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**Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox
in Poland and Czechoslovakia**

Andrew Sorokowski



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Harvard University
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The Ukrainian Studies Fund, Inc. was established in 1957. Its purpose is to raise funds for the establishment and support of Ukrainian scholarly centers at American universities. The organization has endowed three chairs in Ukrainian studies (history, literature, and linguistics) at Harvard University and is in the process of completing the endowment of Harvard's Ukrainian Research Institute.

The Friends of HURI was established by a group of young professionals concerned about the cultural development of Ukraine and committed to the advancement of Ukrainian scholarship. The founding principle of this organization was twofold: to seek financial support for HURI in the Ukrainian community and to draw the community into the academic and social life of Harvard University.

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FOREWORD

The Ukrainian Studies Fund prepares for the Millennium.

In 1988 Ukrainians throughout the world are celebrating the Millennium of the Christianization of Rus'-Ukraine. An important part of these observances is the promotion of scholarly inquiry on the process of Christianization and on the thousand-year Christian Ukrainian spiritual and cultural tradition. The Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University has undertaken a number of projects, including the sponsorship of an international scholarly conference, the publication of a multivolume source series and a comprehensive history of the Ukrainian church, and the establishment of a chair at the Harvard Divinity School devoted to the religious history of Ukraine. In addition to providing financial assistance to the Institute for the realization of these plans, the Ukrainian Studies Fund supported position at Keston College, Kent, the United Kingdom, for a Ukrainian researcher, whose sole task was to examine the present status of religion in Ukraine. In cooperation with the Friends of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, the Fund has also initiated the Millennium Series of seminal studies on topics of Ukrainian religious and ecclesiastical history.

Religion plays an important part in the lives of Ukrainians living just beyond the borders of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, whether they live on Ukrainian ethnic territory or whether they, like the Ukrainians in northern and western Poland, represent deported populations and their offspring. In the two articles reprinted here, Andrew Sorokowski describes the situation of Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in two neighboring countries where Ukrainians do not have their own religious institutions but play an important role in the lives of the local churches. In the article "Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in Poland," he presents the history of Ukrainian participation in the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the attempts of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics since 1945 to establish an independent church life within Poland's Roman Catholic Church. In "Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in Czechoslovakia," the author traces the post-war history of the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia and of its often bitter rival, the

Greek-Catholic Church — both of which are composed largely of Transcarpathian (Ruthenian) Ukrainians. Each article concludes with an appraisal of the current situation of Ukrainians in the Catholic and Orthodox churches of the two countries. These brief studies illustrate the often complex relationships between national consciousness and religious affiliation that are typical of Eastern Europe.

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I

Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in Poland Since 1945*

ANDREW SOROKOWSKI

In addition to the usual problems associated with the study of East European post-war history — unavailability of important archival material, ideological factors, highly biased sources, and the lack of the perspective of time — the study of Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in Poland and Czechoslovakia since 1945 confronts the researcher with considerable imbalance among available sources. Whereas there is a large body of literature on Ukrainian Catholics in Poland, there is little material available on Ukrainian Orthodox in Czechoslovakia. The amount of information obtainable in the West on Ukrainian Orthodox in Poland and Ukrainian Catholics in Czechoslovakia seems to fall somewhere in between.

There is, furthermore, considerable difficulty in identifying and isolating the objects of study. Ethnic assimilation of Ukrainians in both Czechoslovakia and Poland, as well as controversy about whether such groups as Lemkos and Rusyns are Ukrainian, make it difficult to ascertain who the Ukrainians of these countries are. The absence of separate Ukrainian Catholic or Orthodox Churches in Czechoslovakia and Poland compounds the problem, and it is even reported that until recently, the censors forbade mention of the existence of Greek-Catholics in Poland,¹ although the Greek-Catholic Church does have semi-official status in that country.

The fact that virtually all Greek-Catholics in Poland are Ukrainian makes this group relatively conspicuous, and identification of Ukrainians in Poland is somewhat easier than in Czechoslovakia — although the official tendency to regard the Lemko ethnic group as something other than Ukrainian does obscure matters to some extent. Since there are no official breakdowns by nationality of either the Polish government census or of church statistics, one must rely on estimates to ascertain the number of Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox as well as the overall number of Ukrainians in the country.

*The first of two articles: an article by the same author on Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in Czechoslovakia will appear in *RCL* Vol. 15, No. 1.

Although the overall estimates vary from 250,000 to a million Ukrainians, 500,000 to 600,000 seems a likely number.² This would include at least 350,000 to 400,000 Ukrainian Greek-Catholics and at least 150,000 to 200,000 Ukrainians in the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church.³

On the eve of World War II, the population of the Ukrainian lands which had been incorporated into inter-war Poland included some three and a half million members of the Greek-Catholic Church, which was almost entirely Ukrainian, and over four million Orthodox believers, of whom three-quarters were Ukrainian. In the lands which were to remain in Poland after the war, there were some 715,000 Ukrainians in 1940, including 175,000 who had joined the Latin-rite Catholic Church.⁴ The Greek-Catholic metropolitanate of Lwów (L'viv in Ukrainian) and Galicia included the Lwów archdiocese, the dioceses of Przemyśl (Peremyshl') and Stanisławów (Stanyslaviv), and (from 1934) the Apostolic Administrature of the Lemko Region. The Administrature was carved out of the Przemyśl diocese in order to counteract the Orthodox movement among the Lemkos, who inhabited the area west of Przemyśl.

Historical Background

Under Metropolitan Dionysius from 1923 onwards, the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church was recognised as autocephalous by the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople in 1924-1925 and subsequently by all the other Orthodox Churches except the Moscow Patriarchate. It had five dioceses with about 2,000 parishes. A bastion of the Russophile movement since the 19th century, the Orthodox Church attracted many Ukrainian Greek-Catholics who objected to the latinising and polonising influences of the Roman Catholic clergy in Poland. The Orthodox were subjected to an intense Catholicisation campaign in the inter-war period. Finally, a presidential decree of 18 November 1938, confirmed by the Council of Ministers on 10 December 1938, regulated the relations between the church and the government, upon which it became dependent. A polonisation process consequently became possible in the church, with Polish introduced as the language of administration, education and sermons in some areas, though the Ukrainians in Volhynia resisted this development.

Between 1914 and 1939 the number of Orthodox churches decreased dramatically.⁵ This was evidently a result of the violent attacks on the Orthodox Church, of which the government was not altogether innocent, particularly in 1938. After protests by Greek-Catholic metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'ky, as well as by

Orthodox metropolitan Dionysius and others, the Polish government ordered an end to the anti-Orthodox violence early in 1939.

Post-war Developments

Border shifts and population transfers in the wake of World War II brought changes to both churches. A number of Ukrainians had been deported during the Soviet occupation of Eastern Galicia in 1939-41. At the end of the war, the majority of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics found themselves within the new borders of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. In addition, a number of Ukrainians, both Orthodox and Greek-Catholic, from what had become the eastern borderland of Poland, were repatriated to the Ukrainian SSR between October 1944 and 1946 under an inter-governmental agreement of 9 September 1944. Some 482,880 Ukrainians, Belorussians, Russians and Ruthenians were transferred to the Soviet Union from Lublin, Rzeszów, and Cracow provinces.⁶ Altogether about 530,000 Ukrainians were settled in the Ukrainian SSR.⁷ About 850,000 persons, including perhaps about 150,000 Ukrainians, were transferred from the USSR to Poland. Of the 200,000 Ukrainians who had remained in Poland⁸, 150,000 were resettled in the formerly German north and west of Poland in "Action Vistula" between March and the late autumn of 1947.⁹ To avoid resettlement, some Ukrainian Greek-Catholics transferred to the Latin-rite Church and claimed Polish nationality.¹⁰ The vacated lands were then settled mostly by some 50,000 Roman Catholic Poles.¹¹ However, the Ministry of the Interior reported that by 1956 there were 500,000 Ukrainians remaining in Poland.¹² Some 350,000 were represented at the All-Ukrainian Congress in Warsaw that year.¹³ Discrepancies in the statistics may be explained in part by the reluctance of many Ukrainians to report their nationality in the circumstances of intense Polish-Ukrainian animosity in the post-war years.

The Greek-Catholic Church, 1945-56

Both the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic bishops of the Przemyśl diocese, (which had remained partly in Poland after the war), were arrested on 19 September 1945, released in January 1946 and arrested again on 25 June 1946. Bishop Iosafat Kotsylovs'ky and his co-adjutor, Bishop Hryhori Lakota, were extradited to the USSR and died in confinement. Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priests of the Przemyśl diocese were given sentences of between four and ten years as

"Vatican agents."¹⁴ All the canons of the diocese were exiled. The Basilian Order, however, remained legal. At the end of the war there were over a hundred Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priests left in Poland, most of them serving in the Latin-rite Church.¹⁵ Many kept a low profile by serving as chaplains in convents.¹⁶ In 1949 Cardinal Wyszyński was named special delegate for Ukrainian Greek-Catholics. He agreed to the establishment of pastoral centres, but not of regular Greek-Catholic parishes.¹⁷

In the area west of the river San, some 200 Ukrainian Greek-Catholic churches of artistic and historical value were destroyed.¹⁸ By a decree of 27 July 1949, real property belonging to the Ukrainians and the Greek-Catholic Church in the south-east regions passed to the state.¹⁹ Between 1939 and 1956, 164 Ukrainian Greek-Catholic churches under state supervision were destroyed in Poland, mostly in the years 1949-56.²⁰ Art specialists brought this up in the Polish press, but the government took no action.²¹

The Ukrainians resettled in the north and west of Poland were distributed among 45 districts (*powiaty*) of eight counties (*województwa*). The Ministry of the Interior instructed that the number of Ukrainians in any given locality should not exceed ten per cent.²² Along with other factors, this obviously limited the possibilities for the organisation of religious life. It also made unnecessary an official liquidation of the Greek-Catholic Church, as occurred in Galicia in 1946, Romania in 1948, Transcarpathia in 1949, and Czechoslovakia in 1950.²³

The situation of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Poland in the early 1950s must be seen in the context of government policy towards the Catholic Church as a whole in the years after the communists had consolidated their power. Purportedly dissatisfied with the church's observance of the church-state agreement of 14 April 1950, which required episcopal support for government policies, the regime issued a decree dated 9 February 1953 requiring governmental approval for all organisational and personnel changes in the church structure. Cardinal Wyszyński was imprisoned. Only in 1956 could he and his bishops return to their dioceses. In that year the Holy See named five new bishops.

The Orthodox Church, 1945-56

In the first post-war decade, Orthodox Ukrainians in Poland found themselves in a radically changed church. Partly because of his vital role in the revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in German-occupied Ukraine during the war and also because of his

opposition to communism, Metropolitan Dionysius Waledynski was imprisoned by the authorities in Warsaw. In 1948 he was put on trial for alleged wartime collaboration. (Meanwhile, in 1946 Bishop Timothy Shreter was appointed to administer the church together with the Synod.) The main reason for Dionysius's confinement and trial, however, may well have been the Moscow Patriarch's designs upon the Orthodox Church in Poland. Thus, the Synod of the Orthodox Church in Poland was persuaded to repudiate the autocephaly which the church had received in 1924-25 from the Ecumenical Patriarch, and on 22 June 1948 a new "autocephaly" was granted by the Moscow Patriarchate.

The border changes and resettlements of the war had resulted in a vastly reduced Orthodox Church in Poland — from four million believers before the war to around 450,000, from five to two dioceses, from ten to three bishops. (A third diocese, however, was created in 1949 and a fourth in 1950.) Neither the institute of Orthodox Theology at the University of Warsaw nor the theological seminary were revived. However, in 1950 a theological seminary was founded in Warsaw, and in 1957 a department of Orthodox Theology was established at the Christian Theological Academy in that city.²⁴ In 1947 Maria Niechludowa founded Poland's only Orthodox convent, at Grabarce near Siemiatycze, and the monastery of St Onufrius was founded at Jableczna.

On 19 April 1951 the Synod of Bishops requested the Russian Orthodox Church to send an archbishop, and on 14 June a church delegation asked that Macarius Oksiyuk, the Russian Orthodox Archbishop of L'vov and Ternopil', be sent to head their church. Macarius, who had helped carry out the forcible conversion of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in the Ukrainian SSR, was enthroned on 8 July 1951 as Metropolitan of Warsaw and all Poland.

The post-war Orthodox Church in Poland became a culturally Polish rather than a Ukrainian or Belorussian institution.²⁵ Although Metropolitan Macarius did not succeed in bringing the Greek-Catholics of Poland to Orthodoxy, he did consolidate the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church.²⁶ In the 1950s, the PAOC took over a number of Greek-Catholic churches which had become state property. This led to conflicts with the Roman Catholic Church, which weakened the already tenuous positions of both *vis à vis* the government.²⁷

The "Thaw" of 1956

The limited general thaw of 1956 affected the situation of Ukrainians of both faiths in Poland. However, the state continued to control much of the activity of the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, the decree of 31 December 1956 allowed the state to oppose candidates for clerical positions and required them to take an oath of loyalty. Changes in the civil registry law in 1958 required civil registration of a marriage before a church wedding. The law of 15 July 1961 on the educational system reaffirmed the primacy of official secularism and permitted catechetical instruction outside school in centres subject to the supervision of the Ministry of Education.

The Ukrainians' social and cultural life was revived through the formation, on 16-18 June 1956, of the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Association. This party-controlled organisation sought to normalise the status of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.²⁸ The Polish episcopate refused. On 29 November 1956 the Ukrainian priests Vasyl' Hrynyk and Myroslav Ripets'ky sent a memorandum to the Primate, Cardinal Wyszyński, appealing for juridical status for their church. The following year the Rev. Canon Hrynyk headed a delegation from the still-vacant Przemyśl diocese to Cardinal Wyszyński. The delegation requested the return of the Greek-Catholic cathedral in Przemyśl, which had been turned over to the Polish Carmelites from Lwów. The Primate promised to consider the request. He did permit 16 Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priests to maintain religious care over Catholic Ukrainians in Poland.

Beginning in 1956, many Ukrainian priests who had been sent to Soviet labour camps began to return to Poland. Some served the deportees in the north and west of the country. In September 1957 one of the first fully legal Ukrainian Greek-Catholic services since the war was held, in Szczecin.²⁹

Since Ukrainian churches which had not been turned over to the Latin-rite Catholics continued to be neglected or destroyed, the Greek-Catholics in many localities had to seek permission from the local bishop and parish priest to hold masses in Latin-rite churches. They were not permitted to have their own seminary, nor an official department of their own in any existing seminary. Until 1970, Ukrainians could not study theology unless they agreed to study and serve in the Latin rite for a few years.³⁰ The ageing Greek-Catholic clergy had diminished in numbers by the late 1970s to between 35 and 40 priests, two-thirds of whom were in their sixties and over.³¹ From 1947 to 1977 there were only ten Greek-Catholic ordinations (five secular priests and five religious).³² In 1977 there were some 15 Ukrainians studying theology in Polish seminaries, eight of them at

the Catholic University of Lublin.³³

The issue of the fate of Ukrainian churches remained controversial: a Polish historian writing in 1983 noted that there had been a significant increase in the number of Greek-Catholic churches destroyed in the years up to 1972. For example, in Rzeszów county some 220 churches had been destroyed.³⁴

The Rev. Canon Vasył' Hrynyk, who had been appointed the Primate's vicar-general for Ukrainian Catholics in Poland, died on 31 May 1977. He was succeeded by Rev. S. Dziubyna on 14 June 1977. The Vatican's choice was opposed by Cardinal Iosyf Slipyj, head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, who had been living in Rome since his release from labour camp and expulsion from the USSR in 1963. By a decree of 20 July 1977, Fr Dziubyna became head of the Przemyśl capitula for the Eastern rite. Przemyśl remained the seat of the vicar-general until 1981. This corresponded to the traditional structure of the Greek-Catholic Church — since Przemyśl was the seat of an ancient Ukrainian eparchy — but not to the demographic situation after "Action Vistula". Cardinal Slipyj, who had adopted the title of Patriarch in 1975, designated Fr Dziubyna as patriarchal administrator.³⁵ At the end of 1977, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics had 74 pastoral centres in Poland, including former fully-fledged parishes with resident clergy.³⁶

Orthodox Metropolitan Timothy Shreter (Macarius's successor) died in 1962. In 1965, Stephen Rudyk, bishop of Białystok-Gdańsk, succeeded him. At the beginning of the 1970s the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church had four dioceses, with 206 parishes, 150 priests, ten deacons, and nearly 250,000 faithful, many of whom were Ukrainians.³⁷

The 1980s

The rise of the "Solidarity" independent trade-union movement in 1980, and the consequent political and economic turmoil, do not seem to have directly affected the religious life of the Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in Poland. However, these events did affect the life of the Ukrainian community in general in ways which involved church life as well. Some Ukrainians did take part in "Solidarity" activity, particularly in the industrial regions of the north and west, where many resettled families and their offspring continue to live. "Solidarity" has been less active in the south and east — areas with an autochthonous Ukrainian minority — because of the scarcity of industry there. Ukrainians did, however, become active in the Przemyśl branch of the independent trade union movement, which

took up some of their concerns. In the summer of 1981 a Solidarity inter-factory committee requested the state authorities to return a church which was being used as a warehouse to the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics. The matter was brought up in an open session of the Solidarity regional administration in Przemyśl. After long and often heated discussion, the majority voted for return of the church to the Ukrainians.³⁴

In a letter of 6 March 1984 addressed to the Primate, Cardinal Józef Glemp, a number of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics listed a series of requests, including the appointment of their own bishops and the return of the Przemyśl Cathedral.³⁵ On 21 June of that year, Archbishop Myroslav S. Marusyn, Secretary of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches, visited Poland by invitation of the Primate and as a representative of Pope John Paul II. It was the first official visit of a Vatican representative to Eastern-rite Catholics in Poland since World War II.

The Present Situation

Since 1981, the Ukrainian Catholics in Poland have been represented by two vicars-general, one in Warsaw and one in Legnica. While this corresponds to the Ukrainians' geographical distribution, it deprives Przemyśl of its traditional status as a centre of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church authority. The vicars-general in Warsaw and Legnica are, respectively, Rev. Josafat Romanyk and Rev. Jan Martyniak.⁴⁰ Today there are approximately fifty Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priests in Poland.⁴¹

While the advanced age of the majority of these priests has been a concern in the past, recent ordinations by the visiting Archbishop Marusyn from Rome⁴² have contributed to assuring sufficient future pastoral care. Nevertheless, there is still a shortage of priests. Younger priests generally serve three or four communities, while older ones tend to serve only one each.⁴³

Also important are the matters of church edifices and administration. On the eve of World War II there were 514 Ukrainian Greek-Catholic churches in that part of the Przemyśl diocese which after the war was to remain in Poland's Rzeszów county, including 311 "monuments of architecture."⁴⁴ By 1956, 164 churches, including 101 of those designated as architectural monuments, had been destroyed.⁴⁵

In that year, an agreement was reached by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Culture and Art, and Communist Party representatives, concerning protection of cultural treasures, such as

churches. The Polish Sejm ratified the International Convention on the Protection of Cultural Monuments. In 1962, a special law was passed imposing penalties for the theft of, or damage to, cultural monuments.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, by 1969, another thirty churches designated architectural monuments had been destroyed.⁴⁷ It is not clear how much of the damage was due to neglect, how much to state action, and how much to destruction by the local populace.⁴⁸ Of the 180 churches designated monuments of architecture remaining in 1969, a hundred were being used by Latin-rite Catholics, and the rest were turned to agricultural or other uses, or simply left unprotected.⁴⁹

According to one author writing in the 1970s, out of 454 Ukrainian Greek-Catholic churches in the Lubaczów, Przemyśl and Lemko regions, 229 belonged to the state as architectural monuments, 195 had been turned over to Latin-rite use, 27 had been given to the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church, and three were shared by Latin-rite Catholics and Orthodox.⁵⁰ According to a 1982 article in the Polish press, there were only about twenty Greek-Catholic churches actually in use in Poland in that year. As a result, Greek-Catholic masses were held mostly in Latin-rite churches.⁵¹

In recent years, a number of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic churches have reportedly been built in the north, the west, and in Pomerania.⁵² For example, a new church with an iconostasis was built in Bartoszyce about four years ago. During his visit to Poland in June-July 1985, Archbishop Myroslav Marusyn laid the cornerstone of a church being built in Komańcza near Przemyśl. A church in Jaroslaw is being restored. Nevertheless, neglect and even destruction of churches have continued.⁵³ For example, a wooden church in Chotyniec was reported in 1984 to have been in the process of decay. Attempts to set up a Greek-Catholic parish there, which would help protect the building, have been fruitless.⁵⁴

Recently, attempts have been renewed to promote the preservation of architecturally significant Greek-Catholic churches and other religious structures. On 6 June 1983, a Public Commission for the Protection of Monuments of Ecclesiastical Art was formed in association with the Society for the Protection of Monuments. On 15 December 1984 a Student Section for the Protection of Monuments of Ecclesiastical Art was formed under the Polish Student Organisation's Council for the Culture of Students of National Minorities. Members of the Student Section participate in the taking of inventories of chapels, wayside crosses, cemeteries and other monuments of church art. The inventories will form the basis of requests for state protection of these sites and structures.⁵⁵

Administratively, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church comes

directly under the Primate of Poland rather than the local bishops, with vicars-general as intermediaries. There is, however, one Eastern-rite parish in Poland which stands apart from this structure. This is the "neo-Uniate" parish of Kostomloty on the Bug.⁵⁶ Greek-Catholic masses are celebrated in (a) Greek-Catholic parish churches, which in 1982 numbered about twenty;⁵⁷ (b) pastoral centres (*placówki duszpasterskie*), (usually with a resident priest), of which 79 were reported in existence in 1976;⁵⁸ and (c) centres of worship (*ośrodki kultu*), where services are conducted only occasionally, by visiting priests.⁵⁹ A recently published Vatican source gives the number of pastoral centres in the northern vicariate as forty, comprising 22 in the Olsztyn deanery and 18 in the Koszalin deanery. It names 36 pastoral centres in the southern vicariate: twenty in the Legnica-Wrocław deanery and 16 in the Przemyśl deanery. Thus, there has been a decrease of three since 1976.⁶⁰

Of the Greek-Catholic monastic orders in Poland, the Order of St Basil the Great is historically the most important. There are presently 23 Basilian monks in Poland, of whom 13 are priests. They have a church and monastery in Warsaw, and houses in Kolobrzeg, Przemyśl, Stargard and Wegorzewo.⁶¹ There are three Ukrainian Greek-Catholic women's orders in Poland: the Josephites in Przemyśl, Surochów and Komańcza, numbering 34 in all; the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate in Przemyśl, numbering 87; and the Basilian Sisters in Przemyśl, numbering 19.⁶²

Presently, 23 Ukrainian candidates for the priesthood are studying at the theological seminary which is part of the faculty of theology of the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL),⁶³ although another source mentions 15 at KUL and nine at the Basilian seminary in Warsaw.⁶⁴ In 1982, there were 18 Ukrainian students at KUL. In that year, the Primate nominated Fr Teodor Majkowycz rector for Ukrainian theology students at KUL. During the same year, there were nine monks studying at the Basilian seminary in Warsaw. These students take courses in theology at the Warsaw Theological Seminary, with supplementary courses at the Basilian seminary.

Nevertheless, vocations remain a problem. According to a former KUL theology student, the authorities make little effort to ordain Ukrainian candidates in their own rite. The controversy about priestly celibacy complicates this issue. Canon law permits married men to be ordained in the Eastern Rite. But in a letter of 2 February 1981 to the Polish Primate, the Vatican Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches replied negatively to the Przemyśl capitula's question about the ordination of married men. It is reported that theology students of the Eastern Rite are currently required to sign a declaration that they will be ordained unmarried. As a result of their refusal to submit to

this requirement, at least seven students have been reportedly expelled from KUL in recent years.⁶⁵

Pilgrimages of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics to the shrine in Czestochowa began with the 600th anniversary of Jasna Góra in 1982.⁶⁶ Over 5,000 young pilgrims, led by vicar-general Martiniak, took part in the fourth pilgrimage, in September 1985; over 2,000 made the fifth pilgrimage, in May 1986.)

The future of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Poland will depend largely on the attitudes and actions of the Polish population in general, the Roman Catholic episcopate and clergy, the Holy See, the communist government of Poland and, indirectly, the government of the USSR. The historic hostility between Poles and Ukrainians seems to be gradually diminishing, now that its political and socio-economic bases have largely been removed. Nevertheless, a majority of the Polish episcopate is still thought to oppose Ukrainian Greek-Catholic aspirations: only three out of 83 Polish bishops are reported to have supported a proposal for the appointment of a separate Greek-Catholic bishop.⁶⁷ Typical of the attitude of many Ukrainians is the bitter complaint of one former theology student at KUL that in Ukrainian matters, the Polish episcopate takes the same line as the Polish communist government. This may, however, be simply out of fear that any split may weaken the church rather than out of hostility towards Ukrainians. The attitude of the lower clergy is also reportedly hostile in many cases, even in violation of the wishes of the Primate; the above-mentioned Ukrainian source speaks of "persecution".⁶⁸ Some Polish publicists have urged the Latin-rite Church to cooperate with the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics.⁶⁹ The idea has even arisen that a nationally inspired Ukrainian church could serve as a kind of buffer on Poland's eastern flank.⁷⁰ A part of the Polish intelligentsia has taken the initiative in solving the problems of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. Ironically, they have at times encountered apathy among the Ukrainian clergy itself.⁷¹

The Warsaw government has propagated the concept of an ethnically homogeneous Polish society. It has apparently sought to diminish the role of the Ukrainian Catholics by favouring the Orthodox. It must also take into consideration the concern of the Soviet government that a Ukrainian revival in Poland should not spill over into the USSR.⁷² On the other hand, some party-published sources suggest a new toleration for ethnic diversity.⁷³ This may, however, merely reflect an attempt to divide the Catholic Church. However that may be, the USSR, which officially considers the Greek-Catholic Church to have been dissolved in 1946, at least on the territory of the Galician Metropolitanate, would find it inadmissible that this church be revived in the portions of that Metropolitanate

presently in Poland.⁷⁴

Since the election of Pope John Paul II in October 1978, the attitude of the Holy See has been far more favourable towards the aspirations of Ukrainian Catholics in general. The Pope's pastoral letter of March 1979, concerning the approaching millennium of Rus'-Ukraine's conversion to Christianity in 988, testifies to this.⁷⁵ The recent visits of Archbishop Marusyn as papal representative to Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Poland are further evidence of Vatican support.

The concrete issue before Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Poland is the appointment of a bishop or exarch for the Przemyśl diocese. An exarch would presumably be an apostolic exarch, although the notion of a patriarchal exarchate has also been raised. Alternatively, an apostolic administration could be set up as an interim measure. In this matter, the recent growing concern of the laity — both Ukrainian and Polish — may prove an important factor.⁷⁶ Of course, the final decision rests with the Holy See, and its actions cannot be predicted.

In the 1980s the Ukrainian Orthodox appear to have been assimilated into the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Since 1 March 1970, this church has been headed by Archbishop Basil Doroszkiewicz, Metropolitan of Warsaw and all Poland, and head of the Synod of Bishops of the PAOC. He is said to be of Belorussian origin. The Synod of Bishops is the church's supreme authority. It administers the Metropolitan Council (the church's chief organ) and the Metropolitan Control Commission.

In addition to the Archdiocese of Warsaw and Bielsk, the church presently has four dioceses: Wrocław and Szczecin, Białystok and Gdańsk, Przemyśl and Nowy Sącz, and Łódź and Poznań. There are twenty deaneries with 224 parishes. The number of parishes has risen over the last 15 years.⁷⁷

Monastic life continues on a small scale. The monastery of St Onufrius is located at Jableczna in Podlasie. Twenty sisters live at the convent of Sts Martha and Maria at Grabarce near Siemiatycze (near Białystok), founded in 1947 and based on the rule of St Theodore Studite and St Basil the Great.⁷⁸

Church Slavonic is the normal liturgical language in the PAOC. Sermons are usually in Polish, but at the cathedral in Gdańsk they are in Russian, while in Sanok they are in Ukrainian.⁷⁹ The monthly organ, *Tserkovny vestnik* ("Church Herald"), is published in Russian. There is also a Polish-language quarterly, *Wiadomości PAKP*, and a calendar published in separate Polish, Russian and, since the late 1960s, Ukrainian editions.

Candidates for the Orthodox priesthood in Poland study at the

Orthodox Theological Seminary and the Orthodox section of the Christian Theological Academy, both in Warsaw.

According to its 1970 Statute, the PAOC is "an integral part of the Universal Orthodox Church", but is "independent of any ecclesiastical or secular authority outside the country and equal, in its rights, to every other autocephalous Orthodox Church".⁶⁰ It does, however, maintain fraternal ties with the Russian Orthodox Church and the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia.⁶¹ The PAOC belongs to the Polish Ecumenical Council, which supports the "peaceful initiatives of the Polish government in international affairs", and which in turn represents Poland in the World Council of Churches. The Polish Ecumenical Council is also active in the Christian Peace Conference.⁶²

An indicator of the Orthodox Church's loyalty to the regime is the fact that after the imposition of martial law in December 1981, it added special prayers for the Polish army to its services. The Polish government has in turn treated the PAOC favourably, allowing re-establishment of the ancient eparchy of Przemyśl as the eparchy of Przemyśl-Nowy Sacz on 6 September 1983, under Bishop Adam Dubec. It did this despite opposition from the Roman Catholic Church and particularly, it is said, from Bishop Ignace Tokarczuk of Przemyśl.⁶³ Since then, the eparchy has published a Ukrainian-language church calendar emphasising Ukrainian history and culture.⁶⁴

The PAOC has some three hundred churches and chapels. New churches are being built and old ones repaired. For example, a church was recently built in Hajnówka.

The position of Ukrainians in the PAOC is less favourable than it was either before or during the war. About half the clergy is Ukrainian, as have been several bishops and metropolitans. Yet the Ukrainian aspect of the church is de-emphasised, perhaps for fear of its possible effects on Orthodoxy in the Ukrainian SSR. What concessions have been made to the Ukrainians could stem from the desire to win over Ukrainian Greek-Catholics. In some cases in the Lemko area and Przemyśl county, the government has offered to return confiscated churches to Ukrainians on condition that they convert to Orthodoxy. Although this tactic has not been widely successful,⁶⁵ the government continues to favour the PAOC in other ways, since Ukrainian Greek-Catholics disaffected with the Latinisation of their rite are naturally tempted to turn to a church which preserves what is essentially the same Eastern rite. Thus in Przemyśl, where the Cathedral Church of St John the Baptist remains in the hands of the Latin-rite Carmelites, the Church of the Dormition on Wowcza was turned over to the PAOC in 1983. This church was

formerly the seat of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic bishops of Przemyśl, but was closed in the 1950s.¹⁴

Naturally, the Latin-rite clergy are not favourably disposed to the creation of Orthodox parishes in south-east Poland. The Poliane affair, where Orthodox and Latin-rite Catholics fought over a church for more than twenty years, is a case in point. However, Latin-rite Catholics' neglect of, or hostility towards, Greek-Catholics has only advanced the Orthodox cause, prompting disaffected Greek-Catholics in Gladyszów and Krynica to join the Orthodox Church.¹⁵

The south-eastern lands of present-day Poland have long been a forum of Catholic-Orthodox rivalry. Compounding and complicating this confessional conflict has been the national strife between Poles and Ukrainians. Since World War II, external political factors and events, such as Soviet influence, the Polish communist regime, the dispersal of Ukrainians to the north and west of the country, and the "Solidarity" movement, have further complicated the situation. The eastern bulwark of Catholicism as well as a bastion of Ukrainian national identity, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics have often encountered hostility from both the Polish regime and the Polish clergy, though lately there have been encouraging signals from both. Meanwhile, Ukrainian Orthodox, subsumed into a government-supported and Russian-oriented church, have recently begun to assert their ethnic identity. This may endear them even less to Polish Catholics, but more to their Greek-Catholic brethren. Thus the national factor, while continuing to reinforce religious rivalries, may in some cases work to reduce them.

Note. The author would like to thank Mr Ivan Hvat for his assistance in the research for this paper.

¹⁴ A party source estimated the Ukrainian population in 1982 at 250,000 to 300,000 (*Polityka*, 4 December 1982, in Ivan Hvat, "Ukrainskie katoliki-uniaty v Pol'she trebuyut svoikh prav" (manuscript) (Munich: Radio Liberty); a highly-placed Roman Catholic Church source estimated it in 1984 at 500,000, and a Rome-based Ukrainian source at a million. Such variation is not unusual; estimates from the 1970s varied from 180,000 (official source) to one million (émigré Ukrainian source): Vasył Markus, "The Religious Situation of the Ukrainians in Poland and of the Poles in Ukraine" in *Poland and Ukraine Past and Present*, edited by Peter Potichnyj (Edmonton and Toronto, 1980), p. 133 (citing official source); V. Gots'ky, "Na bichnomu vidtyнку" (manuscript), p. 1.

²Two published estimates for Ukrainian Greek-Catholics for 1982 were 300,000 (Turian, "Matka Wszystkich Narodów", *Wież*, No. 10 (October 1982), p. 47) and 80,000 to 100,000 practising Greek-Catholics (Bogda Stachurska, "Kościół greckokatolicki", *Więźdź Wrocławia*, No. 231 (31 December 1982 — 1-2 January 1983)). A reliable estimate for the number of Greek-Catholics in the preceding year was 200,000: Vasył Markus, "Impact of Polish Religious Development on Other East European Countries", in *Poland's Church-State Relations*, edited by Lawrence Biondi (Chicago, 1981), p. 51. In 1984, one reliable and highly-placed Polish source gave an estimate of 350,000; another mentioned that 300,000 Ukrainians are openly Greek-Catholic but that the total number, including "secret" Greek-Catholics, is closer to 400,000. In an October 1985 interview with Vatican Radio, the head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Cardinal Myroslav I. Lubachiv's'ky, gave the number of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Poland as 500,000. Another Ukrainian source in Rome would estimate the number at roughly 800,000. A recent Vatican-published source quotes a figure of 400,000: *Pamyatka arkhyyereis'kykh vidvidyn: blahosloven khto ide v imya Hospodnye* (n.l., n.d.).

³These are difficult to identify because they belong to the same rite as the Belorussians and Poles in the PAOC. If one accepts the proposition that over forty per cent of the PAOC membership is Ukrainian, then out of the roughly 400,000 to 500,000 members it claimed in the 1970s as many as 200,000 could have been Ukrainian: Markus, "The Religious Situation of the Ukrainians in Poland and of the Poles in Ukraine", p. 133. In 1978, the official overall number of Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church faithful was 460,000, with 223 priests: Adam Piekarski, *The Church in Poland* (Warsaw, 1978), p. 217. However, in 1984 it was reported by one source to be 850,000, with 226 clergy (Edmund Lewandowski, "Czy Jesteśmy narodem religijnym?" *Odgłosy*, 29 September 1984), by another source as about 700,000 faithful with 290 clergy before the creation of the new Przemyśl diocese (Piotr Borzych, "Święta Góra", *Wybrzeże*, 28 October 1984), and by a third source as about 600,000 ("Prawosławie w Polsce i na Świecie—Sesja we Wrocławiu", *Zycie Warszawy*, 19 November 1984). The number of Ukrainian Orthodox would vary accordingly.

⁴V. Gots'ky, "Zatyrayut' slidy zločynu" (manuscript), p. 3.

⁵Volodymyr Kubijovyc, editor, *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia* (Toronto, 1963-1971), Vol. I, p. 847.

⁶Andrzej Potocki, "Organizacja Życia Religijnego w Dziejach Polsce Południowo-Wschodniej", *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (1984), p. 226; G. Lukaszewicz, "Wokół Genezy i Przebiegu Akcji 'Wisła' (1947 rok)", *Dzieje Najnowsze*, No. 4 (1974), p. 39, cited in Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁷V. Gots'ky, *op. cit.*

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Gots'ky, *op. cit.*

¹²"Contre la discrimination à l'égard des Ukrainiens en Pologne", *L'est européen*, No. 156 (November-December 1977), p. 20.

¹³Gots'ky, *op. cit.*

¹⁴"Stan ukrajyns'koyi tserkvy v Pol'shchi" (manuscript). The Polish Latin-rite hierarchy apparently raised no protest. See the account by Fr Vasył' Hrynyk in *Martyrologiya ukrajyns'kykh Tserkov*, edited by Osyp Zinkewych and Fr Taras Lonchyna, Vol. II (Baltimore, 1985), pp. 325-26.

¹⁵Stepan Shakh, *Mizh Synom i Dunaitsem: spomyn*, Part I (Munich, 1960), p. 325. The majority of the Ukrainian Catholic priests of the Przemyśl chapter were arrested, and there was not time to elect vicars capitular to administer the eparchy: Bohdan Sotnyk, "Tserkovne zhyttya ukrajyns'koyi hromady v Pol'shchi", *Vitrazh*, No. 19 (June 1982), p. 22.

¹⁶Sotnyk, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁷Markus, "The Religious Situation of the Ukrainians in Poland and of the Poles in Ukraine", p. 137. As Apostolic Delegate for Greek-Catholics in Poland, Cardinal Wyszyński's predecessor, Cardinal Hlond, had named the Rev. Canon Vasył Hrynyk

vicar-general for the Przemyśl Eparchy on 1 April 1947: *Martyrolohiya ukrayins'kykh Tserkov*, Vol. II, p. 324. For a general history of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Poland in 1944-1948, see Fr Hrynyk's account in *Martyrolohiya ukrayins'kykh Tserkov*, Vol. II, pp. 321-46.

¹⁴Shakh, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

¹⁵*Dziennik U.R.P.* 1949, No. 46 (10 August 1949), cited in Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

¹⁶R. Brykowski, "Zabytkowe Cerkwie", *Architektura* (Warsaw), No. 5 (1983), p. 52, cited in Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 5. See *Obrona Zabytków* (Warsaw), Vol. 10, No. 2(3) (1957), quoted in Shakh, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-34.

¹⁷Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 5. He cites *Tygodnik Polski* (Warsaw) of 17 April 1983 and 20 November 1983, as well as *Przegląd Katolicki* of 10 February 1985.

¹⁸K. Pudło, "Osadnictwa Lemkowskie na Dolnym Śląsku w Latkach 1949-1969", in *Prace i Materiały Etnograficzne*, Vol. XX (Wrocław, 1970), p. 91, cited in Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹⁹Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

²⁰Leszek Watróbski, "Polski Autokefaliczny Kościół Prawosławny (PAKP)", *Novum* (Lublin), No. 1 (January 1978), p. 160.

²¹Friedrich Heyer, *Die Orthodoxe Kirche in der Ukraine von 1917 bis 1945* (Köln-Braunsfeld, 1953), p. 241.

²²Markus, "The Religious Situation of the Ukrainians in Poland and of the Poles in Ukraine", p. 134.

²³Potocki, "Organizacja Życia Religijnego w Dzisiejszej Polsce Południowo-Wschodniej", p. 230.

²⁴Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 8, citing the newspaper *Nashe Slovo* (Warsaw), 30 December 1956.

²⁵Piekarski, *The Church in Poland*, pp. 102-03.

²⁶Shakh, *op. cit.*, p. 335. See also *Holos Khrysta Cholovikolyubysya*, No. 2 (87), 1957, pp. 34-35.

²⁷Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 6, citing *Khrystyans'ky Holos*, (Munich), 30 July 1958.

²⁸Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 6, citing *Nashe Slovo*, 6 October 1957.

²⁹"Stan ukrayins'koyi Tserkvy v Pol'shchi" (manuscript).

³⁰Markus, "The Religious Situation", p. 138.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 138.

³²Brykowski, *op. cit.*, p. 52, cited in Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

³³Kubijovyc, editor, *Ukraine: a Concise Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, pp. 181-82.

³⁴Cheslav Kiyanka, "Przychynok do dyskusiyi pro pol's'ko-ukrayins'ki stosunki," *Sucasnist'*, No. 4 (288), April 1985, pp. 115-116.

³⁵For text, see *Shlyakh Peremohy* (Munich), 16 December 1984, pp. 1-2, and *Ameryka* (Philadelphia), 4 and 5 October 1984; also in Zinkewych and Lonchyna, editors, *Martyrolohiya ukrayins'kykh Tserkov*, Vol. 2, pp. 673-80.

³⁶Bohdan Pushkar, "Ukrayins'ka Katolyts'ka Tserkva v Pol'shchi ta yiyi perspektyvy", *Sucasnist'*, No. 3 (287), March 1985, pp. 90-91. According to Pushkar, Cardinal Iosyf Slipyj nominated Fr Martiniak as Fr Dziubyna's successor in the position of patriarchal administrator of the Przemyśl see, but Fr Martiniak returned the charter. The Rev. Stanyслав Tarapats'ky disputes this: "Z pryvodu statti 'Ukrayins'ka Katolyts'ka Tserkva v Pol'shchi'", *Sucasnist'*, No. 4 (288), April 1986, p. 126.

³⁷*Pamyatka arkhyyereis'kykh vidvidyn*, cited in "U Rymy vyishla knyzhka pro vidvidyny Arkhyepyskopa M. Marusyna u Pol'shchi," *Svoboda* (Jersey City and New York), 13 December 1985, p. 1 (39, and four bi-ritual); "Obrzadek Greckokatolicki w Polsce" (interview with Fr Iosafat Romanyk, OSBM), *Wież*, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 1-3 (January-March 1985), p. 104 (fifty priests); "Stan Ukrayins'koyi Tserkvy v Pol'shchi" (unpublished manuscript) (seventy priests); Shakh, *op. cit.*, p. 325 (over a hundred); Markus, "The Religious Situation", pp. 137-38 (seventy to eighty and 35 to forty). See *Glaube in der zweiten Welt*, November 1976, p. 33, giving the number of priests as 36, of whom thirty were bi-ritual, and only six were under the age of sixty, and Potocki, *op. cit.*, p. 228 (81 priests).

¹*Khrystyians'ky Holos* (Munich), No. 43 (1921), 27 October 1985, p. 2. The article reports that Archbishop Marusyn ordained five priests on 7 July 1985. On his first trip to Poland, in 1984, he ordained six priests.

²Pushkar, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

³S. Hordyns'ky, "Ukrayins'ki tserkvy v Pol'shchi", *Bohosloviya* (Rome), Vol. XXXIII, 1969, p. 18. Another source cites a figure of 520 Ukrainian Greek-Catholic churches in pre-war Poland: V. Gots'ky, "V novykh mikhakh — stare vyno" (manuscript).

⁴Ryszard Brykowski, "W Sprawie Architektury Cerkiewnej Wojewódstwa Rzeszowskiego", *Ochrona Zabytków* (Warsaw) No. 2 (37), 1957, pp. 99-112, cited in Hordyns'ky, *op. cit.*, p. 12, Hordyns'ky, *op. cit.*, p. 18. See also Shakh, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-34. Brykowski lists 101 churches destroyed in 1939-1956.

⁵Hordyns'ky, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 18.

⁶Based on figures in *ibid.*, p. 18.

⁷Hordyns'ky blames the latter, pointing out that of the 101 architecturally significant churches destroyed in 1939-1956, only six were victims of the government's war against Ukrainian nationalist insurgents in the 1940s.

⁸Hordyns'ky, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁹V. Gots'ky, "V novykh mikhakh — stare vyno" (manuscript), p. 4.

¹⁰Hvat, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Turian, "Matka Wszystkich Narodów", *Wież*, No. 10, October 1982, p. 45. This must be done with the permission of the local bishop and the parish priest.

¹¹"Propovid' Arkhyepyskopa Myroslava Marusyna vyholoshena na vatykans'komu radio 15 lypnya 1984 r.", in *Lemkivshchyna*, No. 4 (23), Winter 1984, p. 14.

¹²Ivan Hvat, "Azh do ostannyyoi?" *Vitrazh* (London), No. 19, June 1982, p. 27, Bohdan Martynyuk, "Proshu . . . blahayu . . .", *Nashe Slovo* (Warsaw), 21 August 1983.

¹³Pushkar, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹⁴Myroslav Botsyans'ky, "Shchob zberehty slidy mynuvshyny", *Nashe Slovo* (Warsaw), 3 November 1985, p. 5.

¹⁵Piotr Rogóyski, "Uroczystości Odpustowe Św. Nikity Meczennika w Kostomlotach", *Słowo Powszechnie*, 20 November 1984. The largely unsuccessful "neo-Uniate" movement took place in the 1920s and 1930s in areas of eastern Poland beyond the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.

¹⁶Turian, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁷Dr B.P., S.J., "Verletzung der Menschenrechte der Ukrainischen Katholiken in Polen", *Glaube in der zweiten Welt*, November 1976, p. 33.

¹⁸Markus, "The Religious Situation", p. 137, fn. 4.

¹⁹"Pamyatka arkhyereis'kykh vidvidyn. Blahosloven kto ide v imya Hospodne (n.l., n.d.).

²⁰"Obrzadek Greckokatolicki w Polsce" (interview with Fr. Iosafat Romanyk, OSBM), *Wież*, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 1-3 (January-March 1985), p. 107, Potocki, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

²¹"Pamyatka arkhyereis'kykh vidvidyn."

²²*Ibid.*

²³"Obrzadek Greckokatolicki w Polsce", p. 105.

²⁴Pushkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95. For a criticism of Pushkar's version of the situation, see Fr Stanyslav Tarapats'ky, "Z pryvodu statti 'Ukrayins'ka Katolyts'ka Tserkva v Pol'shchi'", *Sucasnist'*, April 1986, p. 126.

²⁵"Obrzadek Greckokatolicki w Polsce", p. 108.

²⁶"Stan ukrayins'koyi Tserkvy v Pol'shchi".

²⁷Pushkar, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

²⁸Ivan Hvat, "Ukrainskie katoliki-uniaty v Pol'she trebuyut svoikh prav" (manuscript) (Munich: Radio Liberty, p. 9).

²⁹Vasyl Markus, "Impact of Polish Religious Development on other East European Countries", in Lawrence Biondi, editor, *Poland's Church-State Relations* (Chicago, 1981), p. 51.

¹¹Pushkar, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

¹²Hvat, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

¹³E.g., Agata Bleja, "Nie Dojedzone Owieczki", *Polityka*, Vol. 11, No. 33 (1476) (17 August 1985), Malgorzata Mokrzycka, "Cerkwie Umieraja Stojac", *Tygodnik Polski*, No. 16 (23), 1983, p. 10.

¹⁴Markus, "The Religious Situation", p. 138, Pushkar, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

¹⁵Reprinted in Ivan Hvat, *The Catacomb Ukrainian Catholic Church and Pope John Paul II* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984), pp. 295-98.

¹⁶Pushkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.

¹⁷Compare Kubijovyc, editor, *Ukraine: a Concise Encyclopedia*, Vol. 11, p. 182 (206 parishes) and Adam Dubec, editor, *Tserkovny kalendar na 1986 rik* (224 parishes). See also Edmund Lewandowski, "Czy Jesteśmy Narodem Religijnym?" *Odglosy*, 29 September 1984, claiming 223 parishes, with 226 clergy.

¹⁸*Prawoslawny Kalendarz na 1984 rok*, Adam Dubec, editor, *Tserkovny kalendar na 1986 rik* (Sanok, 1985?), Leszek Watróbski, "Polski Autokefaliczny Kościół Prawoslawny (PAKP)", *Novum* (Lublin), No. 1, January 1978, p. 160, Piotr Borzych, "Święta Góra", *Wybrzeże*, 28 October 1984.

¹⁹Borzych, *op. cit.*

²⁰Piekarski, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

²¹Markus, "The Religious Situation", p. 135.

²²Piekarski, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-11, 224.

²³Stanisław Kulikowski, "Walka Była by Radością dla Wrogów" (interview with Adam Lopatka, Minister-Director of Administration for Religious Affairs), *Gazeta Współczesna*, 1 March 1985.

²⁴"Ein neuer Bischof für die Orthodoxen in Polen", *Glaube in der zweiten Welt*, No. 11, 1983, p. 3. Bishop Dubec was installed on 30 October 1983.

²⁵Adam Dubec, editor, *Tserkovny kalendar na 1986 rik* (Sanok, 1985?).

²⁶Markus, "The Religious Situation", pp. 135-36.

²⁷"Ukrayins'ku Katolyts'ku Tserkvu v Peremysli uryad dav avtokefal'nomu pol's'komu kostelovi", *Svoboda* (Jersey City and New York), 12 October 1983, p. 1.

²⁸"Appeal of Ukrainian Scholars to Polish Clergymen and Scholars" (November 1983) (manuscript).

II

Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in Czechoslovakia*

ANDREW SOROKOWSKI

Any discussion of Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in Czechoslovakia must begin with the questions of the identity and number of Ukrainians in that country. Unfortunately, there is no consensus on either question. The term *Rusyny*, an old name for Ukrainians usually rendered in English as "Ruthenians", is still used in Slovakia. However, since the 19th century the *Rusyny* have variously identified themselves, and been identified, not only with Ukrainians, but also with Hungarians, Slovaks, and even Russians. Names which combine regional and ethnic identity, such as "Transcarpathian Ukrainians" and the misleading "Carpatho-Russians", have sprung up both in the Ukraine and in the diaspora. Post-war government policies have variously supported Russian, Ukrainian, and *Rusyn* orientations.¹

This confusion, as well as widespread Ruthenian assimilation with the Slovak nationality, makes it difficult to define who the Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia are, and to estimate their numbers, even assuming that all *Rusyny* are Ukrainians. However, Ukrainians probably number at least 100,000 to 150,000.²

*This is the second of two articles by the same author. The first, "Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in Poland since 1945" appeared in *RCL* Vol. 14, No. 3, pp. 244-61.

¹Paul R. Magocsi, *The Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia* (Vienna, 1983), p. 49; Paul Robert Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848-1948* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1978), pp. 178-87. For a discussion of nomenclature, see *ibid.*, Appendix I, pp. 277-78.

²Slovak, Ukrainian and official Czechoslovak sources differ sharply on the questions of what constitutes a Ukrainian, and how many Ukrainians there are in Czechoslovakia. The official 1961 census gives a figure of 54,984 Ruthenians and Ukrainians, (see Michal Lacko, "Prešovské gréckokatolícke biskupstvo a ukrajinský patriarchát", *Hlasy z Ríma*, Part 3, 1970, p. 23). An émigré Ukrainian source published in 1971 estimates the number of Ukrainians as between 120,000 and 150,000, (Volodymyr Kubijovyč, ed., *Ukraine: a concise Encyclopedia* (Toronto, 1963-1971), Vol. II, p. 1241). A demographic journal provides a figure of 59,000 in 1968, (*Demografie* No. 3, 1969), cited in: Lacko, *op. cit.*, p. 23. Censuses give figures of 42,146 in 1970 and 39,800 in 1980, see Paul R. Magocsi, *The Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia*, pp. 9, 53. But in Slovakia alone, the 1980 census reportedly gives the number of "Ukrainians, Ruthenians or Russians" as 47,554 ("To będzie wielka godzina Europy",

What proportion of this population is Greek-Catholic and what proportion is Orthodox is also far from clear. Roughly speaking, however, out of a Ukrainian population of 150,000, over 100,000 would be Greek-Catholic and the rest Orthodox.³

Historical Background

In the 1920s and 1930s, the Czechoslovak Republic included not only the heavily Ruthenian area north and east of Prešov, but also that part of Transcarpathia which is now the Transcarpathian *oblast* of the Ukrainian SSR. These lands, formerly under Austria-Hungary, counted many Slovaks and Hungarians among their population, but also a large Greek-Catholic Ruthenian element, Eastern-rite Catholicism having been introduced by the Union of Uzhgorod in 1646. Before 1918, there were few Orthodox, but the 1920s saw the meteoric rise of an Orthodox movement, triggered by a combination of factors, including popular reaction to Magyarophile Catholicism, a reassertion of Slavic identity, Russophilism, anti-Catholic bias in the government, the missionary efforts of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate, and the presence of a number of Orthodox Russian émigrés. By the 1930s there were over 9,000 Orthodox parishioners in Czechoslovakia, with centres in Iža and Lodomirová. The movement gradually lost ground, however, when a socially and politically conscious Greek-Catholic Church, clearly distinct from the Latin-rite Catholic Church, began to reassert itself in Transcarpathia. The Greek-Catholic Church's new Ukrainophile orientation was exemplified by Monsignor Avhustyn Voloshyn, head of the short-lived Carpatho-Ukrainian state of

Kontakt (Paris), No. 37, May 1985, p. 62). One western specialist estimates that there were between 133,000 and 134,000 "Rusyn-Ukrainians" in 1968 just in the Prešov region (Magocsi, *op. cit.*, p. 64, fn. 91). He estimates the number of "Rusyn-Ukrainians" in all of Czechoslovakia 12 years later (in 1980) as being perhaps two and a half times the official census figure, that is, close to 100,000 (*ibid.*, pp. 9, 53).

³Out of 305,645 Greek Catholics in Czechoslovakia in 1948, one Slovak source says only 64,898 were Ruthenian (Ladislav A. Potemra, "Ruthenians in Slovakia and the Greek Catholic Diocese of Prešov", *Slovak Studies* 1 (Rome, 1961), p. 220). Michael Lacko claims that there were 35,000 Orthodox in the country in that year (M. Lacko, "The Re-establishment of the Greek-Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia", *Slovak Studies*, Vol. XI (1971), pp. 159-89). Most of these can be assumed to have been Ruthenians or Ukrainians. However, Lacko provides an estimate of 74,898 "Ruthenian-Ukrainians" in 1957 which includes only 10,000 who had been Orthodox before the 1950 forged conversion of Greek-Catholics (M. Lacko, "The Forced Liquidation of the Union of Uzhhorod", *Slovak Studies*, Vol. 1 (1961), p. 159). The official Vatican figure for the total number of Greek-Catholics in the Prešov diocese in 1985 is 355,320, (*Annuario Pontificio per l'anno 1985* (Rome, 1984), p. 475). Many of the Slovak Greek-Catholics who appear to form the majority of this group, however, would be Slovacised Ruthenians.

1938-39.

During the wartime Hungarian occupation of part of Transcarpathia, Teodor Romzha became bishop of the Mukachiv diocese. In the part of Transcarpathia which was controlled by the right-wing Slovak regime of Monsignor Tiso, Bishop Pavlo Goidych (Apostolic Administrator and from 1940 ordinary of Prešov) gained popularity among Ukrainians for his opposition to the Tiso regime. To some degree this protected him and his church from the accusations of Nazi collaboration which were levelled against the Catholic Church by the Soviet occupants at the end of the war.

The closing stages of the war brought significant developments. In 1944, Orthodox Archimandrite Vitali Maksymenko, a former monk of the Pochaev Monastery in the Ukraine, emigrated to Germany with a number of priests. On 16 May 1945 the Slovak National Council closed all church schools, and ten days later all school properties were confiscated. On 29 June most of Transcarpathia was ceded to the Ukrainian SSR. The Prešov region, however, remained in Czechoslovakia, with its Greek-Catholic diocese headed by Bishop Goidych. Bishop Romzha would be killed in 1947, and the Greek-Catholic Church there would be officially liquidated in 1949.

In 1945-46, several thousand (mostly Orthodox) Ukrainians and Czechs from Volhynia (ceded to the Ukrainian SSR) were transferred to the Sudetenland, which had been emptied of some two million German colonists. Some 50,000 persons from the Carpathian Mountains also migrated there, while 6,475 migrated to the USSR.

After the war, the Greek-Catholic diocese of Prešov boasted about 250,000 to 300,000 faithful, 340 priests, and 240 parishes. The church had a theological seminary at Prešov (founded in 1881) and several charitable and educational societies.

A decree of the Holy See dated 15 January 1946 placed all Greek-Catholic parishes in Czechoslovakia under the ordinary of the Prešov eparchy, except for some parishes which had previously been in the Mukachiv and Hajdudorog diocese and which now formed an Apostolic Administration. The Košice and Stakčín areas belonged to the Prešov eparchy, as did 27 parishes from the pre-war Mukachiv eparchy and four parishes from the old Hajdudorog eparchy.

The Orthodox Church of Czechoslovakia was transferred from the jurisdiction of the Serbian Patriarch to that of the Moscow Patriarch, as an exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church, and in 1947 Patriarch Aleksii named Archbishop Eleutherius (Venyamin Vorontsov) as exarch.⁴ At that time there were 30,000 to 35,000 Orthodox in Czechoslovakia, including 10,000 Czechs repatriated

⁴For the history of this period, see Volodymyr Kubijovyč, editor, *Ukraine: A Concise*

from Volhynia.⁵

In the immediate post-war years, Bishop Goidych sought to rebuild Greek-Catholic Church life. For the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Bohemia, the parish of St Clement in Prague (erected in 1931) became the centre of religious life. New parishes were formed in Bratislava (acknowledged by the government on 4 March 1946) and in Brno (acknowledged on 12 April 1946), while several parishes were erected in the Prešov region. In January 1947, the Holy See appointed Vasyľ Hopko as auxiliary bishop of the Prešov eparchy.⁶ By 1948, the "Byzantine-Slavonic Rite" registered faithful numbered 305,645, of whom 64,898 were "Ruthenian", 233,111 Slovak, and 7,636 Hungarian.⁷ There were 301 priests, 27 Basilian monks in four monasteries, 29 Redemptorist monks in three monasteries, 72 Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate in six convents, and 28 Basilian Sisters in six convents.⁸ In 1948 there were some 68,000 Greek-Catholics in Bohemia and Moravia, the aforementioned parishes of Prague, Bratislava and Brno being the only Greek-Catholic parishes outside eastern Slovakia.⁹

Persecution and Liquidation of the Greek-Catholic Church

The communist take-over in February 1948 did not bode well for the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, particularly after the Holy Office's anti-communist decree of 1 July 1949¹⁰ and Archbishop Beran's excommunication of priests who collaborated with communism. The subjugation of the church began in 1949 with a government demand for an oath of allegiance, the continued nationalisations and, on 10 June, the birth of the state-sponsored "Catholic Action", which was promptly declared by the Sacred

Encyclopedia (Toronto, 1963-71), Vol. II, p. 1243; Julius Kubinyi, *The History of the Prjasiv Eparchy* (Rome, 1970), pp. 166-70; M. Lacko, "Forced Liquidation", p. 158.

⁵Lacko, "Forced Liquidation", pp. 160-61; Michael Bourdeaux "The Uniate Church in Czechoslovakia", *Religion in Communist Lands*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1974), p. 4. But see V. Kubijovyč, ed., *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia* (Toronto, 1963-71), Vol. II, p. 1243, claiming only 8,000 to 10,000 Orthodox in Eastern Slovakia in 1946, and the same number in (other) Czechoslovak lands.

⁶Kubinyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-67.

⁷L.A. Potemra, "Ruthenians in Slovakia and the Greek Catholic Diocese of Prešov", *Slovak Studies I* (1961), p. 220.

⁸Kubinyi, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

⁹Lacko, "Forced Liquidation", p. 159.

¹⁰Decree of the Sacred Superior Congregation of the Holy Office of 1.7.49. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 41 (1949), p. 334, cited in Ludvík Němec, *Episcopal and Vatican Reaction to the Persecution of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia* (Washington, D.C., 1953).

Superior Congregation of the Holy Office as schismatic.¹¹ Two laws of 14 October 1949 concerning the church gave the government control over the content of sermons, and the right to censor pastoral letters and even Papal encyclicals. A Bureau of Church Affairs was set up. During Easter week 1950, a trial of superiors of orders and congregations was held, and many were confined in concentration camps and monastery-prisons. On 13 April 1950 all monasteries and convents were ordered to be closed. Law No. 112 of 14 July 1950 asserted state control over theological faculties. Between August and September, all but one of the Catholic bishops in the country were arrested, and at a trial held in November ten were convicted of espionage, financial machinations, and Nazi collaboration. At another trial which opened in Bratislava on 10 January 1951, the Slovak bishops Jan Vojtaššak and Michal Buzalka, together with the Greek-Catholic bishop Pavlo Goidych were convicted of conspiracy, espionage, and treason. On 10 March Archbishop Beran was banished from the Archdiocese of Prague. In 1951 and 1952 lower clergy and Catholic laity also were subjected to trials and deprivation of employment.¹²

The Greek-Catholic Church was singled out for special treatment. Communist propaganda in the late 1940s condemned Greek-Catholics as supporters of the anti-communist Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which operated on both sides of the Carpathian Mountains. In the spring of 1948, Soviet Minister Andrei Vyshinsky met secretly in Karlovy Vary with Czechoslovak government representatives (including the Ministers of propaganda and education), and a Soviet proposal to liquidate the Greek-Catholic Church was approved. On 22 February 1949, the Basilian Fathers in Prešov Monastery were arrested. On 26 April 1950, eighty Greek-Catholic priests were invited to a meeting in Košice with Orthodox priests and government representatives. Twelve of their leaders were arrested.¹³

The treatment meted out to the Greek-Catholics differed from that accorded the Latin-rite Catholics not only in the degree of persecution, but in that an attempt was made to convert them to Orthodoxy. The Bureau for Church Affairs invited the Greek-Catholic clergy to attend a "peace rally" to be held in Prešov on 28 April 1950. The rally turned out to be a so-called "synod". It was attended by some eighty Greek-Catholic priests, and proclaimed abolition of the 1646 Union of Uzhgorod, the termination of Rome's

¹¹ Decree of the Sacred Superior Congregation of the Holy Office of 20.6.49, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 41 (1949), p. 333, cited in Němec, *op. cit.*, p. 18, fn. 7.

¹² Lacko, "Forced Liquidation", pp. 176-78.

¹³ Kubinyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-73 and *passim*; Sevast'yan S. Sabol, *Holhota Hreko-Katolyts'koyi Tserkvy v Chekhoslovachchyni* (Toronto-Rome, 1978), pp. 245-55, 270-71.

jurisdiction, and union with the Orthodox Church.¹⁴ The Greek-Catholic Cathedral of Prešov was forcibly seized after Bishop Goidych refused to surrender the keys, and a thanksgiving service was held as the recalcitrant bishop was led away to prison. Communist agents toured Greek-Catholic parishes compelling priests to sign transfers to the Orthodox Church. Those who refused were forced to move out of their rectories, and some were eventually arrested. Twenty more priests allied themselves with the eighty who had accepted Orthodoxy on 28 April, bringing the number of secular priests who joined the Orthodox Church to about a third of the total. By April 1951, 120 priests who had refused to join had been imprisoned, and when they were released they were no longer permitted to serve as priests. None of the religious clergy or sisters converted. A number of students at the Prešov seminary were arrested and confined at Hlohovec, then sent to army work brigades. Auxiliary Bishop Vasyl' Hopko was confined in prison in Ilava. Bishop Goidych, who had received a life sentence in January 1951, remained in Leopoldov prison until his death on 17 July 1960.¹⁵

The Orthodox Church

While the Greek-Catholic Church was suffering persecution, the Orthodox Church enjoyed the support of the Moscow Patriarchate, the Soviet government, and, consequently, of the Czechoslovak government. In 1949 Patriarch Aleksii appointed Čestmír Kračmar Bishop of Olomouc and Alexis Dekhterev Bishop of Prešov. In the same year an Orthodox cathedral was built in Prešov. On 3 February 1950, a delegation from the Moscow Patriarchate visited the country, and nine days later Bishop Dekhterev was consecrated. Bishop Kračmar, however, was removed, and replaced on 2 October 1950 by ex-Catholic Nicholas Kelly (Bishop Clement).¹⁶

Further government favour was manifested in a new law offering possession of church buildings and other property to religious groups

¹⁴Kubinyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-74; Lacko, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-64. For a detailed account, see Lacko, "Forced Liquidation", pp. 164-74. On the number of Greek-Catholic priests present, see *ibid.*, pp. 170-71. For the notification about the results of the "synod", dated 27 May 1950 and sent by the Czechoslovak government to the Russian Orthodox Church, see Osyp Zinkewych and Taras Lonchyna, eds., *Martyrologhiya Ukrainy's'kykh Tserkov*, Vol. 2. (Toronto-Baltimore, 1985), p. 361.

¹⁵Kubinyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-80; Lacko, "Forced Liquidation", pp. 175-78. On the trial, see the memoir of Fr Bihun in Zinkewych and Lonchyna, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-60. On the imprisonment and death of Bishop Goidych, see the accounts of Bishop Hopko written in Rome in December 1968 (*ibid.*, pp. 351-57), and of František Ondruško (*ibid.*, pp. 362-67). See also Sabol, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-25.

¹⁶Kubinyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 172, 176.

which joined the Orthodox Church,¹⁷ and at Easter 1950 the journal *Svetlo Pravoslavia* (Light of Orthodoxy) appeared.

When the Greek-Catholic Church was officially liquidated in April 1950, Orthodox priests were actively recruited from amongst both Greek-Catholic priests and laity, including retired teachers. On 15 October the confiscated Greek-Catholic eparchial seminary of Prešov was reopened as an Orthodox seminary, and in the drive to meet the need for Orthodox priests, young men with four or five years' schooling were ordained after only eight months' theological education.¹⁸

In July 1950 a new eparchy was created at Michalovce, with Victor Michalič as bishop residing at the former Redemptorist monastery. He was consecrated as Bishop Alexander on 8 October, and presided over seven deaneries, 95 parishes and 359 filial churches. According to one source, the Prešov eparchy, under Bishop Alexis Dekhterev, had 15 deaneries, 160 parishes and 624 filial churches,¹⁹ while another claims 259 parishes and 1,022 missions for the Prešov eparchy in 1950.²⁰ The Orthodox eparchies of Prešov and Michalovce incorporated the 239 former Greek-Catholic parishes, as well as twenty existing Orthodox parishes, of Transcarpathia.²¹

On 8 December 1951 the Moscow Patriarchate granted autocephaly to the exarchate in Czechoslovakia. Archbishop Eleutherius of Prague was elected Metropolitan on the same day, and was installed on 9 December.²² The Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople did not, however, recognise the autocephaly.²³

Catholics and Orthodox, 1951-68

This state of affairs between Catholics and Orthodox — the former officially banned, the latter officially supported — lasted until 1968. Many Greek-Catholics, unwilling to join the Orthodox Church, began to attend Latin-rite Catholic churches, but the Orthodox authorities reportedly obtained a government order forbidding Latin-rite Catholic priests to minister to Greek-Catholics. Nevertheless, in 1958, Canadian visitors to Slovakia reported that about half the population remained loyal to the Catholic Church, and in the 1960s there were

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 172-73.

¹⁸ Kubinyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-82.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

²⁰ *Svetlo Pravoslavia*, 1950: No. 5-6, p. 50, in Lacko, "Forced Liquidation", p. 181.

²¹ Magocsi, *Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia*, p. 49.

²² Kubinyi, *op. cit.*, p. 186; Lacko, "Forced Liquidation", p. 181.

²³ Kubijovyč, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 198.

some 230 Greek-Catholic priests, including religious priests in Bohemia and Moravia, who had remained Catholic.²⁴

With the establishment of autocephaly, the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia comprised the Metropolitanate and Archbishopric of Prague, and the three eparchies of Prešov, Michalovce, and Brno-Olomouc. On 24 October 1954 Metropolitan Eleutherius was provided with an auxiliary bishop, Ivan (Ioann) Kukhtin, a Russian who was also titular bishop of Zatec, and had been spiritual director of the former Greek-Catholic seminary in Prešov. The following year Eleutherius became Metropolitan of Leningrad, and was replaced in Prague by his auxiliary, Ioann, however, resigned in 1963 and returned to the USSR. He was replaced as Archbishop of Prague by Dorotej Fylyp, a Transcarpathian Rusyn who had been Bishop of Prešov. Dorotej became Metropolitan in 1964.

The eparchy of Prešov remained under Bishop Alexis Dekhterev until 1955, when he returned to the USSR to become Archbishop of Vilnius. Dorotej Fylyp, the future Metropolitan, was consecrated Bishop of Prešov in Moscow in 1956, and remained in that post until his elevation to Archbishop of Prague in 1963. He was succeeded in Prešov by Nicholas Kocvar.

In the eparchy of Michalovce, former Catholic priest Michael Milly was consecrated auxiliary to Bishop Alexander (Michalič), as well as titular Bishop of Trebišov, on 12 February 1953. He took the name of Methodius, and succeeded Alexander on the latter's death on 25 November 1954. From 1962 to 1965 his auxiliary was Methodius Kančuha. Bishop Milly was succeeded by Vasyl' Mučička, a Carpatho-Ukrainian, who took the name Kirill.

Čestimir Kračmar, Bishop of Brno-Olomouc, was removed without explanation and succeeded by the former Greek-Catholic priest Nicholas Kelly, who was consecrated on 2 October 1954 as Bishop Clement. He was succeeded in his turn by Nikanor.

In 1966, the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia had 315 parishes. Of these, 120 parishes were in the Prešov eparchy and served nearly 180,000 faithful: The Michalovce eparchy had over one hundred parishes and 110,000 faithful.²⁵

Several Orthodox publications appeared during these years. *Svetlo Pravoslavia*, mostly in the Slovak language, became *Hlas Pravoslavia* (Voice of Orthodoxy) in June 1952. The Russian version, likewise begun in 1950, became *Golos Pravoslaviya*, but ceased publication in 1955. In May of that year *Odkaz Sv. Cyrila a Metoda* (The Legacy of Saints Cyril and Methodius) was initiated, and in 1958 a mostly Ukrainian version with occasional articles in Russian, *Zapovit'*

²⁴Lacko, "Forced Liquidation", pp. 184-85.

²⁵Kubijovyč, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 198.

Sv. Kyryla i Metodiya, appeared. A Russian-language theological quarterly, *Mysl' Pravoslaviya* (Orthodox Thought), was issued from 1956 to 1959. An Orthodox Church Calendar has been appearing since 1950 with parallel Czech and Russian editions, but since 1955 the Czech editions have included Slovak-language articles, while the Russian editions have contained Ukrainian-language articles.²⁶

Liberalisation and Legalisation

In 1962 a number of Greek-Catholic clergymen petitioned the government to permit re-establishment of the Greek-Catholic eparchy of Prešov. The petition was rejected. In 1963, the imprisoned Bishop Hopko was transferred to an 'old people's home' in Osek, Bohemia. But it was only with the temporary liberalisation under Alexander Dubček in 1968 that any significant change in the relative positions of Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in Czechoslovakia became possible. On 19 March 1968, Bishop Hopko petitioned the government for his full release and rehabilitation. On 29 March, an open letter printed in the newspaper *Vychodoslovenské Noviny* (East Slovak News) requested a re-examination of the cases of Bishops Goidych and Hopko, as well as freedom of religion and the rehabilitation of the Greek-Catholic Church. With government permission, over a hundred Greek-Catholic clergymen, including Bishop Hopko, and 66 laymen met in Košice on 10 April. Among the resolutions which they passed and which were later published in the press was one declaring the Prešov "synod" of 1950 illegal.²⁷ They also demanded restitution of the churches that had been seized. An Action Committee consisting of Bishop Hopko, 16 priests and two laymen was formed and recognised by the government as a legal body representing the Greek-Catholic Church. The Action Committee elected an executive committee comprising Rev. Dr Jan Murín, Rev. Štepan Ujhelyi and Andrew Zima.²⁸ After the 10 October 1968 meeting of the executive committee at Košice, supporters of Bishop Hopko formed a committee for his rehabilitation and began a movement to have him appointed ordinary of the Prešov

²⁶ Lacko, "Forced Liquidation", pp. 181-83.

²⁷ For the text of the resolutions see Zinkewych and Lonchyna, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 372-74.

²⁸ John Slivka, *The History of the Greek Rite Catholics in Pannonia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Podkarpatska Rus' 863-1949*, (n.l.: 1974), pp. 237-39; M. Lacko, "The re-establishment of the Greek-Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia", *Slovak Studies*, XI (1971), pp. 162-63; Michele Lacko, "Ecumenismo contro libertà religiosa? La chiesa grecocattolica in Cecoslovacchia". *Russia Cristiana*, X (1969), p. 61.

eparchy.²⁹

On 14 April 1969, the Bratislava daily *Lud* published a letter from Ladislav Holdoš, who as Commissar for Church Affairs in 1950 had presided over the destruction of the Greek-Catholic Church. In his letter, Holdoš declared the destruction to have been unjust and illegal.³⁰ On 29 April, at the government's request, the Action Committee presented a memorandum on the terms and procedure for the re-establishment of the Greek-Catholic Church, and on 6 May Bishop Hopko issued a pastoral letter on the restoration of his eparchy.³¹

The government responded by rehabilitating Bishop Hopko on 13 June 1968. On the same day, it issued a decree recognising the Greek-Catholic Church as a legal entity, and providing for its financial support and organisation. A companion decree elaborated the financial arrangements, entrusted questions of the division of property between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches to those churches or, should they fail to agree within six months, to regional government organs. It also provided for commissions to resolve questions concerning the re-establishment of the Greek-Catholic Church and the division of property between it and the Orthodox Church.³² It was decided to put the question of the religious allegiance of each parish to a referendum, to be held within six months.³³ The decision would determine the use to which each parish church would be put.

About 210 parishes voted in 1968. Only five of these decided to remain Orthodox. Since by the end of the six-month period not all the parishes had voted, and since the Soviet military intervention of 21 August had delayed the plebiscite, the government granted an extension until 30 June 1969. At that time the commission conducting the referendum was dissolved. In the final official list of parishes, 205 were listed as Greek-Catholic and 87 as Orthodox. The 87 apparently included some Orthodox parishes outside the areas where voting had taken place. Later, however, the Ministry of Culture in Bratislava suppressed four of the Greek-Catholic parishes.³⁴

During the plebiscite there were a few violent incidents, including

²⁹ *The tragedy of the Greek Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia*, (New York: Carpathian Alliance, 1971), p. 61.

³⁰ Cited in Lacko, "The re-establishment of the Greek-Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia", pp. 161-62.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 163, fn. 9; Kubinyi, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

³² Decree No. 70/68, in Lacko, "The re-establishment of the Greek-Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia", pp. 164-65. The decree was signed by Gustav Husak, then Vice Prime-Minister.

³³ Lacko, "Forced Liquidation", p. 164.

³⁴ Lacko, "Forced Liquidation", pp. 168-69; Bourdeaux, "The Uniate Church in Czechoslovakia", p. 5.

one murder, but on the whole the proceedings were conducted peaceably.³⁵ By 1971, some two-thirds of the Orthodox parishes and priests had returned to the Greek-Catholic Church.³⁶ It had recovered ninety per cent of its faithful.³⁷

On 7 July 1968 the Cathedral Church of Prešov was returned to the Greek-Catholic Church. The body of Bishop Goidych, which had been buried in a prisoner's grave, was disinterred and buried in the Cathedral on 29 October. On 14 July the important parish church in Košice was also returned. However, the episcopal residence in Prešov, and the church and former Redemptorist monastery in Michalovce remained in the possession of the Orthodox.³⁸

The Orthodox reaction to these blows to their prestige, number, material situation, and moral authority varied from self-justification to apology. Some Orthodox pointed out that Soviet pressure had forced them to participate in the 1950 liquidation of the Greek-Catholic Church; others confessed that their actions had been unjustified. The Orthodox authorities, however, at first refused to renounce the 1950 "synod" or to give up any parishes, and demanded that the *status quo* of 1 January 1968 be reinstated.³⁹ On 25 June 1968, Metropolitan Dorotej wrote to Cardinal Agostino Bea, President of the Vatican Secretariat for the Unity of Christians (the office of the Roman Curia concerned with ecumenical contacts), complaining that the actions of the Greek-Catholic Church towards the Orthodox were harming the interests of ecumenism. One Greek-Catholic source also claims that some Orthodox priests welcomed the Soviet invaders of August 1968 as saviours of Orthodoxy.⁴⁰

Catholics and Orthodox After 1968

With the legalisation of the Greek-Catholic Church and the return of parishes and faithful, there remained some practical and administrative problems. Prayer-books were in short supply, although Monsignor Hirka, ordinary for the Prešov eparchy from 1969, eventually obtained permission to print prayer-books as well as liturgical books.⁴¹ Priestly education was inadequate, since the former

³⁵ Lacko, "Forced Liquidation", pp. 167-68.

³⁶ Kubijovyč, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1244.

³⁷ Lacko, "Forced Liquidation", p. 171.

³⁸ *The Tragedy of the Greek-Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia*, p. 62, fn. 195.

³⁹ M. Lacko, "The re-establishment of the Greek-Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia", p. 163.

⁴⁰ Michele Lacko, "Ecumenismo contro libertà religiosa?", p. 64.

⁴¹ Slivka, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

Greek-Catholic seminary in Prešov remained in the possession of the Orthodox Church, and Greek-Catholic candidates for the priesthood had to study at the Latin-rite seminaries of Bratislava and Litoměřice, where there were 16 Greek-Catholic candidates in 1968 and twenty in 1970.⁴² The priests who had survived the 1950s were old and few. Young men acquainted with the Byzantine Rite were hard to find and train. In February 1969, there were 163 Greek-Catholic priests in Czechoslovakia. Of 69 Orthodox priests who had joined the Greek-Catholic Church since its legalisation, 27 had been Greek-Catholic priests before 1950. The remaining 42 had been trained as Orthodox priests, but joined the Greek-Catholic Church after its rehabilitation.⁴³

The main administrative question was who would head the restored Greek-Catholic Church, and in what capacity. The Slovak authorities in Bratislava supported Bishop Hopko, who in December 1968 travelled to Rome to consult with the Holy See. There it was decided that the Prešov eparchy would be administered by an ordinary *ad interim*. On 22 December 1968, the Eastern Congregation appointed not Bishop Hopko, but Monsignor Ján Hirka, a Slovak, to this post. Bishop Hopko was to serve as his auxiliary.⁴⁴ On 2 April 1969, with government consent, Monsignor Hirka's appointment was made permanent, and he officially assumed the ordinariate on 23 April.

Behind these events lay a bitter rivalry between the Slovak group of Fr Murín, which favoured Monsignor Hirka, and the Ukrainian group, which supported Bishop Hopko. Ukrainian sources accuse the "Slovak activists" of using their influence in Rome to push aside Bishop Hopko and have their own candidate appointed ordinary.⁴⁵ Ukrainian scholars such as Kubinyi and Pekar also charge that the Slovaks were using a Slovacid Greek-Catholic Church to denationalise the Transcarpathian Ukrainians.⁴⁶ For example, it has been pointed out that after 1968, Slovak-language liturgies were introduced in the church. This point was brought up in an "Open Letter of the Greek-Catholic Clergy to the Redemptorist Fathers and their Supporters" issued in July 1970. The authors, quoting Fr Murín's alleged statement that "every Greek-Catholic has to be a Slovak", accused the Slovaks and particularly the Redemptorists of driving

⁴²Slivka, *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁴³Michele Lacko, "Ecumenismo contro libertà religiosa?", p. 64.

⁴⁴Athanasius B. Pekar, "Restoration of the Greek-Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia", *Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. 29 (1973), pp. 292-95; Kubinyi, *op. cit.*, p. 196; Pekar, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

⁴⁵Kubinyi, *op. cit.*, p. 197; W. Mykula, *The Gun and the Faith* (London, 1969), p. 37; *The Tragedy of the Greek-Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, passim*; Pekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-95.

⁴⁶Kubinyi, *op. cit.*, p. 197; Pekar, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

Greek-Catholics into the Orthodox Church with their Slovakising policies.⁴⁷ The late Slovak scholar Michael Lacko, on the other hand, asserted that Ukrainians had tried to Ukrainianise the largely Slovak Prešov eparchy with Bishop Hopko's cooperation, drawing it into the Ukrainian Patriarchate promoted by the Synod of Bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.⁴⁸

The Slovak-Ukrainian conflict within the Greek-Catholic Church may have weakened it in the face of new threats. In 1970 a violent press campaign was launched against it and a new state commission introduced the principle of common usage of churches by Catholics and Orthodox. Catholics refusing to comply were threatened with closure of their churches. By 1974, common usage had been adopted in 47 Greek-Catholic and 15 Orthodox parishes.

Despite legalisation, the Greek-Catholics still had no facilities of their own for training clergy, nor a printing press.⁴⁹ There was still no Greek-Catholic bishop to head the Prešov eparchy. Bishop Hopko, who had remained auxiliary to Monsignor Hirka, died in 1976. Monsignor Hirka, the ordinary *ad nutum Sanctae Sedis*, has not been elevated to episcopal status.⁵⁰

This situation is not, however, altogether anomalous. In 1973, practically all the bishoprics in Czechoslovakia were vacant, being administered by vicars capitular. In March 1973, four bishops were consecrated under an agreement between the Holy See and the Czechoslovak government. Three of them head dioceses in Slovakia. In 1978, another agreement permitted elevation of the apostolic administrator of the Prague archbishopric, Cardinal Tomášek, to residential archbishop (ordinary). The Slovak dioceses became an ecclesiastical province under the Archbishop of Trnava.⁵¹ Today, out of 13 dioceses only two have ordinaries, while four have apostolic administrators. Three of the four are bishops; the fourth is Monsignor Hirka.

The Present Situation

In 1984, according to the Vatican yearbook, the Greek-Catholic eparchy of Prešov had 355,320 faithful, 201 parishes and quasi-parishes, 207 resident secular priests, and 16 resident religious priests.

⁴⁷ *The Tragedy of the Greek-Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia*, pp. 66-69.

⁴⁸ Michal Lacko, "Prešovské gréckokatolícke biskupstvo a ukrajinský patriarchát", *Hlas z Ríma*, 1970: Part 3, p. 23.

⁴⁹ Bourdeaux, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁵⁰ *Annuario Pontificio per l'anno 1985*, p. 475.

⁵¹ "The religious situation in Slovakia" (interview with Fr T.J. Zubek) *Jednota Annual Furdek*, XIX (January 1980), p. 12.

Nineteen seminarians were in training in 1984, and four diocesan priests were ordained. The eparchy publishes a monthly, *Blahovisnyk* (Herald of Good Tidings).⁵² The Slovak-language Greek-Catholic newspaper *Slovo* (The Word) is edited in Transcarpathia and published in Bratislava.

The Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia is numerically weaker but institutionally stronger. Its 150,000 believers are distributed among 150 parishes, 112 of which are in Slovakia.⁵³ There are 190 open churches with 170 priests.⁵⁴ About twenty students study at the Orthodox Faculty of Theology in Prešov, but about a quarter of them are foreigners, from the USSR and Ethiopia.⁵⁵ The church publishes a theological periodical, the monthly *Voice of Orthodoxy* (in Czech, Slovak and Ukrainian), and the monthly *Testament of Saints Cyril and Methodius*. It also publishes ecclesiastical books and a church calendar.⁵⁶

In addition to his archdiocese of Prague, the Metropolitan presides over three dioceses. Nicholas Kocvar, a native of the Prešov region, is Bishop of Prešov; Nikanor is Bishop of Brno and Olomouc. Bishop Kirill of Michalovce, who died on 25 July 1979, was succeeded by Ivan (Ioann) Golonič, who was elected and nominated on 21-22 May 1983 and consecrated the next day. Born 29 January 1937 near Třebíč in Moravia, he studied at the Prešov seminary in 1953-58 and, after his wife's death in 1980, professed at the Trinity-St Sergius Monastery in Russia.⁵⁷ The General Secretary of the Holy Synod and of the Metropolitan Council is Protopresbyter Jaroslav Šuvarský.⁵⁸

For an Orthodox Church, which may only select bishops from among monastic clergy, the continuing interdiction of monasticism in Czechoslovakia virtually assures the demise of a native hierarchy. The result, as one believer laments, is that the church will be increasingly ruled by foreign bishops.⁵⁹ It seems likely that they will be from the USSR.

The Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia continues to maintain close ties with the Moscow Patriarchate, as well as with its exarchate in Ukraine. On 20 May 1980 Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galicia was awarded an honorary doctorate by the Prešov Faculty of

⁵²"To bedzie wielka godzina Europy", *Kontakt*, No. 37 (May 1985), p. 62.

⁵³Interview with anonymous believer in Czechoslovakia, in *Service orthodoxe de presse*, No. 104 (January 1986), p. 15.

⁵⁴Interview with Metropolitan Dorotej by Greek periodical *Ekklesiastiki Alitheia* during Dorotej's visit to Greece, November 1985 in *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵⁵Interview with anonymous believer in Czechoslovakia, p. 16.

⁵⁶Interview with Metropolitan Dorotej, p. 15.

⁵⁷*Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, 1984: No. 2, p. 47.

⁵⁸*Zhurnal Moskovskoi Patriarkhii*, 1985: No. 10, pp. 40-41.

⁵⁹Interview with anonymous believer in Czechoslovakia, p. 16.

Theology.⁶⁰ In 1984, the Prešov and Moscow seminaries conducted a student exchange.⁶¹ Metropolitan Dorotej of Prague visited the USSR on 6-19 October of that year.⁶²

The recent history of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics and Orthodox in Czechoslovakia is replete with ironies. Both Greek-Catholicism and Orthodoxy have attracted Rusyns and Ukrainians as preserves of East Slavic tradition. Indeed, in earlier times both churches served as refuges from denationalisation. Yet while the Russifying tendency of the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia counteracts assimilation with the Slovak nationality, it does virtually nothing to preserve Ukrainian or Rusyn spiritual traditions: This, of course, is convenient for the government, which must answer to the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Greek-Catholic Church has taken a slovacising line *vis à vis* its non-Slovak members. Revived by the same communist state which had tried to liquidate it, the church has fallen victim to disputes among its own faithful. Having once drawn popular support because of its national characteristics, it now appears to be a victim of nationalism. As the number of identifiable Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia declines, neither the Greek-Catholic nor the Orthodox Church seem capable of reviving the distinctive spiritual life of their Ukrainian element.

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⁶⁰ *Zhurnal Moskovskoi Patriarkhii*, 1980: No. 10, pp. 40-41.

⁶¹ *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, 1984: No. 4, p. 7.

⁶² *Zhurnal Moskovskoi Patriarkhii*, 1985: No. 3, pp. 56-57.

