

WOŁODYMYR KOSYK

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OF THE CHRISTIANISATION  
OF UKRAINE  
(988-1988)**

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by

**WOLODYMYR KOSYK**

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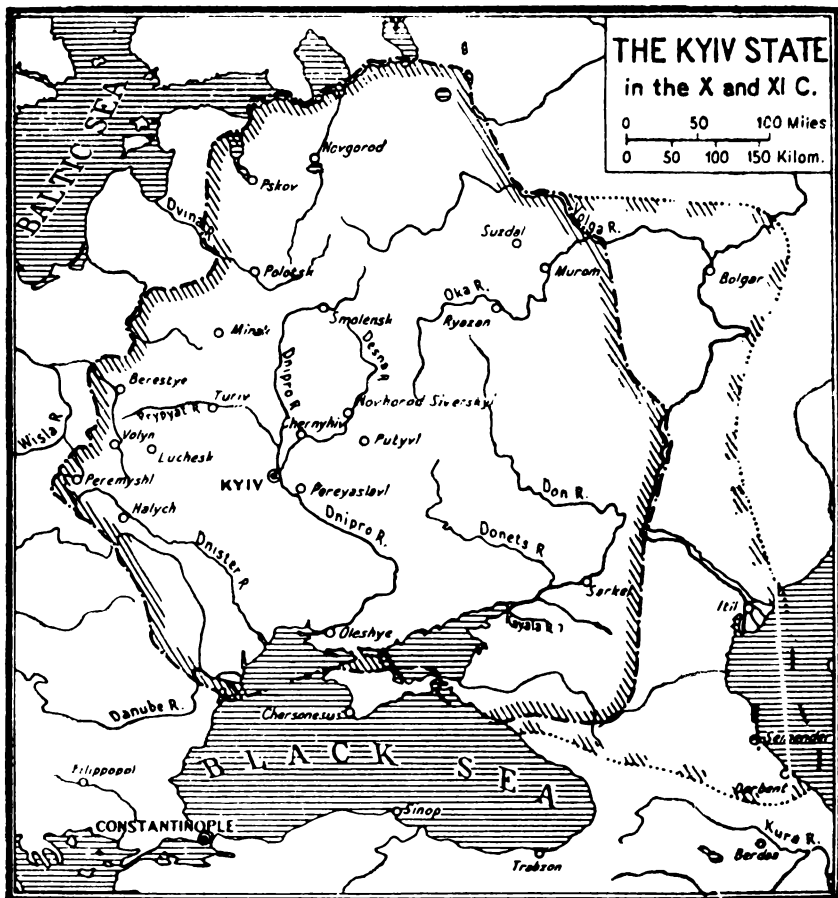
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*Wolodymyr KOSYK*

## **THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANISATION OF UKRAINE (988-1988)**

Christianity, which throughout the course of the first three centuries A.D. had become widespread in the countries along the Mediterranean basin, was already a serious spiritual force in the 4th century with which world powers had to reckon. From a religion of the oppressed and the persecuted, it transformed into a dominant religion, which, as time went by, continued to spread more and more among the wide masses of the population. In 313, the Roman Emperor Constantine rendered the Christian religion an equal status to other religions of the Roman Empire, and at the council of Nicaea in 325, the relations between the imperial power and the Christian Church were established.

Once the Christian Church had become a decisive religious force in the Roman Empire, it was just as inhomogeneous as the empire itself, which comprised various countries of the East and West. In 395, the Roman Empire disintegrated into two separate parts — the Western and Eastern Roman Empire, which later became known as Byzantium. The fall of the Roman Empire was the result of the political and social differences of the Greek and Roman worlds.

Within the Christian Church of that time, already at the time of the Council of Nicaea, there existed two patriarchates in the East — in Alexandria and Antioch. Eventually, patriarchates were established in Constantinople and Jerusalem. Only one centre existed in the West — in Rome. Already at this time, the development of the Christian Church in the East and West was taking somewhat diverse paths. With the development and growth of Byzantium's power, the importance of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which eventually became the main centre of the Eastern Church, also grew.

### **The Beginnings of Christianity on the Territory of Ukraine**

At this time the Slavs lived to the north of the Roman Empire, beyond the borders of Christendom. However, already in the first centuries A.D., Slavic merchants and travellers had contacts with Christians in the Roman Empire. In particular, the Slavs who lived on the territory of present-day Ukraine (which was called Scythia at this time or Sarmatia or even Roxolania) con-

stantly maintained contacts with the Hellenic colonies on the northern coast of the Black Sea and the Crimea.

Christianity began to spread in the Hellenic colonies along the Black Sea as early as the 1st century A.D. There is even a story about St. Andrew, the brother of the first apostle Peter, who preached the Word of God on the northern shores of the Black Sea, in Scythia. Travelling along the Dniro (Dnieper) River to the Baltic Sea — to the Varangians — St. Andrew, as the Chronicle relates, stopped by the hills where later the city of Kyiv arose. Having climbed to the top of the hills, he blessed them, saying that God's Grace was upon them, and that a great city with many churches would one day be built on this spot<sup>1</sup>. Some historians consider that this story is just a mere legend, others maintain that it is almost historical truth, or that it contains a certain amount of rationality<sup>2</sup>.

At the end of the first century A.D., Emperor Domitian banished Pope Clement and his relative Flavia Domitilla to Kherson in the Crimea. It is said that in Kherson the Pope came across a community of Christians, numbering approximately 2,000 people. These Christians, who had been banished to the Crimea, were spreading their religion among the local population. Some Greek authors of the 3rd and 4th centuries wrote about the spread of Christianity in the "land of the Scythians"<sup>3</sup>. One can, therefore, assume with certainty that preachers and missionaries, who attempted to conduct missionary work among the Slavs living on the territory of present-day Ukraine, were to be found among the numerous Christians in the Hellenic colonies along the shores of the Black Sea.

Among these Slavs, there was a particular tribe or union of tribes known as the Antes, who already in the 3rd and 4th centuries were engaged in agriculture, cattle-breeding, metal manufacturing, and also took part in the Black Sea trade<sup>4</sup>. By maintaining contacts with the Byzantine Empire and fighting

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1. *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisey* — PSRL (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles). Vol. I, pp. 7-9.

2. M. Chubaty: *Istoriya Khrystianstva na Rusi-Ukrayini* (The History of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine). Rome-New York 1965, pp. 43-46; A.H. Velykyi, OSBM: *Z litopysu Ukrayiny* (From the Chronicle of Ukraine). Vol. I, Rome 1968, pp. 56-61; B.D. Grekov: *Kievskaya Rus'* (Kyivan-Rus'). Moscow 1967, p. 32.

3. N. Polonska-Vasylenko: "Ukrayinska Pravoslavna Tserkva do 1917 r." (The Ukrainian Orthodox Church until 1917). In: *Naukovi Zapysky UVU*, No. 11-12, Munich 1984, p. 3.

4. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhanarodni Zviazky Kyivskoyi Rusi* (International Relations of Kyivan Rus'). Kyiv 1963, p. 10; M. Yu. Braichevskyi: *Pokhodzhennia Rusi* (The Origins of Rus'). Kyiv 1968, pp. 152-156; M. Chubaty: *Kniazha Rus'-Ukrayina ta vynykennia triokh skhidnoslovyanskikh natsiy* (Princely Rus'-Ukraine and the formation of three East Slavic peoples). New York 1964, pp. 32-38; S. Mishko: *Narys rannoyi istoriyi Rusy-Ukrayiny* (A Synopsis of the Early History of Rus'-Ukraine). New York 1981, p. 6; V.V. Mavrodin maintains that the name "Antes" is of Turkish origins and means "allies". The Antes did not only fight against Byzantium, but also against the Russian tribe of Avars with whom they occasionally formed an alliance (V.V. Mavrodin: *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva i formirovaniye drevnerusskoy narodnosti* (The development of the old Ruthenian state and the formation of the old Ruthenian population). Moscow 1971, p. 11).

against it, the Antes were able to develop their social-political life, so that in the first half of the 4th century they were able to form a political union of tribes, headed by their own "king". According to F. Dvornik, this was the "first attempt to organise the Slavs of present-day Ukraine into some kind of a state"<sup>5</sup>.

In the 3rd-4th centuries, part of the steppes along the Black Sea and the Crimea were invaded by the Germanic tribe of Goths, who came from the north-west, from the Baltic Sea coast and from the area of the lower Vistula. Having come into contact with the Hellenic colonies and the Christian communities in the Crimea, the Goths began to accept Christianity and, in a short space of time, a Gothic eparchy (diocese) was established. The Gothic Bishop Theophile participated in the first Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325. An eparchy was also established in Kherson. The bishops of this eparchy participated in the Ecumenical Councils in the years 381, 431 and 451<sup>6</sup>.

The Antes waged wars mostly against the Goths until the arrival of the Huns on the Black Sea steppes who, in 375, defeated the Goths and drove them to the west. Thereafter, Goths remained only in the Crimea, where they later assimilated with the indigenous population. The state of the Huns, which had been established along the Black Sea coast, collapsed after Attila's death in 453.

### **The Beginnings of Kyivan-Rus'**

In the second half of the 5th century, numerous Slavic tribes left the land of their forefathers between the Dnipro and Vistula Rivers and moved to the south and west. They began to put pressure on the regions under Byzantine control, which were to the south of the Danube.

The Antean union of tribes continued to exist on the territory of Ukraine, with its centre probably in the western parts of present-day Ukraine, in particular during the time of the prevailing power of the Dulibians or Volhinians, perhaps even in Kyiv — the centre of the Polianians. The state of the Antes existed until the 7th century. Weakened by the war against the Avarians and as a result of a more peaceful life, which did not require a large union, the Antean union of tribes broke up into smaller unions or separate tribal organisations — that is into smaller tribal principalities — as a result of which the Polianian principality with its capital in Kyiv emerged into first place.

According to historical research, including that of M. Yu. Braichevskyi, this

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5. F. Dvornik: *The Slavs*. Rutgers 1962; French edition *Les Slaves*. Paris 1970, p. 33.

6. M. Chubatyi: *Istoriya Khrystianstva*... op. cit., pp. 71-75; N. Polonska-Vasylenko: *Ukrayinska Pravoslavna*... op. cit., pp. 13-14.



new union of tribes on the territory of Ukraine existed as early as the 7th century and received the name of Rus'<sup>7</sup>.

By examining the story from the chronicles about the legendary figure of Kyi, against the background of the international situation of the 5th and 6th centuries, historians assume that Kyi is an historical figure of the 6th century. He was the head (prince) of the Polianian union of tribes. During the reign of Justinian I, Kyi conducted talks with and undertook military expeditions to Byzantium. He proposed to defend Byzantium's northern borders against attacks by the Slavs; he met Justinian I in 530 but then had to leave the Danube region and return to the land of the Polianians — to Kyiv. The town bears his name ever since<sup>8</sup>.

If one is to believe this theory, then Slavic tribes or other smaller tribal unions, which are mentioned in the chronicles in connection with Kyi, namely the Polianians, Dregovichians, Slovinians, Polotsians, Krivichians, Siverians, already existed in the 6th century. They continued to be known under the name of Antes, which was used by Byzantine historians.

The Ukrainian historian and archaeologist, M. Yu. Braichevskyi, maintains that "the Polianians were called Antes by Byzantine writers, but the Polianians are directly connected to Rus'. They played a crucial role in the creation of Rus'"<sup>9</sup>. Rus' was the Polianians (or, at the beginning, part of the Polianians). Nestor's Chronicle entitled *Povist vremennykh lit* ("The Story of Bygone Years") states that first among the Eastern Slavic tribes "were the Polianians, who are now called Rus'"<sup>10</sup>. Therefore, Rus' was a new historical phenomenon, which came in place of the Polianian (Antean) union, after its destruction, or, if you wish, a new Polianian union, which was created on the ruins of the former, on other territorial borders" of present-day Ukraine<sup>11</sup>.

The Arab geographer and writer al-Djaihani wrote at the beginning of the 10th century that previously there already existed three political unions, three lands — Kuiavia, Slavia and Artania, and that each one was ruled by an "emperor". Historians have concluded that Kuiava or Kuiavia is the Polianian union with its centre in Kyiv, Slavia — the Novgorod land, and Artania — probably Tmutorokan' or Kuban'<sup>12</sup>.

The Arab geographer and writer, Ibn-Ruste, who lived in the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century wrote that the Rus' "had an emperor called Khakan-Rus'"<sup>13</sup>. On the basis of this and other facts, historians believe that

7. M. Yu. Braichevskyi: *Pokhodzhennia*. . . , op. cit., p. 165; S. Mishko: *Narys*. . . , op. cit., pp. 106-184.

8. N.F. Kotliar and S.V. Kulchytskyi: *Kiev — drevniy i sovremennyy* (Old and Contemporary Kyiv). Kyiv 1982, pp. 15-21.

9. M. Yu. Braichevskyi: *Pokhodzhennia*. . . , op. cit., p. 163.

10. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 25-26; Vol. II, p. 18.

11. M. Yu. Braichevskyi: *Pokhodzhennia*. . . , op. cit., p. 164.

12. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni*. . . , op. cit., p. 16.

13. I.M. Shekera: *Drevnerusskoye gosudarstvo i yego mezhdunarodnoye znachenie* (The Ancient Russian State and its international significance). Moscow 1965, p. 397.

from the reign of the legendary Prince Kyi to the formation of Kyivan Rus': "in Kyiv the local native dynasty reigned throughout this time"<sup>14</sup>. In addition, there also exists proof that the name Rus' (Rhos), as the name for the Kyivan land, more precisely the land of the Polianians, was already known in the first half of the 9th century<sup>15</sup> and even earlier, beginning from the 6th century<sup>16</sup>. M. Yu. Braichevskiy points out that the new state formation, which received the name Rus' began to emerge in the 7th century<sup>17</sup>. There are reports that the Rus' attacked the Byzantine island of Eghina (Aigina) in 813. In 838 an envoy from the Prince of Rus' came to Constantinople and, due to the dangerous situation on the Black Sea coast, the Byzantine Emperor advised him to return to Rus' across Western Europe<sup>18</sup>. At the beginning of the 840s, warriors from Rus' attacked Byzantine colonies along the Black Sea coast. In 861 the Rus' organised a large-scale military attack on Constantinople, in which 200 ships took part. They destroyed the outskirts of the capital and began to lay siege to the city.

This attack created a great stir. Patriarch Photius wrote down his impressions about the attack and the siege by the Rus'. However, when the Rus' who had lost part of their fleet heard that Emperor Michael III was approaching the city with his army, they withdrew and returned to their homeland<sup>19</sup>.

Nestor's Chronicle *The Story of Bygone Years* mentions the attack on Constantinople under the year 866 and says that it was lead by Askold and Dyr, while in the Greek *Chronicle of Georgios Hamartolos* their names are not mentioned<sup>20</sup>. The Byzantine source on this attack by Rus' claims that Constantinople was saved by the Virgin Mary after the Omophorion of her icon was sunk in the sea<sup>21</sup>. This miracle caused the mass christianisation of the people of Rus'.

As seen from the writings of Patriarch Photius, as well as what most historians think, the people of Rus' accepted Christianity in 860 after the attack on Constantinople. (Some historians claim that Christianity was accepted by "Eastern Slavs" at the time when Patriarch Photius clearly writes about the Rus'<sup>22</sup>. However, probably at this time there were obstacles in the way of the

14. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni. . .*, op. cit., p. 17.

15. P.N. Tretyakov; *U istokov drevnerusskoy narodnosti* (The Source of the Old Russian Populacion). Leningrad 1970, p. 74.

16. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni. . .*, op. cit., p. 25; M. Yu. Braichevskiy: *Pokhodzhennia. . .*, op. cit., pp. 161-162; see also O.F. Kupranets, OSBM: *Pokhodzhennia nazvy Rus'* (The Origins of the Name Rus'). Rome 1977; *Annales Bertiniani*, Hannover 1883, pp. 19-20.

17. M. Yu. Braichevskiy: *Pokhodzhennia. . .*, op. cit., p. 165.

18. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni. . .*, op. cit., p. 52; V.V. Mavrodin: *Proiskhozhdenie russkogo naroda* (The Origins of the Russian People). Leningrad 1978, pp. 155-156.

19. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni. . .*, op. cit., pp. 52-57; M. Chubaty: *Istoriya. . .*, op. cit., pp. 80-83.

20. Ibid. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 21.

21. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni. . .*, op. cit., p. 54.

22. Ibid. p. 58; M. Chubaty: *Istoriya. . .*, op. cit., pp. 85-89; N. Polonska-Vasylenko: *Istorychni Pidvaly, y UAPT's* (The Historical Foundations of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church). Rome, ed. 2, 1964, p. 15.

further christianisation of Rus' and the whole process was fairly limited. In any case, as a result of the above mentioned attack on Byzantium, Rus' entered onto a wider international arena.

From this time onwards, the question of Christianity in Rus' and its areas of control became of vital importance for both Constantinople and Rome. From the constituent charter of the Hamburg-Bremen eparchy of 864 it can be concluded that Pope Nicholas I of Rome wanted to spread Christianity of the Roman rite across Eastern Europe, including Rus'<sup>23</sup>. However, the interests of Rus' were centred on the south — on Byzantium.

In 860 the Byzantine government sent a diplomatic mission to the Khazars who lived to the east of Rus'. Members of this mission also included the well-known preachers Cyril (Constantine) and Methodius. The mission was also most certainly interested in Rus'. It even spent some time in the Crimea. In the Pannonian *The Life of Constantine the Philosopher*, it is also written that St. Cyril came across a Gospel and psalm book, which had been written in the "script of rosh" (Rus')<sup>24</sup>.

In the north, the union of Slavic tribes, headed by the Slovinians, disintegrated into tribal units. The Slovinians, Krivichians and the non-Slavic tribes of the Chud and Meria had to pay tribute to the Norman Varangians (Vikings). Some Scandinavian historians maintain that at this time a Norman colonisation of this region was taking place but other historians reject this theory<sup>25</sup>.

Nestor's Chronicle states that in 859 the Varangians made the above-mentioned tribes pay tribute to them, but already in 862 these tribes rejected the authority of the Varangians and drove them away across the sea. However, misunderstandings arose between them and that same year they decided to invite the Varangians to rule over them. The Varangian Riuryk and his two brothers came to them. The Chronicle adds that "the land of Rus' received its name from the Varangians". Two of Riuryk's "vassals", Askold and Dyr, sailed to the land of the Polianians and began to rule over it<sup>26</sup>.

Although this report in the Chronicle has all the signs of a typical legend, it became the basis of the "Norman theory" on the origins of Rus' and the founding of the Kyivan state. This theory was first formed by G.S. Bayer in the middle of the 18th century, and developed by A.L. Schlötzer and G.F. Miller, and some historians support this theory to this day<sup>27</sup>.

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23. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni. . .*, op. cit., p. 58.

24. M. Chubaty: *Istoriya. . .*, op. cit., pp. 89-96; I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni. . .*, op. cit., p. 57.

25. See I.P. Shaskolsky: *Normanskaya Teoriya v sovremennoy burzhuaznoy nauke* (The Norman Theory in Contemporary Bourgeois Science). Moscow 1965.

26. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 19-20.

27. A.L. Schlötzer: *Probe russischer Annalen*. Bremen 1768; A. Stender-Petersen: "Der Älteste Russische Staat". In: *Historische Zeitschrift*, August 1960.

Most historians consider that the terms “Rusy” (“Rosh”) and “Rus’” are of a local origin and have nothing in common with the Scandinavian Varangian-Normans (Vikings), since they existed before the so-called “Summons of the Varangians” by the Novgorod Slavs (and not the Polianians)<sup>28</sup>. In any case, as M. Yu. Braichevskiy maintains, all mercenaries, irrespective of their ethnic origins were known as Varangians. Therefore, among these Varangians there were also mercenaries from Rus’, Scandinavia and other countries. If we consider that Novgorod and the above-mentioned northern tribes **did not belong** to Rus’ at all, then clearly the Chronicle referred to the warriors of the Polianian union as Varangians<sup>29</sup>. The legend about the summons of the Varangians “from beyond the sea” was inserted into the 1113 edition of *The Story of Bygone Years* only at the beginning of the 12th century, probably in order to stress the independence of the Rus’ dynasty from Byzantium<sup>30</sup>. Other sources state, for example, that Askold and Dyr were Polianians and the direct descendants of Kyi<sup>31</sup>.

### The Development of the Kyivan Empire

According to the Chronicle, in 882 Prince Oleh of Novgorod undertook a military campaign to the south, conquered Smolensk, and later seized power in Kyiv. Ascending the throne, Oleh said the following about Kyiv: “This will be the mother of all the cities of Rus’”<sup>32</sup>.

With this phrase he officially acknowledged Kyiv as the capital of Rus’ and himself as the ruler of Rus’, that is, the Polianian state. It should be stressed that the name Rus’ referred **only** to the territory along the middle of the Dnipro River with its centre in Kyiv. It did not refer to Novgorod, from where (according to the Chronicle) Prince Oleh had come. Therefore, the phrase “the mother of all the cities of Rus’” referred to the existing and future cities of Rus’ alone, and not to Novgorod, or even less to Russia, which was formed some four or five centuries later to the north of Rus’. It should also be added that Oleh, even if he was of Varangian origin, accepted the customs and faith of the Rus’, and thus became totally assimilated. Concluding the peace treaty with Byzantium, Oleh and his commanders took the

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28. Besides the aforementioned authors see also: *Istoriya Ukrayinskoyi RSR* (History of the Ukrainian SSR), Vol. I, Kyiv 1967, p. 40; *Radyanska Encyclopedia istoriyi Ukrayiny* (Soviet Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine), Vol. IV, Kyiv 1972, p. 38.

29. M. Yu. Braichevskiy: *Pokhodzhennia*. . ., op. cit., p. 160.

30. V.V. Mavrodin: *Obrazovanie*. . ., op. cit., p. 124; *Proiskhozhdenie*. . ., op. cit., p. 152.

31. *Istoriya Kieva* (The History of Kyiv). Kyiv 1963, p. 42.

32. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 23.

oath "according to the custom of Rus' . . . with weapons and Perun, their God, and Volos, the God of cattle"<sup>33</sup>.

Oleh began to build fortified cities in Rus' and to expand the power of the Kyivan state having annexed the Derevlianians and Siverianians. Kyiv's power was recognised by the neighbouring Ulichians and Tiverians. Oleh freed the Siverianians and Radimichians from subordination to the Khazars. The Kyivan state was already sufficiently powerful. It opposed the Khazarian Khakanate and rose against Byzantium. Leaving his relative Ihor (who was not of Scandinavian origin) behind in Kyiv, Oleh undertook a military expedition against Byzantium in 907. He besieged Constantinople and forced the Greeks to sign a treaty with him. In 911, he undertook a second military expedition against Byzantium. The treaty signed this time was very advantageous to Rus'<sup>34</sup>.

Afterwards, the Rus' undertook three military campaigns along the coast of the Caspian Sea (909-910, 910-911, 913-914). With these wars the Kyivan state was seeking to secure its control over the trade routes and gain favourable conditions for its own trade. Further campaigns of the Rus' against Byzantium took place in 941 and 944 during Prince Ihor's reign.

Merchants were not the only people of Rus' to have been in countries of the Christian Byzantine Empire. Whole units of warriors from Rus' were in the service of the Byzantine Emperor. In addition, during their campaigns the warriors from Rus' were also in contact with the Christian population. Many of them returned home as Christians. Christians were to be found both among the people and the ruling circles of the Kyivan state. The text of the peace treaty with the Greeks of 944 reveals that there were already many Christians among the envoys from Rus'. The treaty states that the Christian members of the delegation swore by the Church of St. Ellias. After returning to Kyiv, the delegation from Rus', in the presence of Greek envoys, swore an oath of loyalty to the treaty: Ihor and his pagan followers swore the oath on a hill by the statue of Perun, "and christianised Rus' was taken to swear the oath into the Church of St. Ellias"<sup>35</sup>.

According to the Chronicle, the "ecumenical" Church of St. Ellias was situated by a stream close to the lodgings of the princely retinue and court. It can, therefore, be concluded that the Kyivan prince and his government were tolerant of the Christian religion<sup>36</sup>. Christianity was also spreading across the western regions of present-day Ukraine, which were close to the regions where Cyril and Methodius were active<sup>37</sup>.

One view holds that the first princes of the Kyivan state to accept Christia-

33. Ibid., p. 32.

34. Ibid., pp. 32-37; I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni* . . . , op. cit., pp. 62-70.

35. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 52-54; M. Chubaty: *Istoriya* . . . , op. cit., pp. 169-170.

36. M.N. Tikhomirov: *Drevnyaya Rus'* (Ancient Rus'). Moscow 1975, p. 266.

37. N. Polonska-Vasylenko: *Istorychni Pidvalyny* . . . , op. cit., p. 16.

nity were Askold and Dyr<sup>38</sup>. According to the Chronicle, Princess Olha, Ihor's widow, who ruled in place of her under-aged son Sviatoslav from 945-964, was a Christian. She accepted Christianity around 956<sup>39</sup>. Other historians maintain that this occurred in Constantinople (Ukr. Tsarhorod) in 957<sup>40</sup>.

In the autumn of 957, Olha made an official visit to Constantinople. According to Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, her delegation included the priest Hryhoriy. Olha probably wanted to settle the matter of declining trade with Byzantium and perhaps had some other political plans. The emperor received her with all the honours usually bestowed on rulers of powerful states, but still rather modestly<sup>41</sup>, maybe because she was the princess of a "barbarian country". We learn from the Chronicle that Olha was not completely satisfied with her stay in Constantinople<sup>42</sup>.

There is reference to the fact that Olha wanted to baptise Rus'. Maybe this was the main intention of her visit to Constantinople. However, due to some difficulties, the emperor did not take this intention into consideration and an agreement between Olha and the emperor was not reached.

Shortly after her return from Constantinople in 959, Olha dispatched envoys to the German emperor, more precisely, to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire Otto I (936-973). A German chronicle states that envoys from Helen (the Christian name for Olha), the "Queen of Rus'" (Reginae Rugorum), came to Otto I asking him to appoint and send a bishop and priests for their people<sup>43</sup>. There is no doubt that the envoys conducted talks on economical, political and cultural ties between the two great powers — the Kyivan state and the Holy Roman Empire.

Emperor Otto I did not fully evaluate the situation and appointed a bishop with great delay, who in the end did not make the journey. Finally, in 961 or 962, the German Bishop Adalbert of Trier arrived in Kyiv with his missionaries. However, his mission in Kyiv was unsuccessful. Some historians maintain that Olha and the bishop could not agree on the form of relations between the Church of Rus' and German Church. Olha demanded independence for her Church, whereas the German missionaries demanded its subordination to the German Church authorities. Perhaps one of the reasons for this failure was that at this time relations between Kyiv and Constantinople had once again improved<sup>44</sup>.

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38. M. Chubaty: *Istoriya*. . . , op. cit., p. 84.

39. V.E. Titov: *Pravoslavie* (Orthodoxy). Moscow 1967, p. 37; M. Chubaty: *Istoriya*. . . , op. cit., p. 177.

40. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni*. . . , op. cit., pp. 136-137. In the Chronicle, Olha's journey to Constantinople is entered under the year 955, see: *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 60-62.

41. V.T. Pashuto: *Vneshnaya politika Drevney Rusi* (Foreign Policy of Ancient Rus'). Moscow 1968, pp. 66-68.

42. *PSRL*, Vol. IX, p. 30.

43. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Scriptores, Vol. I, p. 624.

44. V.I. Titov: *Pravoslavie*, op. cit., p. 39.

Other historians regard that the cause for this failure was that in 962 a coup had taken place at the Kyivan court and for a while Olha was removed from power. Young Prince Sviatoslav depended on his pagan warriors. In such a situation, Bishop Adalbert's mission became unnecessary and he was forced to return home. On the way, several members of his mission were killed and, according to the Chronicle, he barely survived himself<sup>45</sup>.

Olha's son, Sviatoslav, refused to accept Christianity himself and remained a pagan, even when he became prince (957-972). The Chronicle says that when as a young boy people tried to persuade him to become a Christian, he refused but "he did not forbid anyone from being baptised if they so wished, but only laughed at this"<sup>46</sup>. Princess Olha died in 969 and was buried according to Christian tradition.

Sviatoslav was tolerant towards Christians. However, according to the Joachim Chronicle of Novgorod, after several military failures and under the influence of his pagan commanders, who put the blame for these failures on the Christian soldiers, Sviatoslav began to a certain extent to persecute Christians, including his brother. He dispatched an order to Kyiv demanding the destruction of "Christian churches"<sup>47</sup>. This shows that Christianity in Kyiv had spread to such an extent that several churches already existed there. Maybe this was the reason for the reaction of the pagan worshippers and the attempts to stop the further spread of Christianity.

Sviatoslav conducted his wars with the aim of expanding and strengthening the southern and eastern borders of his state, controlling the Volga trade route and securing access to the Caspian, Azov and Black Seas. He succeeded in strengthening the above-mentioned trade routes, causing the downfall of the Khazar state and weakening Byzantium's influence on the Black Sea and on the Danube. These successes raised the prestige of the Kyivan state — Rus' — and secured its wealth and prosperity.

In addition, the Kyivan state maintained contacts with the Christian countries of Western Europe. During the reign of Yaropolk (972-979, whose wife was a Christian, in 974 envoys from Rus' were dispatched to Emperor Otto II. These envoys participated in the deliberations of the Imperial Diet in Quedlinburg. In 977, envoys from Pope Benedict VII were dispatched to Yaropolk<sup>48</sup>. Some historians maintain that Sviatoslav's sons, Yaropolk and Oleh, were Christians<sup>49</sup>.

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45. V.T. Pashuto: *Vneshnaya*. . . , op. cit., p. 86.

46. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 63.

47. V.E. Titov: *Pravoslaviye*, op. cit., p. 39.

48. A.H. Velykyi: *Z litopysu*. . . , op. cit., p. 86.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

## The Baptism of the People of Kyiv

The realm of the Kyivan state was considerably enlarged by Prince Volodymyr the Great (980-1015). At first he was ruler of the Novgorod principality which was essentially almost independent from Kyiv. In 980, he took over the Kyivan throne by force of arms, and strengthened both his own power and the political power of the state. He frequently undertook military campaigns in order to subordinate under his power unruly or new lands and expand the borders of his state. In 981 he succeeded in annexing the territory of present-day Western Ukraine to the Kyivan state, including the towns of Peremyshl on the River Sian and Cherven in the Kholm region<sup>50</sup>. The Kyivan state became a direct neighbour of Poland, Bohemia and, through Transcarpathia (Carpatho-Ukraine), which also belonged to the Kyivan state, of Hungary too. In 983, Volodymyr forced the Yatvigians into submission<sup>51</sup> and gained control over the Baltic trade route along the River Neman. In 985, he undertook a military campaign against the Volga Bulgars<sup>52</sup>.

After an initial period of pagan idolatry with human sacrifice and the persecution of Christians, Prince Volodymyr accepted the Christian faith. He probably did so for political reasons. Among the Slavic nations, except for Bulgaria, which had accepted Christianity in 864, Bohemia and Poland had already become Christian in 929 and 966 respectively. Byzantium and the Holy Roman Empire were Christian and so were most of the countries in Europe. In the East, a certain fraction of the Khazars was Jewish, others were Muslim or Christian. To the north of the Khazar state, there was the Muslim state of the Volga Bulgars, who tried to dominate the Volga trade route. To the East of these two states, was another Muslim state — Khorezm, an ally of the Volga Bulgars, which wanted to strengthen its position on the lower Volga<sup>53</sup>.

If we take this international situation into consideration, it becomes clear why there is a legend in the Chronicle about envoys of various religions — Muslims, those of the Latin rite (Catholics), Jews and Greeks — being present in Kyiv. They each praised their own religion and tried to persuade Volodymyr to accept their faith. The Volga Bulgars praised the Muslim faith with its laws of abstinence; the Germans, who came “from the Pope” spoke of a “not too strict Lent”; the Khazar Jews talked about believing in one God and about Jerusalem (which by the way, had already been occupied by the Muslims), as well as about the diaspora; the Greek philosopher long-windedly and boringly related the history from Adam to Judgement Day.

50. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 81.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

53. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni. . .*, op. cit., pp. 109, 177.



According to the Chronicle, Volodymyr was not enticed by any of the arguments presented by these envoys. He summoned a Council of Boyars (noblemen), who advised him to send his envoys to the Volga Bulgars, the Germans and the Greeks. The envoys returned completely convinced that Byzantine Christianity was the best. They were charmed by the beauty of the Byzantine divine liturgy and rite<sup>54</sup>. If one reads the reports of these envoys, which are written down in the Chronicle, one notices that they do not describe the character of each different religion, or its spiritual value and power, but they present these religions from a point of view of Byzantine Christianity. The envoys were completely convinced of its superiority. This legend was probably included in the Chronicle much later.

By continuing the policy of his predecessors and by expanding the power of the Kyivan state, Volodymyr the Great strived towards closer relations with the European powers of that time. From this standpoint he regarded the acceptance of Christianity as a necessity. The constant drive of the Kyivan state for domination over the Black Sea trade route, as well as its relations and interests in the Balkans, automatically led to the infiltration of Eastern Christianity, Christianity of the Byzantine rite. The powerful and wealthy Byzantine Empire also presented a certain power of attraction. However, this does not mean that the other religions were not dreaming of their own expansion on the territory of the Kyivan state, since together with religion, there was usually a growth in the economic, cultural and political influences of the state from which it came.

It is not known exactly when and where Volodymyr, the ruler of the Kyivan state, accepted Christianity. There are many views on this subject. The majority of historians consider that he accepted the Christian faith in 987 in Kyiv, or in Vasyliv near Kyiv<sup>55</sup>. Some maintain that he did this under the influence of his friend, Prince Olaf Tryggvason of Scandinavia, who was in Kyiv at the time on his way to Constantinople. The Chronicle relates that Volodymyr was baptised in 988 in Kherson. He went on an expedition to Kherson, besieged the town, occupied it with the help of a Khersonian priest Anastasius and asked the Byzantine Emperors, Basil and Constantine, to hand over their sister Anna in marriage. The emperors agreed to this proposal, but under the condition that Volodymyr accepted Christianity. Volodymyr agreed and the bishop of Kherson baptised him and married him to Anna. However, the Chronicle adds that "those, who do not know the truth, maintain that Volodymyr was baptised in Kyiv, others maintain that he was baptised in Vasyliv, while others maintain something else"<sup>56</sup>.

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54. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 84-109; A.H. Velykyi: *Z litopysu*. . . , op. cit., pp. 87-101.

55. N. Poloska-Vasilenko: *Istoriya Ukrainy* (The History of Ukraine). Vol. I, Munich 1972, p. 115; A.H. Velykyi: *Z litopysu*. . . , op. cit., pp. 102-106; M. Ripetskyi: *Svyatyi Volodymyr Velykyi* (Saint Volodymyr the Great). Monder 1953, pp. 11-12.

56. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 109-112.

The events in Kherson were of yet another significance. In 987, the Byzantine General Bardas Phokas rose against the emperors Basil II and Constantine and proclaimed himself emperor. The emperors turned to Volodymyr for help. Volodymyr agreed to help them under the condition that he be allowed to marry the emperors' sister Anna. In order to raise his prestige, he wanted to become related to the powerful dynasty of Constantinople. The emperors promised to fulfil his demand and Volodymyr sent a 6,000-strong army to the northern coast of Asia Minor, which completely destroyed Bardas Phokas' army, while he himself was captured and executed.

When the danger had passed, the emperors refused to hand over Anna in marriage to Volodymyr. Volodymyr then marched into the Crimea, conquered the strategic town of Kherson and thus forced the emperors to keep their word. At this time, Volodymyr was probably already a Christian. He married Anna and handed over Kherson to Byzantium as a dowry for his wife<sup>57</sup>.

Volodymyr's marriage to Anna was a great success in his foreign policy. The once "barbarian" country was now placed on an equal level with the Christian states of Europe; the ruler of Kyiv was the son-in-law of the Emperor of the Roman (Byzantine) Empire, and his sister-in-law was married to Emperor Otto II.

After returning from Kherson, Volodymyr began to christianise the Kyivan state and its colonies. The first to be baptised were his twelve sons and his boyars, members of his court and council. Then Volodymyr ordered the inhabitants of Kyiv to go to the river. Nestor's Chronicle relates the following about this order: "If anyone should not go out to the river tomorrow, be he rich or poor, beggar or slave — he will become my enemy"<sup>58</sup>. The people gladly went to the river, according to the Chronicle, telling themselves that: "If this was not a good thing, then neither the Prince nor the boyars would have accepted it". The story is written down in the Chronicle under the year 988. Most historians maintain that the baptism of the inhabitants of Kyiv took place on August 14 (August 1 by the old calendar), 988<sup>59</sup> on the River Pochayna, close to where it flowed into the Dnipro. Other authors say that the baptism of the people of Kyiv took place in the summer of 990<sup>60</sup>, which is much less probable.

Therefore, on August 14, 988, obeying Volodymyr the Great's orders, after the destruction of the pagan idols, the inhabitants of Kyiv only and not of the

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57. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni. . .*, op. cit., p. 178; N. Polonska-Vasylenko: *Istoriya Ukrainy. . .*, op. cit., p. 115.

58. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 117; V.N. Tatishchev: *Istoriya Rossiyskaya* (Russian History). Vol. II, Moscow 1963, pp. 62-63.

59. I. Vlasovskiy: *Narys istoriyi Ukrayinskoyi Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy* (Synopsis of the History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church) Vol. I, New York 1955, p. 26; Archbishop Makariy: *Pravoslavya na Ukrayini* (Orthodoxy in Ukraine). Kyiv 1980, p. 7.

60. A.H. Velykyi: *Z litopysu. . .*, op. cit., p. 119; I. Nazarko, op. cit., p. 94.

whole state were baptised. Only after this event, Volodymyr began to introduce the new faith into the other towns of Rus' and the other principalities of the empire. The Chronicle reads: "And he began to build churches in [other] towns [and send] priests [there] and lead the people to be baptised in all the towns and villages"<sup>61</sup>.

### The Names Rus' and Ukraine

After baptising his sons, the members of the Council of Boyars and the inhabitants of Kyiv, Volodymyr the Great made Christianity the official state religion. With regard to this, it has been recognised that the Kyivan state — Rus' — accepted Christianity in 988. What was this state?

According to the Chronicle, we have seen that along the middle of the Dnipro River, in the region around Kyiv, there lived "the Polianians, who are now called Rus'". The Chronicle mentions the Polianians for the last time under the year 944, thus, before the acceptance of Christianity<sup>62</sup>. From then on the tribal name completely disappeared and was replaced by the name Rus'. The concept "Rus'ka zemlya" (Ruthenian land) is first used in the Chronicle under the year 852 and from 912 it is used constantly, as is the name Rus'.

A detailed analysis of the texts in the Chronicle reveals that the name Rus' was used right up until the 12th-13th centuries exclusively in connection with the land of Kyiv, to which mainly the territories of the Polianians and Derevlianians belonged. M. Yu. Braichevskyi maintains that Rus' is "the central Dnipro region with Kyiv, Chernihiv, Pereyaslav and the lands which belonged to these centres"<sup>63</sup>.

This is also confirmed by Russian historians. They write: "...Rus' was only the land of Kyiv, where the Polianians lived, who are today called Rus'" (P.N. Tretyakov)<sup>64</sup>; "the name Rus' is the ancient name for the land of Kyiv, the land of the Polianians" (M.N. Tikhomirov)<sup>65</sup>; M.D. Priselkov and A.N. Nasonov also maintain that the land of Rus' "was a region which was situated around three towns — Kyiv, Chernihiv and Pereyaslav-Rus'kyi"<sup>66</sup>. In his conclusion, P.N. Tretyakov wrote: "The Eastern Slavic state was formed here much earlier [one or two centuries earlier] than the appearance of the Riurykides in Kyiv. It arose in that part of the central Dnipro region known as

61. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 118.

62. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 35.

63. M. Yu. Braichevskyi: *Pokhodzhennia*. . . , op. cit., p. 162.

64. P.N. Tretyakov: *U istokov*. . . op. cit., p. 73.

65. M.N. Tikhomirov: "Proiskhozhdenie nazvaniy 'Rus' i 'Russkaya zemlya'" (The origins of the name "Rus'" and "Russian land"). In: *Sovetskaya etnografiya*, Vol. VI-VII, 1947, p. 60; M.N. Tretyakov: *U istokov*. . . , op. cit., p. 74.

66. *Ibid.*

Rus'. And for many years to come, right until the 12th-13th centuries, only this region bore the name Rus' or "Rus'ka zemlya". . . A great deal of evidence in the chronicles reveals that until the 12th-13th centuries neither the lands of Novgorod, nor Smolensk, nor Rostov-Suzdal, nor Galicia-Volynia were called Rus'"<sup>67</sup>.

In other words, during and after the christianisation of Kyiv, only the central part of the territory of present-day Ukraine was called Rus'. According to the borders of Rus' determined by historians, this was the territory situated between the following present-day towns: Novgorod-Siverskyi in the north, Kremyanets in the West, which lies to the west of Horyn (today's Ternopil region), and Kremenchuk on the Dnipro in the south<sup>68</sup>. Besides this Rus', there was no other Rus' at the time. And it is this Rus' which later took the name of Ukraine.

The name "Ukrayina" first appeared in the Chronicle under the year 1187. Since then it was used in connection with various regions of present-day Ukraine. It became established particularly in the 16th and 17th centuries<sup>69</sup>. Therefore, Ukrainian historians come to the completely natural conclusion that the christianisation of Ukraine took place in 988 and that the history of Rus' is the history of Ukraine.

What did foreigners call Rus'-Ukraine at this time? Princess Olha, as already mentioned, was called "Regina Rugorum" in Latin in 959. Other German chronicles, in particular that of Thietmar of Merseburg, talk about envoys from "Rusciae gentis" (the people of Rus'). In connection with the marriage of the daughter of Yaroslav the Wise with the French King Henry I on May 19, 1051, Western sources of that time and later called the Prince of Kyiv, king, and used the following Latin names: Rex Ruthenorum, Rex Rus-siae, Rex Russorum, Rex Ruticorum, Rex Rusulorum, Rex Sclavorum, Rex Rugorum, Rex Rabastiae or Rex Rusicorum<sup>70</sup>.

In 1075, the chronicler Adam of Bremen called Yaroslav the Wise "sanctus gerzlef de Ruzzia" (the Holy King of Rus')<sup>71</sup>. The Kyivan Princess Evpraksiya, the wife of Henry IV, is called "Rutenorum regis filia" (the daughter of the King of the Ruthenians) in the Augustine Annals (under the year 1104)<sup>72</sup>. Around this time, Prince Ihor was called "Inger rex Russorum" (Ihor the Prince of Rus')<sup>73</sup>. Somewhat later, in 1134, during a description of the visit of

67. Ibid., p. 73.

68. Ibid., p. 76.

69. M.I. Marchenko: *Istoriya ukrayinskoyi kultury* (The History of Ukrainian Culture). Kyiv 1961, p. 69.

70. "Continuator Reginonis — MGH SS", Vol. I, p. 624; *Kronika Thietmara*. Poznan 1953, p. 73; Roger Hallu: *Anne de Kiev, Reine de France*. Rome 1973, pp. 43-44.

71. *Quellen des IX. und XI. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der Hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches*. Berlin 1961, pp. 274, 340.

72. MGH, SS, Vol. III, p. 133; Vol. VI, p. 207.

73. Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 347, 368.

the King of Engalnd's son to Kyiv, there is talk of a king of "terrae rugorum", quam nos vocamus Russeiam" (the land of the Ruthenians, which we call Rus')<sup>74</sup>. In the middle of the 12th century, an author wrote about one of the daughters of the Prince of Kyiv as "Ruthenorum seu Chyos regis filia" (the daughter of the King of Ruthenia or Kyiv)<sup>75</sup>. In his message to Iziaslav of April 17, 1075, Pope Gregory VII uses the term "regi Ruscorum"<sup>76</sup>. In later letters to the princes of the Ukrainian Galician-Volynian state, Rome used the terms "Russia" and "Ruthenia".

We must accept that Rus', that is ancient Ukraine, was in Latin very often, if not most frequently, called "Ruthenia". Therefore, many historians rightly translate the word "Rus'" from the Ukrainian and Russian with the term "Ruthenia"<sup>77</sup>. For political reasons and with the aim of acquiring the heritage of Rus' for themselves, Russian historians translate and interpret the word "Rus'" as "Rossiya" (Russia), and thus create confusion which is advantageous to them.

In fact, the terms "Rus'" and "Rossiya" refer to two completely different states, two completely different historical realities and epochs, an two separate peoples. Rus' arose and existed until the 14th century on the territory of present-day Ukraine. It was a European state and belongs to the history of the Ukrainian people. Muscovy-Russia emerged in the 14th century and developed in the 15th and 16th centuries on the territory of present-day Russia. It developed at a time of its dependency on the Mongol-Tartar state, from which it managed to free itself only in 1480. The Mongol-Tartars had a great influence on the development of a specific political, social and administrative system in Russia and on Russian political thought.

However, let us return to the state, which the princes of Rus'-Ukraine created. Rus' began its expansion during Oleh's reign by subjugating the neighbouring Slavic and non-Slavic tribes. This policy was put into practice particularly by Ihor, Sviatoslav, Volodymyr the Great (980-1015) and Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054).

This state, created and developed by the princes of Kyiv, was neither an all-national nor a homogeneous, centralised state, nor could it be. It was an empire which comprised Rus' (the metropolis) and its colonies. This view is not new and it is shared by many Ukrainian historians. In his time, Karl Marx even wrote about a rapid growth of the empire of the Riurykides<sup>78</sup>.

Several Russian historians also search for a similar explanation of interrela-

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74. R. Schmid: *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Leipzig 1858, p. 516.

75. *MGH, SS*, Vol. XX, p. 259; Otto, Bischof von Freising: *Chronik oder die Geschichte der zwei Staaten*. Berlin 1960, p. 536.

76. *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantia*. Vol. I, Rome 1953, p. 5.

77. Elie Borschak: *La légende historique de l'Ukraine, Istoriya Rusov*. Paris 1949.

78. Karl Marx: *Secret Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Century*. London 1899, p. 76.

tion on the territory of this huge empire. Thus, V.T. Pashuto maintains that "feudal Rus'" (meaning the whole empire) was a "confederation of separate lands — of Polianians, Siverianians, Krivichians and others, who were under the rule of the local aristocracy"<sup>79</sup>. It should be added here that while the tribal concepts and names of the Polianians and Derevlians disappeared in the years 944-990, and were replaced by the name of the people — "Ruthe-nians", "Rusychi" — the concepts and names of the tribes on the territory of present-day Byelorussia and Russia were retained until the 12th century. For example, the Krivichians (Byelorussia) are mentioned in the Chronicle as late as 1127, and the Viatichians (Russia) — as late as 1197<sup>80</sup>.

V.T. Pashuto, just as other Russian historians, calls this "confederation of separate lands" the "drevnerusskoye gosudarstvo" ("ancient Russian state"). Pashuto maintains that the origins of the state lie in the land of Rus'. Yet, this "drevnerusskoye gosudarstvo", according to Pashuto, "administered over a widespread, multilingual sphere [zone], and held... in various vassal dependencies the territories of over twenty peoples"<sup>81</sup>. With the progressive development of feudalism, "the land of Rus'", as well as the current Russian state, gradually lost its unity". In V.T. Pashuto's opinion, the first crack was seen already in 1026, and in the years 1034-1054 and 1097 "the princely domain" was divided into three parts. It was joined together again during the reign of Volodymyr Monomakh (1113-1125)<sup>82</sup>, however this was followed by the "partitioning".

The dependence of the various territories of the realm on Rus' were of different forms. The social-economic conditions were also varied, as well as the interests of individual lands, which were often separated from one another by thousands of kilometres over a surface area of over 800,000 sq. km. inhabited by various peoples. Already in 970, before Sviatoslav went on his last military campaign against the Balkans, he divided power among his sons: Yaropolk was to rule in Kyiv; Oleh in the land of the Derevlians; and Volodymyr in Novgorod<sup>83</sup>. In 988 Volodymyr did the same. Each son received his own principality<sup>84</sup>, of which there was already a dozen.

The dependencies in the north, in particular Novgorod, constantly attempted to become independent, no matter which prince resided there. Volodymyr's son, Yaroslav, did not even want to pay tribute to Kyiv (that is, to his father). The territory to the east of Novgorod, namely today's central

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79. V.T. Pashuto: "Cherty politicheskogo stroya Drevney Rusi" (Characteristics of the Political Order of Ancient Rus'). In: *Drevnerusskoye gosudarstvo i ego mezhdunarodnoye znachenie*. Moscow 1965, p. 15.

80. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 297, 413.

81. V.T. Pashuto: "Cherty...", op. cit., pp. 73-74.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

83. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 69.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

Russia (including Moscow), was still sparsely populated. The inhabitants of this territory were mainly Ugro-Finns and not Slavs.

In the northern part of the empire, that is, on the territory of present-day Russia, during the time of the christianisation of Kyiv, there existed only the principality of Novgorod, which was to a greater or lesser extent dependent on Kyiv. Only the following towns existed in this region: Novgorod, Pskov, Ladoga, Izborsk, Beloozero and Rostov. No Russia existed there yet. The towns which later became the nucleus for the formation of the Muscovite state and Russia, arose only later: Suzdal in 1024<sup>85</sup>, Vladimir on the Kliazma in 1108 (first mentioned in the Chronicle under the year 1116)<sup>86</sup>, and Moscow in 1147<sup>87</sup>.

The Kyivan empire reached its heyday during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054). He behaved like an emperor and after his death an inscription was made in the St. Sophia Cathedral about the death of "our tsar" (at this time the Byzantine emperors were called tsars and that is why Constantinople was called "Tsarhorod" — the city of the emperors)<sup>88</sup>. Like his father Volodymyr, Yaroslav had to reckon with the constant strivings of the individual colonies of the empire for independence. Therefore, he divided the empire among his sons, hoping that the unity of the princely dynasty would help in keeping the unity of the empire.

"So, one can assume", says I.M. Shekera quite rightly, "that Kyivan Rus' was actually divided between Yaroslav's three sons, which is very reminiscent of the division of Charlemagne's empire by the Treaty of Verdun in 843 among his grandsons: Lothar, Louis the German and Charles the Bald"<sup>89</sup>. The short reign of Volodymyr Monomakh (1113-1125), who managed to spread his power over a great part of the empire, but not over the whole of the realm, did not halt the natural process of the development of the future independent states.

The Kyivan empire was divided into separate independent states (principalities) in the years 1132-1135. Of course, the principality of Kyiv continued to exist, but it began to lose its importance, especially after the invasion of Prince Yuriy Dolgorukiy of Suzdal. Just like the other principalities in the north, the principality of Rostov-Suzdal (in Russian historiography — the principality of Vladimir-Suzdal) also separated itself in 1132-1135 and became independent. In 1169, the army of Prince Yuriy Dolgorukiy of Suzdal, made up of soldiers from Rostov, Vladimir and Suzdal, undertook a campaign

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85. Ibid., p. 147; Vol. II, p. 172.

86. *Ukrayinska Radyanska Encyclopedia* (Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia). Vol. II, Kyiv 1960, p. 511; *PSRL*, Vol. II, p. 283.

87. Ibid., p. 339.

88. B.A. Rybakov: *Pervye veka russkoy istorii* (The First Centuries of Russian History). Moscow 1964, p. 83.

89. I.M. Shekera: *Mizhnarodni. . .*, op. cit., p. 143.

against Kyiv and destroyed it in a terrible way. For two days they plundered churches and the population; they stole all the wealth, icons, church bells; they set the town and churches on fire, and took women into captivity, tearing them away from their children<sup>90</sup>. The centre of Rus' was transferred to the land of Galicia, more precisely, the Galician-Volynian principality. Under the year 1201, the Chronicle refers to the ruler of Galicia-Volynia, Prince Roman, as "the self-ruler of the whole of Rus'"<sup>91</sup>. After the Tartar invasion of Kyiv in 1240, the principality of Kyiv disintegrated completely. The Galician-Volynian principality remained in existence until 1349-1352.

Thus, the principality of Rostov-Suzdal became independent in the years 1132-1135. In 1147, that is 159 years after the christianisation of Kyiv, the town of Moscow, around which the vassal dependency of the Muscovite principality was formed, arose on the territory of this independent state. At the end of the 13th century (therefore, nearly three centuries after the christianisation of Kyiv) the principality of Muscovy became independent. However, this independence occurred during a time of considerable dependence on the Mongol-Tartars. In the years 1300-1303 it began its expansion by gradually subjugating all of the neighbouring principalities in the north. This was the beginnings of Russia (the term "Rossiya" = Russia appeared at the end of the 15th century). Even Russian historians maintain that "the cradle of Great Russian [therefore, Russian] nationhood was the region of Rostov-Suzdal, on the foundations of which the Russian state [Muscovite Rus'] later arose"<sup>92</sup>.

The discussion on the subject of where the priests and bishops whom Volodymyr had invited to Kyiv and other towns came from, continues to this day. In the tradition of Nestor's Chronicle, some authors maintain that they came from Byzantium. Others try to prove that the first clergy and Church hierarchy did not come from Byzantium but from Ochrida (Ohrid) in Bulgaria, where there existed an independent patriarchate and where the Slavonic language, which was understood in the Kyivan state was spoken<sup>93</sup>.

There is also a hypothesis about the Roman Catholic origins of Christianity in the Kyivan state. It is true that during the reign of Volodymyr there was a notable improvement in relations between Rome and Kyiv. After capturing Kherson, the envoys of Pope John XV handed over the relics of Pope Clement to Volodymyr<sup>94</sup>. The envoys of the Pope once again came to Volodymyr in 991 "with love and esteem"<sup>95</sup>. Then in his letter to Volodymyr and Metropolitan Michael, the Patriarch of Constantinople demanded that they

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90. *PSRL*, Vol. II, p. 545.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 715.

92. *Voprosy formirovaniya russkoy narodnosti i natsii* (Problems of the development of the Russian People and Nation). Moscow 1958, p. 176.

93. N. Polonska-Vasylenko: *Istoriya Ukrayiny*, op. cit., pp. 116-117.

94. M. Chubaty: *Istoriya Ukrayinskoyi Tserkvy* (History of the Ukrainian Church). Winnipeg 1946, p. 39; *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 116.

95. *PSRL*, Vol. IX, p. 64.



break off their contacts with Rome<sup>96</sup>. However, Volodymyr continued these relations, since he believed that the recognition of his authority by the Pope and the support of Rome was of great international significance. In 992 or 993, Volodymyr sent his envoys to the Pope, who returned in 994<sup>97</sup>. In the year 1000, envoys of Pope Silvester II once again came to Kyiv together with emissaries from the Bohemian and Hungarian Kings. In 1001, Volodymyr sent a new mission to Rome<sup>98</sup>.

In spite of these contacts Kyiv remained in obedience to the Eastern Christian Byzantine rite. Rome probably kept close ties with Kyiv because it wanted to create a federation of Christian states in the East and strived to unite "Kyivan Rus' — the strongest state in Eastern Europe and one of the most powerful states in the world at that time — to the Polish-Bohemian-Hungarian coalition"<sup>99</sup>.

The Chronicle gives very little information about the original structure of the Church in Rus'-Ukraine. The Laurentian and Hypatian Chronicles state that in 1037 Yaroslav established a metropolitanate in Kyiv. Under the year 1039 they mention Metropolitan Theopemptos. In 1051, Prince Yaroslav called together the bishops and appointed the Ruthenian Ilarion as metropolitan<sup>100</sup>. The Nikon Chronicle mentions three metropolitans who were appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople: Michael (988-992), Leonteios (992) and Ioan (John, 1008)<sup>101</sup>. They were Greeks, except for Ioan, who was probably Bulgarian. The same chronicle also reports that in 1037 "Yaroslav established a metropolitanate" and under the year 1039 mentions Metropolitan Theopemptos. In 1051, on Yaroslav's orders, the Ruthenian bishops appointed "the Ruthenian Ilarion as a metropolitan"<sup>102</sup>.

The appointment and choice of Metropolitan Ilarion shows that Yaroslav wanted to extend the rights of the Kyivan metropolitanate and withdraw it from under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

After baptising Kyiv and the surrounding towns and villages, and eventually the western parts of present-day Ukraine, Volodymyr sent bishops and priests together with military forces to the north in order to baptise the lands of Novgorod and Suzdal.

In the Joachim Chronicle there is a description of the forced conversion of Novgorod to the Christian faith in 991. The citizens of Novgorod, together with the aristocracy and rulers, raised a rebellion against the Kyivan troops and destroyed the church which already existed there. Putiata, the com-

96. V.N. Tatishchev: *Istoriya*. . . , op. cit., p. 64.

97. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 65.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

99. I.M. Shekera: *Kyivska Rus' XI. st. u mizhnarodnykh vidnosynakh* (Kyivan Rus' of the 11th century in international relations). Kyiv 1967, p. 60.

100. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 151, 153, 155; Vol. II, pp. 139, 141, 143.

101. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 57, 64, 69, 80.

102. *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 81, 83.

mander of a thousand men, was forced to put down the rebellion with arms, while the *voyevoda* (provincial administrator) Dobrynia ordered that the houses be set on fire. The people rushed to put the fire out and save their homes. The rebellion ended in this way.

The Chronicle states that the people of Novgorod remembered this event for many years with the saying: "Putiata converted with the sword and Dobrynia with fire"<sup>103</sup>. The rebellion in Novgorod was not only directed against the new religion, but also against the central power in Kyiv, in defence of the autonomy and independence of Novgorod<sup>104</sup>.

During Volodymyr's reign, Christianity spread only over the territory of present-day Ukraine, namely in Rus' and its western dependencies. In the northern colonies of the empire, Christianity spread along the waterway from Kyiv to Novgorod, which is also maintained by Russian historians. They say that opposition to Christianity was "particularly strong in the north-eastern regions, where alongside the Slavic population there lived the Ugro-Finnish peoples"<sup>105</sup>.

The first two bishops of Rostov, the centre of this territory, which was mainly inhabited by Ugro-Finns, were forced to flee. The people of Rostov also rose against their third bishop, Leontiy, in the second half of the 11th century and killed him. Only the fourth bishop of Rostov, succeeded with military aid to master the heathens and burn their idols. At this time, the town of Suzdal was built to the south-east of Rostov. In 1024, a large uprising broke out in the Suzdal region against Christianisation and the central power in Kyiv. The pagan priests made use of the famine which arose as a result of a drought, and stirred up an uprising among the population, whereby the representatives of power, the *boyars* and the local aristocracy were killed. Thereupon Yaroslav undertook military campaigns to the land of Suzdal to suppress the uprising<sup>106</sup>. Difficulties continued in the Rostov region, the population refused to convert to Christianity. The inhabitants of Murom refused to allow Prince Hlib, who had accepted the Christian faith, into the town. In 1071, a new uprising broke out in the Rostov region<sup>107</sup>.

Historians, among them Russians, assert that in the north-eastern part of the empire (that is, in present-day Russia) "Christianity began to emerge only since the beginning of the second half of the 11th century, . . . [therefore] it is hardly credible to speak of Christianity in the land of Suzdal in the first half of the 11th century"<sup>108</sup>. Christianity actually began to spread in this territory

103. S.M. Solovyev: *Istoriya Rossiya* (The History of Russia). Vol. I, pp. 186-187.

104. *Tserkov v istorii Rossiya* (The Church in the History of Russia). Moscow 1967, p. 44.

105. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

106. *PSRL*, Vol. I, pp. 147-148; Vol. II, p. 135; *Tserkov*. . . , op. cit., p. 45.

107. *Tserkov*. . . , op. cit., p. 45.

108. I. Ya. Froyalov: "Volkhvy i narodnye volneniya v Suzdalskoy zemle 1024 g." (The Sacrificers and the National Movement in the Land of Suzdal in the year 1024). In: *Dukhovnaya Kultura slavyanskikh narodov*, Leningrad 1983, p.33.

and along the Volga “only in the 11th-12th centuries, together with the appearance of the princely army in the region, the destruction of old and the appearance of new social conditions”<sup>109</sup>. “The conversion to Christianity of the [Slavic] tribe of Viaticians, that is, the inhabitants of the Vologda region, began only in the 12th century, the Chud on the other side of the Volga and the native population of the Olonets region in the 13th century, and the Zirianians [in the Perm region] in the 14th century” and so on<sup>110</sup>.

### The Decline of the Kyivan Empire

The acceptance of Christianity in the Kyivan state had a great influence on its further development. Kyiv strengthened its ties with Byzantium and Bulgaria, and from these lands came influences in the fields of architecture, art and education. In 996 the *Desiatynna* (Tithe) Church was completed. During the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, the Cathedral of St. Sophia with its famous frescoes and mosaics was built (1037) as well as other new churches, palaces and fortresses. A school and a library were established next to the St. Sophia Cathedral. Kyiv became the most beautiful and wealthiest town in Eastern Europe. The Bishop of Bremen, Adam, called Kyiv the ornament of the East and a rival to Constantinople. Thietmar of Merseburg wrote that there were 400 churches in Kyiv at this time (probably including small chapels), eight market places and many people. It is believed that at this time Kyiv had from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants<sup>111</sup>.

The Kyivan empire also established close ties with other European states. Although in 1054 the Christian Church divided into two separate Churches — the Eastern (Orthodox) and Roman (Catholic) Churches — Kyiv's relations with Catholic countries did not cease, which is evidenced by the constant marriages between members of the Kyivan princely court and members of the royal and princely courts of the Catholic states of Europe. From the 11th to 13th centuries, out of 73 marriages with foreigners, only 13 were with members of the Byzantine Orthodox court, and 60 with Catholic princes, princesses and kings<sup>112</sup>.

Although, during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, the Kyivan Church expressed its desire to become independent, nothing came of this, perhaps

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109. P.V. Holobutskyi: *Pravoslavya: Khreshchennya Rusi — pravda i vyhadky* (Orthodoxy: The Christianisation of Rus' — Truth and Fabrications). Kyiv 1981, p. 63; I.M. Shekera: *Kyivska Rus'* . . . , op. cit. p. 127.

110. *Liudyna i svit*, No. 4, Kyiv 1985, p. 31.

111. “Kyiv”, in: *Istoriya mist i sil URSR*. Kyiv 1968, pp. 28-31; N.F. Kotliar and S.V. Kulchytskyi: *Kiev* . . . , op. cit., p. 30; N. Polonska-Vasilenko: *Istoriya* . . . , op. cit., p. 121.

112. N. Polonska-Vasilenko: *Istoriya Ukrainy*, op. cit., p. 238; *Istorychni Pidvalyny* . . . , op. cit., p. 26.

with regard to the canonical side of the matter. The Kyivan Metropolitanate remained subordinate to the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Patriarch appointed the Metropolitan, who was elected by the Greek bishops. Therefore, the metropolitans were almost always Greek. Only in 1147, the vacant Metropolitan see of Kyiv was once again occupied by a Ruthenian, Klym (Clement) Smoliatych<sup>113</sup>. He was chosen upon the proposition of Prince Iziaslav without a previous agreement from the Patriarch of Constantinople. However, the new Metropolitan was not recognised in Novgorod, Smolensk, Suzdal, Pskov and Polotsk<sup>114</sup>.

As we have seen, the Kyivan empire fell apart in 1132-1135 because it was made up of various territories conquered by Kyiv, which did not or could not create either political, ethnic or social unity. In spite of this, Russian historians have worked out their own historical conception with the aim of directly connecting Russia and the Russian people with Rus', with the Kyivan empire.

By using the term "drevnaya Rus'" (ancient Rus') for defining the Kyivan empire, they maintain that at this time on the whole territory of the state (in Rus' and its colonies) there existed an "ancient Russian people". This "ancient Russian people" was supposedly the "predecessor of three eastern Slavic peoples — Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian"<sup>115</sup>. This theory was developed, particularly since 1947, by V.V. Mavrodin, A.N. Nasonov, B.A. Rybakov, V.I. Dovzhenok and P.N. Tretyakov. Of course, the terms "ancient Russia" and "ancient Russian people" did not exist in the 9th-13th centuries, they were invented by Russian historians in the 19th and 20th centuries. Thus, the Russian historian, P.N. Tretyakov, writes: "the term 'ancient Russian people', just as the name 'ancient Russia' or 'ancient Russian state' are 'literary' concepts, which have been put into circulation by historians"<sup>116</sup>.

The Ukrainian historian M.Yu. Braichevskiy, considers that the widespread concept in Soviet doctrine on the disintegration of "the single ancient Russian people" into three peoples — Ukrainian, Russian and Byelorussian — is "false" because the causes and consequences are muddled in places<sup>117</sup>. Thus, the development of these three peoples occurred as a result of the ethnic composition of the empire, already at the time of the existence of the tribes, which underwent a process of consolidation "around three epicentres — the southern, north-eastern and north-western"<sup>118</sup>. Naturally, M.Yu. Braichevskiy does not use the term "empire", but "ancient Rus'" or "Kyivan Rus'".

113. N. Polonska-Vasylenko: *Istorychni pidvalyny*. . . , op. cit., p. 26.

114. *Tserkov*. . . , op. cit., p. 59.

115. P.N. Tretyakov: *U istokov*. . . , op. cit., p. 3. One should add that the majority of Russian historians of the pre-Soviet period, as well as Russian historians abroad, identify the terms "Rus'" with "Rossiya" (Russia), speak of the existence of the Russian people only, and deny Ukrainians and Byelorussians the right to their own existence.

116. P.N. Tretyakov: *U istokov*. . . , op. cit., p. 5.

117. M. Yu. Braichevskiy: *Pokhozhennia*. . . , op. cit., p. 190.

118. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

This means that the existence of vassal principalities in the empire, the disintegration of the empire into separate principalities and the process which occurred in the 12th and 13th centuries, had both social and ethnical roots. In other words, these tendencies “were not purely of a political, but to a large extent, of an ethnical and national character”<sup>119</sup>.

Various historical facts have shown that the “Ruthenian”, that is Ukrainian, people had practically formed as early as the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries<sup>120</sup>. This occurred on the territory which included the lands of Kyiv, Pereyaslav, Chernihiv, Galicia-Volynia, northern Bukovyna and Transcarpathia. Despite the fact that the territory of this people had belonged to different states and had been divided by frontiers throughout centuries, in particular from the 14th century, this people was able to preserve its ethnic individuality and awareness of belonging to a separate ethnic group.

The centrifugal tendencies of Polotsk and the neighbouring regions, which had become manifest at the time of the Kyivan empire, were already a sign of the beginnings of the formation of a separate people — the Byelorussian people — which underwent a process of ethnic consciousness in the 14th century within the framework of the Lithuanian principality<sup>121</sup>.

Further north, the formation of the Novgorod people was taking place, and in the north-east a slow process of the development of another ethnic substratum was occurring, in which the Ugro-Finnish element prevailed. Many historians regard that this is where the people of Suzdal-Vladimir developed<sup>122</sup>. In reality, the process of ethnic development on this territory had not yet come to an end. It was hindered and, since the 14th century, reoriented by the expansion of the principality of Moscow. This expansion was the beginning of the formation of the Muscovite people, the first step towards the formation of the Russian people. This formation of the Muscovite people entered a new stage, particularly after the liquidation of independence of the Novgorod republic in 1478.

Therefore, the centre of the formation of the Russian people, which is also recognised by Russian historians, was the land of Rostov-Vladimir-Suzdal<sup>123</sup> and this process spread to the land of Novgorod-Pskov. It began in the 14th century and ended in the 17th century.

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119. Ibid., p. 192.

120. M. Chubaty: *Kniazha Rus'-Ukrayina*. . . , op. cit., pp. 63-64.

121. Ibid., pp. 82-92.

122. Ibid., pp. 98, 139.

123. *Voprosy formirovaniya*. . . , op. cit., p. 79.

## The Church after the Disintegration of the Empire

After the disintegration of the Kyivan empire, a confusing situation arose on its extensive territory. From a political viewpoint, there existed various independent principalities and states on this territory and simultaneously an ethnic process of the establishment and development of peoples was taking place.

However, the time between the 13th and 15th centuries was also an era when the term "land of Rus'" began to be used to define the principalities of Rostov-Suzdal, and later Muscovy.

The reason for this was the Church. The structure of the Kyivan Church was formed at a time when the Kyivan empire was still in existence. It comprised Rus' and the "lands of Rus'", that is, those colonies of the empire which existed outside the actual Rus'. Naturally, Kyiv's domination over other countries gave the Kyivan Church the possibility to expand its activity in all the colonies of Rus'. Also, after the fall of the Kyivan empire, the Church continued to be active in all these territories, in spite of the political borders of the independent states. The Church was not interested in state borders, but in the unity of the Church and its eparchies. It was even interested in spreading the Orthodox religion beyond the borders of the disintegrated Kyivan empire.

In the chronicles, the Metropolitanate, created during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, is either called the Metropolitanate of Rus' or the Kyivan Metropolitanate. The important fact is that the head of the Church — the metropolitan — carried the title "Metropolitan of Kyiv and the whole of Rus'". From what time, one may ask? The oldest chronicles — the Laurentian Chronicle (rewritten in 1377 and kept until 1116) and the Hypatian Chronicle (rewritten around 1292 and kept until 1292) — do not use this title for the metropolitans. However, this title is found in the Laurentian transcript in the Suzdal Chronicle from the year 1377, where under the year 1230 the following is written: "Kyrylo, the Metropolitan of the whole of Rus'"<sup>124</sup>. On the other hand, in the Patriarchal or Nikon Chronicle from the middle of the 16th century this title is given to all metropolitans, beginning from 988, where Michael is mentioned as "the first Metropolitan"<sup>125</sup>.

The question of when the Kyivan metropolitans began to bear the title "of Kyiv and the whole of Rus'" has not yet been sufficiently investigated. It is possible that this title first began to be used only after the disintegration of the Kyivan empire (probably in 1230) in order to emphasise the unity of the metropolitanate of Rus', in spite of the fact that the territory had been

124. *PSRL*, Vol. I, p. 455.

125. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 57.

divided into different independent states. Whatever the case, Kyrylo (Cyril), already the metropolitan “of Kyiv and the whole of Rus’” (1224-1233) did not constantly remain in Kyiv, but travelled to Vladimir on the Kliazma and other places<sup>126</sup>. One of his successors, also called Kyrylo (1250-1281), travelled north even more frequently: he went to Suzdal and Novgorod, lived there most of the time and died in the land of Suzdal<sup>127</sup>. Metropolitan Maksym (1285-1305) travelled to Pskov, and in 1299 left Kyiv for good “together with all of his metropolitanate’s wealth and people” and settled down in Vladimir, Suzdal and Novgorod<sup>128</sup>. The reason for the metropolitan’s resettlement, as the chronicle adds, was that he no longer wished to endure the “violence” of the Tartars in Kyiv. However, there was in fact another reason.

In actual fact, his Church had no problems at all in Kyiv, but many in the north and north-east. These problems made it necessary for the permanent presence of the metropolitan.

In the principality of Vladimir-Suzdal, where the power of the princes was very rapidly increasing, a tendency towards creating a “separate” Church appeared already in the second half of the 12th century when Andrei Bogoliubskiy succeeded in obtaining the appointment of his candidate, the Monk Fedor, as bishop, and demanded that the Patriarch should appoint him as metropolitan<sup>129</sup>. Of course, the metropolitan of Kyiv could not agree to this and harshly punished Bishop Fedor for having agreed to become appointed as metropolitan. The succeeding metropolitans did not wish something similar to happen again. Besides, the Orthodox faith was being threatened along the Baltic coast. From 1224 onwards, the pressure from the Germans in the direction of Pskov and Novgorod was markedly increased. This pressure lasted for decades.

Petro (1308-1326), the successor of Metropolitan Maksym, only travelled through Kyiv and proceeded straight to Vladimir. During his term in office, the Muscovite principality already had a say in matters and the prince of Moscow was gradually becoming more powerful. In 1325, Petro transferred the seat of the metropolitanate from Vladimir to Moscow, and Moscow became the centre of the metropolitanate of Rus’.

The transfer of the metropolitan’s seat to Moscow played a great role in the development of the Muscovite principality. From then on, the threads of life within the Church of Rus’ met in Moscow. Moscow began to be tied to all the lands, which formerly belonged to the Kyivan empire, or had been the colonies of Rus’, and this eased the policy, which Russian historians call the “unifying activity of the Muscovite princes”. The Church, which had great

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126. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 93.

127. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

128. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

129. *Tserkov. . .*, op. cit., p. 59; *PSRL*, Vol. II, pp. 355-356.

riches at its disposal, contributed to the economic strengthening of Moscow and the Orthodox Church helped the Muscovite princes in “gathering the Rus’ lands”<sup>130</sup>.

Here a question arises, whether this Church was the same old Church of Rus’ — the Kyivan Church? Numerous facts and the activity of the Church point to the opposite, namely, that it was no longer the same Church and that it now pursued different interests which were tied not to Kyiv, but to Moscow. However, the metropolitan continued to bear the title “the metropolitan of Kyiv and the whole of Rus’”, although he resided in Moscow, where the seat of the metropolitanate was now situated. Therefore, already in the 14th century, the question arose in Kyiv and in the Ukrainian territory about appointing a separate metropolitan, a matter which will now be discussed further.

From the time when the metropolitanate was transferred to Moscow, events moved incessantly in one specific direction. In 1448, Jonas was elected as metropolitan without permission from the Patriarch of Constantinople and this date is regarded as the beginning of the autocephaly of the Russian Orthodox Church<sup>131</sup>.

In 1453, the Turks occupied Constantinople and Moscow began to regard itself as the one and only centre of Christianity. The metropolitans in Moscow continued to bear the title of “metropolitan of Kyiv and the whole of Rus’”. The temptation was too great for the princes of Moscow and since around 1336 several Muscovite princes had already begun to use the term “of the whole of Rus’”<sup>132</sup>. In 1461, Jonas, the last metropolitan bearing the title “of Kyiv and the whole of Rus’” died. His successor Theodosiy was then given the title “Metropolitan of Moscow and the whole of Rus’”<sup>133</sup>.

In 1463, the principality of Yaroslav was absorbed by the Muscovite principality, in 1474 — Rostov, and in 1478 — the republic of Novgorod. From then on, the chronicle refers to Moscow’s Prince Ivan III as “the great prince of the whole of Rus’”<sup>134</sup>. In another document he is called “the tsar of the whole of Rus’”<sup>135</sup>.

In 1492, Metropolitan Zosime called Ivan III “the new tsar Constantine” and Moscow “the new Constantinople”. At the beginning of the 16th century, Philophei (Philotheos), a monk from Pskov, wrote to Prince Vasiliy II that two Christian centres — Rome and Byzantium — had fallen, that the third

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130. V.E. Titov: *Pravoslavie*. . . , op. cit., p. 74.

131. (Archbishop) Makariy: *Pravoslavya*. . . , op. cit., p. 12.

132. S.M. Solovyev: *Istoriya Rossiya s drevneyshikh vremen* (The History of Russia Since Ancient Times). Moscow 1960, p. 487.

133. *Ukrayinskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*, No. 10, Kyiv 1982, p. 125.

134. *PSRL*, Vol. XVII, p. 135.

135. *Voprosy formirovaniya*. . . op. cit., p. 103.



centre was Moscow, and that “there will never be a fourth”. Moscow has been “chosen by God” to become a world centre of true Christianity<sup>136</sup>.

Finally, in 1589, Moscow granted autonomy to its Church by creating a patriarchate. In 1721, Peter I abolished this patriarchate and created a synod in its place. In 1918, the patriarchate was re-established. Since 1945, the “patriarch of Moscow and the whole of Rus” is once again the head of the Russian Orthodox Church.

### **The release of the Ukrainian Church from under Moscow’s jurisdiction**

The transfer of the metropolitanate from Kyiv to Vladimir, and then to Moscow, raised the question about the leadership of the Church in Kyiv and the territory of Ukraine, as well as the release of this Church from under the jurisdiction of the metropolitanate, whose seat was in Moscow.

Measures were undertaken in this respect by the princes of the Galician-Volynian state. At the beginning of the 14th century, Galicia received its own metropolitanate (1303). However, Moscow and her metropolitan demanded its abolition<sup>137</sup>.

After the Polish occupation of Galicia (1349-1366), the Polish King Casimir turned to the Patriarch of Constantinople with the request to renew the Galician metropolitanate. In 1371, the Patriarch ordained Antonius as metropolitan of Galicia. The Galician metropolitanate existed until 1404. All the other Ukrainian lands were annexed to the Lithuanian state. The Lithuanian metropolitanate was probably established in 1317. Although the metropolitan in Moscow demanded its abolition, the Patriarch of Constantinople ordained two metropolitans in 1354: Oleksiy (Alexis) for Moscow (bearing the title of “Kyiv and the whole of Rus”) and Roman as metropolitan of Lithuania, whose jurisdiction comprised the lands of Byelorussia and Ukraine<sup>138</sup>.

In 1458, when the metropolitan in Moscow began to bear the title “metropolitan of Moscow and the whole of Rus”, the metropolitanate in actual fact split into two: the Kyivan (and Lithuanian) and Moscow metropolitanates. The Kyivan metropolitanate comprised the lands populated by Ukrainians and Byelorussians. This division was finally confirmed by the Patriarch of Constantinople’s ordination of Hryhoriy Bolharyn (Gregory the Bulgarian) as the Kyivan metropolitan<sup>139</sup>.

From the beginning of the 14th century, the influences of the Patriarch of

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136. V.E. Titov: *Pravoslavie*. . . , op. cit., p. 81; *Tserkov*. . . , op. cit., p. 86.

137. N. Polonska-Vasylenko: *Istorychni pidvalyny*. . . , op. cit., pp. 38-39.

138. *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 43-44.

139. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Constantinople constantly decreased. Instead of ordaining metropolitans, the patriarchs now only “blessed” them.

The Synods of Brest, which took place in October 1596, divided the Ukrainian Church into two parts. Almost all of the bishops, with the exception of two (the bishops of Lviv and Peremyshl), expressed the desire for a Union with Rome. Opponents of this Union made every effort to preserve Orthodoxy. Since most of the hierarchy and even priests went over to the Union with Rome, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was forced to re-establish its hierarchy with the ordination of new bishops. This happened in 1620. Job Boretskyi was elected metropolitan.

However, in 1589, a patriarchate was established in Moscow, which presented a new threat for the Ukrainian Church. In order to safeguard its independence, the idea arose of establishing a Ukrainian patriarchate. The project for a Kyivan patriarchate was drawn up in 1624 and was also supported by Metropolitan Petro Mohyla. However, this idea was not realised. In 1686, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was subordinated to the Moscow patriarchate<sup>140</sup> and Moscow gradually began to limit the rights of the Kyivan metropolitanate.

After the revolution in Russia and the declaration of Ukraine’s independence (January 22, 1918), on January 1, 1919, the Ukrainian government passed a decree on the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Church. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC), secured by the ordination of new bishops and the election of Vasyl Lypkivskyi as metropolitan at the Church Synod in October 1921, existed and functioned in Ukraine under Soviet rule until the end of the 1920s. In 1930, the UAOC was officially liquidated<sup>141</sup>, its 33 bishops, among them V. Lypkivskyi, and 1,215 priests were arrested and most of them killed in the years 1928-1938. After the Soviet forces retreated from the territory of Ukraine, as a result of the German-Soviet war, which enabled a spontaneous rebirth of religion, the UAOC also revived. Metropolitan Dionysius, who resided in Warsaw, decided on the request of the Orthodox Church Council in Ukraine, to extend the jurisdiction of this Church onto the territory of the Kyivan metropolitanate.

In December 1941, the Archbishop of Lutsk Polikarp was appointed provincial administrator of the UAOC on the territories of central and eastern Ukraine. In the first half of 1942, the UAOC was structurally renewed on these territories and Archbishop Polikarp became metropolitan. In addition, at this time new bishops were ordained.

Beginning in the second half of 1943, as a result of the return of Soviet Russian rule, the hierarchy of the UAOC and part of the autocephalous

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140. Ibid., pp. 60-61.

141. Ibid., p. 106; *Encyclopedia Ukrayinoznavstva* (Ukrainian Encyclopedia), Vol. II, Munich 1949, pp. 617-618.

clergy emigrated. In Soviet occupied Ukraine, the UAOC ceased to exist. From then on, it continued to exist only abroad, in European countries, in North and South America and Australia, where Ukrainians had settled.

A similar fate met the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In addition to the bishops of the Ukrainian Church of the 16th century, who had signed the Union of Brest, the Union was later joined by the eparchies of Peremyshl (1692), Lviv (1700) and Luts'k (1702). At the Synod of Zamostia, the Uniate Church was reformed under the protection of the Catholic Church; it became the Greek-Catholic Church. After the division of Poland (1772-1795), the lands of Kyiv, Podilia and Volynia came under Russian occupation. During the reign of Catherine II, the Russian government introduced a policy of forced conversion of Ukrainian Catholics (Uniates) to the Orthodox faith. In the years 1839 and 1875, the Union was finally abolished on Ukrainian territories inside the Russian empire<sup>142</sup>.

The Greek-Catholic Church continued to exist only on those Ukrainian lands under the occupation of Austria (1772-1918) and Poland (1919-1939), and then on the same lands during World War II (1939-1945). In 1945, it numbered 4.5 million faithful.

After World War II, the Soviet authorities decided to abolish the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. In April 1945, they arrested its head, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, and the entire hierarchy (10 bishops). In March 1946, under pressure from Soviet authorities and with the help of the Russian Orthodox Church, a "Church Synod" was convened in Lviv, which annulled the Union of Brest. The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was abolished, approximately 1,000 priests, who refused to convert to Orthodoxy, were arrested, and all churches and the faithful were forcibly placed under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. However, the Soviet authorities have not succeeded in destroying the Ukrainian Catholic Church. It has gone into the catacombs and continues to exist illegally.

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142. On the separation of the Kyivan metropolitanate from the one in Moscow, on Moscow's Church policy and the religious persecution of Ukrainians see also: Cardinal M.I. Lubachivskyi: *Chy spravdi bulo Khreshchennia Rosiyyi 988 roku?* (Was it really Russia that was christianised in 988?). Rome-Munich 1986; English edition: *Was it really Russia that was christianised in 988?* London-Rome 1985.

## APPENDIX I

### A BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF UKRAINIAN HISTORY

The history of Ukraine can be divided into the following periods:

Up to the 9th century — prehistoric times, which comprised the Trypillian culture, the periods of the Cimmerians, Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans Roxolani and other tribes, and finally the Antes, the predecessors of the Rus'-Ruthenian people.

9th-14th centuries — The Kyivan state and its continuation — the Galician-Volynian state; in this period Ukraine was an independent state for more than 500 years.

1349-1648 — Ukraine belonged first to Lithuania and then to Poland.

1648-1659 — independent Ukrainian Cossack state.

1659-1764 — Poland and Muscovy (Russia) divided Ukrainian territories amongst themselves along the Dnipro River (1663-1667); on the territory, which belonged to the Russian empire, there existed throughout this period an autonomous Ukrainian Cossack state (Hetman state).

1764-1917 — Ukraine was a province of the Russian empire; in the years 1772-1795 Russia received Ukrainian territories to the west of the Dnipro River and Volyn; Galicia was annexed to Austria.

1917-1920 — Ukraine was an independent state.

From 1920 — Ukraine found itself under foreign domination; during this period Ukrainians twice attempted to become independent — in 1939 in Carpatho-Ukraine and in 1941 at the start of the German-Soviet war.

The above periodisation of Ukraine's history reveals the following:

a) After losing its independence in the 14th century, until the middle of the 17th century Ukraine belonged first of all to Lithuania, then to Poland, and not to Russia.

b) Russia, which developed outside Ukraine in the 14th-15th centuries, expanded its rule over the eastern parts of Ukraine for the **first time** only in the second half of the 17th century. Russia received the north-western lands of Ukraine for the first time in the years 1772-1795. From 1772-1918, Galicia belonged to the Austrian empire and was annexed to the USSR only after the Hitler-Stalin Pact in September 1939.

It must be pointed out at the outset of this brief historical synopsis that, from the beginning of the history of the Slavic peoples until this day, Ukrainians and Russians have never formed a single nation (either in the ethnic, or political, or cultural sense).

During the princely era (9th-14th centuries), Ukraine was part of Europe and had constant ties with European countries, not only through trade links, for example the well-known trade route Kyiv-Peremyshl-Cracow-Prague-Regensburg and to other west European towns, but also through political and dynastic ties. The kings of European states — Hungary, Poland, Norway, the Holy Roman Empire, France — married Kyivan princesses, and Kyivan princes took wives from various European royal families. For example, the daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, Anna, was the wife of the French King Henry I; the Kyivan princess Evpraksia married Henry IV; Volodymyr

Monomakh was married to Gita, daughter of Harold II, King of England; Volodymyr Monomakh's son was married to the daughter of the Swedish King Ingvar. It is interesting to note that out of the 73 marriages between members of the Kyivan court and foreigners, only 13 were with Byzantium and 60 with princes, princesses and kings from other European states. In times of unrest and wars in their homeland, members of various European royal courts, such as Olaf Tryggvason, King of Norway, the wife and son of the English King Edmund the Ironside, or the sons of the King of Hungary, Laslo the Bald, and others, found refuge in Kyiv.

After the disintegration of Kyiv, when the centre of the princely state on the territory of Ukraine was transferred to Halych, the Galician-Volynian state maintained its political, dynastic and commercial ties with the European states. As previously, ties with Rome were also maintained. It should be noted that the representative of Prince Danylo of Galicia participated in the Ecumenical Council of Lyon (in 1245) and that Danylo was crowned by the papal legate in 1253 on the orders of Pope Innocent IV. Weakened by constant wars, the Galician-Volynian state fell; Galicia was seized by the Polish King in 1349, while Volyn was occupied by Lithuania.

At this time, the central and eastern regions of Ukraine were occupied by the Tartars. In the years 1341-1377, the Lithuanian Prince Olgerd conquered these territories from the Tartars and annexed them to Lithuania. The princes, boyars (noblemen) and the population of Ukraine agreed to this, since they preferred the Lithuanians to the Tartars, and under Lithuanian rule they received the same rights as the Lithuanians. After Lithuania and Poland were united into one state in 1569 by the Union of Lublin, Poland received almost all the Ukrainian lands as far as the borders of Muscovy.

As part of the Polish state, Ukraine remained part of Europe, Ukrainians studied at European universities, and maintained trade links with European countries.

The Polish authorities adopted a policy of Polonisation, colonisation, and national and social oppression in Ukraine. The situation of the Ukrainian people became worse with the introduction of serfdom. As a result, many Ukrainians fled to the borderlands on the uninhabited steppe zone in the south of Ukraine and there, fighting the Tartars who had settled in the Crimea and along the Black Sea and Azov Sea coasts, a class of free people and warriors evolved, who became known as Cossacks. This Cossack movement began at the end of the 15th century. In 1550, the Cossacks established a fortified camp on one of the islands on the Dnipro River, known as the Zaporizhian Sich. From the end of the 16th century, the Cossack movement began to spread, started a war against the Polish magnates and instigated constant uprisings. From the beginning of the 17th century, the idea of the Cossack movement spread to such an extent among the population that everyone wanted to be a Cossack. The Ukrainian Cossacks conducted large-scale military campaigns to the Black Sea, conquered such towns as Varna (in 1600), Sinope and Trapezus (in 1614), and burnt down the suburban towns around Constantinople (in 1615). Gradually, the number of Cossacks increased in the Dnipro region and they became a separate social class. The struggle for "Cossack freedoms" became the symbol of the struggle for the freedom of Ukraine. In the 17th century, Ukrainian Cossacks were in military service in different European countries.

Social and national injustice, the terrible oppression, as well as measures taken to limit the number and rights of the Cossacks after several small uprisings, led to a general uprising in Ukraine against the Poles in 1648. In the forefront of this Ukrainian war of liberation stood Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. Having destroyed the Polish army several times, and having driven it, together with the Polish administration, from Ukraine, Khmelnytskyi established a Ukrainian administration and formed an independent Cossack state. Since Poland did not want to accept this situation and refused to recognise Ukraine's independence, the war continued. Looking for a hopeful ally against Catholic Poland, Khmelnytskyi agreed to sign a treaty with Orthodox Moscow in Pereyaslav in 1654.

The Muscovite government took advantage of this treaty and began to station its garrisons on the territory east of the Dnipro River and to interfere in the interior affairs of the Ukrainian Cossack state. Khmelnytskyi died in 1657 without having settled the matter of interrelations with Muscovy. His successor, Hetman Ivan Vyhovskyi broke off relations with Moscow and in 1659 destroyed the Muscovite army at Konotop.

The war between Poland and Muscovy for rule over Ukraine ended in 1667 with the division of Ukraine between both powers along the Dnipro River (the Treaty of Andrusovo). Poland received the territory west of the Dnipro and Muscovy that to the east. In 1681, Muscovy received Kyiv. However, on the territory east of the Dnipro, within the framework of the Russian empire, a separate autonomous Ukrainian Cossack state was formed, known as the Hetman state. In southern Ukraine, Zaporizhia also had its own autonomy.

During the Great Northern War, when Muscovy was in conflict with Sweden, Hetman Ivan Mazepa made an attempt to liberate Ukraine from Moscow's occupation and spread his power to the west of the Dnipro. With this aim in mind, he concluded a secret treaty with the Swedish King Charles XII in 1708. However, on his military campaign to Moscow, Charles XII met with strong opposition and unexpectedly returned to Ukraine. Mazepa, who was unprepared for this, was only able to go over to his side with a small section of the Cossack army, since the rest of his army was scattered on various fronts. Tsar Peter I destroyed Charles XII's army at Poltava in 1709. Charles XII and Mazepa retreated to Moldavia, which was part of the Ottoman empire.

Peter I began terrible repressions in Ukraine. He destroyed the capital of the Hetman state, Baturyn, massacred its population and harshly persecuted Mazepa's followers. Yet, he did not dare to immediately liquidate the Cossack order in the Hetman state. The autonomous Ukrainian Cossack state continued to exist until 1764. It was liquidated in the years 1764-1783. Moscow first dissolved the autonomous structure (in 1764), then destroyed the Zaporizhian Sich (in 1775), established an administrative order similar to that in the rest of the Russian empire (1782), abolished the Cossack class in Ukraine (1783) and introduced serfdom. With the exception of a few, the Cossacks forfeited their right to be free.

Soon afterwards, Ukraine experienced significant territorial changes. Until this time, only the territory east of the Dnipro River had belonged to the Russian empire, and the rest of Ukraine to Poland. The changes occurred when Russia, Germany and

Austria divided Poland amongst themselves. Thus, between 1772 and 1795, the central and northern regions of Ukraine found themselves under Russian occupation (with the exception of the Kholm region, which Russia annexed in 1815), while most parts of western Ukraine were occupied by Austria (Galicia in 1772 and northern Bukovyna in 1774). Carpatho-Ukraine (Transcarpathia) belonged to Hungary.

The Years 1800-1805, saw the rebirth of Ukrainian literature and political thought. Books appeared in the Ukrainian national language and ideas on the rights of the Ukrainian ("Little Russian") people were expressed in historical and political works. This rebirth, in which the works of the poet Taras Shevchenko and the members of the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood (1845-1847) played a significant role, developed with difficulty, due to repression by the Russian government. In the second half of the 19th century, it came to a complete standstill as a result of the ruthless measures of the Russian authorities, in particular, the decree by the Minister of the Interior, Valuev, (1863) and the Ems Ukaze (1876), which forbade the use of the Ukrainian language, the printing of books in Ukrainian (with a few exceptions) and the import of Ukrainian publications from abroad.

It was only towards the end of the 19th century that the young generation began an active struggle for freedom and independence, or at least autonomy for Ukraine. In 1900, the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party was formed and a pamphlet by Mykola Mikhnovskyi entitled *An Independent Ukraine* appeared.

During the period of persecution on Ukrainian territories under Russia's occupation, Galicia became an important centre of the Ukrainian movement. Ukrainian national institutions and parties, such as "Prosvita" in 1868, the Shevchenko Scientific Society in 1873, the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Radical Party in 1889, and other parties, were established.

The revolution in Russia in 1905 made the regime somewhat more lenient and the Ukrainian press was able to appear. However, the situation worsened a few years later, resulting in new prohibitions with regard to the press and organisations. The last Ukrainian newspaper was prohibited with the outbreak of the First World War.

After the Russian Revolution in 1917, the Ukrainians created the Ukrainian Central Rada (Council) (17.3.1917), convened a Ukrainian National Congress (17.4.1917) and on 23 June 1917 proclaimed the autonomy of Ukraine, which was recognised by the Russian government on July 16, 1917. Shortly after the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia, the Ukrainians took complete power in Ukraine on November 16, 1917, and on November 20 proclaimed the establishment of a Ukrainian National Republic (UNR). Soviet Russia recognised Ukraine and its right to independence on December 16, 1917. However, at the same time, Lenin gave an ultimatum, which was rejected by the Ukrainians. On December 20, 1917, war between Soviet Russia and Ukraine broke out. As a counterbalance to the Ukrainian government, Russia formed a Soviet government in Kharkiv and conducted the war against Ukraine under the pretext of helping the "Soviet government of Ukraine".

In January 1918, Ukraine was recognised *de facto* by France (4.1.1918) and England. However, due to the extremely critical situation on the Ukrainian-Soviet front, the Ukrainian government decided to enter into negotiations with the Central Powers in Brest-Litovsk. Germany was prepared to negotiate, but only under the condition

that the Ukrainian delegation be recognised by Soviet Russia. Trotsky recognised the Ukrainian delegation on January 10, 1918, and only then was it recognised by Germany and Austria, and official negotiations began. The Ukrainian National Republic formally proclaimed its independence on January 22, 1918. On February 9, 1918, a peace treaty was concluded between Ukraine and the Central Powers, but on the same day the Soviet Russian army occupied Kyiv.

The Germans and Austrians began their offensive on the whole front and compelled Soviet Russia to sign a peace treaty (3.3.1918). Ukraine was then liberated from the Soviet Army and the Ukrainian government returned to Kyiv. However, the Germans promoted an overthrow in Kyiv and Hetman P. Skoropadskyi came to power, whereby, in actual fact, the Germans established an occupational regime. Skoropadskyi's opponents began an uprising in November and, in the middle of December 1918, Skoropadskyi abdicated. Then the Ukrainian National Republic was re-established. In Galicia, Ukrainians took power on November 1, 1918, and proclaimed the West Ukrainian National Republic. In January 1919, it united with the UNR to form one Ukrainian Republic. However, in a short time, the UNR suffered a new invasion by Soviet Russia, as well as the troops of the White Russian (anti-communist) General Denikin. In the west, in Galicia, the Ukrainians had to fight against the Polish army.

The war, which exhausted the population and devastated the land, did not cease. Having no support at all from the states of the Entente, the Ukrainian government, under the leadership of Symon Petlura, decided to sign a union agreement with Poland (21.4.1920). However, the Polish-Ukrainian military campaign against the Soviet army in Ukraine in May 1920 ended in failure. Poland signed an armistice with Moscow and, in the middle of November 1920, the Ukrainian army and government had to leave Ukrainian territory. The period of Ukrainian independence had come to an end.

The war in Ukraine ended with the partition of its territory among several states:

1. Central and eastern territories of Ukraine were occupied by the Soviet army; the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic continued to exist on this territory, described by Soviet propaganda as an "independent" and "sovereign" state.
2. Western Ukraine (Galicia, Volyn and other areas) came under Polish rule.
3. Carpatho-Ukraine (Transcarpathia) became part of Czechoslovakia.
4. Rumania received northern Bukovyna.

In December 1922, the Russian Communist Party, with the help of the local communists (of which there were very few in Ukraine) created the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which included the Ukrainian SSR, which had been occupied by the Soviet army. It should be stressed that the USSR was formally created on the basis of a treaty according to which the signatories — Soviet Russia, the Ukrainian SSR, the Byelorussian SSR and the Caucasian Federation — reserved themselves the right to a voluntary withdrawal from the USSR. This point in the treaty entered the Constitution of the USSR and simultaneously the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR. However, even today, the slightest hint of the right of the Ukrainian SSR to withdraw from the USSR and become a separate state, is severely punished by the Soviet Russian authorities. Those who refer to this right are relentlessly persecuted.

While Moscow was forming the USSR, there was a great famine in Ukraine (1921-



1923), during which at least one and a half million people perished. Although the famine was also prevalent on the Volga, in Ukraine the Soviet Russian authorities used it as a political means with the aim of breaking the opposition of the Ukrainian people. A more moderate course during the period of the so-called "New Economic Policy" (NEP) and "Ukrainisation" had practically ended in 1928, when, together with industrialisation, Ukraine was subjected to a wave of repression, arrests, deportation to Siberia, terror, "dekulakisation" and forced collectivisation. At this time, Ukraine was the most important economic supplier of the Soviet Union (it provided the USSR with 81% coal, 68% iron, 82% sugar, and so on). Fear of losing Ukraine compelled Stalin's government in Moscow to subjugate the Ukrainian people once and for all.

With this aim in mind, it consciously took such measures which finally led to the terrible artificial famine of 1932-1933. In just over a year, approximately 7 million Ukrainian peasants perished as a result of this famine.

The fate of Ukrainians in Poland and Czechoslovakia was much better. However, in neither of these states did Ukrainians receive the autonomy they had been promised. A grave fate awaited the Ukrainians in Rumania.

As a result of the above mentioned policy, the Soviet Russian authorities succeeded in greatly weakening the Ukrainian liberation movement in the Ukrainian SSR. However, this movement developed in the western Ukrainian regions under Polish occupation. It also spread in Carpatho-Ukraine under Czechoslovakian rule, where it became strongly manifest in 1938, when Carpatho-Ukraine received autonomy within the framework of the Czechoslovakian state. When Hitler annexed Czechoslovakia to the Reich, and gave Carpatho-Ukraine back to Hungary, Carpatho-Ukraine proclaimed its independence on March 14, 1939. However, in spite of Ukrainian opposition, it was finally occupied by Hungary.

In accordance with the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of August 23, 1939, the Ukrainian territory in Poland (as well as Byelorussian territory and the Baltic states) became Soviet Russian spheres of influence. After Hitler's attack on Poland in September 1939, Western Ukraine was occupied by the Red Army, which, in the following year, took over Bukovyna.

The outbreak of the German-Soviet war in June 1941, gave the Ukrainian liberation movement a fresh opportunity. Taking advantage of the confusion, the Prime Minister of the newly-established Ukrainian government, Yaroslav Stetsko, proclaimed the restoration of an independent Ukrainian state in Lviv on June 30, 1941. However, the German occupational forces resorted to harsh repressive measures, imprisoned the members of the government and other leading personalities and fought the Ukrainian liberation movement by all possible means. The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), formed in 1929 by Col. Yevhen Konovalets, conducted an underground struggle against the Nazi occupation. In October 1942, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was formed on the initiative of the OUN. It conducted an armed struggle against the Germans until the summer of 1944. After that, the OUN and UPA continued the struggle for Ukrainian independence against Soviet Russia. This struggle lasted until 1952.

Since 1945, almost all of Ukraine's territories belong to the USSR, that is, to the Ukrainian SSR. Only a small zone of Ukrainian ethnic territory was annexed to

Poland. In 1947, the Polish communist government resettled the Ukrainian population from this territory onto the lands gained from Germany. The Soviet Russian authorities constantly persecute the Ukrainian national movement and combat the idea of an independent Ukraine by every possible means. In spite of this, since 1958, the younger generations have conducted a political struggle for the rights of the Ukrainian people. This struggle included all spheres of national life, literature, art, education. The authorities reacted with regular arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals and intensified their policy of Russification and Sovietisation.

It should also be mentioned that, from 1958, the Soviet authorities have uncovered several illegal political organisations, namely, the United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine in 1958, the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in 1960, the Ukrainian National Committee in 1961 and the Ukrainian National Front in 1967. Many members of these organisations were arrested and imprisoned, several were even put to death. According to information which appeared in the underground publication the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine* (No. 6, 1984), the Soviet authorities have once again spoken of a reactivation of the underground movement in Ukraine known as the Ukrainian National Front, as well as "terrorist" and "diversionary" acts of Ukrainian underground groups. Hence, it follows that, in Ukraine, alongside the opposition to Russification and the struggle for national and human rights and independence using legal means according to the Constitution, the Helsinki Agreements, the General Declaration on Human Rights and other international treaties, the struggle for the freedom and independence of Ukraine is also continuing illegally.

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**APPENDIX II**

**THE CHRISTIAN HERITAGE OF UKRAINE**



**Mosaic from the central cupola of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv, 11th c.**



Dmytro Solunskyi. Icon from Dmytriv, 11th c



Detail of an icon from Yaroslavl, end of the 12th c.



**Cathedral of the Assumption, Monastery of the Caves in Kyiv, 1073-1078.  
Destroyed in 1941.**



**Church of St. Basil in Ovruch, end of the 12th c.**







The Apostle St. Peter with Prince Yaropolk and Princess Iryna.  
Miniature from the Trir Psalter, 1078-1087.

