

Reconstructing a shattered mosaic: the common heritage of Poland and Ukraine

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THE SERIES *Materials for the History of Religious Art in the Eastern Borderlands of the former Polish Republic* brings together the findings of research carried out by Cracow and Warsaw historians in territories east of the present Polish border—today parts of Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania. This research is particularly significant because the documentation being collected refers to heritage that is vanishing in plain view of all of us; these publications are its only means of survival.

The territories covered by this research are called ‘Borderlands’ in Poland, as they comprise the direction in which the consolidating Polish state expanded in the past. This process resulted in the Union, formed in the late 14th century, between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, an East European superpower at that time. The new Polish-Lithuanian State was nearly four times the size of the territory of Poland at the beginning of the 14th century. Until the end of the 18th century, the ‘Republic of the Two Nations’ included the Crown (the Kingdom of Poland proper and part of today’s Ukraine) and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which extended over the majority of the lands of today’s Lithuania and Belarus. With the re-demarcation of the Polish border in 1945, the six-hundred-year ties between these territories and Poland were severed. The frontier along the River Bug proved an impenetrable barrier despite declarations of brotherhood and cooperation between the various ‘peoples’ democracies’. Since no exploration of the cultural or artistic legacy of Polish lands incorporated into the USSR was possible, it remained only faintly present in the minds of Polish art historians for almost half a century. News of what was frequently irreversible destruction reached Poland from time to time, and was unverifiable by historians, who often made vain attempts to determine if a given monument still existed at all. Also, research could hardly rely on Soviet publications, in which the selection of material and the form of presentation did not satisfy the needs of Polish historians.

In the late 1980s things began to look up, but the real turning point was to come in 1990, when the long-

inaccessible areas of the former Polish eastern lands and their heritage, waiting to be rediscovered and documented, were opened to researchers. One of the first people to undertake a systematic survey of monuments in Ukraine was the Cracow-based art historian Professor Jan K. Ostrowski of the Jagiellonian University’s Institute of Art History, and director of Wawel Royal Castle. His knowledge of the territory helped him formulate a program in 1991 for the drawing up of an inventory of Roman Catholic religious art. The project was soon given the status of a permanent project of the International Cultural Centre, an institution founded by Professor Jacek Purchla and inaugurated in May 1991.

The first volume in the series, which came out in 1993, was a pilot publication.¹ The program and methodology defined in this initial study is still followed; only the range of historical data has expanded. Up to 2005, the 13 volumes of Part I were published, covering the area of the former Rus voivodship, which today corresponds largely to the Lviv circuit and part of the Ivano-Frankivsk and Tarnopil circuits. These volumes contain monographs of 319 monuments (a total of 4,274 pages and 6,458 illustrations).² The idea put forward by art historians working in Warsaw under Dr. Maria Kałamajska-Saeed to initiate another two parts of the series (II and III), that would collect monographs of Roman Catholic churches in the former voivodships of Navahrudak and Vilnius (today in Belarus and Lithuania, respectively) was in a way a measure of the success of the inventory methodology. In 2004–2005, the first volume of part II³ and the first of part III⁴ were published.

A mere inventory of the present condition of the monuments would only produce a catalogue of ruins, or just sites of former buildings. Therefore, the authors of the studies decided to ignore the devastation of World War II and the period under Soviet rule, and tried instead to reconstruct the pre-1939/1945 condition of the monuments. Efforts were focused not only on collecting all sorts of documentation available, which would be helpful in such reconstruction, but also on hunting down moveable works that had been carried

away to museums in Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania, or relocated along with the Polish population deported from the former Soviet republics. Unprecedented in terms of its inventory model, this procedure was highly successful in causing a theoretical 'reunion' of historical collections.

The first stage was the making a preliminary inventory in the field, which took place from 1992–2001. Based on this, a portfolio of each monument was created, comprising photographs and descriptions, which the researcher must supplement with data from archives and literature. At the same time, the researcher must review old iconography. Then the author's study undergoes rigorous processing by the scientific editor, Prof. Jan K. Ostrowski. Thus edited, the volume is verified during another site visit.

Each monograph consists of strictly defined sections: the history of the monument (up to modern times, providing information on how it was used after World War II, the stages of devastation, possible restoration of its cultural status, as well as conservation and renovation work), a description of its architecture, decoration and furnishings (before devastation, if possible), and its state of preservation (its current condition, including indications of sites where any dispersed moveable assets are kept). In some cases chapters are added which provide an outline of associated artistic issues, as well as an annex featuring a selection of sources, mostly historical descriptions and inventories. In the section of illustrations are gathered together all the archival iconographic materials available on the monuments, supplemented with a detailed photographic inventory compiled *in situ*, as well as photographs of all the other identifiable elements of its furnishings and fittings currently located in other churches or collections.

The more than 300 monographs already published combine into a rich reflection of the Roman Catholic heritage of the Rus lands. There are relatively few examples of late Gothic⁵ and Renaissance⁶ art. The real explosion, in terms of both volume and quality, came in the Baroque period and that of its successor, the 'Borderlands' Rococo style, which produced works to rival any on the European scale.⁷ But the real discovery is the region's modern art. The Lviv Polytechnic boasted one of the country's best architecture faculties, and many pioneering works of modern architecture were built in the city in the 1920s and 1930s. World War II arrested the natural course of this development, and the entire body of early 20th century architecture in the city was consigned to oblivion. Architects who had taken their first steps in Lviv later became the central figures around which the major schools of architecture in postwar Poland

emerged, such as those in Wrocław or Gliwice in Upper Silesia. Yet 20th century Polish architecture developed without a sense of its roots. Today, the rediscovery and re-establishment of these roots is one of the main tasks facing Polish art history, and it is proving possible in part thanks to the discoveries yielded by these inventories.⁸

The panorama of early and modern art that is now emerging, and the history of individual pieces, especially its more recent chapters, is prompting consideration of ways of preserving this art, although this objective was not originally one of the aims of these publications. In this context the question of their function is central. It seems vital to outline, however briefly, a few types of situation in which a structure's function, or lack of function, has affected its fate and might continue to do so in the future.

The vast majority of Roman Catholic church and monastery or convent buildings in Ukraine are now ruins. The Soviet authorities systematically and deliberately destroyed places of worship that were confiscated or abandoned as communities were resettled. This destruction commonly proceeded in stages, although it was also fairly widespread for such buildings to be demolished or blown up. This campaign was begun within Soviet Russia before World War II and intensified during the Brezhnev era.

Yet far more sites still were condemned to ruin by misuse. Converted into artificial fertiliser stores for collective farms, after a few decades they were reduced to 'giants with legs of clay'.⁹ Many fell to ruins through lack of an administrator. Abandoned, plundered, ravaged, robbed of vaulting and roofs, they were expelled beyond the margins of community life,¹⁰ and lack of attention often proved just as destructive as the chemicals eating away at the walls of churches used as fertilizer stores (Fig. 1.).

Nevertheless, a considerable percentage of abandoned churches have survived to the present in a relatively good condition. Unfortunately, in many places there are too few communities interested in restoring such buildings to their original functions as places of worship, while others simply can not afford to restore them. The prohibitive costs of readaptation deter other religious communities, as it is often much cheaper to build new facilities—which can be designed to meet specific liturgical needs, not always easy in an existing structure.

Under communism very few Roman Catholic churches in Ukraine were officially open as places of worship. After World War II the Soviet authorities outlawed all but 13, which, thanks to constant use, have retained their appearance and furnishings.¹¹ The first churches confiscated after the war were reclaimed from the Soviet authorities towards the end of the 1980s, but the real breakthrough came when Ukraine



1 View of transept and apse. Potocki chapel. Parish church of the Holy Trinity. Podgaisi. ca. 1634 (2003 photo: Michał Jurecki).

regained its sovereignty in 1991. It was then that Poles living in Ukraine began to organize themselves into religious communities and reactivate their parishes. The churches they ‘reinhaered’ were in varying states. Those whose churches had been fortunate enough to be under the care of a conservator, or had been used as grain stores,¹² were in a relatively good condition, but those whose churches had been returned after years of use as a fertiliser or other chemical store were in a virtually hopeless situation.

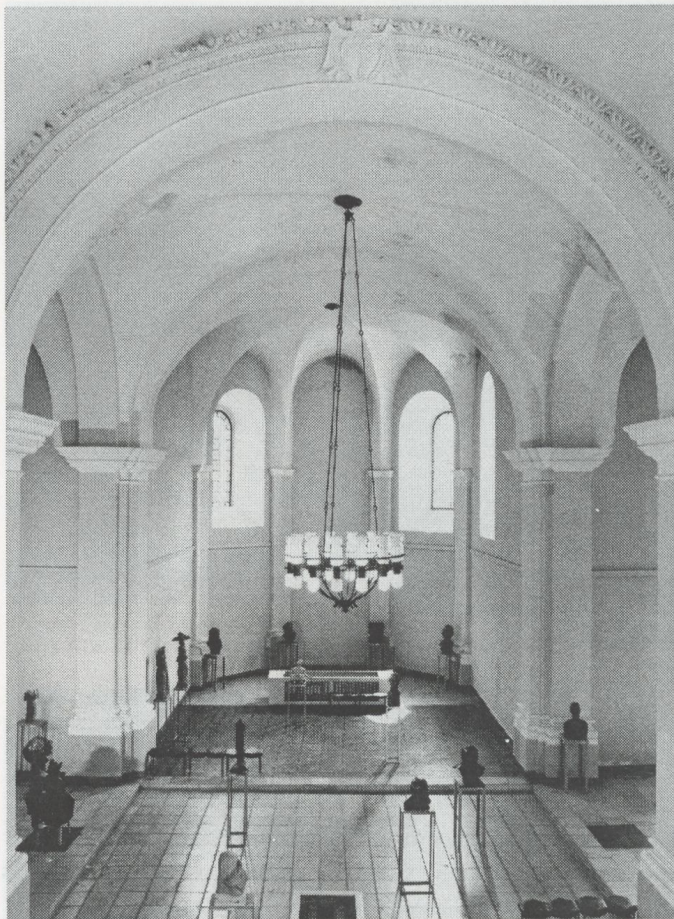
Yet even the better preserved buildings were almost entirely devoid of their interior furnishings and fittings, and the little that survived was in urgent need of conservation. Characteristic of the new life in these churches are attempts by the local people to resanctify the space—remains of altars are decorated with flowers, or makeshift altars are fashioned from surviving fragments of church fittings. The readaptation of the buildings for religious use takes years, and in most cases continues to this day. The very limited financial means of these parishes precludes the commissioning of professional conservation work, and this has two consequences—some churches neglected for half a century are still awaiting specialist care, while those restored by the parishioners themselves in an amateur fashion are, paradoxically, simply being subjected to further damage.

Although the Soviet authorities were overtly hostile towards the Roman Catholic church, there is a group of buildings in Ukraine that, unlikely as it may seem, owe their survival—many of them in very good condition—to these

authorities. These are churches and monasteries that were adapted for use as museums, concert halls and archive storage. For the most part these buildings are in prestigious city center sites, although there are also instances of village parish churches being designated for ‘higher purposes’, often quite by chance. The richly decorated churches with their array of religious appurtenances were ideal as museums of atheism, which were set up all over the Soviet Union with the intention of illustrating the communist theory that ‘religion is the opium of the masses’. The exhibits included various types of objects used in religious cults, such as confessionals, monstrances, holy relics, etc. Following the collapse of the system, these Roman Catholic churches are, alongside those permitted to function throughout the communist period, the group in which the fittings and furnishings, often taken from many other churches, have survived best.

In view of their layout, churches that could be locked were natural candidates for the role of concert halls or galleries (Fig. 2.).¹³ However, most of these were stripped of their interior furnishings. Many other churches were used as various types of warehouses or stores. One such example is the Capuchin monastery in Olesko,¹⁴ which was used to store works of art from abandoned churches. Nevertheless, the most important fact is that these churches have survived, often against all the odds.

Many churches and religious community buildings closed down by the communists were subsequently altered structurally to serve their new functions, so that their orig-

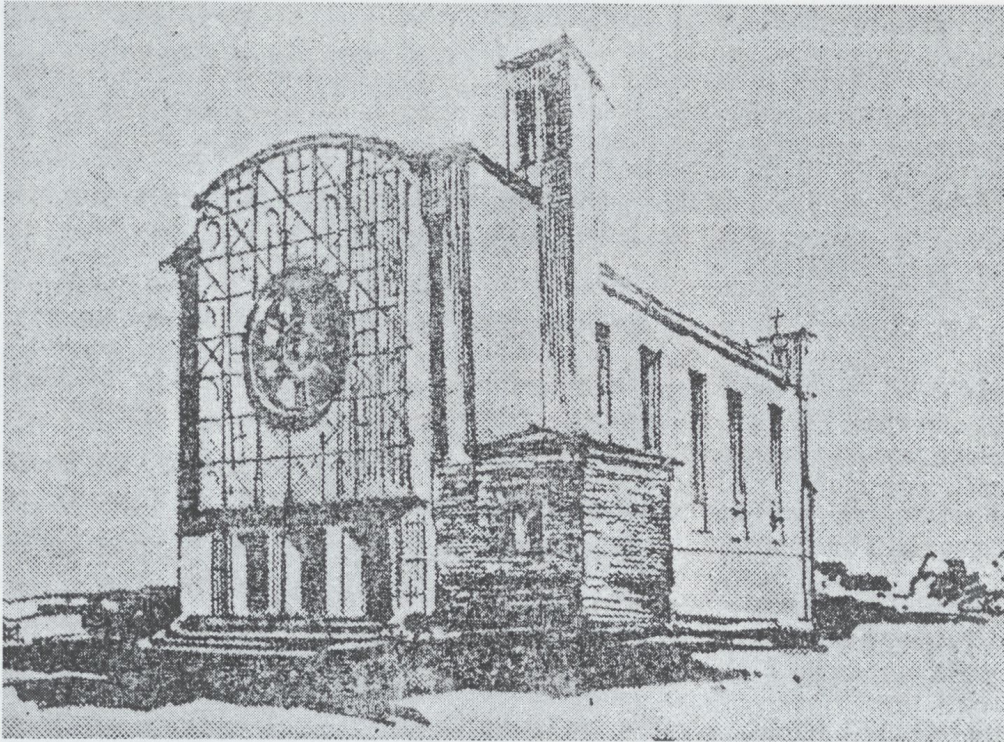


inal shape was distorted. This is most widespread in areas that were annexed by the Soviet Union before World War II, as it was a practice commenced in the 1920s. Eradicating the evidence of a sacral building's original function involved demolishing spires or towers and bell towers, and altering the façade altogether, usually recreating it in the then-fashionable Stalinist classicist style. Other common alterations including dividing the building into floors, replacing the original windows with smaller ones, re-rendering the exterior, and erecting new structures on the plot immediately surrounding the historical building. This was a practice common to both large cities and smaller provincial centres. Buildings thus modernized became cultural centers, cinemas, hospitals or factories (Figs. 3–6).¹⁵ A less expensive variation on this idea was to adapt just the interior of the church or monastery. Large monasteries or convents in particular were ideal material for alteration by the communists. Some were turned into prisons in the style of previous Tsarist rulers, while others became mental asylums (the prime example here is Podkamen' (Figs. 7–8)).¹⁶ Many religious community buildings were turned over to the communist civil service or the army (e.g. the barracks in the former Jesuit complex in Hyriv¹⁷).



2 View of interior toward apse. Parish church of the Assumption (now an exhibition hall of the Lviv Gallery of Art). Biliy Kamiń. ca. 1605. (1993 photo from: Ostrowski. 1996 work cited in note 10. fig. 25. 1993. Photo: Stanisław Michta).

3 Exterior view. Church of Christ the King in Kozielniki (now a building company). Lviv. 1937–39. Stefan Porębowicz i Roman Chrystowski. (From: Ostrowski. 2004 work cited in note 8. fig. 735. 2002 photo: Stanisław Michta).



4 Drawing. View of Church of Christ the King in Kozielniki. Lviv. 1937–39. Stefan Porębowicz and Roman Chrystowski. (from: 1934 sketch in Ostrowski. 2004 work cited in note 8, fig. 734)

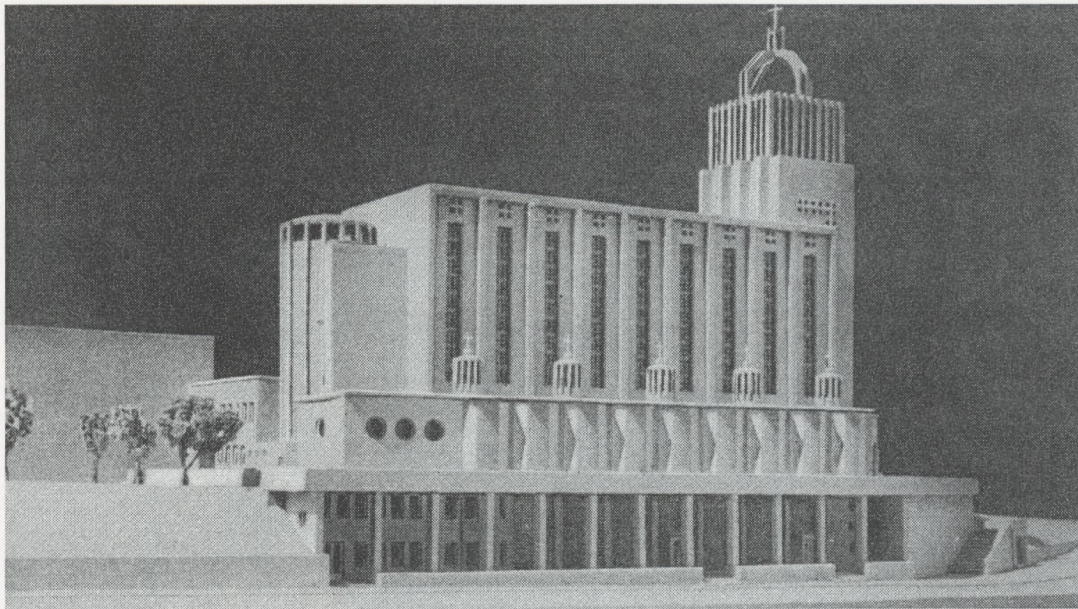
5 Entrance. Church of St. Vincent à Paulo (closed in 1946, in 1972 turned into gymnastic hall). Lviv. 1937–43. Tadeusz Teodorowicz-Todorowski. (From: Ostrowski (2004). work cited in note 8, Fig. 786. 2003 photo: Stanisław Michta).



These rapprochements and tensions between the main Christian confessions were most productive in the art of the south-eastern corner of the Republic. In the borderlands the second half of the 20th century added a surprising commentary to these intercultural inspirations, somehow reminiscent of the 17th and 18th century currents that had integrated eastern and western Christianity. Just as union with the Roman church opened up new cultural and social perspectives to the Greek Catholics, creating previously unknown channels of evolution to their art and in particular to their architecture, so the contemporary rebirth of abandoned or confiscated Catholic churches as Greek Catholic churches offers them prospects of survival. One might risk the statement that their conversion to their new orthodox function has created an unexpected new context for their architecture and interior fittings—as if the former processes of Latinization and Occidentalization that produced Uniate art began to flow in the opposite direction.

Alteration to accommodate the present Greek Catholic rite is in many cases not destructive. It is the interior fittings that are most at risk of this—usually dismantled, they are often then used to build makeshift iconostases (Fig. 9).¹⁸ Nevertheless, sometimes it is possible to avert unnecessary destruction by making the new communities aware of the value of the pieces they have ‘inherited’. (In this way, for instance, it was possible to preserve the unique modernist fittings of St. Elizabeth’s Church in Lviv (Fig. 10).¹⁹

Although an evaluation of the conversions underway can not be unequivocal, it seems logical that the lesson of



6 Scale model. Church of St. Vincent à Paulo—a scale model. Lviv. 1937–43. Tadeusz Teodorowicz-Todorowski. Coll: Archiwum Księży Misjonarzy na Stradomiu w Krakowie. (Photo of 1938 postcard reproduction from: Ostrowski. 2004 work cited in note 8. Fig. 784)

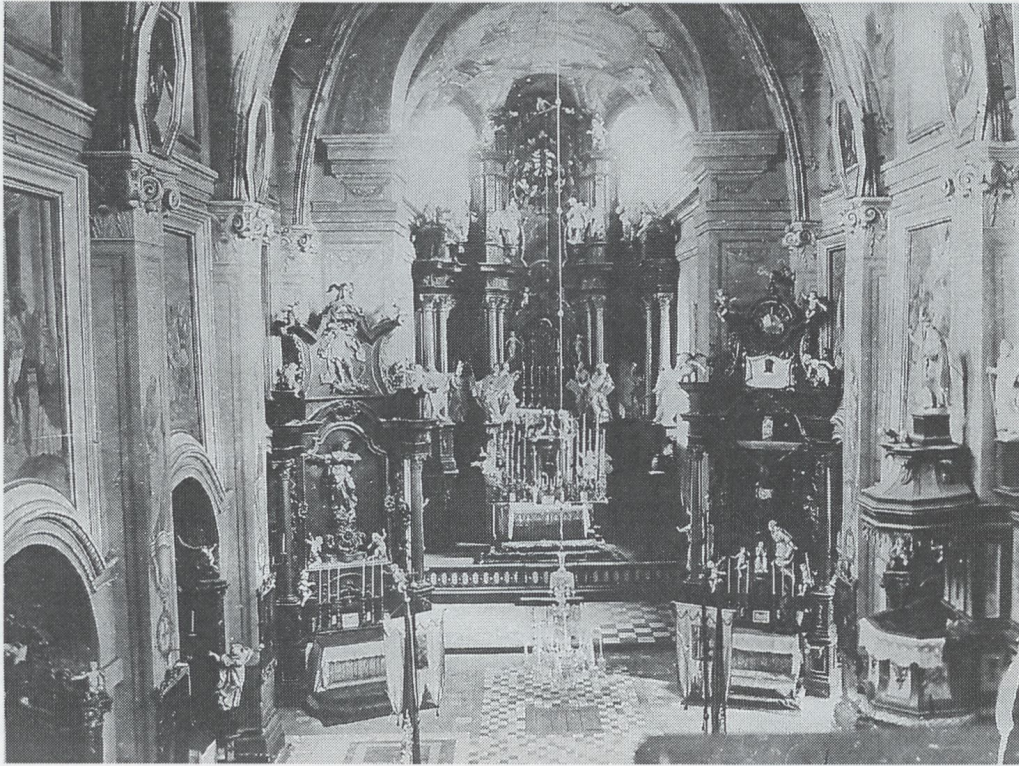


7 Interior view toward apse. Church of the Assumption and the Holy Cross (from the 1950s a prison, later a mental asylum). Podkameń. ca. 1634. (2005 photo: Andrzej Płachetko).

the 17th and 18th century Uniates can help Greek Catholic communities to feel more comfortable in a range of architectural and decorative styles, even ones as far removed from their ‘natural’ Baroque and Rococo as neo-Gothic or art déco. However, adaptation to the requirements of the Orthodox rite far more frequently involves irreversible distortions of the spatial structure of a church.

Fifteen years after the series was launched, the former Rus voivodship has been documented with respect to its religious art in a way that no region within the present frontiers of Poland can boast. There is no comparison between our current knowledge of the art of that province and what it was before the inventory program was begun. We can proudly say that the details gathered in the inventory gave impulse to further analytical considerations and interpretations. Important collaborative work is going on among Polish and Ukrainian researchers.

The research model that has been worked out and the resulting publications seem to be suitable for other territories that shared those tragic experiences of the 20th century. The problems of the artistic legacy of some regions of contemporary Poland—Silesia, the former East Prussia, Lemko (Ruthenians’) lands—touch upon issues such as disinherited heritage, stateless heritage or the heritage of atrocity. Tackling them using tried and tested methods would lengthen the odds of reconstructing the areas’ respective cultural heritage. Certain parallels can be drawn



8 Interior view toward apse.
Church of the Assumption and the Holy Cross. Podkamen. 1612. Coll: Archiwum Prowincji Polskiej Dominikanów w Krakowie. (1930s photo from: Ostrowski. 2005 work cited in note 16. fig. 233)

9 Interior view toward apse.
Church of the Holy Cross, a Ukrainian Orthodox church from 1991. Milyatin. ca. 1777. Franciszek Ksawery Kulczycki. (From: Ostrowski. 1996 work cited in note 10. fig. 25. 1993 photo: Stanisław Michta)



between, for example, the inventory of the Saxon heritage in Transylvania, Romania, made by Dr. Hermann Fabini (series *Baudenkmäler in Siebenbürgen*), or the series *Erdélyi Múemlékek* that documented Hungarian monuments in Transylvania, published by the Transylvania Trust in Cluj; nonetheless, the unique character of the Cracow project is fairly clear, including in the context of Central and Eastern Europe, as it takes on the effort of integrating, on an unprecedented scale, immovable and moveable material assets and archival evidence, which today are not only hundreds of kilometers apart, but also divided by country borders.

In the 1990s, when the Cracow program of inventorying monuments outside Poland's eastern border was being formulated, in the former Yugoslavia devastation was brought to many precious monuments identified with opponents in the conflict. Perhaps the trail blazed at that time by the Cracow researchers could be followed today by those who wish to preserve what has remained from the Muslim heritage of Bosnia (particularly the part incorporated into the Serbian Republic of Bosnia) or the Orthodox heritage in Kosovo-Metohija?



10 Interior view toward apse. Parish church of St. Elisabeth (after WWII turned into a factory magazine, since 1991 a Greek Catholic church). Lviv. 1904–11. Teodor Talowski. (From: Ostrowski. 2004 work cited in note 8. fig. 509. 2002 photo: Stanisław Michta)

Notes

1. *Kościoty i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* (The Roman Catholic churches and monasteries in former Rus voivodship) (ed: Jan K. Ostrowski). I/1. Cracow. 1993.
2. Jan K. Ostrowski. "Inwentaryzacja zabytków sztuki sakralnej na Kresach Wschodnich dawniej Rzeczypospolitej" (The inventory for the monuments of religious art in the eastern borderlands of the former Polish Republic). *Dziedzictwo kresów - nasze wspólne dziedzictwo?* (The borderland's heritage - our common heritage?) (ed: Jacek Purchla). Cracow. 2006. 281–291.
3. *Kościoty i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa nowogródzkiego* (The Roman Catholic churches and monasteries in former Navahrudak voivodship) (ed: Maria Kałamajska-Saeed and Jan K. Ostrowski). II/1. Cracow. 2004.
4. *Kościoty i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa wileńskiego* (The Roman Catholic churches and monasteries in former Vilnius voivodship) (ed: Maria Kałamajska-Saeed and Jan K. Ostrowski). III/1. Cracow. 2005.
5. E.g. the parish church of the Assumption, the Holy Cross, and St. Batholomew in Drogobych, cf. Tomasz Zaucha. "Kościół parafialny p.w. Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny, Św. Krzyża i Św. Bartłomieja w Drohobyczu" (The parish church of the Assumption, the Holy Cross, and St. Batholomew in Drogobych). *Kościoty i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego*

- województwa ruskiego* (The Roman Catholic churches and monasteries in former Rus voivodship) (ed: Jan K. Ostrowski). I/6. Cracow. 1998. 31; for the parish church of St. Martin in Nove Misto, cf. Marisz Czuba and Piotr Krasny. "Kościół parafialny p.w. Św. Marcina w Nowym Mieście" (The parish church of St. Martin in Nove Misto). *Kościoty i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* (The Roman Catholic churches and monasteries in former Rus voivodship) (ed: Jan K. Ostrowski). I/3. Cracow. 1995. 139.
6. E.g. the parish church of the Transfiguration in Dobromil, cf. Marcin Kaleciński and Piotr Krasny. "Kościół parafialny p.w. Przemienienia Pańskiego w Dobromilu" (The parish church of the Transfiguration in Dobromil). Ostrowski (1995), work cited in note 5. 55.
7. E.g. the parish church of the All Saints in Khodovitse, cf. Jan K. Ostrowski. "Kościół parafialny p.w. Wszystkich Świętych w Hodowicy" (The parish church of the All Saints in Khodovitse). Ostrowski (1993), work cited in note 1. 29; the parish church in Navaria, cf. Jan K. Ostrowski. "Kościół parafialny p.w. Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny w Nawarii" (The parish church of the Assumption in Navaria). Ostrowski (1993), work cited in note 1. 53.
8. E.g. that in *Kościoty i klasztory Lwowa z wieków XIX i XX* (The Lviv

churches and monasteries from the 19th and 20th centuries) (ed: Jan K. Ostrowski). I/12. Cracow. 2004.

9. The parish church in Stara Sił' was ruined as a result of use as a fertilizer store. This impressive, original church had been altered from its former early Gothic form in the 1920s into the vernacular style. Cf. Piotr Krasny. "Kościół parafialny p.w. Św. Michała Archanioła w Starej Soli" (The parish church of the St. Michael in Stara Sił'). *Kościół i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* (The Roman Catholic churches and monasteries in the former Rus voivodship) (ed: Jan K. Ostrowski). I/5. Cracow. 1997. 53.

10. Such is the fate of the parish church in Podgaitsi—an interesting 17th century example of the durability of Gothic forms and their modern reinterpretation—which is in the advanced stages of ruin and has no chance of reconstruction, cf. Jan K. Ostrowski. "Kościół parafialny p.w. Trójcy Świętej w Podhajcach" (The parish church of the Holy Trinity in Podgaitsi). *Kościół i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* (The Roman Catholic churches and monasteries in the former Rus voivodship) (ed: Jan K. Ostrowski). I/4. Cracow. 1996. 141.

11. E.g. the parish church in Striy, cf. Jerzy T. Petrus. "Kościół parafialny p.w. Narodzenia Najświętszej Panny Marii w Stryju" (The parish church of the Mary's Birth in Striy). *Kościół i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* (The Roman Catholic churches and monasteries in the former Rus voivodship) (ed: Jan K. Ostrowski). I/9. Cracow. 2001. 207.

12. E.g. the parish church in Gusakiv—turned into a grain store in 1951; since 1989 restored to its function as a palace of culture, cf. Andrzej Betlej. "Kościół parafialny p.w. ŚŚ. Stanisława I Krzysztofa w Hussakowie" (The parish church of St. Stanislaus and St. Christoph in Gusakiv). *Kościół i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* (The Roman Catholic churches and monasteries in former Rus voivodship) (ed: Jan K. Ostrowski). I/7. Cracow. 1999. 49.

13. E.g. the Bernardine Church in Sambor—now a concert hall, cf. Piotr Szlezzynger. "Dawny kościół p.w. Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny

i klasztor OO. Bernardynów" (The former church of the Assumption and Bernardine monastery in Sambor). Ostrowski. 1997. work cited in note 9. 175; the parish church in Bilyi Kamin—abandoned in 1944, in 1977–82 adapted as exhibition space for the Lviv Picture Gallery, cf. Kazimierz Kuczman. "Kościół parafialny p.w. Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny w Białym Kamieniu" (The parish church of the Assumption in Bilyi Kamin'). Ostrowski (1996). work cited in note 10. 11.

14. Cf. Dariusz Nowacki. "Kościół p.w. Św. Józefa i klasztor OO. Kapucynów w Olesku" (The church of St. Joseph and Capuchin monastery in Olesko). Ostrowski (1993). work cited in note 1. 79.

15. Two Lviv churches experienced fairly drastic conversions: the church of Christ the King, cf. Katarzyna Brzezina. "Kościół Franciszkanów p.w. Chrystusa Króla w Kozielnikach" (The Franciscan church of Christ the King in Kozielniki). Ostrowski (2004). work cited in note 8. 293, and the church of St. Vincent à Paulo, cf. Marcin Biernat. "Kościół parafialny p.w. Św. Wincentego à Paulo" (The parish church of St. Vincent à Paulo). Ostrowski (2004). work cited in note 8. 303.

16. Cf. Piotr Krasny. "Kościół p.w. Wniebowzięcia Najśw. Panny Marii i Podwyższenia Krzyża Św. oraz klasztor OO. Dominikanów wraz z założeniem pielgrzymkowym w Podkamieniu" (The church of the Assumption and the Holy Cross, the Dominican monastery with its pilgrimage complex in Podkamen'). *Kościół i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* (The Roman Catholic churches and monasteries in former Rus voivodship) (ed: Jan K. Ostrowski). I/13. Cracow. 2005. 123.

17. Cf. Aneta Gluzińska. "Zakład wychowawczy OO. Jezuitów i kaplica p.w. Św. Józefa w Chyrowie" (The Jesuit Home and the Chapel of St. Joseph in Hyriv). Ostrowski (1997). work cited in note 9. 41.

18. E.g. the church of the Holy Cross in Milyatin, cf. Dariusz Nowacki. "Kościół p.w. Św. Krzyża i dom zakonny (plebania) w Milatynie Nowym" (The church of the Holy Cross and the convent house in Milyatin). Ostrowski (1996), work cited in note 10. 65.

19. Cf. Piotr Krasny. "Kościół parafialny p.w. Św. Elżbiety" (The parish church of St. Elisabeth). Ostrowski (2004), work cited in note 8. 167.