MILLENNIUM OF CHRISTIANITY IN UKRAINE

Rome, 1988

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ONE THOUSAND YEARS OF ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE IN UKRAINE

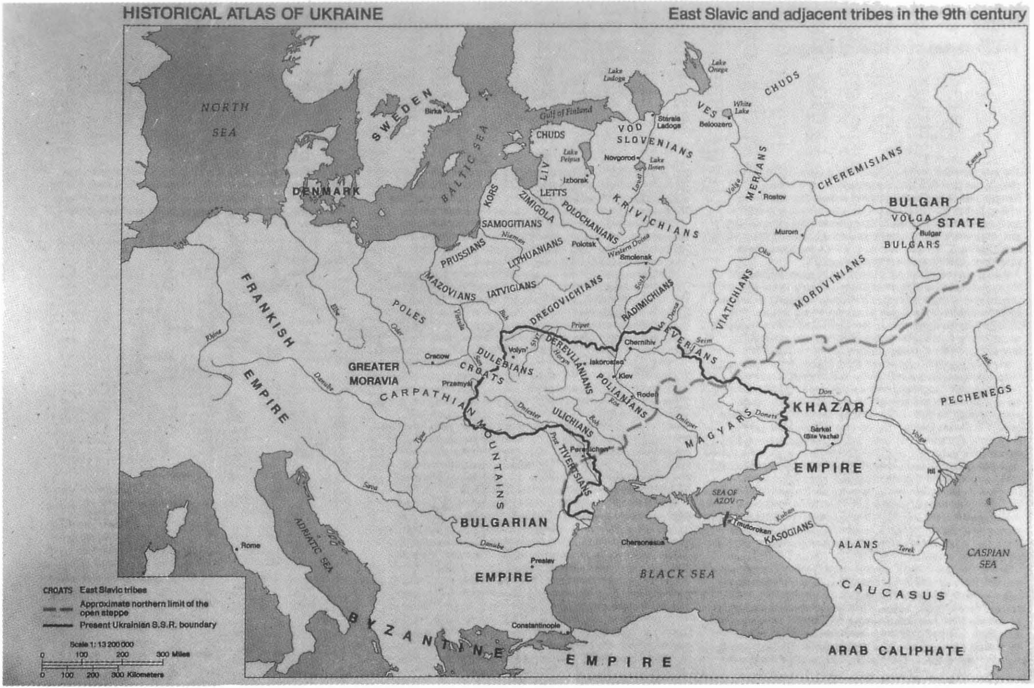
One thousand years ago, in 988 — according to the ancient chronicle account recorded in the *Tale of Bygone Years* — St. Volodymyr, the grand prince of Kiev, proclaimed Christianity the official religion of his realm. It was then that on his summons the entire populace of his capital underwent mass baptism in the waters of the Dnieper River. To this date — 988, to this place — Kiev (ever since the most revered of Ukrainian cities), and to this baptism of their ancestors Ukrainians trace their beginnings as a Christian people and the origins of their Church.

Christianity took deep root in Ukraine. As Christians, Ukrainians shared in a faith and moral ethic that were universal in their essence. At the same time, Ukrainians developed over the centuries their own brand of spirituality and a distinct religious culture, expressed in their literature, art, architecture, music, and folk customs. The Church was a dominant force in the shaping of Ukrainian history, both as a religion and a national institution. Closely bound to the life of its faithful, the Church flourished in periods of national

resurgence and suffered repression or suppression in the long stretches of foreign domination. Today, on its one-thousandth anniversary, the Ukrainian Church no longer even legally exists on its ancestral lands, although it lives and functions there secretly, as a Church in the catacombs. But paradoxically, at this time of its greatest trial, the Ukrainian Church not only survives but thrives on almost all continents, wherever the Ukrainians have settled over the last century. Thus, the Ukrainian Church enters its second millennium as a microcosm of the Church Universal, a world-wide phenomenon scarcely to be envisioned at the time of its founding.

Ukraine at the Dawn of History

Ukraine has undergone a long and complex historical experience. In the first millennium B.C., sea-faring Greeks established trading outposts and colonies along the northern Black Sea coast. Later these came under the sway of the Roman Empire. The hinterland was occupied by a succession of various tribes — some settled agriculturalists, others pastoral nomads. Among the earliest, known from Greek sources, were the apparently Iranian Scythians (7th century B.C.) and Sarmatians (4th century B.C.).


HISTORICAL ATLAS OF UKRAINE
East Slavic and adjacent tribes in the 9th century
NORTH SEA
SWEDEN
Birka
BALTIC SEA
Gulf of Finland
Lake Ladoga
Lake Onega
CHUDS
VES
White Lake
Beloozero
Staraia Ladoga
VOD
SLOVENIANS
CHUDS
Lake Peipus
Novgorod
Lake Ilmen
Lovat
LIV
Izborsk
LETTS
DENMARK
KORS
ZIMIGOLA
POLOCHANIANS
KRIVICHIANS
Volga
MERIANS
Rostov
CHEREMISIANS
Kama
BULGAR
VOLGA
STATE
Bulgar
BULGARS
Muromn
SAMOGITIANS
Niemen
PRUSSIANS
LITHUANIANS
Polotsk
Western Dvina
Smolensk
Oka
MORDVINIANS
MAZOVIANS
IATVIGIANS
DREGOVICHIANS
Sozh
RADIMICHIANS
VIATICHIANS
FRANKISH
EMPIRE
Rhine
Elbe
POLES
Oder
Vistula
Buh
Pripet
Desna
Seim
Chernihiv
SEVERIANS
Styr
Volyn'
DEREVLIANIANS
Horyn
Iskorosten
Kiev
Cracow
DULEBIANS
CROATS
GREATER MORAVIA
Przemyśl
Danube
CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS
POLIANIANS
Rodel'
Ros
Dniester
ULICHIANS
Boh
Dnieper
MAGYARS
Donets
Don
KHAZAR
EMPIRE
Sarkel (Bila Vezha)
PECHENEGS
Volga
Ural
Tysa
Prut
Peresichen
TIVERTSIANS
Itil
Sava
BULGARIAN
EMPIRE
Danube
Preslav
SEA OF AZOV
Tmutorokan
Kuban
KASOGIANS
ALANS
Terek
CASPIAN SEA
Chersonesus
BLACK SEA
CAUCASUS
Rome
ADRIATIC SEA
BYZANTINE
EMPIRE
Constantinople
ARAB CALIPHATE
CROATS East Slavic tribes
Approximate northern limit of the open steppe
Present Ukrainian S.S.R. boundary
Scale 1: 13 200 000
0 100 200 300 Miles
0 100 200 300 Kilometers

Rus'-Ukraine

During the great migrations of the first centuries A.D., the Germanic Goths made their appearance, and later the Asiatic Huns. From the middle of the first millennium A.D. Slavs became increasingly the dominant ethnic element, gradually displacing or absorbing other groups. Nevertheless, incursions by Turkic and Mongol nomads from the East continued well into historic times.

Although the Slavs remained organized only along tribal lines, by the late eighth century Ukraine was undergoing heightened economic and social development. It was also increasingly drawn into commercial and political relations with neighboring lands and peoples. Important trade routes led through Ukrainian lands, and local products — furs, honey, grain, wax, and slaves — were eagerly desired on foreign markets. Parts of Ukraine came under the dominion of the Khazars, a Turkic people who had adopted the Jewish faith. Especially important was the appearance of the Varangians-Norsemen, who turned the Dnieper into a route from the Baltic to Byzantium in their mercantile and military enterprises. In the ninth century, all these developments gave impetus to the formation of the first historical state on Ukrainian territory. Centered on the city of Kiev, which overlooked the Dnieper at the crossroads of north-south and east-west trade routes, this

state came to be known in history as the Kievan realm or Kievan Rus'.

The Beginnings of Christianity in Ukraine

Christianity made its appearance in Ukraine long before its official promulgation as the state religion by Grand Prince Volodymyr. According to a pious legend, related in the early chronicles, St. Andrew the Apostle sailed up the Dnieper River and blessed the future site of Kiev, foretelling its glory as a Christian center. Still in the first century, the fourth pope, St. Clement I, died in exile at Khersones on the Crimean peninsula. It is certain that Christian communities existed in the coastal Greek colonies, and likely that the faith had spread to some tribes in the interior. By the ninth century, Christianity had gained a foothold on the fringes of the emerging Rus' state. In the southeastern areas, near the Crimea, Byzantine missionary activities led to the creation of a diocese at Tmutorokan'.

Ultimately of greater consequence for Ukraine were the missionary endeavors of the two brothers, Sts. Cyril and Methodius, among the South and West Slavs. The westernmost territories of Ukraine felt the effect of these missions and by 900 there was a bishop at Peremyshl. But

most importantly, the Slavic rite that Sts. Cyril and Methodius created, and their Old Slavonic translations of the New Testament, the Psalter, and liturgical texts were later adopted by Volodymyr's son, Yaroslav, for all Rus'. There were some Christians in Kiev itself, with a church dedicated to St. Elijah. The chronicle mentions that some Kievans took their oath by swearing on the cross. Still, in the early years of the Kievan state the Christian faith remained a personal matter.

A momentous impetus toward Christianity came during the regency of Princess Olha (Olga) (945-64). Sometime about 957 Olha was baptized a Christian, in Constantinople. One tradition has it that the emperor was her godfather, but this has not found confirmation in Byzantine sources. Unable to obtain missionaries from Byzantium, in 959 Olha sent envoys to the German emperor Otto I asking for a bishop and priests. The subsequent mission of Bishop Adalbert, however, proved unsuccessful, for Rus' was experiencing a pagan reaction under Olha's son, Sviatoslav (964-72). It was only in the reign of Volodymyr (980-1015), Sviatoslav's son and Olha's grandson, that the Christianization of Kievan Rus' was to reach its culmination. In this the example of Olha was most significant. The early Christian writers

of Kievan Rus' described her as the dawn that precedes the sun. She was later glorified by the Kievan Church as the first saint of Rus' - Ukraine.

The Official Baptism in the Dnieper

The reign of Volodymyr began in 980, after his brothers perished in fratricidal strife. He tried at first to revitalize the pagan religion and impose the worship of the god Perun on his subjects, setting up idols and requiring sacrifices. But Volodymyr soon realized that this religion failed to satisfy the moral and intellectual needs of his embryonic state, nor could it establish his realm's dignity among civilized states.

A later legendary chronicle account describes Volodymyr's search for a more suitable religion. The grand prince sent envoys to the Muslim Bulgars on the Volga, to the Khazar Jews, to Rome and to Byzantium to observe and report on the relative merits of the different religions. The splendor of the Byzantine Church and the magnificence of its liturgy pleased them the most, and after due deliberation Volodymyr chose Byzantine Christianity as the new faith for his realm.

This attractive story — not a contemporaneous account, but a later legend — has been used to buttress the argument that Volodymyr accepted Or-

Saints Volodymyr and Olga

thodoxy and rejected Catholicism. However, it does not withstand critical analysis. There was no breach between Rome and Constantinople in the tenth century. The schism began in 1054 and became irreparable only after the sack of Costantinople by Latin Crusaders in 1204. That Volodymyr turned to Byzantium is to be explained not in dogmatic terms, but by the power and prestige of the Byzantine Empire, its proximity and economic importance to Rus', the attractions of its higher civilization, and the grand prince's desire for a dynastic connection through marriage with the emperor's sister, Anna.

Where Volodymyr was baptized is still not entirely certain. The chronicle connects this event with Volodymyr's successful siege of the Greek city of Khersones in the Crimea and his demand for an imperial bride, which in turn required his conversion to Christianity. On the other hand, he may have been baptized in 986 or 987 at Vasyliv, near Kiev.

The official baptism of Rus' followed. In 988, the inhabitants of Kiev, the grand princely capital, were baptized in the waters of the Dnieper River. Christianity was now the official religion of the Kievan realm. Volodymyr had the old idols overthrown and began the building of churches. In Kiev he gave a tithe toward the construction of the

Saints Borys and Hlib

first cathedral, hence known as the Church of the Tithes. The first bishoprics and a hierarchy were created, and clergy brought in. Volodymyr established schools, patronized builders and artists, and revised his laws to conform to Christian ethical principles. Henceforth a model Christian ruler, Volodymyr became revered as a saint soon after his death and was honored with the epithet "Equal to the Apostles."

The death of St. Volodymyr was followed by another period of fratricidal conflict over succession to the throne. This strife produced the first two martyr-saints of the Rus' Church — Borys and Hlib, who preferred death to the shedding of blood in defence of their very lives.

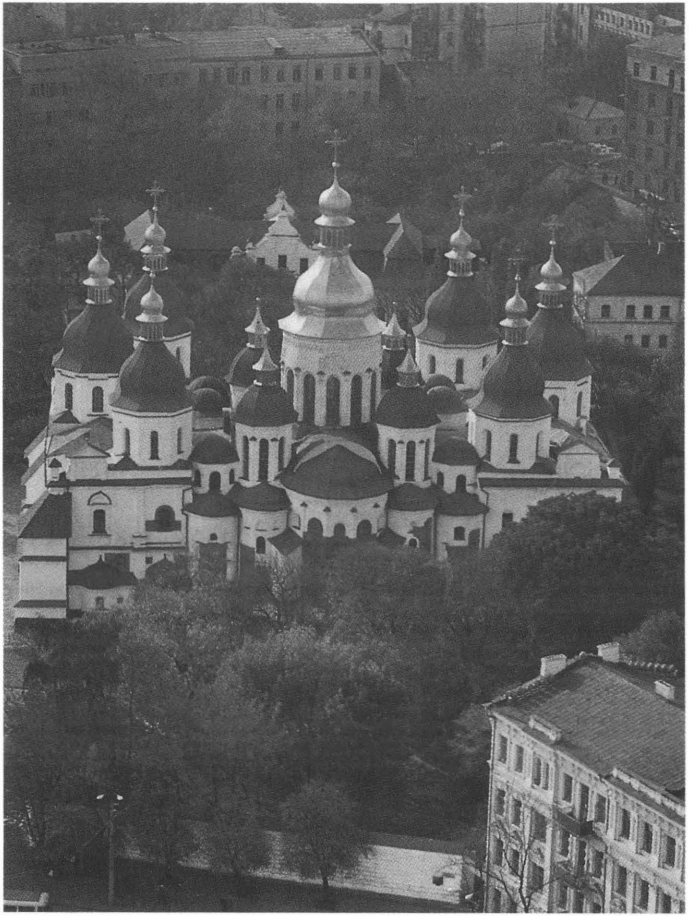
The Kievan state and Church experienced their golden age under Volodymyr's son, Yaroslav the Wise (1019-54). In his reign Christianity became firmly established among the people. It is from Yaroslav's reign that we have documentary evidence for a metropolitan in Kiev. Most metropolitans were Greeks sent from Byzantium, but in 1051, Yaroslav installed a native, Hilarion, apparently without the patriarch's blessing. Hilarion's "Sermon on the Law and Grace" is one of the first great written Christian monuments of Ukraine.

The Prince built magnificent churches in Kiev,

most notably the Cathedral of St. Sophia. He established schools, invited scholars, and supported translations of Greek works into the Old Slavonic language. His epithet "the Wise" derives from Yaroslav's promulgation of the first Slavic code of laws. Under Yaroslav, the first monasteries were established in Kiev. Most important was the Kievan Monastery of the Caves founded by St. Anthony, a monk who had spent time at Mt. Athos. His successor, St. Theodosius of the Caves, gave the growing number of monks a rule based on that of Theodore the Studite of Byzantium.

Not long after Yaroslav's death the Kievan realm began to decline as a result of internecine strife, shifting patterns of international trade, and nomadic incursions from the East. Only once did it experience a brief resurgence under Volodymyr Monomakh (1113 - 1125). After his death, succession struggles continued the fragmentation of Kievan Rus' into smaller, often rival principalities. To a significant extent, this fragmentation also reflected the diverse physical environments and divergent economic interests of the emerging principalities, as well as underlying ethnic differences among their populations. Thus, the lands northwest of Kiev that would emerge as Belorussia naturally gravitated to the principality of Polotsk, long virtually independent of Kiev under its own

Saint Sophia Cathedral of Kiev in the 11th century (reconstruction)



Aerial view of Saint Sophia of Kiev

branch of Volodymyr's dynasty. And on the distant northeastern fringes of Rus' — in a forest wilderness, harsh climate and an ethnic milieu substantially different from the Ukrainian heartland of the Kievan realm — a new center of power was rising: the Suzdal-Vladimir principality that would become the kernel of the future Muscovite Russian state. Suzdalin princes early showed their hostility to Kiev. They unsuccessfully petitioned the patriarch of Constantinople for their own metropolitan to emancipate their own lands from the jurisdiction of the metropolitans of Kiev. In 1169, prince Andrei Bogoliubsky attacked and devastated Kiev. The chronicle relates: "There was no mercy anywhere. The churches were burned, Christians were killed and taken into slavery." And priceless church treasures were plundered and taken north. Thus the Mongol-Tatar invasion of 1240 and the ensuing desolation of Kiev were but the final blow to this once glorious realm.

A Coronation by the Pope

As Kiev declined, new centers were rising in importance in the western Ukrainian lands. In the eleventh century grandsons of Yaroslav the Wise took possession of Galicia and Volhynia, with Halych and Volodymyr as their residences. By

1200, the united Galician-Volhynian realm extended to the southeast to the Black Sea, thriving on commerce with Byzantium along the Dniester River. After 1240, though not as devastated as the Kievan lands, Galicia-Volhynia became dependent on the Mongol-Tatars, who with their raids and exactions of tribute sapped the strength of the principality.

In their search for allies against the Tatars, the Galician princes turned westward forming alliances and establishing marital links with neighboring rulers. The most outstanding Galician prince, Daniel, established ties with Pope Innocent IV and in the year 1253 was crowned king by the papal legate. These ties, however, led to Tatar reprisals and had to be broken off. Close interaction with their western Catholic neighbors continued under Daniel's son Leo and grandson George, who also may have received a royal crown from the pope.

The Galician principality, too, fell into decline soon after. The powerful boyar aristocracy conspired against the ruling princes, and in 1340 poisoned the last member of the dynasty. Within a decade Galicia was occupied by Poland, an occupation that was to last for centuries.

A mosaic of the Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kiev (11th century)

The Beginnings of Foreign Domination

The disintegration of Kievan Rus' encouraged foreign intervention in Ukraine. While Galicia was annexed to the Polish kingdom, the remaining Ukrainian lands fell under the rule of a new rising power in Eastern Europe, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The warlike Lithuanian tribes were united into a strong military force in the early thirteenth century. A series of strong rulers rapidly expanded their dominion over a vast area — first Belorussia, and by the late fourteenth century most of Ukraine. This dominion was largely political, for the Lithuanians came under the cultural ascendancy of their large East Slavic population. Slavonic, in its Belorussian-Ukrainian form called Ruthenian, became the official state language. Local legal institutions, stemming from Kievan times, exerted a powerful influence on the development of law in the Grand Duchy. The pagan Lithuanian nobility and members of the ruling dynasty increasingly adopted the Eastern Christian faith. Wide latitude prevailed in the local government and administration.

The Grand Duchy of Lithuania engaged in a centuries-long struggle for hegemony in Eastern Europe with another expanding center of power: the principality of Moscow.

Under the sovereignty of the Mongol-Tatar khans, with whom they openly cooperated, the princes of the originally small and insignificant Muscovite realm gradually absorbed or conquered other principalities on ethnic Russian lands. This process of aggrandizement was completed in the early sixteenth century with the subjugation of the city-states of Novgorod and Pskov, and the cessation of tribute to the khans. From the beginning, Muscovite rulers followed a policy of extreme centralization of power and control, justified by the proclaimed principle of autocracy. In 1547, the grand prince assumed the title of "tsar," on the model of Roman and Byzantine "caesars."

The competition between the Lithuanian and Muscovite rulers was strongly felt in the ecclesiastical arena. At the end of the thirteenth century, the metropolitans of Kiev had transferred their residence to the northeast, and ultimately Moscow — greatly enhancing the prestige and ambitions of its princes. The exercise of ecclesiastical-jurisdiction by metropolitans residing in an alien and often hostile realm was highly unpalatable to rulers over other territories that had earlier formed the core of Kievan Rus'. Attemps were made, therefore, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to seek from the patriarch of Constantinople the creation of separate metropolitanates

in Galicia and the Grand Duchy. But these metropolitanates survived only briefly. More usually there was a struggle to influence the patriarch's choice of metropolitan, who bore the title, "of Kiev and all Rus'," between rival Muscovite and Lithuanian candidates.

The Union of Florence and its Aftermath

In 1436, the patriarch of Constantinople rejected the Muscovite candidate for metropolitan and instead appointed a highly educated Greek, Isidore. Isidore was a staunch proponent of union between the Eastern and Western Churches and became a leading figure at the Council of Florence in 1438-1439, which was convoked to heal the breach.

Reconciliation between the Churches held special significance for Ukraine. At the time of the Christianization of Kievan Rus', the Church was not yet divided. Saint Olha, indeed, had asked for missionaries from the West. The schism of 1054 between Constantinople and Rome had no immediate reverberations in Rus'. Indeed, the schism itself was less the result of theological disagreements and more the result of political and cultural differences, intensified by the Latin Crusader sack of Constantinople in 1204. But, dependent on the patriarch of Constantinople and

usually led by his Greek appointees as metropolitans, the Kievan Church followed Byzantium as Rome and Constantinople became increasingly estranged. Still, Metropolitan Peter Akerovych participated in the Council of Lyons in 1245, and shortly afterwards Prince Daniel of Galicia received the royal crown from the pope. More recently, in 1417, Metropolitan Gregory Tsamblak attended the Council of Constance, where he expressed a desire for the unification of the Churches. Closer contact with the Roman Church within the frontiers of Poland and Lithuania also made the matter of ecclesiastical communion more pertinent, as did the interference of Muscovy in Ukrainian-Belorussian Church affairs.

The Council of Florence, with Pope Eugene IV and Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople in attendance, resolved the few dogmatic differences that had arisen between the Churches. It also settled their disagreements in ecclesiastical practices and administration, proclaiming the equality of rites. Although it accepted papal primacy, the Eastern Church maintained its full internal autonomy. In the exhaustive counciliar deliberation, Metropolitan Isidore played a crucial role. Thanks in great measure to his efforts, the reunion of Churches was proclaimed in July, 1439.

Isidore proceeded to promulgate the Union throughout the breadth of his metropolitanate. In Ukrainian and Belorussian lands he met with a largely favorable response. He met with great hostility in Moscow, however. Imprisoned in 1441, he managed to effect his escape to Lithuania, and thence to Rome. There he was made a cardinal, gave up his metropolitan's title in 1458, and died in 1463.

Despite its early promise, the Union of Florence did not achieve long-term success. Accepted by the leading Greeks hierarchs and the emperor of Byzantium, the Union proved unpopular with the monks, much of the lower clergy, and the majority of population in Constantinople. Shortly thereafter, in 1453, the imperial capital fell to the Turks, and with it ended the Byzantine Empire and hopes of lasting ecclesiastical concord with the West. The Union gradually lapsed in Ukraine, also. Indeed, it was not recognized by the Roman Catholic clergy in Poland and Lithuania, who at the time did not accept Pope Eugenius but paid allegiance to an anti-pope and, in any case, were not so much interested in a reunion with Eastern Christians as their absorption and Latinization.

The Florentine Union, however, was not without lasting significance. It left a memory of East-West reconciliation in Ukraine that later was

invoked by the proponents of the Union of Brest, whose enduring legacy is the Ukrainian Catholic Church today. It also led to the final separation of the Russian Church from the Kievan metropolitan see. The Muscovite government and hierarchy, implacably opposed to the Union from the start, viewed the adherence of Byzantium to the Florentine agreement as a betrayal of Orthodoxy. In 1448, the Muscovite Church rejected the patriarchal jurisdiction of Constantinople, henceforth independently electing its own metropolitan with the title "of Moscow and all Russia." In 1589, the metropolitan of Moscow assumed the title of patriarch, and with it appropriated a dignity equal to that of the Constantinopolitan patriarch, as earlier the Muscovite prince had adopted the title of tsar and with it the dignity formerly borne by the Byzantine emperors.

Henceforth the jurisdiction of the Kievan metropolitans coincided with the Ukrainian and Belorussian territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland, with their ten dioceses. The metropolitans resided in Navahrudak, and later in Vilnius.

A Century of Religious Strife

Kievan Rus' accepted Byzantine Christianity when there was no breach between Rome and Constantinople. The Church of Kievan Rus' had never formally breached its ties with the Apostolic See in Rome, although Greek Metropolitans ruling the Kievan See did, with time, estrange the Church from that Union. The Ukrainian-Belorussian Church formally renewed the Union with the Apostolic See of Rome in 1596, during the Synod of Brest, by what is now known as the Union of Brest. The Union was accepted by the whole metropolitanate of Kiev, whose territory included all of Ukraine and Rus', with the exception of two eparchies: Lviv and Peremyshl, which accepted the Union at the end of the seventeenth century.

Because of distrust, the opposition of the Ruthenian bishops, clergy and nobles, the hoped-for consolidation of the Christians of Kiev and Rus' was not achieved. Opponents of the Union initiated a decades-long bitter ecclesistical struggle.

This was manifested immediately in the extensive polemical writings by both proponents and opponents of the Union. Apologists on each side delved into Biblical exegesis, explications of the Church fathers, and varied interpretations of history to buttress their arguments for or against

Michael Rohoza, metropolitan of Kiev, promoter of the Union of Brest

Papal seals of the Union of Brest (1596)

the Union as it emerged at Brest. Most prominent on the Orthodox side were Ivan Vyshensky, the pseudonymous Christopher Philalet, and — until his own conversion to the Union — Meletius Smotrytsky. Champions of the Union included Hypatius Potiy (in 1600-1613 metropolitan), Smotrytsky (after his conversion in 1627), and the Polish Jesuit Peter Skarga. Frequently intemperate in language and prone to personal abuse, these polemical writings can now, in historical perspective, be viewed more calmly as outstanding literary monuments that reflect not only the intolerance typical of the age, but also the unusual erudition, talent, and deep religious faith of their authors on both sides.

The Ukrainian-Belorussian Church was rent. Adherents of the Union included the metropolitan and most of the hierarchy, some of the clergy, and numbers of the nobility and burghers. The Polish government played a dubious role: supporting the Ukrainian Catholics against the Orthodox, it nevertheless failed to fulfill the pledges made at Brest. The Ukrainian bishops were denied their promised seats in the Senate, and the nobility that renewed the Union were still denied access to government positions. Although Rome exhorted the king to carry out his promises, he remained powerless, for the Polish Roman Catholic hierar-

Hypatius Potiy, metropolitan of Kiev

chy and nobility as a whole opposed equalization for Ukrainian Catholics, preferring their Latinization and Polonization. This seriously undercut support for the Union within Ukrainian society.

Opposed to the Union were the bishops of Lviv and Peremyshl, much of the clergy and nobility — including notably Prince Ostrozhky, many burghers, the brotherhoods, and most of the peasantry. Crucial support for the Orthodox side came from the Cossacks. After the Kiev brotherhood was formed in 1615, Hetman Sahaidachny and the entire Zaporozhian host enrolled as members. When the death of their last bishops left the Orthodox without a hierarchy, under the protection of the Cossacks the visiting patriarch of Jerusalem consecrated in 1620 a metropolitan and five bishops. With competing hierarchies divisions deepened and violent excesses took place. In 1623, the Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop of Polotsk, Josaphat Kuntsevych, was murdered, and was canonized in 1867 as a martyr saint by Pope Pius IX.

Amidst this violence two figures stand out for their efforts to improve religious life in Ukraine and for their spirit of conciliation. The Catholic Metropolitan Joseph Veliamin Rutsky (1613-37) strengthened the internal organization of monastic life and prepared the rules for the Basilian Order.

St. Josaphat, martyr for unity († 1623)

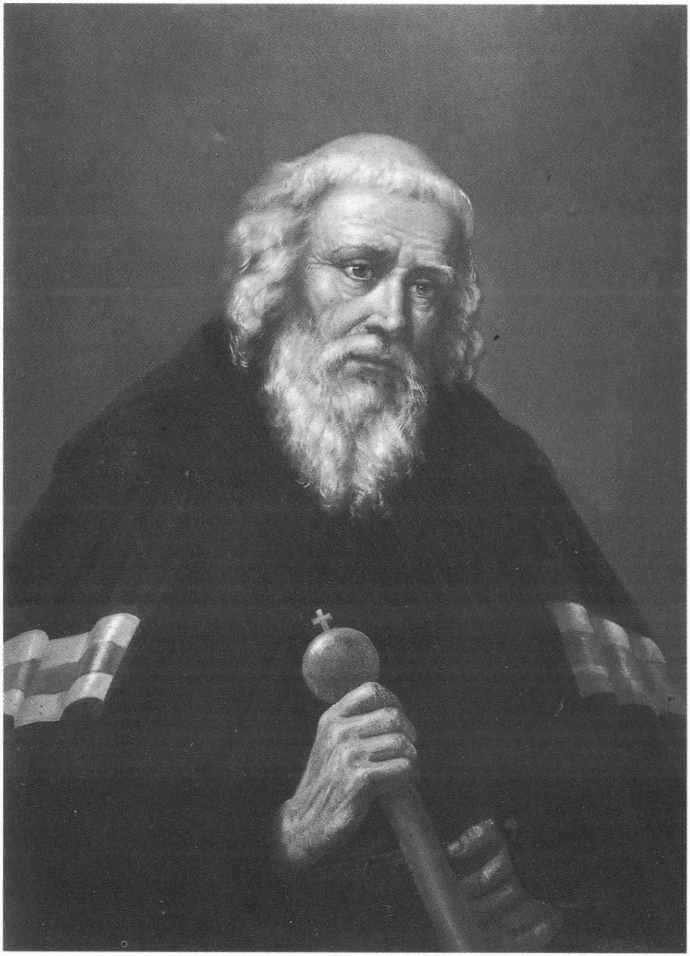
He tenaciously upheld the purity of the Eastern rite and fought the conversion of Ukrainians to the Latin Church. The outstanding figure on the Orthodox side was Peter Mohyla, in 1627-33 archimandrite of the Kiev Caves Monastery and from 1633 to 1647 metropolitan. Under Mohyla the institutional life of the Orthodox Church revived, monasteries flourished, and churches underwent restoration. The Collegium he founded in 1632, later the Kiev Mohyla Academy, became for a long time a major institution of higher learning in Eastern Europe. He supported publishing activities and was himself an important and prodigious writer. Free from fanaticism, Rutsky and Mohyla attempted to heal the deep ecclesiastical divisions in Ukraine, supporting the creation of a patriarchate — under the jurisdiction of the pope, but with complete internal autonomy. Under the circumstances of the time, the project proved impossible to realize.

At the time that Ukraine was engulfed in a religious war, social and political problems also continued to fester under Polish domination. In 1648 the Cossacks, under Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, rose in revolt, and this soon turned into a national rising. Initially victorious against the Poles, Hetman Khmelnytsky attempted to create a separate Ukrainian Cossack state.

But urgent military needs caused him to seek support in Muscovy. In 1654, by the Treaty of Pereiaslav, the hetman concluded an alliance with the tsar. Continued war with Poland resulted in the partition of Ukraine in 1667. East of the Dnieper, but also including Kiev, was the autonomous Ukrainian Hetman state, which recognized the ultimate sovereignty of the tsar. The territories to the west remained within the confines of a greatly weakened Poland. Ukrainian Church life was fated to develop under diverse conditions and to evolve in quite different directions.

Ukrainian Orthodoxy in the Hetman State: A Final Efflorescence and Decline

Under the hetmans in the autonomous Cossack state, the Ukrainian Catholic Church ceased to exist while the Ukrainian Orthodox Church experienced in the last half of the seventeenth century its final efflorescence. Legal and economic privileges, and generous endowments by the hetmans, allowed the Church to expand its educational and charitable activities. The Kiev Mohyla Academy flourished as a center of learning. Churches and monasteries were built or renovated, frequently in the distinctive Cossack Baroque style.



Josyf Veliamyn Rutsky - metropolitan of Kiev (1613-1637)

Petro Mohyla, Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev (1633-1647)

The metropolitans, bishops and clergy assumed new importance in the state and society. The hetmanate of Ivan Mazepa (1687-1709) marked the high point in the fortunes of Ukrainian Orthodoxy.

Already, however, processes were under way that would first undermine and finally eliminate the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as a distinct ecclesiastical institution, with its own traditions of spirituality and religious culture. From the beginning of the Hetmanate's uneasy relationship with Muscovy, the tsarist government attempted to subordinate the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to the patriarch of Moscow. Despite the vigorous opposition of the Kievan metropolitans, it finally succeeded in 1686. Liberally rewarded by gifts from Muscovy, the patriarch of Constantinople transferred the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from his own jurisdiction to that of the patriarch of Moscow — an act subsequently condemned by other Eastern patriarchs as uncanonical. Charters from the Muscovite government and the patriarch guaranteed broad rights of autonomy to the Ukrainian Church, but these were unremittingly violated. The Church's situation further deteriorated after Hetman Mazepa's revolt against Russian rule and his defeat in 1709. In 1721, Tsar Peter I, in order to impose total state control over the already compliant Russian Church, abolished

the Moscow patriarchate, replacing it with a collegiate body, the Holy Synod, whose head as procurator was appointed by the tsar and sometimes was not even a clergyman. The Russian Orthodox Church in effect became a branch of government, with a prime task of integrating the tsar's subjects within the structures of the newly proclaimed Russian Empire with its capital now in St. Petersburg. This it proceeded to do in the eighteenth century — not without help from Ukrainian clergy, for those who were prepared to cooperate were rewarded with high ecclesiastical positions in Russia itself. The price of their advancement was the eventual reduction of the Ukrainian Church to an indistinguishable part of Russian Orthodoxy.

Consolidation of the Union in the West

A different fate befell the Ukrainian Church in those territories that after 1667 remained within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth — the lands on the Right Bank of the Dnieper and Galicia, as also Belorussia. Two decades of upheaval and war, with devastating Turkish and Tatar intervention, followed — a period in Ukrainian history known as "the Ruin." Gradually the area began to revive, and so did the fortunes of the Church.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church, which disappeared on the Left-Bank Ukraine, survived in these western territories and began a period of consolidation. Numerically and institutionally it was strengthened by the adherence to the Union of the last Orthodox dioceses: Peremyshl in 1691, Lviv in 1700, and Lutsk in Volhynia in 1702. The Lviv brotherhood joined the Union in 1708, and the important Pochaiv monastery in 1712.

Union with Rome also made progress in those Ukrainian lands not under Polish, but Hungarian control — in Carpatho-Ukraine. The initial impetus came in 1646, when the Orthodox bishop of Mukachiv and many clergy accepted the Union of Uzhhorod. It subsequently gained more adherents, and in the years 1710-20 spread throughout the whole territory of Transcarpathia, confirmed by the Union of Marmarosh in 1720.

In territories under the Polish sphere of influence, the Orthodox Church went into a strong decline. The adherence of the remaining bishops to the Union left the Orthodox without a hierarchy in Ukraine, and only one bishop in Belorussia. Conversions to the Union and population transfers to the Left Bank drastically reduced the number of the faithful. The few parishes that remained became dependent on bishops in Russian dominated sees, and this allowed for frequent in-

Saint George's Cathedral in Lviv

terference by Russian imperial authorities in Ukrainian ecclesiastical affairs within the Polish state.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church, having gained dominance and with hopes of agreement with the Orthodox receding, concentrated on its own internal development. The organizational structure became regularized, with the metropolitan retaining the title of Kiev, though not resident there, and nine dioceses, of which two were in Belorussia. Order and discipline were restored in the ranks of the clergy. Greater uniformity was introduced in liturgical practices, ritual, and Church appurtenances as a result of the important synod of Zamosc in 1720. Monastic life revived, and the increasingly influential Basilian Order flourished, with such important monasteries as Pochaiv, Krekhiv and Zhyrovytsi. The Basilians established large numbers of schools and collegia which were often on the high level of those operated by the Polish Jesuits and other Latin orders.

These were not undiluted successes, however. The Ukrainian Catholic Church continued to be viewed as inferior in every way to the dominant Latin Church of the Poles. As a result, the Church lost many members, especially from the nobility, through transfers to the Latin rite and Poloniza-

tion. Linguistic and cultural Polonization, indeed, affected the higher clergy, who thus became increasingly estranged from their Ukrainian — by now largely peasant — faithful. The reforms of the synod of Zamosc, in addition to the benefits of uniformity, introduced many Latin innovations into the Ukrainian Catholic Church that moved it further from the traditions of Eastern ecclesiology and spirituality. Nevertheless, this period of consolidation allowed the Catholic Church to establish its roots firmly in important segments of Ukrainian society — and this laid the basis for its development in the nineteenth century as a Church close to the people, whose interests and aspirations it would share and promote.

The Destruction of Ukrainian Church Life in Imperial Russia

By the end of the eighteenth century, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was brought firmly into the sphere of the imperial synodal Russian Orthodoxy. The policy of the Russian rulers was simultaneously to decentralize Ukrainian ecclesiastical structures and to extend central Russian control over the totality of Church life in Ukraine. The metropolitans of Kiev lost first their jurisdiction over other sees in Ukraine, and finally even their title as metropolitans of "Little

Russia" — that is, Ukraine. From 1799, in any case, all the metropolitans were non-Ukrainians, and since 1803 only Russians. So were most of the bishops. Theological education became thoroughly Russified, many monasteries were closed, and the clergy became salaried employees of the imperial government. Distinctive Ukrainian rituals, vestments, customs, even church architecture were prohibited and replaced by those prevailing in the Russian Church.

It was in this rapidly deteriorating situation that the Russian Empire extended its sway over new Ukrainian territories. In the three partitions of Poland — in 1772, 1793 and 1795 — Russia acquired the entire Right Bank Ukraine and Volhynia, and all of Belorussia, with their now dominantly Catholic population. Only the westernmost province of Galicia was allotted to Austria, where conditions were quite different.

Although the empress Catherine II had guaranteed religious freedom to her new subjects in the partition agreements, she soon showed her hostility to the Ukrainian Catholic Church and a determination to eradicate it within the confines of the Russian Empire. The Church was not to be allowed to present an obstacle to the total integration of the new territories and the assimilation of their peoples. By 1795, the metropolitanate and all

Ukrainian Catholic dioceses had been abolished, and the metropolitan himself exiled to St. Petersburg, where he died in 1805. The Orthodox hierarchy were ordered to convert the Ukrainian Catholics, by force if necessary. Catholic priests who refused conversion were removed — and many of them imprisoned and sentenced to Siberia — to be replaced by Russian clergy.

Under the emperors Paul I (1796-1801) and Alexander I (1801-1825), the situation for Ukrainian Catholics improved a little. Some dioceses, and in 1806 even the metropolitanate, were restored. A special department at the Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical College in St. Petesburg was formed to oversee "Uniate" affairs. At the University of Vilnius a seminary for Ukrainian Catholic priests was allowed to open. Exiled clergy were allowed to return.

The accession of Nicholas I (1825-55) signalled a new commitment to destroy Ukraine's distinctive character, and with it her Catholic Church. On the pretext that some of the Ukrainian clergy had taken part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was finally abolished in the territories of the Russian Empire in 1839. It still survived in the Kholm area, legally part of the separate Congress Kingdom of Poland, though under the tsar. But after the Polish

A typical wooden church in Western Ukraine

revolt of 1863 this area too came under attack, and in 1875 the Church was liquidated by force. Whole villages were "reunited" with the Orthodox Church by tsarist troops. The only alternative left for those who absolutely refused conversion to Russian Orthodoxy was to became Roman Catholic. Thousands did so. In the process they maintained their Catholic faith, but ultimately this led to total Polonization.

Increasingly through the nineteeth century, the policy of the imperial Russian government was to eradicate all traces of distinctiveness in Ukraine. The very existence of a Ukrainian people and their language was denied — in the infamous words of the minister of the interior Valuev: "there has not been, is not, and ever can be" any such thing. To implement this policy of denial it was essential to eradicate that institution closest to the Ukrainian people — their Church. On the eve of the twentieth century, this task appeared to have succeeded.

Relative Freedom in the Habsburg Empire

In the First Partition of Poland in 1772, Galicia came under the rule of the Habsburg Empire, to which Carpatho-Ukraine already belonged as part of the Hungarian crown. This incorporation into the Habsburg monarchy signified a new begin-

ning for the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Unlike the Poles, the Habsburgs recognized the Ukrainian Catholic Church as equal in rights and status with the Roman Catholic Church and changed its name to Greek Catholic. Moreover, to maintain harmony and equilibrium in their multinational state, they fostered a relative cultural autonomy of the various peoples.

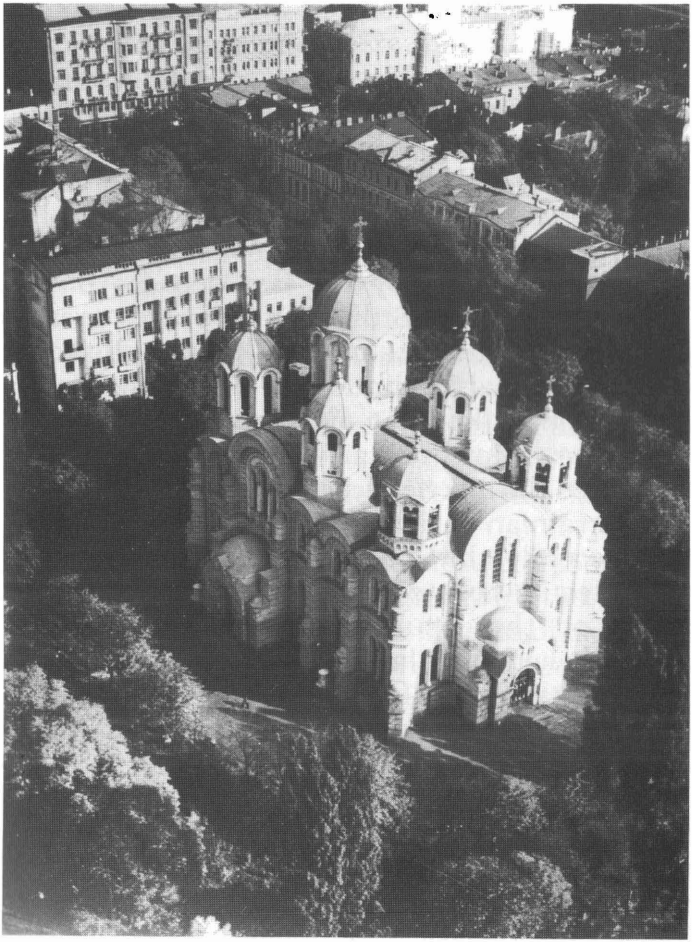
In the year 1774, the empress Maria Theresa established in Vienna the Barbareum, a theological seminary for all her Greek Catholic subjects: Ukrainians, Rumanians, and Croatians. Nine years later, the Studium Ruthenum was established at the Universtity of Lviv as a modern seminary for Ukrainians. In Western Ukraine, in consequence, there gradually developed a well-educated clergy who in the nineteenth century would become the main promoters of national rebirth. It is typical that the poetry collection, *The Dniester Nymph* (1837), which signalled the birth of modern Ukrainian literature in Western Ukraine, was the work of three Ukrainian Catholic clerics (the "Ruthenian Trinity"), most notable of whom was the priest Markian Shashkevych.

In the year 1807, at the request of the bishops of Galicia, the metropolitan see of Halych was restored. As the most highly placed Ukrainians in the Empire, the metropolitans were able to ar-

ticulate Ukrainian aspirations at the highest levels. Two of them — Michael Levytsky (1816-58) and Sylvester Sembratovych (1885-98) — became cardinals, a fact that further raised their prestige.

The position of Ukrainians and the Greek Church in the Habsburg Empire deteriorated after the revolution of 1848 (in which churchmen, again, were among the most prominent defenders of Ukrainian interests) and the political settlement of the 1860s. The transformation of the Habsburg Empire into the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary gave virtually unlimited dominion to the Hungarian aristocracy over Carpatho-Ukraine, to its great disadvantage. Magyarization of the population and the Church was henceforth vigorously pursued, no longer checked from Vienna. Likewise in Galicia internal government was virtually ceded to the Poles, who pursued policies inimical to the political, social and economic interests of the majority Ukrainian population. The status of the Roman (Latin Rite) Catholic Church was enhanced, while that of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church declined.

The reaction among Ukrainians that followed led some into a Russophile orientation that affected many of the leading clergy. This movement involved the use of a mixed Church Slavonic-Ukrainian-Russian patois in writing, elimina-



The church of St. Volodymyr in Kiev

tion of Latin accretions in Church rites, and a cultural and, to an extent, political orientation towards Russia. Tsarist agents took advantage of this to promote Russian influence. As a result of such developments, some priests and congregations converted to Orthodoxy. Russophilism, however, could not ultimately prevail over the growing Ukrainian national movement, which came to dominate by the last decades of the Habsburg Empire. Still, such cleavages greatly complicated the work of the Ukrainian bishops. Finally Cardinal Sembratovych aligned the hierarchy with the Ukrainian movement, and his great successor, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, cemented the link between the Ukrainian Church and Ukrainian nationality.

Internally, the Church was considerably reinvigorated in the late nineteenth century. The creation of the Stanyslaviv diocese in 1885 strengthened the Church's structural base. The synod of Lviv in 1891 introduced greater order in ritual practices and discipline, though some of its decisions veered more toward Western practices. In the 1880s the Basilian Order was thoroughly reformed, and, thus renewed, launched missionary, pastoral and scholarly activities that proved of enormous benefit to the Church. Subsequently the Basilian women's order was also

reformed, and in 1892 was founded the new congregation of Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate which was to play an especially important role in missions among Ukrainian emigrants abroad.

The relative freedom in the Habsburg monarchy allowed the Ukrainian Catholic Church to renew and consolidate itself to face successfully the challenges of the new world order of the twentieth century.

The Rebirth of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church

The fall of the tsarist regime in February 1917 released the long-suppressed longings of Eastern Ukrainians for emancipation from Russian rule, national self-determination, and the revival of their Ukrainian Church. The close collaboration of the Russian Orthodox Church with the tsarist regime had compromised it in the eyes of nationally conscious Ukrainian believers. In the course of 250 years, this Church in Ukraine had become a tool of Russification. In a renewed Ukraine, it was maintained, there should be a revived Ukrainian Orthodox Church to serve the Ukrainian people, not an alien ruling power.

In late 1917, an All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council of clergy and laity was formed in Kiev to seek autonomy from the just reconstituted Rus-

sian patriarch. On January 1, 1919, the indipendent Ukrainian government proclaimed a law on the autocephaly (autonomy) of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The implementation of this law, however, was precluded by the Bolshevik occupation of Ukraine in February 1919. Avowed enemies of religious faith and champions of atheism, the Bolsheviks unleashed a campaign against all religious. At the same time they felt an urgent need to consolidate their power in Ukraine and win support among the strongly hostile people. To achieve this, the new Soviet government introduced a policy of linguistic and cultural Ukrainianization. In line with this tactical concession it allowed the formation of an autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Church to proceed.

Thus, in October 1921 there was convoked in Kiev the first *sobor* (synod) of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. It faced, however, an apparently insuperable obstacle: the Church possessed no hierarchy, and no bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church would agree to undertake an episcopal consecration — and Patriarch Tikhon threatened anathema on anyone who might be prepared to do so. To overcome this obstacle, the elected metropolitan, Basil Lypkivsky, was consecrated bishop by the laying-on of hands by priest and lay delegates to the *sobor* —

a practice claimed for the ancient Church of Alexandria. Metropolitan Lypkivsky in turn consecrated Nestor Sharaivsky, and later they jointly consecrated other hierarchs. This departure from accepted Orthodox practice, indeed, alienated many of the Church's supporters and isolated it from other Orthodox Churches. For others, however, it emphasized the democratic nature of Ukrainian autocephaly. Nevertheless, this controversy left many believers within the patriarchal Russian Church, which in the 1920s in turn made some concessions in language usage for the Ukrainians. Still, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church during the 1920s grew rapidly. By 1927 it already had 10,657 priests and one million faithful.

The short-lived period of toleration came to an end with Stalin's consolidation of power in the late 1920s. From 1929 onward the policy of Ukrainianization was halted and then reversed. Its champions began to fill the mines in Vorkuta and the Polar marshes. Massive repression of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church began. One parish after another was liquidated. Bishops and clergy were exiled or shot. In January 1930 the authorities convoked an "extraordinary synod" which formally dissolved the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church. Some 300 Ukrainian Orthodox congregations were allowed to exist until

1936, on condition that they renounce the principle of autocephaly and profess unconditional loyalty to the Soviet regime. But after this even they were gradually liquidated.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church revived in Ukraine during World War II. With the return of the Red Army in 1943-44, however, it was suppressed once more. Since 1945, Ukrainian Orthodox Churches exist only in the West. In Ukraine only the Russian Orthodox Church is permitted to function, the title of "Exarch of Ukraine" given the metropolitan of Kiev being the only concession to Ukrainian national feeling.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Era of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky

The history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the first half of the twentieth century is intimately linked with the personality and multifarious activities of its metropolitan — Andrew Sheptytsky.

The future metropolitan was born in 1865 and christened Roman, third son of Count Jan and Sophia Sheptytsky (Szeptyckyj). His mother came from the Polish aristocracy, his father — from a noble Ukrainian family that in the eighteenth century produced four Ukrainian Catholic

metropolitans and bishops, but since then had become thoroughly Polonized. Both parents were fervent Catholics of the Latin Rite. As a young man, however, Roman discovered his roots and reasserted his Ukrainian identity, reverted to the Eastern Rite and joined the Basilian monastic order. In 1899, at age thirty-four, he was named bishop of Stanyslaviv. One year later he became metropolitan, heading the Ukrainian Catholic Church until his death in 1944.

Initially received with some reserve, even hostility, by segments of Ukrainian society because of his Polish family ties, Metropolitan Sheptytsky soon revealed himself to be a champion of Ukrainian rights and a promoter of Ukrainian culture. A man of great erudition and broad interests, he became involved in all aspects of his people's cultural and social life. He assisted orphanages, founded hospitals, and patronized educational institutions. He established a museum of Ukrainian art and promoted Ukrainian artists and scholars. He supported Ukrainian publishing enterprises and libraries, and subsidized newspapers. He encouraged the establishment of cooperatives and other useful enterprises.

The Metropolitan felt a keen sense of responsibility toward his people. In his words, "The Metropolitan of the Ruthenians is the only truly

representative and most prominent figure of this people which has been oppressed for hundreds of years. The Ruthenians in Galicia had neither a government nor offices, neither power nor influence. Their bishops have been the nation's only representatives, and therefore can perform those functions and exert that influence which secular leaders do elsewhere." The Metropolitan's role as a national leader was all the more significant because in the course of his forty-four year tenure rulers of Galicia changed six times, power passing from Vienna to St. Petersburg, to Vienna, to Warsaw, to Moscow, to Berlin, and Moscow again. While always staunchly defending the rights of his Ukrainian flock, the Metropolitan tried to assuage national and social conflicts, prevent human suffering, and find peaceful solutions to all conflicts.

The Metropolitan's pastoral activities revived and energized Church life in Western Ukraine. Metropolitan Sheptytsky conducted constant visitations to his flock, preaching and teaching the Gospel. His nearly 150 pastoral letters touched on all matters of faith and the Church's moral teaching. Especially important were the Metropolitan's endeavors to foster the theological training of his clergy. He reorganized the seminary in Lviv and sent the most promising students

The Servant of God Andrew Sheptytsky, archbishop - metropolitan of Halych (1901-1944)

abroad for advanced training. He thoroughly revitalized monastic life in Galicia. In 1904 he revived the Studite Order, based on the ancient rule of the Kievan Caves Monastery. But he also introduced modern active religious congregations from the West, who developed Eastern-rite branches, most importantly the Redemptorists. He reformed the Basilian order of nuns, and established several new women's congregations. Metropolitan Sheptytsky several times visited the growing Ukrainian communities in North and South America, providing them with enormous moral encouragement, and was instrumental in obtaining the Vatican's appointment of the first Ukrainian bishops for the United States and Canada.

An ecumenist before the age of ecumenism, Metropolitan Sheptytsky was animated by an overpowering vision of Church unity. In his dream of Church unity, the Ukrainian Catholic Church had a special mission — to serve as a bridge between East and West. The Christian reconciliation, harmony and unification of which he dreamed was more than a simple conversion of the Orthodox to the Catholic faith. Like the great hierarchs of the seventeenth century, he was thinking of a Ukrainian patriarchate under the primacy of the pope. To authenticate the Eastern heritage of the Ukrain-

ian Catholic Church, the Metropolitan fostered purification of the liturgy and rite from Western accretions and a return to an Eastern theology and ecclesiology.

His vision of Church unity, however, transcended national boundaries. Metropolitan Sheptytsky played a prominent role in the formation of the Russian Catholic Church. During World War I, only a few days after the invasion of Austrian Galicia by the tsarist Russian army in September 1914, the Metropolitan was arrested "for political activities harmful to Russia" and interned in a monastery prison at Suzdal. When the tsarist regime collapsed, the Metropolitan was freed and allowed to travel to Petrograd. Here he organized the Russian Catholic Church and on the very eve of the Bolshevik coup this Church received official recognition. By the powers earlier granted him by the pope, Metropolitan Sheptytsky appointed Leonid Fedorov exarch of Russia.

Metropolitan Sheptytsky returned to Galicia at a historically momentous time. In 1918 the Habsburg Empire collapsed. Galicia for a time became part of a West Ukrainian National Republic, but was soon absorbed by the reconstituted Polish state. Despite promises of autonomy and guarantees of minority rights required by the post-war peace settlement, Poland

embarked on a policy of repression and forcible pacification of an unreconciled Ukrainian population. Ukrainian public education was nearly completely dismantled and the promised creation of a Ukrainian university never implemented. Ukrainians were not allowed to work in public service in Galicia without first changing to the Latin rite.

In this situation of a deteriorating social and political position of Ukrainians in Galicia the Metropolitan resumed his activities with even greater determination. He established a Ukrainian Theological Academy which until 1939 remained the only Ukrainian institution of higher learning in Galicia, founded a hospital and sponsored various religious and secular publications. He staunchly defended Ukraine from the excesses of the Polish pacification and protested the destruction of Orthodox churches in Volhynia and their transfer to Latin-Rite Catholic Poles. And always he continued and expanded the Church's pastoral role.

In September 1939, after the Hitler-Stalin pact, Galicia was occupied by the USSR. Although confined to his wheelchair in the episcopal palace, the 74-year-old Metropolitan kept abreast of all the alarming new developments: the material impoverishment of the people, terror, the deportations to Siberia. "The Bolshevik occupation... has

nearly brought our people to complete ruin. The number of victims deported, imprisoned, or killed is high," wrote the Metropolitan in a report to Rome. "In my eparchy of Lviv alone they amount to 250,000." To aid him to ensure continuity in the metropolitan see, Metropolitan Sheptytsky secretly consecrated Joseph Slipyj, rector of the Theological Academy, as coadjutor-bishop with the right of succession.

In June 1941, the German army occupied Lviv. The Ukrainian population initially welcomed this as liberation from stalinist terror. But the Germans soon unleashed a terror of their own. Metropolitan Sheptytsky quickly realized the nature of the Nazi occupation. Deeply opposed to war and killing, he protested against the recruitment of Ukrainian auxiliary police to aid in the persecution of Jews. He called on Hitler to stop the oppression of Ukrainians and the killing of Jews in Ukraine. To his own Ukrainian compatriots he addressed a passionate pastoral letter on the Fifth Commandment: "Thou shalt not kill!" in which he condemned the killing of Jews and internal Ukrainian conflicts. He actively worked to save Jewish lives, hiding many Jews in monasteries and other Church institutions. Several hundred Jewish children were saved in this way. The son of the chief rabbi of Lviv lived

for a time in the cowl of a Studite monk in the Metropolitan's own palace.

The Destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Soviet Ukraine

In the summer of 1944, Soviet troops expelled the Germans and reoccupied Western Ukraine. On November 1, the venerable Metropolitan Sheptytsky died. Such was his enormous popularity that the Soviet authorities had to allow a public funeral and mass procession, and even participated in the obsequies. The bishop-coadjutor, Joseph Slipyj, automatically succeeded him as metropolitan.

The Soviet regime now launched a campaign of propaganda, intimidation and mass terror whose aim was the final destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In every district of Western Ukraine, "conferences" of the clergy were convened with mandatory attendance at which speakers from the party and secret police viciously attacked the Vatican and the Ukrainian Catholic Church as "fascist" and "enemies of the people." On April 6, 1945, appeared a slanderous pamphlet against the late Metropolitan Sheptytsky, a "lackey of the reactionary Vatican." At the same time, it spoke of a "rebirth" of the Russian Orthodox Church in Western Ukraine — which had never

Ten bishops-martyrs and confessors from 1945, under the leadership of metropolitan Joseph Slipyj (1944-1984)

been Russian, and therefore could not have been Russian Orthodox. The campaign culminated on April 11, 1945, with the arrest of the entire hierarchy of Western Ukraine: Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj, with his auxiliaries in Lviv — Mykyta Budka and Nicholas Charnetsky, and Bishop Gregory Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv and his auxiliary, Ivan Liatyshevsky. Arrested later in Poland and deported to the USSR were Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovsky of Peremyshl and his auxiliary, Gregory Lakota.

Deprived of their spiritual leadership, the clergy were now required to register with the secret police for permission to perform the divine services. In every community "Church committees" were set up under secret police supervision. These took charge of Church properties and alone were authorized to appoint "registered" clergymen to parish posts.

On May 28, 1945, scarcely six weeks after the arrest of the Catholic bishops, there appeared an "initiative group for the reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church" and petitioned the authorities for the right to act in the name of its Church. On the same day, the initiative group issued a declaration to the clergy which made clear that government authorization had already been granted. "With the

permission of the government, an initiative group has been organized for the reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church... The government will recognize only the jurisdiction of our initiative group and no other administrative authority in the Greek Catholic Church." It is clear that the initiative group was planned and organized long before, and that the "ecclesiastical reunion with the Russian Orthodox Church" was imposed and managed by the Soviet authorities.

In its response to the initiative group, dated June 28, 1945, the government declared: "The initiative group for the reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church is ratified in its formation as the sole provisional ecclesiastic-administrative organ with full powers to administer the existing Greek Catholic parishes in the Western districts of Ukraine..." By this order of the Soviet government, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in fact ceased to exist in the USSR.

The formal "self-liquidation" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church occurred a few months later. The initiative group, with full cooperation of the Soviet authorites and the Russian Orthodox Church, convened a "synod" on March 8-10, 1946, in St. George's Cathedral in Lviv. No Catholic bishops, but only 216 priests from the initiative group, in-

cluding two already secretly consecrated Orthodox bishops, and one Orthodox cleric voted by a show of hands to "return to the bosom of the Russian Orthodox Mother-Church." The Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USSR was *de jure* suppressed.

Henceforth the Ukrainian Catholic clergy would be subject to the patriarch of Moscow. In practice, however, many of the clergy continued their pastoral work as they had done earlier. Many congregations pleaded with their pastors to sign the necessary papers and formally convert to Orthodoxy, fearing that those who refused would be deported and their place taken by Russian pastors. Nevertheless, well over 1,000 of the Catholic clergy refused to accept Orthodoxy even formally. After the "synod," these were summarily sentenced to ten years of imprisonment and most of them deported to Siberian labor camps.

In the summer of 1946, the head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj, stood in Kiev before a military tribunal. For a year he and his bishops had been held in detention in the Ukrainian capital. Now they heard the formal accusation: "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," "collaboration with the German occupation forces," and "inflicting great harm to the Ukrainian people." The accusation of collaboration was

particularly monstrous, for the Metropolitan had always fought to keep the Church out of political involvement. But the proceedings against the Metropolitan had to fulfill a symbolic function. With him would be condemned his entire Church and all its consciously Ukrainian members. The verdict was a foregone conclusion and the two-week trial a mere formality. The Metropolitan later remarked, "The most remarkable thing was that it took place at night and that, apart from the KGB agents and the guards, no one took part in it." The sentence: eight years for the Metropolitan; seven, six, and five years for the other bishops. The KGB representative, who demanded 25 years if not the death penalty as more suitable punishment for the head of the Ukrainian Church, complained to Moscow. He was not to be much disappointed. The sentence was several times extended in the camp itself. The Metropolitan alone survived. The other bishops died in prison, camp, or exile.

The same, only slightly belated, fate befell the Greek Catholic Church in Carpatho-Ukraine. In 1947, Bishop Theodore Romzha of Mukachiv was murdered. Some terrorized priests were persuaded to accept Orthodoxy. In 1949, the Union with Rome was abolished. The Church in Carpatho-Ukraine, too, was subordinated to the patriarch of Moscow.

Missionary Work in Exile

With the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, hundreds of recalcitrant priests and religious, and tens of thousands of believers were arrested and deported. In the 1940s, the Soviet Gulag system had not yet achieved the sophistication it has today. Criminals and political prisoners were kept together. This was an additional torment for the political prisoners, for the criminals beat and robbed them — this was tolerated by the authorities. In this, the clergy and nuns were favorite victims. Bishop Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv was beaten to death by such thugs even before the judicial proceedings against him had been completed.

The existing concentration camps in Siberia and Mordovia were not sufficiently large to hold the hundreds of thousands of newcomers shipped there after the war. Most of the prisoners were unloaded from the cattle cars straight into the Siberian forests, where they had to put up their own shelter and barbed wire. Detention in the Gulag was a particularly difficult trial for the clergy and the nuns. Their peaceful and calm composure, their dignity, to which their fellow prisoners have borne witness, provoked the particular wrath of the guards. When attempts at pro-

vocation failed, the guards abused their dignity through especially vulgar insults and humiliating work assignments.

"I met many religious persons who were forced to do particularly dirty work on the sewers in order to diminish the dignity and importance of the religious state," wrote Clement Sheptytsky, Archimandrite of the Studites and brother of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptysky, concerning his imprisonment in Karaganda where he was sentenced to twenty-five years of imprisonment and where he died in the 1950s. Hundreds of clergymen herded swine in Mongolia, mined coal in Vorkuta, scratched for gold in the polar marshes, and cut timber in the Siberian taiga, with only rags as protection against the frigid cold. Many did not survive forced labor because of constant hunger and perpetual cold.

Still the religious carried on their missionary work in the camps among their fellow prisoners. The clergy celebrated the Liturgy secretly, heard confessions, baptized, and offered consolation. As fellow prisoners recall, Metropolitan Slipyj used raisins received in a food parcel to produce sacramental wine. Small evergreens adorned the makeshift altars in the Siberian forests and wood shavings took the place of candles. And everywhere the Ukrainian clergy met with their

compatriots, for the Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalist" made up a disproportionate percentage of Soviet political prisoners.

Outside the camps, the clergy and nuns worked side by side with other exiles. They instructed children and adults for baptism, prayed with believers and new converts, and organized clandestinely entire congregations throughout Siberia, Kazakhstan, and the Far North. In their ministry the Ukrainian Catholic clergy made no distinction of denomination or rite. Common suffering dispelled historical antagonism. Ukrainian priests celebrated the Divine Liturgy for Polish and German fellow-prisoners in the Roman rite. Exiled Ukrainians and Russians in Siberia organized congregations jointly, with the assistance of Ukrainian nuns. From time to time these were visited by Ukrainian priests who had completed their sentences and now became itinerant missionaries throughout the Asian regions of the Soviet Union — always in secret, always hunted by the police.

Building a Church in the Catacombs

In the 1950s, the first priests and religious began to return to Western Ukraine from prison and exile, rejoining those who had been spared im-

prisonment. Slowly a clandestine network, a Church in the catacombs, developed. Priests baptized, heard confessions, administered the sacraments and celebrated the Divine Liturgy in private homes. Monks and nuns organized themselves in small religious cells. They gave religious instruction, produced religious literature and articles, engaged in missionary work. Many sought out employment that would allow them closer contact with believers and greater geographical mobility. The existence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the catacombs owes much to the active missionary work of the Basilian nuns and Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate.

In 1963, as a gesture toward Pope John XXIII, the Soviet government released Metropolitan Slipyj and had him brought to Moscow, whence he was to proceed to Rome. In his hotel room in Moscow the Metropolitan received Vasyl Velychkowsky, a Redemptorist recently freed from long incarceration, and secretly consecrated him bishop. This assured the hierarchical continuity and the provision of clergy for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the catacombs. When in the mid-1950s, Khrushchev launched the de-Stalinization campaign and many exiled clergy and nuns returned to Ukraine, hopes grew that the thaw might also lead to an eventual legalization

of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Some congregations publicly repudiated their Orthodox clergy and openly revolted against the Russian Orthodoxy that had been imposed on them in 1946.

These hopes for a restoration of the Ukrainian Catholic Church proved to be vain. Nevertheless, such signs of disaffection resulted in some modifications in the policies of the regime and the Russian Orthodox Church. In the mid-1960s Filaret (Denysenko) became the first Ukrainian in over 150 years to occupy the Metropolitan See of Kiev, and most of the Orthodox bishops in Ukraine were Ukrainians. The first Ukrainian prayer book appeared in 1968. A church calendar in Ukrainian resumed publication, and the Ukrainian-language periodical, *Pravoslavnyi Visnyk*, reappeared.

The Russian Orthodox Church, nevertheless, was still unable to win the confidence of the Ukrainian believers. Their ties with the Ukrainian Catholic Church continued to be strong, as well as their resentment of Russian Orthodoxy for its subservience to the Soviet state and its role as an instrument of denationalization. Even churchgoers in Western Ukraine who fill the Orthodox churches on Sundays gather in private homes for the Catholic Liturgy when an underground priest is available. Thanks to the work of clandestine priests and nuns, the structures of the Ukrainian

Catholic Church in the catacombs survive, even in the face of continuing persecution by authorities.

Religious Freedom — A Human Right

In the wake of the post-Stalin thaw, a widespread Ukrainian dissident movement developed in the mid-1960s. The intellectuals, scholars, and artists who spearheaded this movement had no close connection with the Church. For them, the Ukrainian Church was above all a national institution. They understood the suppression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1946 as a Russification measure which they condemned in their writings. They also viewed Church buildings and icons as treasures of national culture. There was no regular contact between the dissidents and the believing Catholics of the underground in those years. Kievan dissenters did, however, receive the clergy from Western Ukraine as guests during their missionary travels. But such relations were of a personal, casual nature. For the dissenters religious freedom was simply part of those human rights for which they were struggling.

This situation changed only when the first generation of dissidents was destroyed during the great repression of 1971-72. In the prison camps, the victims of this new wave of repression came

into contact with the older generation of prisoners, many of them incarcerated since 1945. These prisoners were believing Ukrainian Catholics. The defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church had always been part of their program. Contact with these survivors of the post-war terror had a profound impact on the newcomers.

In the meantime, a new generation of human rights activists emerged. In 1976, there was formed in Kiev a Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Group to monitor the implementation of the Helsinki Accords, with their human rights provisions. These Accords had been signed by the Soviet government, and the human rights activists of the second generation acted on the understanding that this constituted a binding commitment. In their program, the founders of the Helsinki group mention religious rights explicitly. The Helsinki monitors adopted and further refined the methods of their predecessors. Instead of *samizdat* periodicals, they composed memorials and petitions, with special care that these writings, dealing with violation of human rights in the USSR, reach the West.

This insistence on adherence to signed guarantees set an example. Ukrainian Catholics in Western Ukraine learned from the Helsinki group and adopted many of its methods.

Active Resistance

With the example of human rights dissidents before them, the Ukrainian Catholic laity in Western Ukraine began to organize. No longer satisfied with a secret, underground Church, they demanded their right — the right guaranteed them even by the Soviet constitution in its article 52: "Every Soviet citizen has the right to profess the religion of his choice." In their petitions and declarations, whole congregations demanded the restoration of their Church and protested the closing and destruction of Ukrainian churches and icons.

In September 1982, an "Initiative Group for the Defense of the Rights of the Believers and the Church in Ukraine" was organized. In their manifesto, the Initiative Group articulated remarkably maximalist demands: a vote on the restoration of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, reopening of the Theological Academy and Seminary, and the restoration of Church buildings and properties. They challenged, as did all *samizdat* writings of the Ukrainian Church, the validity of the "synod" of Lviv and the suppression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The manifesto was signed by Joseph Terelya and

Father Gregory Budzinsky, Studite monk, confessor of the faith

Father Gregory Budzinsky, who headed the Initiative Group.

Gregory Budzinsky had been a member of the delegation sent in 1944 by Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj to Moscow to negotiate the legal status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. This priest, who subsequently refused to go over to Orthodoxy, paid for his loyalty to his Church with long imprisonment. Since his release he has ceaselessly countered the Soviet version of the "voluntary self-liquidation" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and of the "synod" of Lviv in 1946. Among the faithful of Lviv, he is known as the "learned pastor," while in the villages he is revered as an itinerant underground minister of souls.

Joseph Terelya has become, in recent years, one of the best known of Ukrainian Catholics. This Christian activist from Carpatho-Ukraine has been persecuted as a Ukrainian and as a believer since his youth. For his beliefs he was incarcerated for a time in a psychiatric institution. Despite the threat of rearrest and weak health from years of imprisonment, Joseph Terelya became the driving force behind Ukrainian Catholic lay movement. Most importantly, he has co-edited the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine*, of which thirty issues have reached the West since 1984.

The *Chronicle* presents vivid accounts of the

persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, as well as other religious denominations, in Carpatho-Ukraine and Galicia. It provides testimony that more and more believers are sent to camps for political prisoners, although their activities are in no way political. The authorities have devised a special tactic to persecute these farmers or workers, mostly unknown in the West: believers are accused of crimes like robbery, drug smuggling, or assault, and sentenced to prison as common criminals. The camps to which believers are sent are little known, and this allows for uncontrolled caprice on the part of the camp administration. Imprisoned believers are favorite targets of the vicious guards and their criminal collaborators. They are constantly demeaned and maltreated physically and psychologically. Many are sent to mental institutions for unspecified periods without judicial proceedings. Here, too, they fall victim to sadistic wardens and violent psychotics.

In addition to such accounts, the *Chronicle* contains declarations and letters to prominent foreign activists, such as the Polish Solidarity leader, Lech Walesa, with whom Terelya feels a special kinship because of their common deep and vibrant faith. The *Chronicle* also contains short spiritual articles and appeals to readers.

Hrushiv, a village in Western Ukraine, summer 1987.
The Catholic faithful in prayer in front of the church

Ukrainian Catholics in Zarvanytsia, August 1987

Before the *Chronicle* was able to become a permanent institution like its model, the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, its publishers were arrested and sentenced. In 1987, Terelya was released and exiled abroad.

The underground Ukrainian Catholic Church continues its clandestine life. The clergy continues to move through villages and city, for the believers who frequent Orthodox churches on Sundays prefer to call a Catholic priest for baptisms, marriages, and the last sacraments. The number of priests has grown considerably in recent years, with perhaps 1,000 at the present time, and several bishops. For the years 1981-1984 alone, the *Chronicle* mentions 81 ordinations, mostly of young men who had attended an underground seminary. Each active clergyman has the duty to train two or three successors. Clearly, the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church suffers no problem of recruitment. More and more young men and women are joining small religious communities. Their underground activities are only possible with broad support among the people.

Ukraine — A Traditionally Believing Land

Ukraine has always been a deeply religious land. After seventy years of percution and athe-

istic propaganda in Eastern Ukraine, and over forty years in the Western regions, signs of abiding religious faith are unmistakable. Although Ukrainians form less than one fifth of the Soviet population, one half of functioning Orthodox churches — even though Russian Orthodox — are to be found in Ukraine, and some one half of those are in the Western, traditionally Catholic, regions.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church has been long suppressed. Yet signs of devotion to a national form of Orthodoxy are many. Occasional concessions in linguistic usage and publications of the Russian Orthodox Church are one. Adherence to Ukrainian Orthodoxy by those, all too few, Eastern Ukrainians who are allowed to emigrate abroad is another. And the courageous defense of Ukrainian Orthodoxy by Father Vasyl Romaniuk, a longtime prisoner for his convictions, is but the outward manifestation of beliefs cherished by many. Recently, committees have been formed in Kiev and other Ukrainian cities to request legalization of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

Religious faith in Ukraine is also confirmed by the presence and growing strength of Protestant sects, most strongly represented in Eastern Ukraine. Dating to the nineteenth century, these Christian communities experienced their greatest growth, in fact, during the Soviet period. This

growth was often at the expence of the officially favored Russian Orthodox Church which they view as tainted through collaborationism. The Baptists, especially those that refuse official registration with the authorities, have been the most dynamic.

But in conditions of total illegality, the catacombs existence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is perhaps the most conspicuous example of the Ukrainian people's religiosity. With whole new generations of believers born after the liquidation of the Church's institutional structure, this Church survives, spiritually and morally renewed in its continuing suffering. Most recently reports have reached the West from Ukraine of miracles and apparitions of the Mother of God. These visions have attracted thousands and thousands of believing pilgrims whom even the Soviet authorities are unable to stop. These pilgrimages today serve as a symbol of the thousand-year pilgrimage of Ukrainians as a Christian people that is remembered and commemorated in 1988, a pilgrimage that still continues.

The Ukrainian Church in the Free World

On the one thousandth anniversary of their Christianity, the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox

Saint Sophia Cathedral in Rome

Churches stand as a symbol of the devotion of the Ukrainian people to their religious heritage. Though suppressed in both the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, these Ukrainian Churches are alive and thriving in all continents of the free world where Ukrainians have settled.

Difficult political, religious and economic circumstances forced many Ukrainians to emigrate to the West. Their faith sustained them spiritually through the hardships of emigration and today unites Ukrainians in the free world with their brethren in Ukraine who are denied religious freedom.

In celebrating their Millenium in the free world, Ukrainian Christians are testifying to God and His people that they have preserved the faith given to them by St. Volodymyr in Kiev 1,000 years ago. For this covenant with God, the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches have suffered. But they have not betrayed this fidelity throughout the ten centuries of their Christianity.

Though these Churches are severely persecuted in their homeland, the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches have prospered in the free world. The Ukrainian Catholic Church today has one Cardinal — His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky, Major Archbishop of the Metropolitan See of Lviv (Lvov), Western Ukraine.

The Cathedral of St. Nicholas, Chicago - USA

Cardinal Lubachivsky resides in Rome where he has a titular Pro-Cathedral of Saint Sophia. He succeeds the late Cardinal Joseph Slipyj who, after 18 years of persecution and imprisonment in Soviet prisons, was allowed to emigrate to the West.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church has two Metropolitans: Most Reverend Maxim Hermaniuk, CSsR, Archbishop of Winnipeg and Metropolitan for Ukrainian Catholics in Canada, and Most Reverend Stephen Sulyk, Archbishop of Philadelphia and Metropolitan for Ukrainian Catholics in the United States. It also has one Archbishop, Miroslav Stephen Marusyn, Secretary of the Congregation for Eastern Churches in Rome, and 19 Bishops, listed here according to date of election:

— Isidore Borecky: Toronto, Canada
— Joseph Martenez: Curitiba, Brazil (retired)
— Ivan Prashko: Melbourne, Australia
— Platon Kornyljak: Munich, Germany
— Volodymyr Malanchuk, CSsR: Paris, France (retired)
— Joachim Segedi: Zagreb, Yugoslavia (retired)
— Augustine Hornyak, OSBM: London, England (retired)
— Andrij Sapelak, SDB: Argentina

The Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Hierarchy with Pope John Paul II, February 1983

— Basil Losten: Stamford, CT, USA
— Ephrem Krevey, OSBM: Curitiba, Brazil
— Jerome Chimy, OSBM: New Westminster, B.C., Canada
— Dmytro Greschuk: Edmonton, Alberta, Canada
— Innocent Lotocky, OSBM: Chicago, IL, USA
— Robert Moskal: Parma, OH, USA
— Myron Daciuk, OSBM: Auxiliary of Winnipeg, Canada
— Michael Hrynchyshyn, CSsR: France, Benelux, Switzerland
— Slavomir Miklovsh: Krizevci, Yugoslavia
— Basil Filevich: Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada
— Michael Kuchmiak, CCsR: Auxiliary of Philadelphia

In the free world there are approximately 1.3 million Ukrainian Catholics in 1,000 pastoral centers. They are led by their hierarchs and 550 diocesan priests, 275 priests of religious orders and 75 deacons. There are seven Ukrainian Catholic major seminaries with 110 students and six minor seminaries with 250 students.

Monastic religious communities are also prospering in the free world. Ukrainian Basilian Fathers have 320 members in three provinces, two vice provinces and one delegature; 195 priests, three deacons, 68 professed students for the priesthood, 29 professed brothers and 25 novices. The order is administered from Rome by the Superior General, Protoarchimandrite.

The Redemptorist Fathers of the Ukrainian Rite have 50 professed members and form one religious province in North America with its headquarters in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, Canada.

The Monks of St. Theodore the Studite (Studites) with their general house at Grottaferrata, a suburb of Rome, have eight priests, four professed brothers and five novices.

The Salesian Fathers of the Ukrainian Rite have 12 priests. Their main community resides at the Minor Seminary of St. Josaphat in Rome.

The Franciscans of the Ukrainian Rite have eight members, serving in Argentina and the USA.

Religious Communities of Sisters have also prospered in the free world. The Basilian Sisters have five provinces, two vice-provinces and one delegature, with 565 professed members and 45 novices. Their Superior General and her council reside in Rome.

The Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate have

five provinces, one vice-province and one delegature. They number 752 professed members and 43 novices; their Superior General and her council also reside in Rome.

The Institute of Catechists of the Sacred Heart of Jesus numbers 125 members and 15 aspirants. Their mother house is in Prudentopolis, Brazil.

The Sisters of St. Anne number 50 professed and 11 novices. The Superior General and her council are in Curitiba, Brazil.

The Sisters of St. Joseph number 30 members. They serve in Brazil, Canada and the USA.

The Missionary Sisters of the Mother of God have 20 members. Their general home is in Philadelphia, USA.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church is also well established in the free world: in Western Europe, Canada, the USA, South America and Australia. They are headed by their Metropolitans and Archbishops: His Beatitude Archbishop and Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk of South Bound Brook, N.J., USA; Archbishops Constantine, Volodymyr and Anatoly, and Bishop Anthony. There are numerous clergy serving (approximately) one million Ukrainian Orthodox Christians.

There are over 50 million Ukrainians in Ukraine — 45 million Orthodox and 5 million Catholics. Because of suppression and persecu-

tion, they are not able to publicly celebrate their millenium of Christianity. However, the more than two million Ukrainians in the free world will solemnly celebrate, with joy and gratitude, this historic religious event, and unite in spirit with their brothers in Ukraine.

Faith celebrations are planned in the entire free world. The main celebrations will take place in Rome with the participation of thousands of the faithful, religious communities, clergy, Bishops, Archbishops, Metropolitans, Cardinals and the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II, the Supreme Patriarch of the Universal Church of Christ, who so eloquently proclaimed that the Christianity of Kievan Rus', introduced by St. Volodymyr in 988, was orthodox in faith and catholic in unity.