebrated in famous sanctuaries. The famous Franciscan monastery in Kalwaria Pacławska invited Greek Catholic priests to indulgences to help them hold spiritual service for the faithful of the Eastern rite. In the Latin monastic church even the Blessed Sacrament consecrated according to the Greek Catholic rite was kept [Barcik 1975, 36-37].

A rather sparse parish network of the Latin rite made it impossible for an individual faithful living among the Greek Catholic majority to attend Mass. It was a standard situation that Roman Catholics visited local Orthodox churches during festive services. They obligatorily went to Latin churches, sometimes several dozen kilometres away, only during Easter confessions and for indulgences. Uniate churches, funded quite often by the Roman Catholic nobility, sometimes had the so-called "Noble altars", where occasionally staying Latin priests could celebrate services according to the Western rite [Pulnarowicz 1937, 36].

3. CUSTOM AND LAW

Before concluding the Church Union, that is, before formally merging with the Catholic Church, Orthodox Christians were outside the scope of the term of the Church. From the perspective of Catholic theology, the principle of St. Cyprian "Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus", which entered the official magisterium of the Church during the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, was binding. It was taught that outside the Church there was no salvation [Hryniewicz 1995, 59]. The Orthodox Church, which did not have such a specific religious doctrine as the Catholics, viewed Latin rite followers as "papists", heretics who had distorted the original, apostolic teaching. The customarily passed on prejudices and hostility, resulting from the experience of living under Catholic domination, accumulated. Any meeting between the Christians of both traditions could in consequence only lead to dominance by one side or the other. Usually, the dominant trend was the conversion of the followers of Eastern Christianity to Latin Catholicism, due

to its dominant role in society and a more attractive and culture-forming position in society. Ruthenian elites were converted to Catholicism quite quickly. They united with the Polish nobility in terms of religion, nationality and culture, becoming "nobiles Lachos" [Widajewicz 1925, 38].

The Polish and Ruthenian people living next to each other maintained hermetic separateness. Mixed relationships were rare, as each side – Catholic and Orthodox – not only cared about their own property and feared the transfer of their assets to the other party. However, much more was at stake. For Catholics, leaving the Catholic Church was tantamount to losing the prospect of Salvation! Allowing such a situation to happen was in the conscience of priests not only neglect but also a sin.

This would undermine the soteriological understanding of the reality in which, apart from the Church, headed by the Bishop of Rome, there was no salvation [Hryniewicz 1995, 59-60]. The importance of the awareness of the salvific adherence to the Catholic Church in the post-Trent era is evidenced, for example, by Jesuits' expeditions to the borderlands on the so-called "missio ukrainenesis", during which they obtained from the authorities of borderland towns exclusivity to hear the confession of those condemned to death, so that they could, after the culprits had joined the Catholic Church, provide them with eternal salvation [Załęski 1908, 193].

Of course, cooperation between Christians of different Churches in religious life, organisation of common services, prayer meetings were impossible. All these obstacles disappeared after the conclusion of the Union of Brest (1596) and the Union of Polish Armenians (1630), when the followers of the Eastern Churches recognised the pope's supremacy and the whole Catholic dogmatics and teaching. The relations between Latin rite followers and Greek Catholics as well as Armenian Catholics became intra-church affairs. However, in addition to the truths of faith - the inviolability of which in the Catholic Church was ensured by the office of the Pope – common to all faithful Catholics, there remained numerous areas which introduced diversity in the relations between the various Catholic traditions. This mainly concerned the difference between the calendars in the liturgical life and the celebration of holidays in the Latin and Greek Catholic rites. In the case of faithful Armenians, due to the intensified romanisation of the Armenian rite, obstacles of this nature were not so evident, as the Gregorian calendar was harmoniously adopted, Latin practices were introduced into the life of the Armenian Catholic Church, and the lack of national tensions between Latin rite followers and Armenian Catholics eliminated all misunderstandings resulting from the adaptation to the Latin rite [Osadczy 2000, 183-92].

When it comes to the common coexistence of Latin Catholics and Greek Catholic Ruthenians, the phenomenon of the functioning of two calendars binding in the life of churches of different rites was important. Greek Catholics adhered to the Julian calendar, attached great importance to it, because the preservation of the "old style" was provided by the articles of the Union of Brest [Jobert 1994, 248]. After the introduction of the new calendar by Pope Gregory XIII, the difference between it and the Julian calendar was 10 days, in the 20th century it rose to 13 days. As a result, religious holidays of both rites were not celebrated on the same day [S[zeptycka] 1926, 339]. The terms "Ruthenian Christmas", "Polish Christmas", "Ruthenian Easter", "Polish Easter" etc. became common.

Attending various temples, participating in services held according to various modes, and receiving sacraments celebrated according to various rites required the introduction of certain norms and rules. The sphere of married life in particular required the introduction of discipline, because after the union was accepted by the Przemyśl and Lviv dioceses, this phenomenon - as mentioned above - was common. In the pre-partition Poland, this problem concerned the peasant class, as the process of romanisation was taking place in the milieu of the nobility and the middle class. The customary rule of "ritus ruthenus ritus rusticus" was binding, the Uniate element was generally reduced to the religiosity of rural people. In this environment, however, the process of "Rutheniasation" - the adoption of the Uniate rite by the Latin marriage partner - could not take place on a large scale because the provisions of canon law did not allow it. In the Catholic Church the principle of the superiority of the Latin rite over other rites was a legal norm. The subject of changing the Latin ordinance appeared after the conclusion of the Union of Florentine in 1439 in connection with the cases of the conversion of the Latin rite followers to the Greek rite. Pope Nicholas V on 6 April 1448 issued the bull Pervenit ad Nos. Such practices were forbidden due to the assumption that the dignity and primacy of the Holy See also extended to the Roman Catholic rite [Skubiś 1977, 274]. This assumption was consistently observed and reproduced in other documents of the Holy See until the pontificate of Leo XIII. It was only then that the constitution Orientalium dignitas of 30 November 1894 made the rights of all Catholic rites equal [ibid., 279].

This led to an unusual situation when the conversion of the Uniate side of a mixed family to the Latin rite could be legally tolerated, while the majority of the folk stratum in Eastern Galicia were Greek Catholic Ruthenians. The Latin rite parish network was very scarce, pastoral care did not reach the faithful who sometimes lived even 40 km from their own temple [Osadczy 1999, 171-72]. Unable to be drawn into the Ruthenian Uniate element, Latin Catholics in mixed marriages in terms of rituals kept their religious identity, quite often losing their national and cultural traditions.

Attempts were made to regulate customarily the impasse situation in the area of legal regulation that arose at the junction of the relations between

two Christian traditions and complex socio-cultural systems. Practices of taking the father's rite by sons and the mother's rite by daughters were adopted. Such solutions were practiced throughout the entire borderland area, from Lithuanian lands to the territories of Subcarpathian Ruthenia. This solution appeared to be such a successful means of normalising the relationship between rites that it served as the basis for ecclesiastical ordinances having the force of local law. In 1714, the Archbishop of Lviv of the Latin Rite, Archbishop Jan Skarbek, issued "articles" to his clergy, which were the legal basis for pastoral proceedings on the level of inter-ritual relations. In ten guidelines, the hierarch explained how the relations of both rites should develop, assuming equality and reciprocity. The orders of Archbishop Skarbek covered not only the clergy, but also all the faithful of the archdiocese. He showed special sensitivity to the matters of the Uniate Church, which was guaranteed full autonomy of religious life, and at the same time, by defending the rights of faithful Greek Catholics, he prevented them from converting to the Latin rite. In the case of mixed marriages, a ritual was adopted to baptise children according to the rite of the parent of their sex: daughters - mothers, and sons - fathers. The administration of the sacraments by a priest of another rite should always be agreed with the proper clerical authority [Fenczak 1990, 178-80]. This document became the basis for regulating pastoral matters in the Archdiocese of Lviv, and also influenced the regulations in other Roman Catholic dioceses of Chełm, Przemyśl, Łuck [ibid., 175-76].

4. CONCORDIA

The status quo maintained in the relations between the rites in the 18th and early 19th centuries began to falter after the intensification of the nationalisation of the people. The Greek Catholic clergy played a special role in perpetuating disharmony in religious life after the Austrian authorities, on basis of the structures of the Ruthenian Church, began to create a political Ruthenian nationality hostile to Poles. The existing social and religious system ensuring order and peace in Galicia was destroyed. The Greek Catholic Church, i.e. the Ruthenian Church, became a mainstay of claims undermining the Polish cultural character of the country. The existing consent in inter-ritual relations turned into a battlefield of two hostile camps, churches, wishing to preserve and increase their possessions. The fight for the faithful was also a fight for national rights. The practice of "stealing souls" - unlawful appropriation of the faithful of another rite by Latin and Uniate priests became an established norm. Customary norms and legal recommendations gave way to nationalist doctrines treating neighbouring Christians as enemies. Moreover, animosity towards Polishness in Greek Catholics translated

into tracking and elimination of "Latin accretions" in the Ruthenian rite [Osadczy 2007, 115-34]. All common elements in the religiosity of Uniates and Latin ordinance were radically discarded, the reluctance towards Latin rite followers strengthened the Russophile sentiment among Ruthenians, and it also caused philo-Orthodox sympathies. The general religious atmosphere deteriorated significantly, the prospect of apostasy appeared in religious and political rhetoric. Local Galician affairs became an element of the great geopolitical game where the interests of great powers (Austria and Russia) and great religious centres (Rome and St. Petersburg) crossed. In view of the above, the achievement of inter-ritual agreement became an important religious and political factor ensuring stability on the international arena.

The Latin and Greek Catholic bishops started talks on this matter with the highest church authorities in Rome. On 19 December 1851, Grzegorz Jachimowicz, Bishop of Przemyśl of the Greek Catholic rite, issued a pastoral letter containing 10 points on which the future agreement could be based. In turn, on 26 April 1853, the Archbishop of the Latin Rite from Lviv, Łukasz Baraniecki, presented his vision of the problems and the way to solve them [Harasimowicz 1862, 1093-1095, 1102]. It was possible to come to the common denominator after the apostolic nunciature in Vienna and the imperial government joined the negotiation process. In 1853, a letter containing proposals for the regulation of controversial issues was signed. The joint position was presented by Archbishop Michał Lewicki, the Greek Catholic Metropolitan of Lviv and the Primate of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, Archbishop Łukasz Baraniecki, the Latin Metropolitan of Lviv, Bishop Grzegorz Jachimowicz, the Przemyśl Greek Catholic Bishop, Bishop Franciszek Ksawery Wierzchlejski, Przemyśl Latin Bishop, Bishop Józef Pukalski, Ordinary of Tarnów and Bishop Jan Bocheński, Greek Catholic suffragan from Lviv [ibid., 1116].

On Pope Pius IX's orders, the newly established Congregation for Eastern Rites at its general meetings held on 4 and 12 August 1862 reviewed the agreement between the Catholic hierarchy of both rites submitted to the Holy See on 23 December 1853. Additionally, the Holy Father asked the Galician ordinaries and suffragans to clarify additional questions. The provision concerning the manner of regulating the religious identity of children from mixed marriages aroused controversy. As mentioned above, the tradition established in the borderlands honoured the principle of baptism of the child according to the sex of the parents (daughters in the mother's rite and sons in the father's rite). Canon law, on the other hand, provided for the conversion of the Uniate partner to the Latin rite in such situations, following the still binding principle of the superiority of the Latin ordinance [Osadczy 1999, 108].

The hierarchs who came from Galicia were pleasantly surprised by the thorough knowledge of the "Ruthenian issue" in Rome. The meeting was summed up by Cardinal Alessandro Barnabo, the prefect of the Congregation for the Propaganda of the Faith. On 19 July 1863, the agreement was signed by the ordinaries of both rites and submitted to the court of the Congregation for Propaganda. In the same year, on 30 September at the general meeting of the Congregation for Propaganda, the agreement was signed with minor changes, and on 6 October Pope Pius IX approved the document by the Apostolic Authority and it appeared as the decree of the Congregation entitled *Ad graves et diuturnas* or *Concordia* [Osadczy 2011, 161-62].

The main assumptions of this document once again reminded border Catholics of the obligation to adhere to their rite and to refrain from the practice of unlawful conversion from rite to rite. When it comes to performing liturgical functions, it was emphasised that by participating in common church celebrations, one should observe obligatory discipline in one's own rite. The document once again reminded about the possibility of receiving the sacraments in various rites, but this should not mean that conversion to the other church structure should be made. In particular, it concerned the issue of family life and raising offspring in mixed rite relationships. It was ordered, inter alia, that: 1) there should be no obstacles to marrying Catholics of the Ruthenian and Latin rites; 2) according to the ancient custom, as mentioned above, a weeding is presided over by the bride's priest; 3) henceforth children of mixed rite married couples are to be brought up in the rite of the parent of their sex; 4) in families where it had already been established that children were to be brought up in the father's rite "to avoid disagreements in families and disorder in parish files", this custom was to be kept; 5) children born out of wedlock were to follow the mother's rite⁵.

The arrangements adopted under Concordia remained a beautiful testimony to the pursuit of understanding and to halting the politicisation of religious life at a time when nationalisms were awakening and attempts were made to instrumentalise religion as a factor in the national struggle. The bloody Polish-Ukrainian war of 1918-1920 perpetuated the division between Catholic rites as hermetic zones of the functioning of two hostile communities. Subsequent events connected with the Second World War further deepened these divisions. Concordia, however, was a testimony to the striving for agreement and the possibility of achieving it through mutual respect and sensitivity to otherness that had existed there for centuries. The spirit of Concordia survived in times of repression and communist persecution

⁵ Państwowe Centralne Archiwum Historyczne we Lwowie, f. 385, op. 1, sp. 165, p. 6; Prawo Kościelne w stosunkach obu obrządków w Galicji, greckokatolickiego, słowiańskiego Rusinów i łacińskiego Polaków, Lwów 1865, p. 238-39.

among those faithful Catholics for whom the awareness of the community of faith was something that surpassed nationalist prejudices and cultural differences.

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