

Building a Basilian Monastery in Krystynopol, 1760s–1770s*

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ABSTRACT This paper presents an analysis of construction practicalities in early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. With the extraordinarily rich documentation on Krystynopol (present-day Sheptytskyi in western Ukraine) as its basis, the paper investigates the story behind the construction site. First, it discusses the founder's, Franciszek Salezy Potocki, initiative. The author then proceeds to study the people employed and the materials used, explains how the architectural shape of the monastery was negotiated, and delves into patronage and funding. As the paper traces the roles of various actors (founder, Church hierarchy, Basilian monks, contracted artists and artisans, suppliers of materials, and regular workers), it reveals on-the-ground complexities and stresses the importance of multi-layer cooperation that had to cross religious and social boundaries.

KEYWORDS construction site, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Basilians, Krystynopol (Sheptytskyi), patronage, geography of construction

ABSTRAKT *Budowa klasztoru Bazyliańców w Krystynopolu w latach 1760–1770.* Niniejszy artykuł jest prezentacją analizy praktycznych aspektów budownictwa w nowożytnej Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. Na podstawie niezwykle bogatej dokumentacji dotyczącej Krystynopola (ob. Szeptyćkyj) została zrekonstruowana historia procesu budowy tamtejszego klasztoru Bazyliańców. Na początku omówiono inicjatywę fundatora, Franciszka Salezego Potockiego, następnie analizie poddano informacje o pracownikach zatrudnionych na placu budowy oraz użyte materiały, odtworzono proces ustalania kształtu architektonicznego klasztoru, a także zbadano kwestie mecenatu i finansowania. Poprzez analizę ról różnych podmiotów (fundatora, hierarchii kościelnej, mnichów bazyliańskich, artystów i rzemieślników kontraktowych, dostawców materiałów oraz zwykłych robotników), zaprezentowano złożoność realiów placu budowy, szczególnie eksponując rolę współpracy, która wymagała przekroczenia barier religijnych i społecznych.

SŁOWA-KLUCZE plac budowy, Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów, bazylianie, Krystynopol (Szeptyćkyj), mecenat, geografia budownictwa

INTRODUCTION

“The church should be old-styled but new-fashioned [...], because thus I want it”; this is how Franciszek Salezy Potocki justified his preferences regarding the appearance of the planned Basilian church in Krystynopol. This quote comes from one of many dialogues Potocki had with the monastery’s superior, Father Kornel Sroczyński. The wealthy magnate’s wish indeed sparked the construction of that church, but turning Potocki’s will into a reality was a time-consuming process that involved many other actors. Exceptionally detailed and well-preserved documentation, a true rarity in the devastated Eastern European heritage, lays the groundwork for a perfect case study of a construction site in the early modern Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania.

This article traces the roles and involvement of various actors, from the founder and the monks, through contracted artists, to suppliers of materials and regular workers. The data on their movements and activities helps recreate the timeline, the work stages, and the geography of the construction project. The Krystynopol case study also sheds light on the subtleties of negotiating the monastery’s architectural shape. Finally, it stresses the importance of stable patronage and funding, and explores such factors as personal attitudes, as well as ecclesiastical and secular politics.

Let it also be noted that Krystynopol was not a grand, prestigious project in a capital city: although

founded by a magnate, it was rather an ordinary monastery. Thus, it was much more representative of the Commonwealth’s average. As mentioned above, the Krystynopol case study provides precious insights into construction practicalities. It looks into significantly more roles than the usual analysis of architect and patron, and notably more events than merely cornerstone-setting or the consecration of the finished church. What is more, the Greek Catholic construction site gives an additional perspective on building realities in the transcultural community of the ethnoreligious borderland.

The *fabrica ecclesiae*, i.e. the construction and ecclesiastical edifice management, lies at the intersection of art history and socioeconomic issues. The subdiscipline of construction history raises similar questions. However, specialist journals and regular conferences focus more on the technical aspects of construction, and tend to lean more towards nineteenth- and twentieth-century buildings than work organisation in the early modern period.¹ Moreover, despite some general similarities, there were significant differences between particular countries and regions. For the purpose of this paper, therefore, the most useful points of reference are scholarly works concerning the early modern Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania² and the great monasteries of southern German lands.³ Nevertheless, details concerning certain

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1. *Construction History. The International Journal of the Construction History Society*; see recent congress proceedings: *History of Construction Cultures*, eds. João Mascarenhas-Mateus, Ana Paula Pires, vol. 1–2 (Leiden: CRC Press, 2021); *Construction Matters. Proceedings of the 8th International Congress on Construction History*, eds. Stefan Holzer et alii (Zürich: vdf Hochschulverlag, 2024).

2. Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Fabrica ecclesiae* (Warszawa: Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie, 1946); Krzysztof Rafał Prokop, “*Fabrica ecclesiae*”. *Budowa i utrzymanie katolickich miejsc kultu w diecezji krakowskiej w czasach nowożytnych* (Warszawa–Kraków: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2011). Prokop’s book was severely criticised for omitting many sources and publications, as well as for the ignorance of artistic context: Agata Dworzak, “Uwagi o ‘fabryce’ kolegiaty sandomierskiej w XVII i XVIII wieku – na marginesie książki Krzysztofa Rafała Prokopa, ‘Fabrica ecclesiae’. Budowa i utrzymanie katolickich miejsc kultu w diecezji krakowskiej w czasach nowożytnych, Warszawa–Kraków 2011”, *Modus. Prace z historii sztuki* 15 (2015), 247–256.

3. Matthäus Pest, *Die Finanzierung des süddeutschen Kirchen- und Klosterbaues in der Barockzeit. Bauwirtschaftliche und finanzielle Probleme des kirchlichen Barocks im deutschen Süden von ca. 1650 bis ca. 1780* (München: Kommissionsverlag Graphische Kunstanstalt A. Huber, 1937); *Himmel auf Erden oder Teufelsbauwurm? Wirtschaftliche und soziale Bedingungen des süddeutschen Klosterbarock*, eds. Markwart Herzog, Rolf Kießling, Bernd Roeck (Konstanz:

aspects of construction projects, such as the role played by regular workers and suppliers, the spatial distribution of employees and materials, or on-site changes to the design, remain scarce. For instance, Jerzy Kowalczyk and Józefa Zawadzka published a register of building expenses incurred during the construction of the Biskupice parish church. Although the documentation was similarly detailed as the sources on the Basilian complex in Krystynopol, the authors limited themselves to a short introduction, without making further use of this material.⁴ The *fabrica* of the Norbertine nuns' church in Imbramowice was reconstructed by Hanna Pieńkowska and Weronika Nowak. Pieńkowska focused on, among others, building materials, while Nowak dealt with financial issues and the spatial distribution of the contractors.⁵ Paweł Dettloff analysed the case of the Dominican church in Gidle, paying much attention to chronology, contractors, finances, and the organisation of a construction site, as well as placing it in a broader comparative framework.⁶ Another well-documented construction site is that of

the church of St. Anne in Cracow, analysed by Michał Kurzej, who presented its chronology, organisation, contractors and materials.⁷ Agata Dworzak's account of the works carried out in the collegiate church in Sandomierz also includes remarks on the organisation of the *fabrica*, especially on the priests responsible for it and the artists who worked there.⁸ Jakub Sito provided a detailed outline of the construction of the Pauline church in Warsaw; nonetheless, he focused only on construction chronology and artists employed in the process.⁹ Jan Wiśniewski's study dealt with incomes of *fabricae*, taking into account the Pomesanian Officialatus in Royal Prussia.¹⁰ As far as Greek Catholic constructions are concerned, the publication of the chronicle and the payment register of the Uniate church in Szczepieszyn is of particular interest, supplemented by a thorough introduction by Piotr Krasny.¹¹ Moreover, although dealing with a slightly different sociopolitical context, there is a recent inspiring study by Radu Nedici on the Greek Catholic cathedral of Blaj in Transylvania.¹²

UVK, 2002); Meinrad von Engelberg, *Renovatio Ecclesiae. Die „Barockisierung“ mittelalterlicher Kirchen* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2005); Britta Kägler, "Alltag auf barocken Baustellen. Baumeister, Auftragsvergabe, Finanzierung und Baubetrieb", *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 79 (2016), 211–241.

4. Jerzy Kowalczyk, Józefa Zawadzka, "Regestr wydatków na budowę kościoła w Biskupicach (1711–1733)", *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 5, no. 3–4 (1957), 721–845.

5. Hanna Pieńkowska, "Dzieje i fabryka kościoła oraz klasztoru Norbertanek w Imbramowicach", *Folia Historiae Artium* 14 (1978), 67–92; Weronika Nowak, "Fabrica ecclesiae of the Church and Convent of Norbertine Nuns in Imbramowice in 1711–1740. New Findings Regarding the Financing and Organisation of the Works, and the Artists Contracted", *Modus. Prace z historii sztuki* 19 (2019), 105–140 (Polish version on pp. 69–104).

6. Paweł Dettloff, "Fabrica ecclesiae dominikanów w Gidlach w świetle przekazów archiwalnych. Organizacja i koszty budowy murowanej świątyni w siedemnastowiecznej Rzeczypospolitej", *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 62, no. 2 (2014), 187–214.

7. Michał Kurzej, "Budowa i dekoracja krakowskiego kościoła pw. św. Anny w świetle źródeł archiwalnych", in: *Fides ars scientia. Studia dedykowane pamięci Księdza Kanonika Augustyna Mednisa*, eds. Andrzej Betlej, Józef Skrabski (Tarnów: Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie, 2008), 271–301.

8. Agata Dworzak, *Fabrica ecclesiae sandomiriensis. Dzieje modernizacji wnętrza kolegiaty sandomierskiej w XVIII wieku w świetle źródeł archiwalnych* (Kraków: Attyka, 2016).

9. Jakub Sito, "Fabryka kościoła p.w. Św. Ducha w Warszawie 1707–1730 w świetle źródeł paulińskich. Przebieg prac, projektanci, wykonawcy", *Roczniki Humanistyczne. Historia Sztuki* 59, no. 4 (2011), 81–112.

10. Jan Wiśniewski, "Fabrica ecclesiae na terenie oficjalu pomezańskiego w świetle wizytacji biskupich XVII–XVIII w.", *Archiwista Polski*, no. 2 (46) (2007), 47–56; no. 4 (48) (2007), 23–44; no. 1 (49) (2008), 69–76.

11. Piotr Krasny, *Fabrica Ecclesiae Ruthenorum. Dzieje cerkwi w Szczepieszynie i jej rozbudowy w latach 1777–1789 w świetle kroniki ks. Jana Karola Lipowieckiego* (Kraków: DodoEditor, 2010).

12. Radu Nedici, "An Artistic Melting Pot: The Building Site of the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Blaj in the Late 1740s", in: *Intercultural and Visual Art Transfer in Central Europe and the Balkans. Ruthenian-Ukrainian and Romanian Art from the 15th to the Early 19th Century*, eds. Ana Dumitran, Mirosław Piotr Kruk (Alba Iulia–Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2023), 267–302.

CONTEXT: THE BASILIANS, KRYSTYNOPOL, AND THE FATE OF THE UNION

The Uniate Church originated in 1596, when part of the Orthodox hierarchy in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania accepted the supremacy of the Pope and Catholic dogmas (the Union of Brest). After the long confrontation with Orthodoxy, at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Union embraced almost all Ruthenians (future Belarussians and Ukrainians) in the country. The elite of the Uniate Church were Basilians, its only monastic community, from whom bishops were recruited and who took care of the most important sanctuaries, provided manifold pastoral and educational services, and ran modern printing houses.¹³ Supporting Basilian activity was part of the religious culture of the wealthiest Polish-Lithuanian magnates, who significantly contributed to the construction of splendid monastic ensembles.

Krystynopol (Кристинопіль)¹⁴ is located where Solokiya River flows into the Bug, one of the main tributaries of the Vistula. Today it forms part of the modern industrial town of Sheptytskyi (Шептицький, until 2024 Червоноград) in western Ukraine. The Basilian monastery is a major architectural monument, together with a Potocki family palace and a former Bernardine church (Fig. 1). A grouping of Greek and Roman Catholic churches with a palace of former owners is common in hundreds of towns across western Ukraine, Belarus, or eastern Poland.¹⁵ Only Krystynopol, however, provided very specific conditions that resulted in the survival of a rich source base, making the subject of this case study the best-documented Basilian construction site.

In the eighteenth century, Krystynopol was a private town and one of the main residences of the magnate

Potocki family. The name is derived from Krystyna, wife to the town's founder Feliks Kazimierz Potocki (1630–1702). The Basilian monastery was founded by Feliks' grandson, Franciszek Salezy Potocki (1700–1772), then considered the wealthiest man in the Commonwealth, owner of seventy towns and hundreds of villages scattered across the country, with an annual income exceeding 200,000 Polish zloty, as calculated for 1771.¹⁶ This fortune was inherited by his son, Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki (1751–1805), known for extending his artistic patronage, among others over the famous Zofiówka landscape park in Humań (Умань). He was also notorious for pro-Russian political activity, which included leading the infamous Targowica Confederation, even today a synonym of treason in Poland.¹⁷

Franciszek Salezy's death occurred in the same year as the First Partition of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. Krystynopol was annexed by Habsburg Austria as part of the newly-established province of Galicia that lasted until 1918. Contrary to Russia, Austria enabled the survival and development of the Uniate Church, known then as the Greek Catholic Church. In Russia, the unevenly increasing persecutions climaxed in 1839, when the Uniate Church was forcefully incorporated into Orthodoxy, all Basilian monasteries were closed down, and their premises rebuilt or refurnished to comply with the "Russian-Orthodox style". Only in Habsburg Galicia, and later in inter-war Poland, could the Basilians continue practicing their faith. Basilian monasteries survived there until the end of the Second World War, when the Soviet authorities suppressed the Greek Catholic Church and destroyed or confiscated its property.

However, Krystynopol was the only old Galician monastery to survive for a little longer. The new

13. For the Basilians in general, see Михайло-Мирослав Ваврик, *Нарис розвитку і стану Василіянського Чина XVII–XX ст.* (Рим: PP Basiliani, 1979); Beata Lorens, *Bazylianie prowincji koronnej w latach 1743–1780* (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2014).

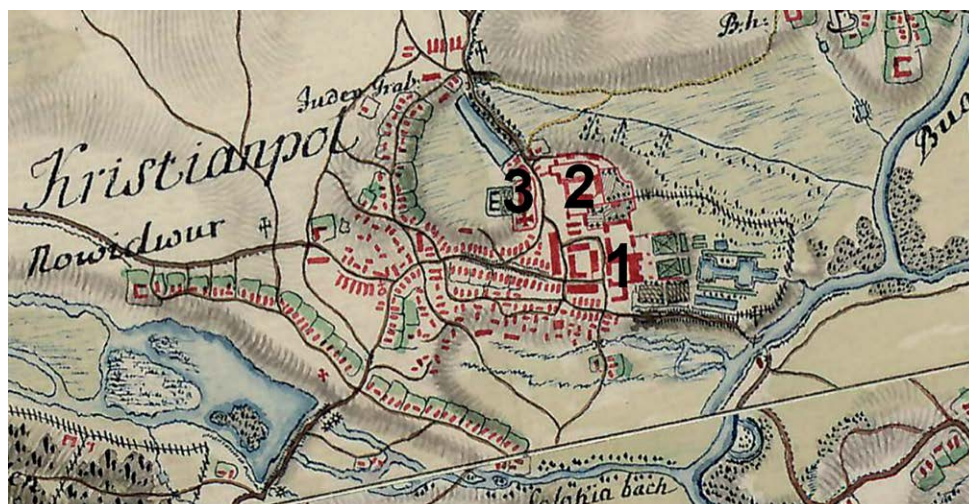
14. The author uses historical Polish place names with their contemporary counterparts in brackets.

15. Krystynopol, as most towns of its kind, also had a synagogue which was destroyed during the Second World War. Żółkiew (Жовква) can serve as a good and early example of the conscious planning of a multireligious town.

16. Maria Czeppe, "Potocki Franciszek Salezy", in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 27 (Wrocław et alii: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Polska Akademia Nauk, 1982–1983), 814–823.

17. Emanuel Rostworowski, "Potocki Stanisław Szczęśny", in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 28 (Wrocław et alii: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Polska Akademia Nauk, 1984–1985), 183–202. For Targowica, see Richard Butterwick, *The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1733–1795. Light and Flame* (New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 2020), 325–344.

1 Krystynopol on a map of the First Austrian Military Survey (Originalaufnahme des Königreiches Galizien und Lodomerien), 1779–1783, 1:28 800, Kriegsarchiv in Vienna, B IXa 390
The numbers (added by the author) indicate:
 1 – Potocki palace,
 2 – Bernardine monastery,
 3 – Basilian monastery.



Polish-Soviet border was placed on Bug River, leaving Krystynopol on the Polish side. Under Soviet pressure, communist Poland abolished the Greek Catholic Church, but this step was by far less rapid and brutal. Moreover, Greek Catholic clergy could seek refuge within the Roman Catholic Church, which was strong enough to resist the government. In 1951, however, Poland and the Soviet Union agreed on a territory exchange that gave Krystynopol up to the Soviets. Nevertheless, the Basilians had enough time to transfer certain belongings from Krystynopol to their Warsaw residence. They secured the most valuable icons, the library, and the archive that is still kept in the Basilian monastery in Warsaw. Therefore, this is the only archive of a Uniate monastery that has uninterruptedly remained in the hands of the order.

The Archive of the Basilian monastery in Warsaw (ABW) contains particularly rich documentation on the construction works undertaken in Krystynopol, with financial records, contracts and correspondence. There is also an extraordinarily detailed construction logbook, currently kept in the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv (TsDIAL), and the chronicle of the monastery, held in the Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv (LNB). This body of historical sources provides the basis for the analysis offered herein. These sources have already been presented by Beata Lorens, who reconstructed the chronology of construction

and emphasised the role of Franciszek Salezy Potocki and Kornel Sroczyński. Moreover, she supplemented her article with the source publication, including the summary of the work done in 1771–1775 and the description of the iconographic program of the planned frescoes, both by Sroczyński.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the source material still provides very rich analytical possibilities, as I hope to demonstrate on the following pages.

The buildings of the monastery in Krystynopol, although confiscated, fortunately survived the Soviet period. In the years 1989–1990, they were returned to the Basilian Order and subjected to renovation that spanned the following years.

THE MAGNATE AND THE CHURCH

Although Franciszek Salezy Potocki was a Roman Catholic Pole, the majority of his subjects were Ruthenians of the Uniate confession. It was for their pastoral needs (not to mention his own earthly splendour and eternal salvation) that Potocki founded three new monasteries in his properties: in Krystynopol, Strusów (Струсів), and Humań (the first two are presented on a map 1). However, only the construction of Krystynopol brick edifices was initiated during the founder's lifetime. Krystynopol was given priority, as it served as the magnate's main residence. Potocki had earlier built a splendid palace there and kept a court that barely fell short of the royal one.¹⁹

18. Beata Lorens, "Inwestycje budowlane bazylianów w XVIII wieku na przykładzie klasztoru i cerkwi w Krystynopolu", in: *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 14, eds. Wojciech Walczak, Katarzyna Wiszowata-Walczak (Białystok: Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2020), 521–538.

19. Jan Czernecki, *Mały król na Rusi i jego stolica Krystynopol* (Kraków: Księgarnia J. Czerneckiego, 1939); Dagny Nestorow, "Nowe wiadomości dotyczące wyposażenia wnętrz

In 1762, Potocki initiated an exchange of correspondence with the Church and Basilian hierarchy to express his wish to establish a monastery in Krystynopol.²⁰ The response was unreservedly positive, although there were many issues to discuss. First, Potocki wrote to the Uniate bishop of Chełm, Maksymilian Ryłło,²¹ and proposed that the Basilians from Horodyszcze (Городище), a small monastery nearby, move to Krystynopol. Ryłło accepted this proposal on 4 March, reminding Potocki to seek the approval of the head of the order, known as the protoarchimandrite or the general.²²

Before the general presented his position, the authorities of the Polish province of the Basilians expressed their opinion. The vicar-general Jozafat Wysocki²³ listed eleven points that Potocki was required to fulfil in order to accomplish the Krystynopol and Humań foundations. Potocki accepted all the demands, with some additions, in June. It was agreed, among others, that the Krystynopol monastery would receive 1,500 zloty annually from Potocki's estates; the neighbouring small monasteries in Horodyszcze and Wołswін (Волсвин) would be subordinated to Krystynopol; the churches and the monks' residences should be built of brick instead of the less durable timber; the Basilians would organise popular missions among Potocki's subjects. Wysocki himself contributed an additional 12,000 zloty

for the construction of the Krystynopol convent.²⁴ On 30 July, General Hipacy Biliński confirmed the foundation, and Franciszek Salezy Potocki signed the foundation act on 6 September 1763.²⁵

Implementing these decisions took a couple of years. Monks from Wołswін settled in a temporary timber residence in Krystynopol in October 1764.²⁶ The old Uniate parish church was passed into their possession on 11 July 1765.²⁷ In September of the same year, the foundation was confirmed by the Pope,²⁸ and the monks were officially introduced to the new monastery on 17 May 1766 in the presence of Potocki, Bishop Ryłło and the new provincial Jozafat Siedlecki.²⁹

Meanwhile, on 27 March 1765, Father Kornel Sroczyński (1731–1790) was nominated the igumen/superior of Krystynopol.³⁰ Sroczyński, known as an author of manuals for popular missions, as well as sermons, songs and chronicles, was also the author of the construction logbook and many other sources cited in this study.³¹ His entrepreneurship and Potocki's plans were initially halted by the unstable domestic situation and the fighting conducted by the anti-Russian and anti-royal Bar Confederation. The logbook reveals that the turning point was a serious throat illness that befell Franciszek Salezy Potocki in March 1770. His wife, Anna Elżbieta, compelled her husband to swear that

pałacu w Krystynopolu w świetle nieznanego inwentarza z roku 1775", *Modus. Prace z historii sztuki* 14 (2014), 139–156; ead., "Krystynopol. Wiadomości na temat miasta i jego zabytków", in: *Kościół i klasztorzy rzymskokatolickie na terenie dawnego województwa bełskiego*, vol. 1, eds. Andrzej Betlej, Agata Dworzak (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2021), 273–289.

20. L'viv's'ka natsional'na naukova biblioteka Ukrayiny im. V. Stefanyka (Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv, further: LNB), collection 3, file 802, 3: Chronicle of Krystynopol Monastery [1766–1788].

21. Joannes Choma, *Maximilianus Rylo episcopus chelmensis et peremysliensis (1759–1793)* (Romae: Sumptibus "Analectorum OSBM", 1953).

22. In the eighteenth century, the Basilians used a system of double office names, i.e. in the Eastern and Western modes.

23. The province had no protoigumen/provincial at the time, see Lorens, *Bazylianie prowincji koronnej*, 87.

24. Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, further: TsDIAL), collection 684, opis 1, file 3075, 17–18v: Inventory of Krystynopol Monastery [1766].

25. Ibid., 19–22: Inventory of Krystynopol Monastery [1766]; file 3117, 2: Construction Logbook of Krystynopol Monastery.

26. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 2: Construction Logbook; LNB, coll. 3, file 802, 4: Chronicle of Krystynopol Monastery [1766–1788].

27. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3075, 23: Inventory of Krystynopol Monastery [1766].

28. Ibid., 23–24v.

29. LNB, coll. 3, file 802, 5v–13v: Chronicle of Krystynopol Monastery [1766–1788].

30. Ibid., 5.

31. Roman Łukań, *Autor Dziejopisu Monasteru Krystynopolskiego o. Korneliusz Sroczyński* (Kraków: Księgarnia J. Czerneckiego, 1939).

he would start building the monastery, as it may ensure his recovery. Sroczyński noted succinctly that after the prayers in the Basilian church “an ulcer in the throat broke, [the founder] soon recovered and ordered to build a brickyard”.³²

LOCATION AND DESIGN

It had been known that the new edifice would be built more or less in the same spot as the old parish church. Still, the first stage of designing the monastery consisted in selecting the optimal location, taking measurements and determining the spatial layout of the monastic complex. In August 1770, the Basilians noticed a foreigner walking back and forth across the cemetery surrounding the church. It was soon revealed the stranger was an architect and was paying a visit to the future construction site. Father Sroczyński limited himself to writing that the architect was French and that Potocki had brought him from Krakowiec (Краковець), where the architect had been working for Potocki’s cousin Ignacy Cetner.³³ The “French architect” returned to Krystynopol in January 1771 and presented two designs for the church. Sroczyński asked him to design the monks’ residential quarters as well, and requested that he convince the founder to build both buildings in parallel, not the church first and the monastic house only later.³⁴ The sequence of construction work was crucial: the Basilians needed residential premises, while the founder was focused on building the church, a move that would bracket the monastery off. Convincing Potocki to change his mind took half a year. Sroczyński sought support wherever possible. He involved Bishop Ryłło, Vicar-General Innocenty Matkowski, the former provincial and archimandrite/abbot of Żółkiew Jozafat Wysocki, the Lwów (Lviv) canon Maciej Pruski, the starost of Jabłonów Marcin Lipski, and the founder’s wife Anna Elżbieta Potocka, who most probably tipped

the scales in the superior’s favor.³⁵ Eventually, a compromise was reached: the monastery was built in stages, only the part adjacent to the church was constructed at the same time as the latter.

Potocki hired the architect Johan Selner, who measured the building site in June. In spite of that fact, the founder was still considering three different designs for the church, two by the above-mentioned “French architect” and one by “someone else”.³⁶ In the meantime, Potocki’s officials had started gathering construction materials: bricks, lime and sand. The initially slow process gained momentum at the end of August, after Potocki had rebuked his representatives, the treasurer Antoni Wesołowski and the scribe Michał Kossowski. Their sluggishness induced the founder to entrust construction management to the Basilians themselves. Selner marked out the church foundations, a clear suggestion that one of the designs had finally been selected.³⁷ It remains uncertain whether it was one of the three versions mentioned in June, or another one drafted by Selner. He also could have merely adapted one of the previous designs.

Replacing the old church with a new one caused certain inconveniences. The beginning of September saw the demolition of the old church’s presbytery, but services were still held in the nave, which was separated from the construction site by a temporary wall. Laying foundations in the parish graveyard necessitated exhumation of the bones of the deceased and collecting them in a pit in the corner of the cemetery.³⁸ In Autumn, the timber for a temporary chapel was delivered. This building was first erected next to the church in February 1772 (for the funeral of the recently deceased Anna Elżbieta Potocka) and then moved to the side of the construction site. However, services were continued in the old temple for as long as possible, that is until 15 April. The demolition of the old church took ten

32. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 3: Construction Logbook.

33. On Cetner and his residence in Krakowiec, see Władysław Konopczyński, “Cetner Ignacy”, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 3 (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1937), 238–239; Przemysław Wątroba, “Le palais d’Ignacy Cetner à Krakowiec et son architecte Pierre Ricaud de Tirregaille. Nouvelles constatations et hypothèses”, in: *Velis quod possis. Studia z historii sztuki ofiarowane profesorowi Janowi Ostrowskiemu*, eds. Andrzej Betlej et alii (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2016), 67–73.

34. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 3v–4: Construction Logbook.

35. Ibid., 4–4v: Construction Logbook; Lorens, “Inwestycje budowlane”, 525.

36. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 4v–5: Construction Logbook.

37. Ibid., 5–13.

38. Ibid., 13, 14.

days to complete and its furnishings were relocated to the chapel.³⁹

The solemn cornerstone-setting ceremony took place on 15 September 1771. The founder was ill, but the event attracted such guests as Abbot Wysocki and a Jesuit by the name of Woronicz, identifiable with Jan Paweł Woronicz, the future primate of Poland and a notable Neoclassicist poet.⁴⁰ The presence of Igumen Sroczyński and the architect Selner was self-evident.⁴¹ From this moment on, construction proceeded relatively smoothly, as confirmed by the chronology set forth in Appendix 1. In the meantime, it is worthwhile to focus on some of the practicalities connected with monastery construction.

THE PEOPLE EMPLOYED AND THE MATERIALS USED

Monastery construction required many different agents. The main roles were those of the founder, the superior, and the architect. However, their ideas could not be turned into reality without the aid of many others: artists, artisans, suppliers, ordinary workers, and other collaborators (maps 1, 2).

Apart from the ubiquitous Superior Sroczyński, other Basilian monks also took an active part in the

proceedings. In April 1772, in the monastery in Zahorów (Новий Загорів) Sroczyński requested that the order's authorities, including General Porfirusz Skarbek-Ważyński and Provincial Onufry Bratkowski, designate a *praefectus fabricae*, i.e. a monk responsible for construction management.⁴² They appointed Julian Zaleski (1743–1779, ordained in 1771)⁴³ from St. George Monastery in Lwów, who arrived on 25 May 1772.⁴⁴ Zaleski served as “construction overseer” in Krystynopol until September 1775, when he was sent to perform the same duties in Zahorów and supervise a church extension project, since monastery construction in Krystynopol had come to a standstill.⁴⁵ The construction logbook suggests that Zaleski was more of an assistant to Sroczyński than a decision-maker.⁴⁶

Krystynopol had at least three, maybe four active architects. Two remain anonymous: the Frenchman and a second person, who may be identical with Johan Selner. Volodymyr Vuytsyk hypothesised that the “French architect” could have been Pierre Ricaud de Tirregaille (1725–after 1772), who designed the palaces of Potocki in Krystynopol and Cetner in Krakowiec, or Jean du Defilles,⁴⁷ for whom Cetner had once acted as a court representative.⁴⁸ However, both hypotheses seem highly unlikely: Ricaud left Poland as early as in 1762 or 1763

39. Ibid., 14–30v.

40. Alojzy Jougan, *X. Prymas Woronicz. Monografia*, vol. 1–2 (Lwów: W Drukarni Józefa Chęcińskiego, 1908).

41. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 14v–17v: Construction Logbook. More details provided by Lorens, “Inwestycje budowlane”, 526.

42. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 29v–30: Construction Logbook. *Praefecti* were appointed for many constructions, e.g. among the Reformed Friars Minor: Adam Jan Błachut, “Znaczenie i rola prefekta fabryki w kształtowaniu budownictwa zakonnego reformatów w Polsce”, in: *Architektura znaczeń. Studia ofiarowane prof. Zbigniewowi Bani w 65. rocznicę urodzin i 40-lecie pracy dydaktycznej*, eds. Anna Sylwia Czyż, Janusz Nowiński, Marta Wiraszka (Warszawa: Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 2011), 114–125.

43. Lorens, *Bazylianie prowincji koronnej*, 478.

44. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 33: Construction Logbook.

45. Ibid., 87v: Construction Logbook. The Zahorów church was reconstructed in 1763–1780: Леонид М. Крощенко, “Загорівський монастир Різдва богородиці на Волині”, in: *З історії української реставрації* (Київ: Українознавство, 1996), 215–222; Lesya Chen, Iryna Poloz, “Issues of Preservation of a Historic Monastery in Zahoriv”, in: *Current Issues in Research, Conservation and Restoration of Historic Fortifications: Collection of Scientific Articles*, eds. Zygmunt Gardziński, Mikola Bevz (Chełm–Lviv: The University Collage of Applied Sciences in Chełm and Lviv Polytechnic National University, 2017), 323–329.

46. Even if a monk with expertise in a given area participated in a monastic project, most decisions were taken by the superior, see Prokop, “*Fabrica ecclesiae*”, 175.

47. Noted in Lwów between 1760 and 1768: Agata Dworzak, *Lwowskie środowisko artystyczne w XVIII wieku w świetle ksiąg metrykalnych i sądowych* (Kraków: Attyka, 2018), 202.

48. Володимир С. Вуйчик, “Василіанський монастир у Христинополі та архітектор Йоган Зельнер”, *Вісник інституту “Укрзахідпроектреставрація”* 14 (2004), 228–229.

and could not have been Cetner's "French architect" in 1770⁴⁹; it is probable that Cetner was acquainted with French architects other than du Defilles.

The biography of Johan Selner remains obscure as well. His only confirmed works are the Basilian complexes in Krystynopol and Strusów. Jerzy Kowalczyk argues that Selner could also have been responsible for modifying Ricaud's plans for the Krystynopol palace drafted in the last years of Franciszek Salezy's life.⁵⁰ Selner had travelled from Czech lands to take up employment in Krystynopol, and each year returned there for the winter months. The Basilian monastery construction site became familiar also to Johan's two sons. Józef Selner worked as construction supervisor from at least May 1772 until February 1774, when he was replaced by his older brother, Franciszek; their father then sent Józef to study architecture in Warsaw.⁵¹ Employing his sons was apparently the result of Potocki's conviction that an architect should supervise workers himself. In March 1772, Superior Sroczyński had brought a masonry supervisor from Lwów, but Potocki had him dismissed.⁵²

The last architect present at the construction site was Ignacy Fesinger, the son of Lwów sculptor Sebastian, born in 1742 and recorded to have been in that city in the 1760s.⁵³ In February 1775 (when Selner was in his homeland), Fesinger came to Krystynopol as an architect of Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki in order to consult

the cracks that had appeared on the walls. Fortunately, the expert stated that the building was not in jeopardy.⁵⁴

The most famous artist present in Krystynopol was Stanisław Stroiński (1719–1802), the author of many illusionistic frescoes in the south-eastern Commonwealth, including in the Bernardine church in Krystynopol, decorated at the expense of Franciszek Salezy Potocki in the years 1756–1759.⁵⁵ Stroiński had also worked for the Basilians in Wicyń (Смедеківка) in 1768, creating a rolled painting for the high altar. In 1777, he completed the same task in Werchrata.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, his long-planned employment in Krystynopol did not come to pass, as the next section of the article will explain.

The Greek Catholic sculptor Jan Szczurowski was the master from Lwów who did fulfil the task entrusted to him.⁵⁷ On 1 December 1773 he signed a contract obligating him to create two stone vases and two pyramids (obelisks) at the top of the façade for the fee of 252 zloty, whereby he was also responsible for buying and transporting stone from the quarry in Polana (Поляна). The sculptor received payment in two tranches, in January and April of the following year, which confirms that he had completed the contract.⁵⁸ His works fortunately survived and can be still seen on the façade (Fig. 2). Much like Stroiński, the Basilians employed Szczurowski not just in Krystynopol. In 1776/1777 he received 50 zloty for a frame to the altar of St. Nicholas

49. Jerzy Kowalczyk, "Pierre Ricaud de Tirregaille – architekt ogrodów i pałaców", *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 33, no. 4 (1988), 299–318; id., "Ricaud de Tirregaille (Tirgaille) Pierre", in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 31 (Wrocław et alii: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Polska Akademia Nauk, 1988–1989), 270–272; Przemysław Wątroba, "Ricaud de Tirregaille (Tiregale, Tiregalle) Pierre", in: *Słownik architektów i budowniczych środowiska warszawskiego XV–XVIII wieku*, eds. Paweł Migasiewicz, Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz, Jakub Sito (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2016), 386–389.

50. Kowalczyk, "Pierre Ricaud de Tirregaille", 314.

51. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 64v: Construction Logbook.

52. Ibid., 28v–29.

53. Dworzak, *Lwowskie środowisko artystyczne*, 213–214.

54. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 84: Construction Logbook.

55. Zbigniew Michalczyk, "Stroiński Stanisław", in: *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 106 (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 460–461; Dagny Nestorow, "Kościół parafialny pw. Ducha Świętego i klasztor OO. Bernardynów w Krystynopolu", in: *Kościół i klasztory rzymskokatolickie na terenie dawnego województwa bełskiego*, vol. 1, eds. Andrzej Betlej, Agata Dworzak (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2021), 293–417.

56. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 1204, 13v: Chronicle of Wicyń Monastery [1764–1773]; file 1194, 8: Expenses Records of Werchrata Monastery [1776–1798]. Both churches and their furnishings have not survived.

57. Володимир С. Вуйцик, "Скульптор Іван Щуровський", *Записки наукового товариства ім. Шевченка. Праці Комісії образотворчого та ужиткового мистецтва*, vol. 236 (1998), 305–319.

58. Archiwum Bazylianów w Warszawie (Basilian Archive in Warsaw, further: ABW), file 66: Building Expense Records of Krystynopol Monastery [1773–1775].



2 Façade of the Basilian church in Krystynopol. Photo by Rafał Nestorow, 2013

in Krechów (Крехів).⁵⁹ His authorship has also been attributed to the royal doors from Krechów, stored today in the Ukrainian National Museum in Lviv.⁶⁰

Stone was used not only for the sculptures, but also for the church floor. Franciszek Salezy Potocki had ordered flooring plates from Strusów, his property and a construction site of another Basilian monastery.⁶¹

Material supply was predominantly in the hands of Jews. Mordko Justkiewicz, who leased the Werchrata deposit in Roztocze Hills, supplied lime under a contract signed on 9 February 1772.⁶² Although the sources refrain from explicit statements, apparently it was not a coincidence that the already mentioned Basilian

monastery was located right next to Werchrata. Lime deliveries were recorded until December 1774. Some transports were organized by Justkiewicz himself, others by Bazyli Smal, an employee of the Basilians. In August 1774 a crisis hit lime supply. Delayed deliveries almost brought construction to a halt. Three times the Basilians were forced to send a messenger to Werchrata to urge the supplier to accelerate deliveries.⁶³

Another Jewish lessee, Ezyk Jankielewicz from Ruda Kamionecka (Руда), was contracted to deliver ironware on 7 September 1772.⁶⁴ His cooperation with the Basilians seems to have been smooth – throughout the following three years (from January 1773 until July

59. LNB, coll. 3, file 121, 6v, 10: Chronicle of Krechów Monastery [1775–1861]; Agata Dworzak, “Udział lwowskich artystów w modernizacji cerkwi bazylianów w Krechowie za przełożenia superiora Sylwestra Łaszczewskiego”, in: *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 8, ed. Wojciech Walczak (Białystok: Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2017), 498–499.

60. Вуйцик, “Скульптор Иван Щуровський”, 309–310.

61. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 48v: Construction Logbook.

62. Ibid., 26.

63. ABW, file 66: Building Expense Records of Krystynopol Monastery [1773–1775].

64. ABW, file 85/106: Contract for Iron [1772].

1775) he provided various ironware for the construction, as testified by numerous bills.⁶⁵ The final settlement took place on 6 March 1776 and produced the substantial sum of 10,904 zloty.⁶⁶

In February 1772, Potocki and Sroczyński decided to cover the church with iron roofing sheet instead of tiles.⁶⁷ It thus became necessary to find such roofing material and a supplier. A year later, when Sroczyński visited the monastery in Krechów and met with Provincial Onufry Bratkowski, a council held there decided to buy Swedish sheet roofing, which was available in Gdańsk (Danzig), the main port of the country.⁶⁸ However, this resolution was soon revoked because of high costs, problems with navigation down the Vistula and the Bug, risk of dishonest skippers, and anxiety that Swedish sheet would prove to be too fragile. Therefore, a contract was signed for Polish sheet from the Kielce forge, traded by Mendl Romankiewicz, a Jew from the nearby town of Chęciny, who was already supplying Potocki's court. The sheet was delivered to Krystynopol in May 1773.⁶⁹ The gutters installed above the sacristy in September 1773 were the work of coppersmith Chaim Gdalowicz from Tartaków, who was recommended by noblemen Sierakowski and Mossakowski.⁷⁰ The last Jews mentioned by Father Sroczyński were the carpenters who moved the brickyard sheds to their new location at the beginning of construction.⁷¹

Other craftsmen and suppliers bore Polish surnames; some of them even belonged to nobility, e.g. Grzegorz Parnicki from Ołyka (Олика) in Volhynia, who provided linseed oil for the varnish needed to paint the roof.⁷² Painter Sokołowski performed the roof painting in May and June 1775, and afterwards painted the monastery doors made by joiner Elias Gowurski.⁷³ Gowurski had

worked for the monastery already since August 1773, when he signed a contract for constructing window frames in cooperation with locksmith Szymon Sztyn-gel.⁷⁴ At the beginning of 1774, the monastery bought in Lwów a bell for the church ridge turret, cast by the bell founder Polański.⁷⁵ Apparently Ezyk Jankielewicz failed to satisfy the demand for iron, since in September 1773 nobleman Wojciech Birkowski made an additional delivery for 4,270 zloty. In the same month, Birkowski provided 3,600 roofing shingles (perhaps to cover the residential quarters). Such diversity of services demonstrates that Birkowski was a trader rather than a producer.⁷⁶

Although the edifice was built of brick, its construction required much timber. Unfortunately, the registers rarely mention the purposes of particular timber transports. Scaffoldings were essential at almost every stage of work, but they appear in the source only in June 1773, when carpenters had to finish them quickly to construct the dome, and in October of the same year, after the work on the second part of the residence had been initiated.⁷⁷ There is no information at all about the appearance of the scaffoldings, but at least the construction of the dome required an elaborate structure.⁷⁸

The majority of wood was delivered from the founder's forest of Rekliniec (Реклинець). Payment registers from the years 1773–1775 contain entries on the transportation of scrupulously distinguished kinds of timber material, presented in the table below. Most types were counted in pieces, others in wagons, while both units were used for battens, putlogs and occasionally rafters. The period of delivery indicates what kind of timber was needed at the respective work stage. In contrast to other materials, the transportation of timber never stopped for long, since the trees were cut in winter and

65. ABW, file 67: Iron Expense Records of Krystynopol Monastery [1773–1775]; files 85/90–92, 94–98, 100, 101, 105, 107, 108: Bills for Iron [1772–1774].

66. ABW, file 85/120: Settlement of Iron Expenses [1776].

67. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 26: Construction Logbook.

68. Ibid., 50v.

69. Ibid., 51v, 54.

70. Ibid., 59.

71. Ibid., 23.

72. Ibid., 62.

73. Ibid., 85–86.

74. Ibid., 57v.

75. Ibid., 65v.

76. ABW, file 66: Building Expense Records of Krystynopol Monastery [1773–1775].

77. Ibid.

78. For scaffoldings, see Stefan M. Holzer, *Gerüste und Hilfskonstruktionen im historischen Baubetrieb. Geheimnisse der Bautechnikgeschichte* (Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 2021).

timber elements prepared throughout warmer months. Apart from the most frequent kinds listed below, the register sporadically recorded joists, sills, shingles and brushwood.⁷⁹

another person. To this end, Father Sroczyński agreed to hire a certain Kazimierz from Sokal, but he was soon dismissed as a drunkard. Hence, Potocki and Sroczyński had to make do with Niemiec, who “promised to get

The item as stated in the source (Polish)	The item in English	Quantity		Periods of delivery
		Pieces	Wagons	
Bal	Log	103	–	April to November 1773, May 1774
Krokiew	Rafter	356	4	March 1773 to June 1774
Łata	Batten	1,036	17	May to June 1773, April and May, September 1774
Moczulec [maculec]	Putlog	30	85	April to August 1773, April 1774
Murlata	Wall plate	35	–	April 1773, September 1773 to April 1774
Opulek	Half log	344	–	April to November 1773, April to July 1774
Platew	Purlin	542	–	March 1773 to July 1774
Tarcica	Lumber	1,688	–	March to November 1773, April to June 1774

Documentation scarcely mentions the origins of the large amounts of sand, save for the church plastering stage in 1775, when records expressly indicated that sand had been obtained for that purpose from the other side of Bug River, from Bendiucha (Бендюга).⁸⁰ There were also deliveries of water, presumably from nearby rivers.

Masonry accounted for the core part of construction. The spring beginning and autumn end of masonry work were called the opening and closing of the *fabrica*, respectively. Brick deliveries were strictly season-dependent; every year they started in April and finished in October.⁸¹ Bricks were made in the closest vicinity of Krystynopol. The monastery’s founder had an old brickyard in Nowy Dwór (presently a district of Sheptytskyi) at his disposal. However, the clay deposit there was almost exhausted and a new brickyard was launched north of the town, along the road to Sokal (Сокаль). Potocki was apparently displeased by his brickmaker Antoni Niemiec⁸² and considered hiring

better” in making bricks.⁸³ Nevertheless, other brick-makers appear in the sources later on, along with two brickyards, one belonging to the founder and one to the monks.⁸⁴ Antoni Mikłaszewski provided bricks from June 1773. In January 1774, the superior signed a brickmaking contract with Józef Głowiński (until then employed by the Krystynopol Jews) and agreed on the price of 6 zloty per one thousand bricks. The change occurred because “there was no hope that [Mikłaszewski] would live”.⁸⁵ Indeed, he passed away and the May settlement was performed by his son.⁸⁶

Apart from artists, artisans and suppliers, the construction process involved many regular workers: masons, helpers, diggers, carpenters, sawyers and carters. They were recruited from the inhabitants of Krystynopol and the nearby settlements. For some of them work on the construction site was part of their corvée duties, but most of them were regularly paid.⁸⁷ They belonged to two major ethnoreligious groups of a region where ethnicity and confession were strictly intertwined (for

79. ABW, file 66: Building Expense Records of Krystynopol Monastery [1773–1775].

80. ABW, file 85/103: Building Expense Records of Krystynopol Monastery [1775].

81. The masonry season could be shortened, apparently due to weather conditions or lack of funding, as demonstrated by Dettloff, „*Fabrica ecclesiae* dominikanów w Gidlach”, 198.

82. His surname means literally “German”, suggesting that the brickmaker or his ancestors were of German origin.

83. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 19v–21: Construction Logbook.

84. ABW, file 66: Building Expense Records of Krystynopol Monastery [1773–1775].

85. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 62: Construction Logbook.

86. ABW, file 66: Building Expense Records of Krystynopol Monastery [1773–1775].

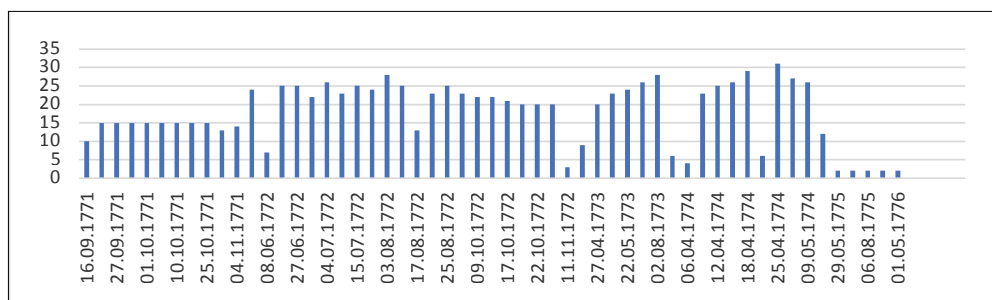
87. Construction as a source of income for the local inhabitants was discussed by Pest, *Die Finanzierung*, 49–50.

instance, Latin churches were called “Polish” and Uniate churches, “Ruthenian”).⁸⁸ Similarly, the Basilians’ construction documentation distinguished between “Poles” (Roman Catholics) and “Ruthenians” (Greek Catholics). Thanks to the differences between the calendars used (“Poles” used the Gregorian calendar, while “Ruthenians” kept to the Julian calendar), there were practically no downtimes. The “Poles” worked when the “Ruthenians” celebrated their feasts and *vice versa* (which explains the lowest figures in the chart below). In one case, the logbook mentioned “German” masons, but this was a description of their geographic origin rather than their religious denomination.

later to just a few. The number of sawyers preparing timber was recorded only once – there were eight of them in March 1773.⁸⁹ To sum up, it is impossible to provide an accurate total headcount, but the construction site certainly resounded with dozens of voices.

To demonstrate the scale of the undertaking, let us take other construction projects as a point of reference. The small parish church in Biskupice required only 4–6 masons and about 10 helpers; the renovation of the Uniate church in Szczepieszyn was carried out by only the master mason and 8 helpers; in Gidle, the number of masons varied from 6 to 12. The huge abbey church in Melk was built in the 1720s by 20–40 masons.

Number of masons employed



The number of masons employed in Krystynopol was seasonal and depended on the actual workload. All the respective entries from the construction logbook are presented in the chart above. At the beginning there were 15 masons, more than 20 worked during the warm months of the 1772, 1773 and 1774 construction seasons, occasionally reaching the number of 30, while reduced activity in 1775 and 1776 required only two masons. Masons were accompanied by “helpers”, i.e. an unqualified workforce of usually 30 men (recorded in 1771 and 1774), once reaching even 50 (in April 1774). The foundations were dug by diggers, registered in the 1771 and 1772 autumn seasons in numbers varying between 10 and 20. Carpenters employed to construct the timber roof truss appear in the source at the beginning of 1773 and from May 1774 onwards; initially there were more than 20 of them, but this number dwindled

1730s construction of the Ottobeuren church hired between 24 to 130 masons, apart from other employees.⁹⁰ Thus, the Krystynopol project in its best times involved, in comparison, quite a large number of workers.

All the men mentioned above remain anonymous; they may have been recorded in a separate payment register which has not survived. However, there are detailed registers of payments for the transportation of materials in the years 1773–1775.⁹¹ The total of wagons delivered by each carter has been presented in tables in Appendix 2, which provides data on the transportation of bricks, sand, water and lumber (on the example of the most frequently delivered kind of timber). Altogether, the registers name over 300 men involved in material transportation.

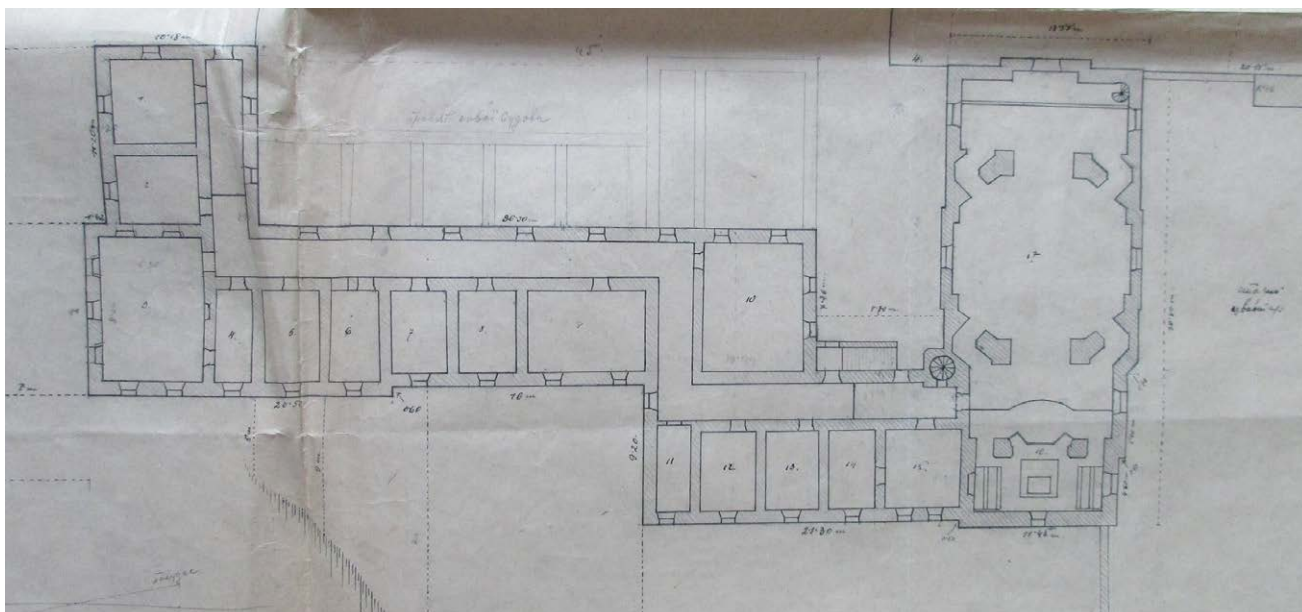
A significant share of the deliveries (especially in the case of sand) stemmed from *podwody*, a kind of servitude

88. Zdzisław Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku. Stan. Rozmieszczenie. Struktura wyznaniowa i etniczna*, vol. 1 (Przemyśl–Rzeszów: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Przemyślu, 1993), 339–342.

89. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117: Construction Logbook.

90. Kowalczyk, Zawadzka, “Regestr wydatków”, 726; Krasny, *Fabrica Ecclesiae Ruthenorum*, 24; Dettloff, „*Fabrica ecclesiae dominikanów w Gidlach*”, 198; Pest, *Die Finanzierung*, 62–63.

91. ABW, files 62 and 66: Building Expense Records of Krystynopol Monastery [1773–1775].



requiring peasants to transport weights for a landlord by means of their own carts.⁹² In many cases, the register included the name of the estate that supported the Basilians by providing unfree labor performed by its subjects. Besides Krystynopol, *podwody* came from the nearby estates of Dobraczyn (Добрячин), Kłusów (part of the present-day Sheptytskyi), Ostrów (Острів) and Sielec (Сілець). Most transports were carried out by the Ruthenian peasants, who were paid for each wagon, barrel or piece of timber. The largest group of carters lived in the village of Sielec. The repetition of their surnames suggests that many hailed from the same families. The register reveals a certain degree of transport specialisation, with a general rule that timber-carters were not involved in transporting other materials. Mysko Steckowy, who carted timber and bricks, constituted a single exception (unless this singular entry was a mistake). Members of the Bereziuk, Buzko, Diaczyszyn, Juskow, Kowal, Maiczyn, Ryś, Skowron and Turko families transported only timber, although of various kinds. Timber-carters lived in Rekliniec (where the trees were felled), or Sielec and Borowe that lay on the way to the forest. For other deliveries, it was common that the same men carried various materials, like Andruch Gierus, Wasyl Katysz, Bartek Kukoski, Marcin Plezio, and Pawło Rybaczuk who all delivered bricks, sand or water. Among the dominant peasant carters

were some exceptional persons, like Tomasz Malarski, a butler from the Ostrów manor and one of the most active brick-carters (he delivered some sand and water as well), or Kiwa, a Jew, who occasionally transported bricks and sand.

Furthermore, the payment registers contain entries on purchase, production or repair of various construction tools, as well as some special gifts (e.g. a handkerchief for Johan Selner's nameday), extras for the workers (e.g. beer during the summer heat), or extra payments for overtime work.⁹³ However, despite the richness of source material, information is still incomplete. Moreover, part of the work was unpaid, rendering it impossible to reproduce the total budget of the project.

NEGOTIATING THE ARCHITECTURE

By no means did the beginning of construction works mean that the design stage had come to an end. The final architectural shape of the monastery was the result of an ongoing discussion between all interested parties, involving the patron, the architect, the superior, and the Order's authorities. Progress depended heavily on their mutual relations, personal attitudes and entrepreneurship.⁹⁴

When the planning of the church was beginning, in August 1770, Franciszek Salezy Potocki declared that "the church should be old-styled but new-fashioned,

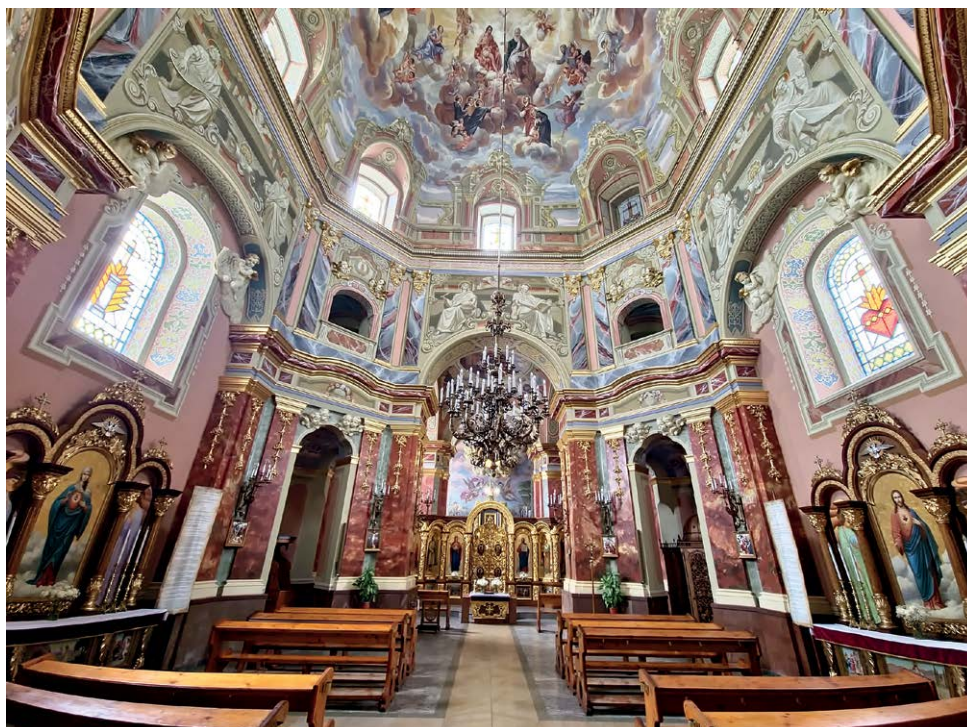
92. Stanisław Russocki, Marcin Kamler, "Podwody", in: *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski do 1945*, ed. Antoni Mączak, vol. 2 (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1981), 93.

93. ABW, file 66: Building Expense Records of Krystynopol Monastery [1773–1775].

94. Mańkowski, *Fabrica ecclesiae*, 15–24.

← 3 Plan of the Basilian monastery in Krystynopol (oriented towards the east), 1931/1932, Archive of the Basilian monastery in Warsaw, 84/3

4 Interior of the Basilian church in Krystynopol. Photo by I. Vashchyshyn OSBM, 2024
The current frescoes were painted in 2019–2020.



but the main altar must be facing westwards, so that the façade looks towards the town, because thus I want it” (Polish: “aby była cerkiew staroświeckonowomodna, ale ołtarz wielki być musi na zachód, aby facjata była ku miastu, bo ja chcę”).⁹⁵ This characteristic requirement (“old-styled but new-fashioned”) indeed captures the layout of the church well (Fig. 2–6). Its central octagonal nave with a dome is extended symmetrically by the narthex to the east and the presbytery to the west (also with a monks’ choir further on), and inscribed within rectangular outer walls. It was a solution evoking both Byzantine-Ruthenian tradition of domed tripartite churches and contemporary ideas for mixing central and elongated spaces. Indeed, Piotr Krasny in his synthesis of the Eastern Christian architecture in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania considered the Basilian church in Krystynopol as one of the best examples of blending Eastern traditions with late Baroque solutions.⁹⁶ Orienting the church towards the

west went against the Eastern Christian model, yet was not uncommon in Uniate architecture.

The Basilians wanted to build the new church to the north of the previous one, closer to the Bernardine monastery and further away from the Jewish houses; but the founder’s will prevailed. Potocki argued that the old location ensured that his palace and the monastery would be placed along a single axis, resulting in optimal linear perspective.⁹⁷ It is indeed possible to draw a straight line between the church and the northern *avant-corps* of the palace (Fig. 1; today, unfortunately, this axis is disrupted by housing).

The initial design did not include a monk’s choir, suggesting that the architect was unfamiliar not only with the Basilians’ needs, but also with the architecture of any cloistered order at all.⁹⁸ Potocki and Sroczyński asked Selner to add the choir in September 1771, and Selner carried out this task in the following month.⁹⁹ The choir elongated the church to the west,

95. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 3v: Construction Logbook.

96. Piotr Krasny, *Architektura cerkiewna na ziemiach ruskich Rzeczypospolitej 1596–1914* (Kraków: Universitas, 2003), 138, 165.

97. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 12: Construction Logbook.

98. Ignorance of future user needs also affected the construction project in Blaj in Transylvania, where the Viennese court architect Johann Baptist Martinelli and Austrian authorities had long neglected the issue of adjusting internal cathedral decorations and furnishings to Eastern-rite liturgy and customs, see Nedici, “An Artistic Melting Pot”, 280.

99. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 18–20: Construction Logbook.



undermining its planned symmetry of presbytery and narthex placed on two opposite sides of the centrally sited nave (Fig. 3, 6). Selner noticed the problem and proposed to add two chapels on each side of the nave that would strengthen the centralising dimension of the building. Sroczyński supported the idea, arguing that there would be more light inside and more place for altars, confessionals and beams. The new design was ready in March 1772 (it also included a new version of the central dome). Although the founder did not oppose it, he nevertheless decided to postpone the construction of the chapels, because he wanted the church to be ready as soon as possible.¹⁰⁰ The result is that the chapels were never completed (Fig. 3–6).

The process of arriving at an agreement on the final form of the attic crowning the façade was time-consuming indeed. In February 1773, the provincial of the Basilians, Onufry Bratkowski, visited the construction site and commanded that the gable be not triangular, but S-shaped; he also proposed to build a dome that would be $\frac{3}{4}$ of an ell taller, in order to make it more visible.¹⁰¹ The architect fulfilled the postulate regarding the gable and adjusted the design by “gluing on” a new curved pedestal under the central cross. It was built in the forthcoming spring. However, Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki issued a critique of the change. He

wanted a small and simple pedestal and an attic decorated with obelisks instead of vases, thus strengthening its commemorative dimension. The already-built crowning was demolished in November, just as he wished.¹⁰² The attic acquired the simplified, early-Classicist forms that were favoured by the young magnate, and did not boast the opulent Rococo curves proposed by the provincial. However, a certain compromise had been reached, since the attic is crowned by a pair of obelisks and a pair of vases (Fig. 2), not by obelisks alone. Another difference in taste occurred between the patron and the architect, and concerned the shape of these sculptures. In September 1773, Potocki rejected the designs made by Selner and ordered him to copy the drawings from one of his books (unfortunately its title was not mentioned).¹⁰³ As it has already been mentioned, the obelisks and vases had been carved in stone by Jan Szczurowski by April 1774. Altogether, the final church façade serves as an apt illustration of the changing architectural fashions of the 1770s.

Johan Selner planned to build two towers next to the church, one as a bell-tower and the second just “for proportion”. Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki was skeptical towards this concept, but his sister, Marianna Klementyna Brühl, persuaded him to approve it. In February 1773, they decided that the second tower would be

100. Ibid., 21v–22, 27–27v.

101. Ibid., 50v.

102. Ibid., 54v, 61.

103. Ibid., 58v.

← 5 Basilian monastic residence in Krystynopol with the church in the background (view from the north-east). Photo by Rafał Nestorow, 2013.

6 View of the church in Krystynopol from the south-west. Photo by Neovitaha777 commons.wikimedia.org, CC BY-SA 4.0

Starting from the right, each window allows the light to enter one of the subsequent spaces of the church: the narthex, the octagonal nave, the presbytery, and the monks' choir (not included in the initial project)



suitable for a clock.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, the towers were not constructed.

In May of the same year, Sroczyński specifically wrote about constructing a bell turret above the choir: “we took this decision, with the architect’s approval” (Polish: “ustanowiliśmy za przystaniem na to architekta”).¹⁰⁵ It is clear that “we” in this case meant the superior and the patron, and not the architect. Although this example suggests that the superior had more clout than the architect, an event that occurred at the initial construction stage stands proof of the opposite: the Basilians were surprised by the measurements taken by the “French architect”, as this was performed without informing them.¹⁰⁶ All the monastery’s representatives and contractors had to comply with the will of the patron. It was also his decision that the façade be painted a stone-grey colour in the articulation parts and pale yellow between its elements, as well as that the roofing sheet be painted red and the oaken doors be made smooth.¹⁰⁷ Further discussions concerned minor issues, e.g. in June 1772, Potocki, Sroczyński, and Selner agreed to install gratings in the church windows, concluding that safety is more important than the possible risk of diminishing the volume of light reaching the interior.¹⁰⁸

The splendour of the founder’s family was embodied by the placement of Potocki’s coat of arms, Pilawa, its emblem (charge) being a cross with two and a half bars. The initial design had it placed on the façade (a common solution of the epoch), but Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki opted for a marble foundation plaque instead. In September 1774, Feliks Polanowski, owner of the neighbouring Ostrów estate (whose peasants and butler had been working for the Basilians), proposed replacing the cross atop the bell turret with a cross as seen in Pilawa. According to Sroczyński, Potocki maintained modesty and expressed his tacit approval with a smile. However, the superior changed his mind and decided to install Potocki’s coat of arms on the façade because “the founder’s coat of arms is not worthy of being placed on the backside [*sic*] of the church” (Polish: “bo w zatyłku nie przystoi być herbowi fundatorskiemu”).¹⁰⁹ Both locations considered for the Pilawa coat of arms were ostentatious, but not unusual for a Polish magnate. In the same period, a distant relative of Franciszek Salezy and Stanisław Szczęśny and a great benefactor of the Basilians, Mikołaj Bazyli Potocki (1707/1708–1782), repeatedly replaced crosses on his ecclesiastical foundations with Pilawa; surviving examples are the façade

104. Ibid., 51.

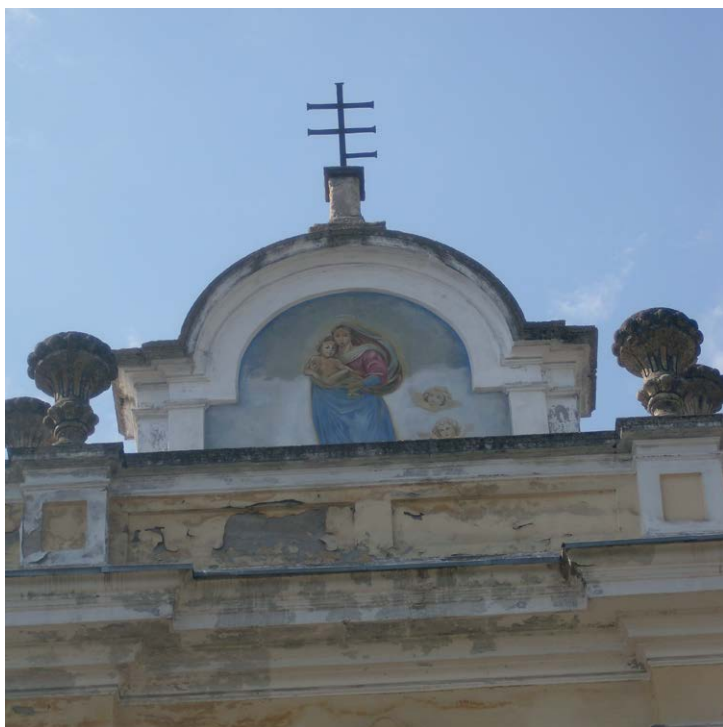
105. Ibid., 54v.

106. Ibid., 3.

107. Ibid., 62v–64v, 90v.

108. Ibid., 36.

109. Ibid., 77v–78v.



7 The Pilawa coat of arms crowning the façade of the Roman Catholic parish church in Buczacz. Photo by Melchior Jakubowski, 2013

→ 8 Gabriel Sławiński, painted interior of the former Uniate (currently Roman Catholic) parish church in Klesztów. Photo by Melchior Jakubowski, 2022

and side altars of the Roman Catholic parish church and the façade of the Basilian church in Buczacz (Бучач) (Fig. 7).¹¹⁰

THE UPS AND DOWNS OF PATRONAGE

The construction of the Basilian complex began in 1771 and gained momentum in 1772. However, when Franciszek Salezy Potocki passed away on 22 October 1772, only the foundations were ready. The death of the founder put the continuation of the construction process in question. Franciszek Salezy was aware that his son and heir, Stanisław Szczęśny, might be skeptical towards his initiative. Therefore, on his deathbed he handed Sroczyński the stunning amount of 108,000 zloty in gold for the continuation of the *fabrica* (Sroczyński noted that he could barely carry such a heavy load by himself). The logbook states that the dying magnate said that he regretted only two things, i.e. that he had not finished the Basilian edifices and that he had not found a husband for his younger daughter, Ludwika.¹¹¹ Quite curious words for a man who was responsible for

the kidnapping and murder of his unwanted daughter-in-law, Gertruda née Komorowska.

The tragic story of Gertruda's marriage to Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki was the main reason why the young heir had been abroad at the time of his father's death. He arrived in Krystynopol in December. Initially he was quite committed to continuing the construction of the monastery complex, as evidenced by his involvement in decision-making. He looked closely at the designs and discussed them with Father Sroczyński and Marianna Klementyna Brühl. However, his zeal lasted only two years, and its end is vividly demonstrated by his employing Stanisław Stroiński.

Already Franciszek Salezy Potocki had wanted the Basilian church in Krystynopol to be decorated with frescoes by Stanisław Stroiński. Contracted by Potocki to paint the church of the Benedictine nuns, Stroiński travelled to Przemyśl in April 1772. The magnate took the opportunity to present the artist with his plan for future work.¹¹² In October 1773, Stanisław Szczęśny confirmed that he would continue

110. Jan K. Ostrowski, "Kościół parafialny p.w. Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Panny Marii w Buczaczu", in: *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Kościoły i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego*, vol. 1 (Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 1993), 15–28.

111. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 43v–45: Construction Logbook. Further details in Lorens, "Inwestycje budowlane", 527.

112. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 30v: Construction Logbook.



his father's project. When Sroczyński was worried that the artist could have other commitments, the young heir replied confidently that "he will not refuse me".¹¹³ Thus encouraged, the superior initiated correspondence with Stroiński about the planned work. On 6 June 1774, the painter came to inspect the site. At this point the young Potocki expressed his vision that all the altars and the iconostasis should be painted *al fresco* and form one uniform composition, the only exception being the framed altar-paintings. He also required the artist "not to make [the frescoes] dense with vases and persons", this once again demonstrating his Neoclassical stylistic orientation.¹¹⁴ The altars and iconostasis being painted on the walls was not unusual in Uniate churches, as numerous written sources and singular preserved objects testify, e.g. the main altar of the former Basilian church in Lady (Малыя Ляды, today in Belarus) or a set of altars in the parish church in Klesztów, founded by Bishop Ryłło not far from Krystynopol (Fig. 8).¹¹⁵

Sroczyński sent to Stroiński the detailed iconographic design of the frescoes¹¹⁶. It begins with an interesting iconographic concept of the "Family of St. Basil" that was to decorate the choir vault. The "family" consisted of numerous early Eastern Christian saints – bishops, monks, nuns and lay people – who at the same time were relatives of St. Basil. Sroczyński concluded the list with the practical consideration that, since it was impossible to show all of them openly, those in further rows would be signalled only by their faces, visible behind the main figures (Polish: "wszystkich otworzyć nie można mieć, ale odmalowawszy kilka celniejszych osób koło ś[więtego] Ojca Bazylego, inne osoby poza nich tylko co twarzy wyrazić").

The concept for the "Family of St. Basil" is further illuminated by an engraving extant among the acts of the Ruthenian Hospice in Rome (Fig. 9a). It is an undated indulgence form in an artistic frame, drawn by a Basilian monk Lucidus Woyniłowicz and engraved by Józef Perl in Vilnius.¹¹⁷ Woyniłowicz (ca. 1735 – ca. 1798)

113. Ibid., 60.

114. Ibid., 69v, 71v.

115. Галіна А. Флікоп-Світа, *Іканастасы і алтары грэка-каталіцкіх храмаў Беларусі XVII – першай трэці XIX ст.* (Мінск: Беларуская навука, 2021), 79–83, 232–236; Jerzy Kowalczyk, "Latynizacja i okcydentalizacja architektury greckokatolickiej w XVIII wieku", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 42, no. 3–4 (1980), 351.

116. Published in: Lorens, "Inwestycje budowlane bazylianów", 534–536.

117. Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide, Ospizio dei Ruteni, 1 [no pagination].



9a–e Lucidus Woyniłowicz OSBM (drawing), Józef Perli (engraving):
 ← a. blank indulgence form, issued by the protoigumen (provincial) of the Holy Trinity (Lithuanian) province of the Basilian Order, Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide, Ospizio dei Ruteni, 1;
 → b–e. details, showing members of the Family of St. Basil from the secular estate and from the Church hierarchy.

entered the order in 1751 and his highest positions were the archimandrite of Troki (Trakai, 1773–1778) and Kobryn (Кобрын, 1779–1798), as well as the consultor of the province (1776–1778).¹¹⁸ His artistic activity is unknown. Józef Perli *vel* Perl specialised in engraving devotional images in Vilnius in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹¹⁹ Although the exact date is unknown, it is highly probable that the picture was made at the similar time as the construction works were being carried out in Krystynopol. The text of the indulgence is surrounded with an elaborate rocaille floral frame containing seven small figural compositions. In the centre is the Holy Trinity, flanked in the upper corners by St. Basil and St. Josaphat. Below them, on either side, are two groups of personages (men at the top and women at the bottom), described as “S. Familia S. Basilii M. ex Statu Saeculari” and “S. Familia S. Bas. Mag. ex Hierarchia Ecclesiastica” (Fig. 9b–e). Thus, here too the “Family of St. Basil” included bishops, monks, nuns and lay people. The similarity goes further in that only the front personages

are recognisable and others are represented only by their heads. However, the engraving shows many more people than Sroczyński’s list, suggesting that in this case the “family” extends beyond St. Basil’s relatives and includes other persons; first and foremost the Basilians.

Other themes of the planned frescoes included the Protection of the Virgin Mary, the Throne of Solomon and other Old Testament motifs (choir walls); the Pilawa coat of arms (intrados of the arch above the altar); the Apocalyptic Lamb (presbytery vault); Deesis (chancel arch); the Vision of Isaiah (central dome); the Purification of the Temple (porch vault); the Angelic Choirs (above the music choir).

Unfortunately, Sroczyński was unable to obtain any further decisions from Potocki. In February 1775, the superior had to inform Stroiński that the painter may undertake another assignment because of the patron’s silence.¹²⁰

The failed contract with Stroiński was nevertheless a minor problem for the Krystynopol Basilians. In 1775, Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki left Krystynopol, lost interest

118. Information from the database of the project “Basilians of the Lithuanian Province in the years 1617–1839”, financed by the National Science Centre of the Republic of Poland under grant number 020/39/B/HS3/01232. The author thanks Prof. Dorota Wereda for sharing this data.

119. Edward Rastawiecki, *Słownik rytowników polskich tudzież obcych w Polsce osiadłych lub czasowo w niej pracujących* (Poznań: Z drukarni J.I. Kraszewskiego, 1886), 234.

120. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 82v: Construction Logbook. The frescoes that cover the internal walls today were executed only in 2019–2020 by the association of icon painters in the name of St. Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kyiv ‘Obraz’ (Fig. 4): <https://www.sacral-art.com/gallery/chervonograd> (accessed 28 Oct. 2024).

in the construction project and failed to answer the increasingly desperate letters from Father Sroczyński, who begged him for money and decisions. Soon afterwards, Potocki even sold his father's favourite estate to Adam Poniński (1732–1798), another member of the pro-Russian party among the Polish elite.¹²¹ After 31 July 1775, the Basilians had to tackle the damage caused by hail, which had injured people and animals and broken west-facing panes across the town.¹²² Under these circumstances, it was necessary to reduce the scope of work, shrink employment to very few contractors, and focus on making at least a small part of the monastery habitable. The church was almost ready, but only one wing of the residence had been completed. The Basilians continued working according to the original design by Selner, but their pace was very slow. The church was eventually finished shortly before the visitation in 1792,¹²³ the monks' residence – in the first decade of the nineteenth century.¹²⁴

Finally, let it be noted that although noble patronage remained crucial to conducting the works, the first heralds of a new order were already visible. After the First Partition in 1772, Krystynopol came under the Austrian rule. In February 1773, tree-felling in Rekliniec Forest was temporarily suspended under the universal issued by the state authorities; this would have been impossible in the libertarian Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania.¹²⁵ Moreover, the intrusive Austrian bureaucracy was one of the main reasons why Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki sold his Galician estates and created a new centre of power and culture in Tulczyn (Тулчин) and Humań that remained within the shrunken Commonwealth.

CONCLUSION, OR, WHO EXACTLY BUILT THE MONASTERY

Krystynopol was a certain microcosm which exemplified the socioeconomic patterns characteristic of the country: a Greek Catholic monastery was founded by



a Roman Catholic patron and built by contractors of both these Catholic rites and the Jewish denomination, and maybe Protestants as well. Coexistence and cooperation were obvious and indispensable.¹²⁶

The geography of the construction (map 1) developed on two levels. There was a local zone with a radius of circa 20 km, from where most employees and materials were sourced. Other purchases and contracts were more long-distance, primarily encompassing Lwów, while the decision-making process reflected the location of the founder's residences and the Basilian monasteries. The creators of the Krystynopol monastery had relatively wide horizons, with contractors active in as far as Warsaw, Kielce and the Czech lands.

The architectural shape of the edifices was negotiated between the monks, the architect and the founder. All

121. Zofia Zielińska, "Poniński Adam", in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 27 (Wrocław et alii: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Polska Akademia Nauk, 1982–1983), 504–512.

122. At the Basilian site, damages included 76 panes and wall cornices, see TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 86: Construction Logbook.

123. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3085, 7: Visitations of Krystynopol Monastery.

124. Vuytsyk, "Vasylyyans'kyi monastyr", 231. Slow progress and living in a permanent construction site were rather typical for monastic communities, as stressed by Małgorzata Borkowska, *Życie codzienne polskich klasztorów żeńskich w XVII–XVIII wieku* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1996), 98–101.

125. TsDIAL, coll. 684, op. 1, file 3117, 51: Construction Logbook.

126. Comparable multireligious specifics of a religious construction project were characteristic of the cathedral in Blaj, whose building engaged Roman and Greek Catholics, Orthodox Christians, Lutherans, and even one Anabaptist: Nedici, "An Artistic Melting Pot", 279, 288.

ideas brought forth by Franciszek Salezy and Stanisław Szczęsny Potocki were turned into reality, whereas the proposals of Kornel Sroczyński and Johan Selner were either postponed or rejected, unless the founder found them appealing. Construction practice once again stressed the all-powerful status of a magnate in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. It was his will that led to the creation of the monastery, he selected the architect and approved the design, his peasants had to work on the site. It was also his indifference that stopped the further construction and decoration of the building.

Nevertheless, although the founder's will was prevalent, it could not have been implemented without all the other people involved. Much depended on the entrepreneurship of the Father Superior, since he acted as a broker between the patron and the contractors. However, there were many other parties concerned. Thanks to the exceptionally rich documentation it is possible to identify a vast part of them, as well as indicate that apart from artists and artisans, the construction required Jewish suppliers and Ruthenian peasant carters. The Basilian monastery in Krystynopol is also their creation.

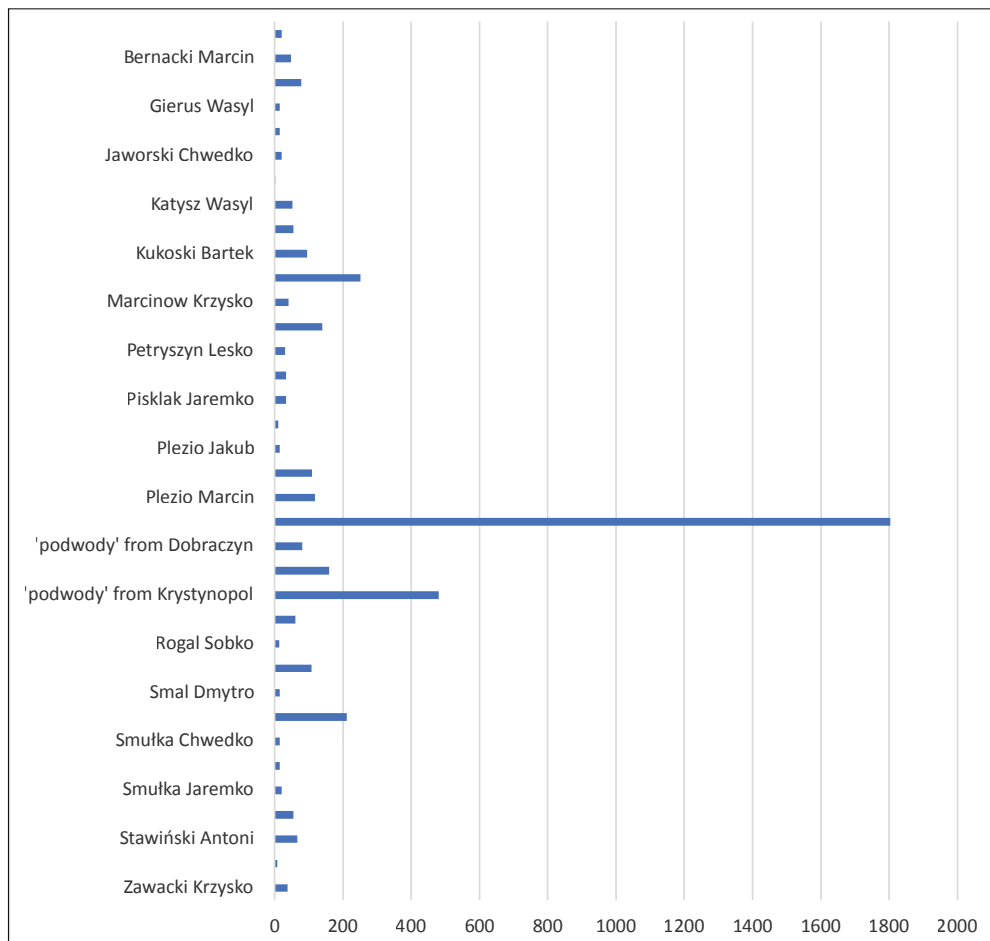
APPENDIX 1: CONSTRUCTION CHRONOLOGY

- 6 September 1763: the deed of foundation is made by Franciszek Salezy Potocki
- 17 May 1766: the Basilians are introduced to temporary residential quarters
- 31 August 1770: the first measurement of the site is taken by the "French architect"
- 23 January 1771: the first designs of the church are drafted by the "French architect"
- 14 June 1771: the second measurement of the site is taken by Johan Selner
- 16 June 1771: three designs for the church are made
- 20 June 1771: the beginning of brick deliveries
- 23 August 1771: the decision to build the new church in the place of the old one is made
- 31 August 1771: the foundations are marked out
- 2 September 1771: the beginning of lime and sand deliveries
- 3–4 September 1771: the presbytery of the old church is demolished
- 15 September 1771: the cornerstone is set
- 2 October 1771: the church design is supplemented with a monks' choir, sacristy and treasury
- 10 October 1771: foundations for the choir begin to be laid
- 16 November 1771: construction management passes on to the Basilians
- 8 January 1772: death of Anna Elżbieta Potocka
- 3–9 February 1772: a temporary chapel is built next to the old church
- 9 February 1772: contracts for timber preparation and lime supply
- 5 March 1772: the church design is amended by adding an altered dome and side chapels (not completed)
- 6 March 1772: decision to build a two-storey monastery
- 12 March – 14 April 1772: the temporary chapel is moved to the side and used for storing old church furnishings
- 17–25 April 1772: the demolition of the old church
- 25 May 1772: the arrival of Julian Zaleski, the *prefectus fabricae*
- 6 June 1772: new church foundations are completed
- 7 September 1772: contract for iron supply
- 9 October 1772: the monastery's foundations begin to be laid
- 22 October 1772: death of Franciszek Salezy Potocki
- 22 February 1773: contract for roofing sheet
- 19 May 1773: church façade is completed
- 19 June 1773: walls in the part of the monastery adjacent to the church are completed
- 25 June 1773: the foundations for the further part of the monastery begin to be laid
- 25 August 1773: the dome is completed
- 1 December 1773: contract for the façade vases and obelisks
- 18 February 1774: decision on the colours of the façade and roofing sheet
- 7 April 1774: the vases and obelisks are completed
- 1 June 1774: the church walls are completed
- 10–11 June 1774: the temporary chapel is demolished

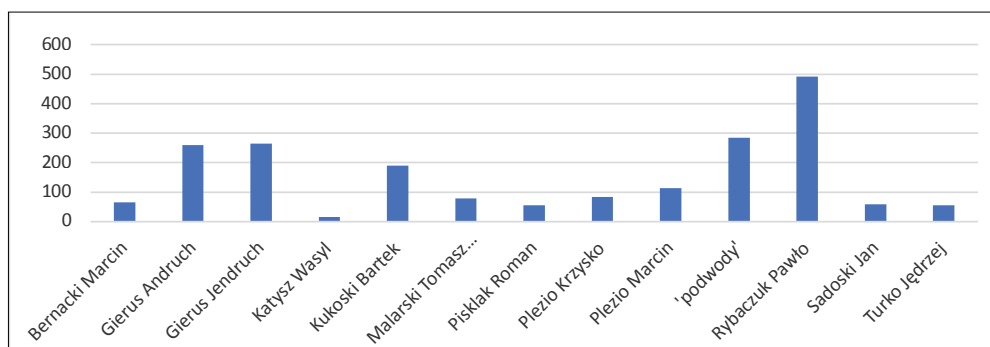
2 May – 30 June 1775: roof-painting
 19–21 June 1775: façade-painting
 6 August 1775: the departure of Johan Selner
 2 September 1775: the first three cells of the monastery are completed
 September 1775: the departure of Julian Zaleski
 17–18 May 1776: the temporary residential quarters are demolished
 before 14 December 1792: works in the church are completed
 1809: the monastery is completed

APPENDIX 2: MEN TRANSPORTING BUILDING MATERIALS

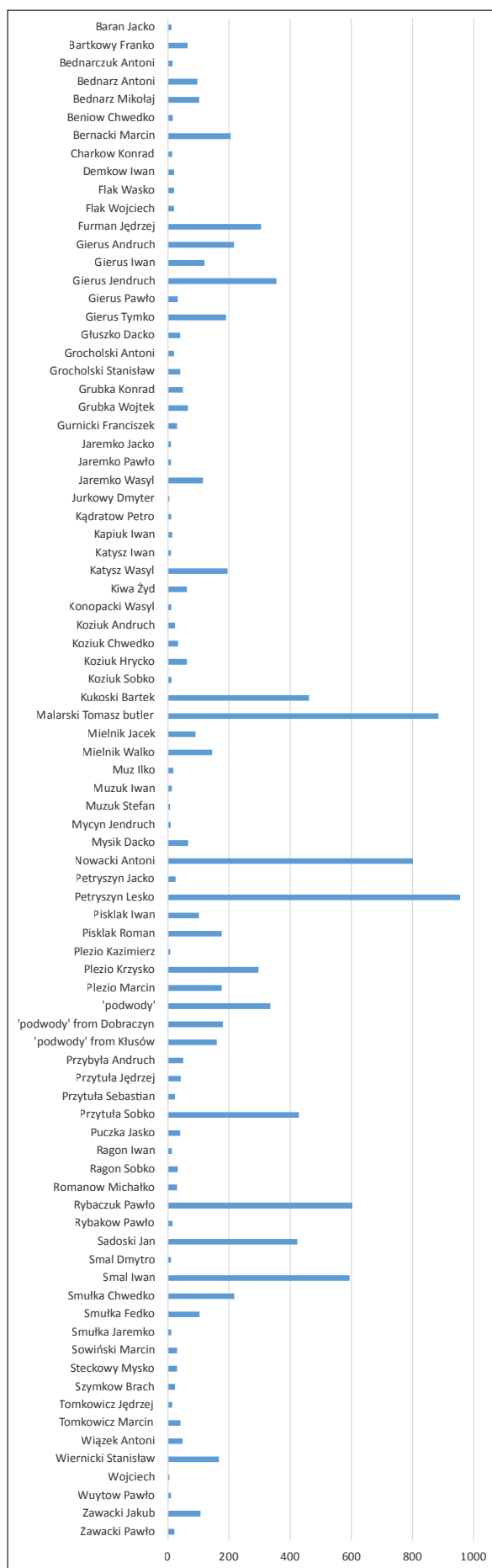
Transport of sand in wagons



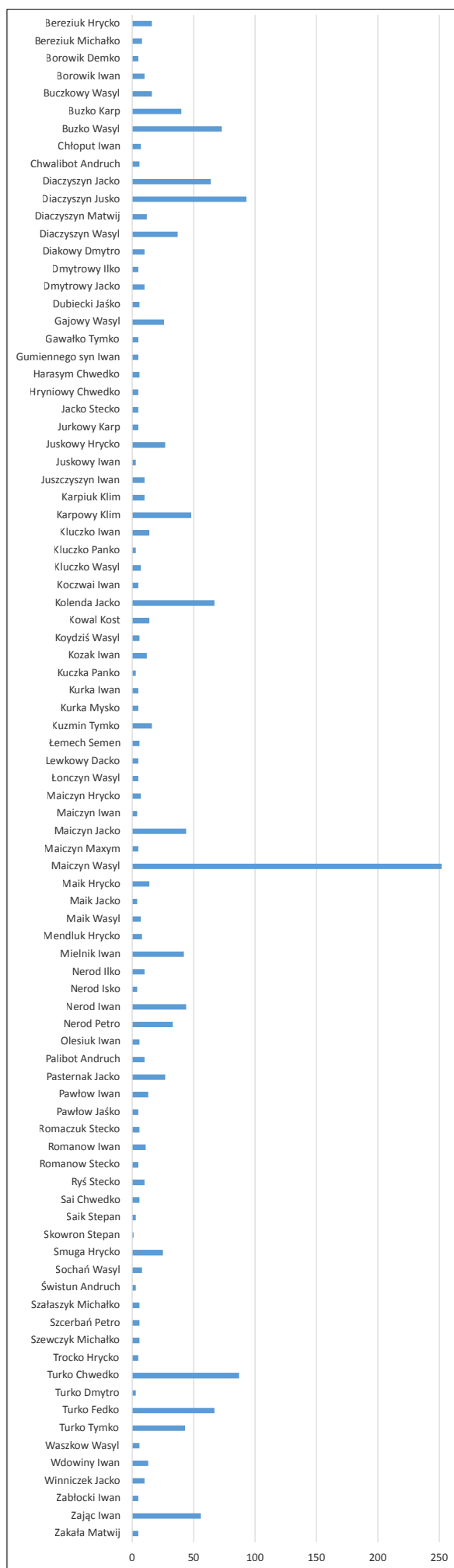
Transport of water in barrels



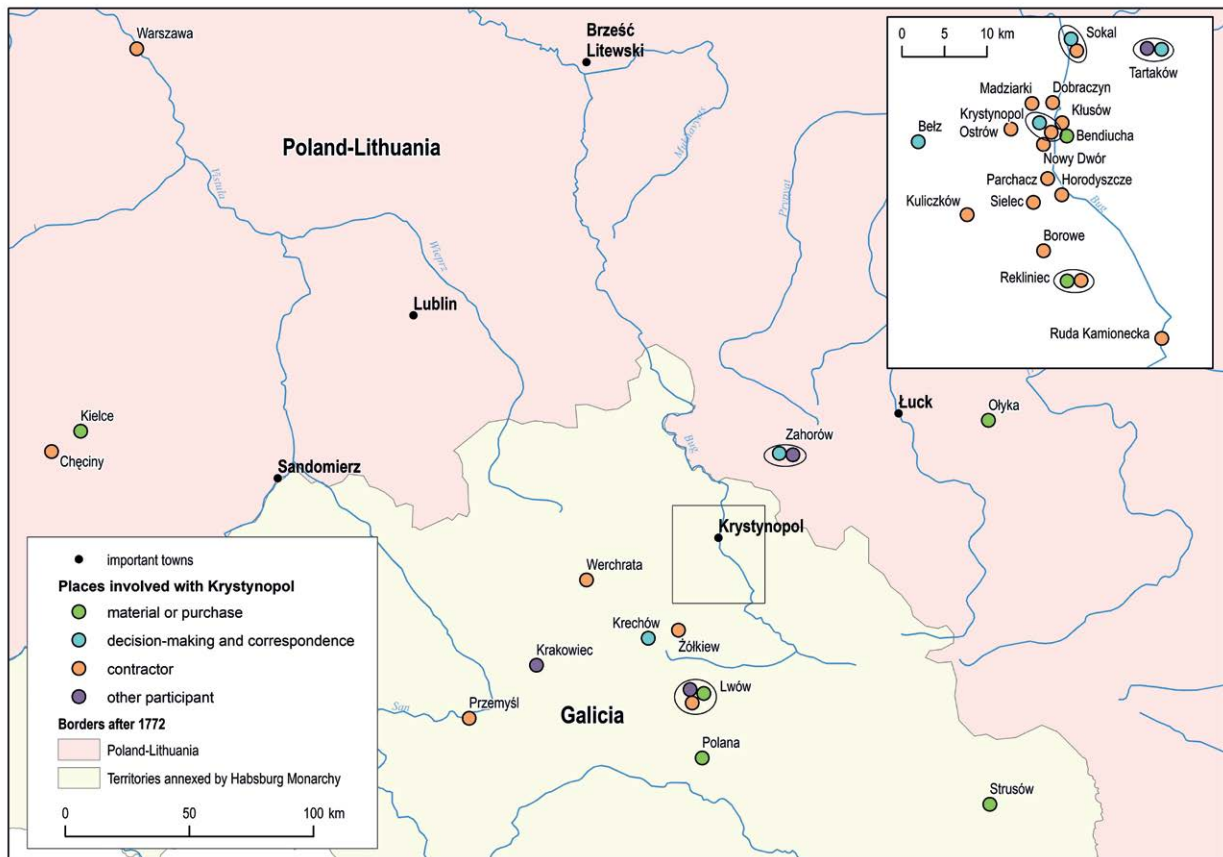
Transport of bricks in wagons



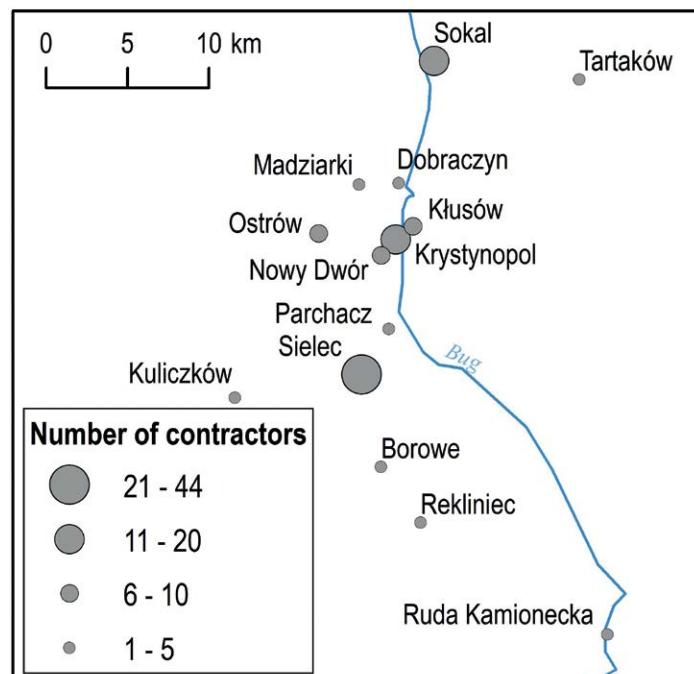
Transport of lumber in pieces



APPENDIX 3: GEOGRAPHY OF THE CONSTRUCTION PROJECT



Map 1 Places involved in the construction of the monastery in Krystynopol. The map does not include Gdańsk, Sweden or the Czech lands. Map by Tomasz Panecki.



Map 2 Contractors employed in Krystynopol per settlement (exclusively those known under their name and place of residence). The extent of a map is equal with an insert on map 1. Map by Tomasz Panecki

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Melchior Jakubowski jest historykiem i historykiem sztuki, adiunktem w Instytucie Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Jego zainteresowania badawcze obejmują geografię historyczną, historię krajobrazu, historię społeczną oraz historię wczesnonowożytnej Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem bazyliańskich klasztorów. Jest autorem m.in. książki *Krajobraz religijny i etniczny Suwalszczyzny, Bukowiny i Łatgalii na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku. Lokalne społeczności a struktury państwowe i wyznaniowe* (2022).