

REV. ISIDORE NAHAYEWSKY, Ph.D.

# HISTORY OF UKRAINE



Philadelphia — 1962

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of Ukrainian Catholics in America*



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## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Ukrainians, the second largest Slavic people, since time immemorial have inhabited the south-western plains of Europe. The fact that at the present time the Ukrainian Rada (Soviet) Republic, volens-nolens, is a part of the powerful Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, which strives for world domination, raises the importance of the Ukrainian problem more than ever before.

Who are the Ukrainians, what was their life like in the past, what is it now, and what are their strivings for the future? All these questions are important to the western peoples, especially to those of the Anglo-Saxon race, since at the present time only they could challenge the power of the Soviet Union and check the menace of godless Communism throughout the world. In this world-wide struggle for the preservation of the Western Christian civilization they need Ukrainian friends, whose problem is of interest to them also because over two million men and women of Ukrainian descent live in the U.S.A., Canada, Great Britain and Australia. Many of them are related by blood to the Anglo-Saxons.

Several English publications on the history of Ukraine are available, but still there exists a gap, namely, the inadequate explanation of the spiritual ties with the West through the ecclesiastical channels. Unfortunately, this circumstance, which made the Ukrainians the most western-minded Slavic nation of Eastern Europe, is missing or underestimated in most of the available English publications on Ukraine. As a matter of fact, the Catholic Church for many centuries promoted spiritual growth and influenced the development of the Ukrainian nation. Facts and events will be produced in this work to prove this statement.

This work is preceded by the introduction with general remarks on the origin of the Slavs, on the Kievan State, on the Ukrainian territory and its natural resources as well as notes on the Ukrainian people, their culture and early relations with the Anglo-Saxons.

Ukrainians use the Cyrillic alphabet and this presents a difficulty in transliterating the Ukrainian proper names into the English language. In this respect the author followed a general rule: the translitera-

tion should be as close as possible to the Ukrainian forms used by chroniclers and writers, e.g. Ihor (not Igor), Oleh (not Oleg), Olha (not Olga), Volodimir (not Vladimir), Bohdan (not Bogdan) etc.

In closing this "Preface," I feel the need of thanking my devoted friends who helped me by their encouragement and advice, namely, Prof. R. Smal-Stocki of Marquette University; Prof. A. Ohloblyn of Kiev University and the Ukrainian Free University of Munich; Prof. H. Luzhnytsky of Charles Francis University in Gratz and Pennsylvania University; Very Reverend Fr. W. Makuch, Rector of St. Josaphat's Seminary in Washington, D. C.

I am grateful to bl. m. Fr. M. Horishney, OSBM; Dr. M. Kulick; R. K. Waters; J. Tkachyk and George Hildrew for reading the manuscript and for linguistic suggestions.

I express my sincere gratitude to "America" Publishing House and its Managing Editor Mr. Ignatius M. Bilinsky for publishing this work and to Messrs W. Wisner, E. Yaremko and T. Rudakevych for all the technical work.

May Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Author of every perfect gift, and His Blessed Mother, bestow their choicest blessings upon them.

Camden, May 15, 1962.

I. NAHAYEVSKY.

# INTRODUCTION

## 1. EARLY INFORMATION ON SLAVIC PEOPLES

Slavs (Sloviany) at the present time are divided into the following main groups: 1) Eastern group: Ukrainians, Russians (Muscovites), and Byeloruthenians; 2) Western group; Poles, Czechs and Slovaks; 3) Southern group: Bulgarians, Croats, Serbs, Slovenes and Macedonians.

All Slavs cherish a highly developed sense of their national identity, but at the same time have a feeling of belonging to one Slavic family. According to the opinion of scholars, based upon philological as well as archeological science, the cradle of the Slavs was located on the present Ukrainian territories, especially in the basin of the Prypiat River, Polesia province, and from there in the course of centuries they advanced toward the territories inhabited by them now.

The first European historian of Greek origin, Herodotus of Helicarnassus (480-425 B.C.), in his history of the wars of the Persian King Darius against the Scythians, who temporarily inhabited the southern Ukrainian territories, describes their non-Scythian neighbors, for instance, Neuri, Budini, Melankhlaeni, Gelloni, and Agathyrsae. From his description of their lands, physical qualities and customs, we can recognize them as Proto-Slavs, and this statement is supported by archeological findings.

Another Greek writer and geographer, Claudios Ptolemy (100-178 A.D.), calls the Carpathian Mountains, "Ouenedica ore" — Slavic Mountains, and knows Slavs on the Vistula River. Roman writers: Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.) and Tacitus (55-120 A.D.) also knew about the Slavs (Venedi) and placed them East of the Germans. The term "Venedi," of German origin, is used by them as a common name for Slavs, although Pliny mentions the Antae between the Azov and Caspian Seas.

Jordanis (6th century), wrote a history of Gothic migrations and wars distinguishing three groups of Slavs: 1) Venedi on the Vistula; 2) Sclaveni west of the Carpathian Mountains; and 3) Antae between the Dnieper River and the Carpathians. They are

all Slavs, according to him, they speak one language and have the same customs. The bravest of them all are the Antae, since they vigorously opposed the Goths and together with the Huns brought about the downfall of the Gothic State in 375 A. D.

Greek writers: Procopius of Ceasarea in Palestine (562); Agathias (c. 536-582); Mendander (c. 558-582); Mauricius (most probably the Byzantine Emperor Mauricius himself, 582-602); and Theophilactus Simocatta (end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th centuries), have very interesting accounts of the Antae and also mention the Sclaveni, who together with the Antae made raids on Byzantine territories in the Balkan Peninsula, and sometimes allied themselves with the Greeks.

Germanic tribes, for instance, Goths, Burgundians, Lombards, Gepidae, Herules etc., seeking better lands and climate, left their primitive places in the Baltic region and migrated southwards. Their places were taken by Slavic tribes, for instance, Lusitian, Serbs, Poles, and the entire northern part of present-day Germany was occupied by them in the beginning of the 6th century.

A part of the warlike Slavic tribes of Croats and Serbs left the Carpathian Mountains and during the sixth and seventh centuries overran the Byzantine possessions in the Balkan Peninsula, as the Greek writer Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus reports, and settled there, making it their own country.

## 2. GENERAL NOTES ON KIEVAN RUS'-UKRAINE

It is an established fact that the Kievan Kingdom was originated by the Ukrainian tribe of Polians. Another question is: when, where, and by whom was the name Rus' (its Greek version "Rhos") originated? Was it of local or foreign (Norman, Norse) origin? This issue has occupied the minds of scholars since the 18th century, when a German writer, Bayer (1738) introduced a Pro-Normanist theory. He was followed by Schletzer, and Russian writers Karmazin, Pogodin, Kunik, and others.

This theory initiated a controversy, since there are certain traces of the existence of the term Rus'-Rhos in Ukrainian territories before the Varangians-Normans appeared in Eastern Europe. Some scholars: Harkavy, Ahrens-Kruger, and especially Marquart, established the new and more convincing Pro-Gothic theory, according to which the term Rus'-Rhos existed in Ukrainian territories in the 4th century A. D.

Now it seems that the promoters of the Pro-Normanist theory are in the minority. Their arguments, based mostly on a passage of the Rus' Primary Chronicle, the Povest' Vremennikh Lit (A His-

tory of Ancient Times) most probably written by Nestor, a monk of the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, are not convincing. A thorough analysis of the *Povest'*, made by several experts, especially Shakhmatov and Lykhachev, shows that in the course of time it was changed several times for different reasons, and not all his information is reliable, especially when it contradicts other sources, unknown to Nestor, for instance, of Arabic origin, which report that Rus' (ar-Rus) were Slavs (Saclab).

In short, the followers of the Pro-Norman theory do not take into consideration the existence of a well-established State of the Antae in Ukrainian territories, described occasionally by Gothic and Greek writers. The existence of that State has been fully corroborated by numerous archeological findings in recent times. If one does not accept all these facts, then it is impossible to explain the "sudden appearance" of the Kievan State in the first half of the 9th century.

Chronicler also informs us that the princes Kyi, Shchek and Khorev founded the city of Kiev and ruled it in "very ancient times," having friendly relations with the Byzantine Emperor. It is of interest to note, that a Polish chronicler, Joannes Dlugosius of the 15th century, using sources unknown to us, made the following remark: "*Absumptis Kyg, Szczyjek et Korev, filii eorum et nepotes linea directa succedentes principabantur apud Ruthenos fratres Oszkald et Dyr pervenit.*" Hence according to him, it is quite possible that the Kievan State since its foundation by Kyi, Shchek, and Khorev until the 9th century was ruled by one princely dynasty of local origin, when it was replaced by a new dynasty that came from the North, as Nestor reports. However, it should be kept in mind that before the coming of the new dynasty the term "Rus'-Rhos" was in use in Ukrainian territories. This fact, of course, does not minimize the important contribution of the warriors and merchants of Norman origin in raising the power and prestige of the Kievan Rus' in the 9-11th centuries. The same role they played not only in Rus'-Ukraine, but also in England, France, Spain, Italy and Byzantium; and there are indications that they had been in America before its discovery by Christopher Columbus.

Here we would like to make a few general remarks on early relations between the Kievan Rus' and neighboring Poles, Hungarians, and Muscovites who are presently called Russians.

There is an official document, which determines the Polish-Ukrainian boundary in 990-992 A.D., the "*Dagome-iudex*," recorded by Cardinal Deusdedit. This document describes the territories of the Polish State of Mieszko I, which was accepted under the protection of the Holy See of Rome. It says, ". . . *Infra hos*

affinos, sicuti incipit a primo latere longum mare, fine Pruzze usque in locum, qui dicitur Russe, et fine Russe extendente usque ad Craccoa." This shows that the Kievan Kingdom of Volodimir the Great extended to the city of Krakow in the West, and we know that this city was under the influence of the Bohemian kings.

\* \* \*

A Polish chronicler, Vincenty Kadlubek, reports that in the year 992 Prince Volodimir of Kiev "Hunnos seu Hungaros, Chroatos et Mardos, gentem validam suo mancipavit imperio." This information, partly corroborated by "Povest," defines the Ukrainian-Hungarian boundary, specifying that Carpatho-Rus' (the present Carpatho-Ukraine) also belonged to the Kievan State. However, the chronicler of Hildenheim recorded in the year 1031 that the Hungarian King Stephen I's son, Emmerich, assumed the title "Dux Ruizorum." This means that this extremely western province of the Kievan Rus' was taken over by the Hungarians, very probably during the internal struggle of Volodimir I's sons after his death in 1015.

\* \* \*

The author of "Povest" reports that the Kievan princes incorporated many tribes into their State and among them the ancestors of present-day Russia. Some scholars maintain that the basins of the upper Volga and Oka Rivers, from the dawn of history, were subject to a Slavic colonization by Novhorod from the north, by the Kryvychians from the west and by the Viatychians from the south. Thus the present Russian (Muscovite) territories were populated by the Slavs.

This theory, however, can not be confirmed by information from the sources, since there is no proof of such a mass migration of Slavs from the south to the north. The princes of the Kievan dynasty, who ruled the northern principalities of Rostov-Suzdal and Volodimir on the Klyazma River, introduced their Slavic language, customs, traditions and Christianity, but aboriginal tribes maintained such strong resistance that only in the 16th century was the Finnish tongue replaced by the Slavic, thanks to the missionary activity of the monasteries.

When Prince Yuriy of Suzdal in the middle of the 12th century, supported by the Greeks, occupied the throne of Kiev, his northern officials were not considered by the Kievans as a "Rus' people." After Yuriy's death an uprising followed and all his northern dignitaries were either killed or chased away as foreign intruders.



Yuriy's son, Prince Andriy Boholubsky of Rostov-Suzdal, made a coalition against Kiev, slaughtered its inhabitants, and ruined the city. No genuine prince of Rus' would have dared to ruin the "Mother of Rus' Cities," since Kiev was the center of culture and civilization of all Rus' people. This early antagonism between the Southern Rus'-Ukraine and the Northern Muscovy-Russia, to a certain extent could be considered the pre-history of the formation of a new nation, with its capital in Moscow, in the 15th century. That new State was not a genuine Rus', but a conglomeration of many non-Slavic tribes under the leadership of the Kievan dynasty.

Chroniclers recorded that, "many peoples joined Andriy Boholubsky," for instance, Greeks, Rus' (probably from Pereyaslav), Latins, Bulgars, Jews, Polovtsians (Andriy's mother was of Polovtsian origin, and one of his wives was an Ossetian). Prince Andriy separated his domain from the influence of the south. It was Prince Ivan Kalita of Moscow (1328-1341, who with the Tatars' help enforced his influence on some northern principalities. Prince Dimitri Donskoy's victory over the Tatars on Kulikovo Pole (Plain) in 1380 started the formation of the Muscovite nation.

It is an established fact that the Kievan Kingdom, its laws and civilization were created by one nationality: the Ukrainian; while the Volodimir-Suzdal-Moscow State was the creation of another nationality — the Muscovite (Russian). The Kievan Period did not pass into the Volodimir-Moscow Period, but into the Halich-Volynian Period.

Therefore, there never was and is not now such a thing as "an All-Russian nationality" in Eastern Europe. There are three separate nationalities: Russian (Muscovite), Bielorruthenian, and Ukrainian. All the attempts of Czar Peter I, who assumed the name of "Great Russia," and of his successors of the 18-20th centuries to assimilate Ukrainians by "melting" them in "one all-Russian pot," failed.

### 3. UKRAINIAN TERRITORY

According to the ethnic principle, the Ukrainian territorial boundaries lie between 43° and 53° N., and 21° and 45° E. They can be divided into 5 sections: 1) the southern frontier (Black and Azov Seas and the Caucasus) is 1,125 miles long; 2) the south-western section (Rumania and Hungary) 625 miles long; 3) the western section (Slovakia and Poland) 564 miles long; 4) the northern section (Bielorussia and Muscovy) 1,026 miles long; and 5) the eastern section (Donets-Don Rivers to the Caucasus Mountains).

The long boundaries of the Ukraine (approximately 4,350

miles), except for the Black and Azov Seas, are open and inconvenient for defense. This circumstance in the course of history was abused by neighbors, who often invaded Ukraine.

The entire area in which the Ukrainians live in mass consists of 296,200 square miles and contains about 48.5 million people. The total terrain inhabited by the Ukrainians in Europe has 364,900 square miles and over 50 million population. The exact data are not available, because of the lack of vital statistics from recent times. All data given by the Bolshevik government are not reliable.

The average density of population of Ukraine is 68, and in some areas 80-120 persons per square kilometer (1 kilometer is equal to 3,280.8 feet). The majority of the Ukrainians lives in villages; 29 percent in towns, and only 10 percent in the 18 cities which have more than 100,000 population.

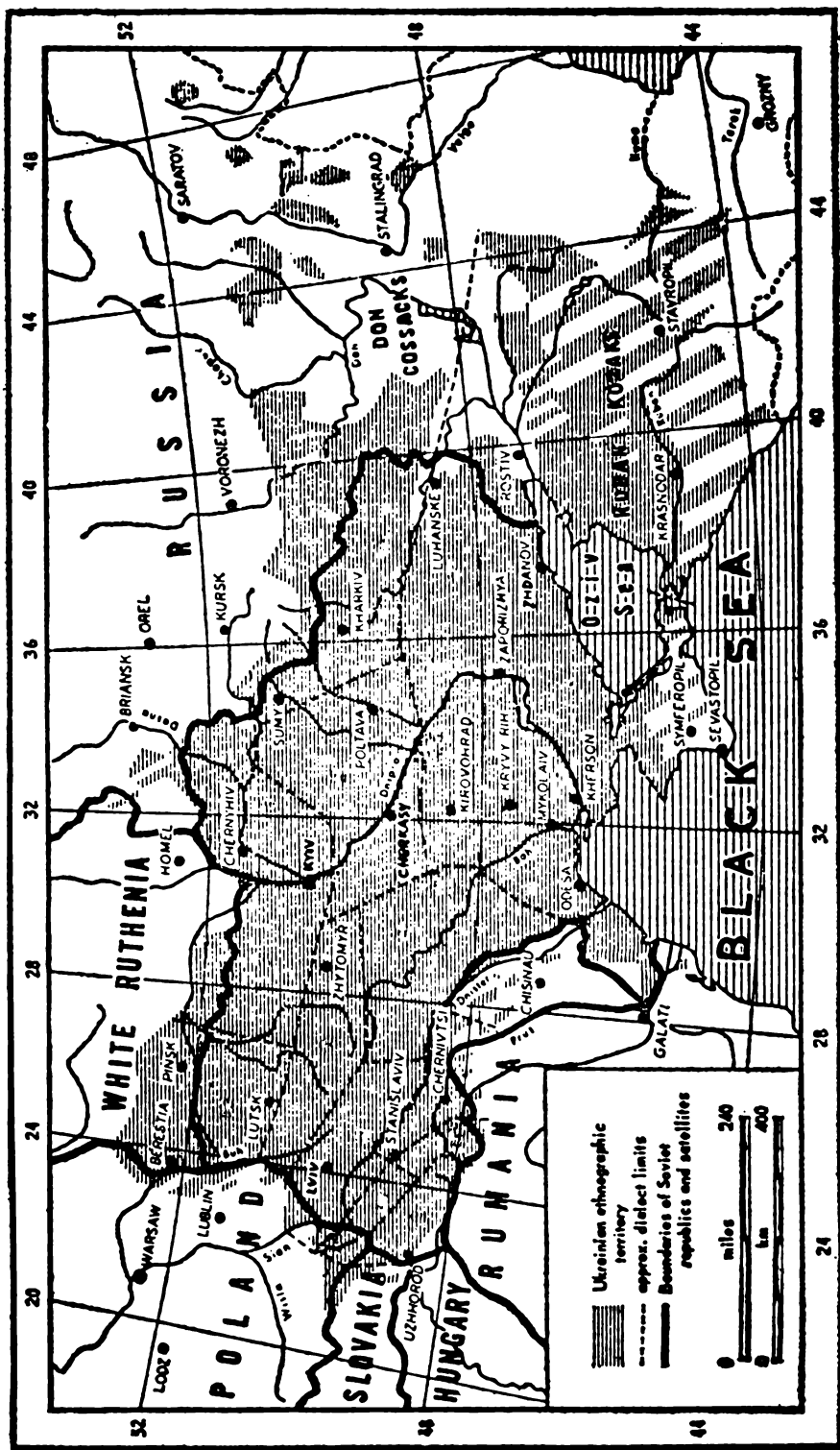
The climate of the Ukraine is moderate and favorable for agriculture, which is the main occupation of the people and the chief source of the national economy.

The long rivers: Dnieper (1,430 miles), Boh (497 miles), Dniester (856 miles), Donets-Don (870 miles), San (277 miles), Buh (456 miles), with their numerous tributaries carry much water into the Black, Baltic and Azov seas.

Ukraine contains 44 percent of the black soil of Europe and almost 8 percent of that in the world. In Ukraine itself three-fourths of the area is black soil, excellent for the cultivating of grain. Although it dries quickly on the surface, lower down it retains enough moisture even during a severe drought. Ukrainian soil preserves its fertility for a long time, so that fertilizer is used once every six to eight years. This circumstance and the mild continental climate with satisfactory rainfalls (23-28 inches) make Ukraine the first agrarian country of Europe, often times called the "bread-basket of Europe."

The main products of Ukraine are: wheat, barley, rye, oats, potatoes, mize, millet, buckwheat etc. Sugar beets are the most important technical culture, for instance, in 1935 Ukraine was the greatest producer in the world in regard to this product (952,000 ha. — 1 hectare has 2.47 acres). Ukrainian tobacco (in 1908 — 50,000 ha.) is not of first quality, but satisfies all the needs of the internal market. Hemp, flax, and cotton are produced also in lesser quantity. In the years 1931-1935 the entire production in Ukraine decreased considerably because of forced collectivization, which deprived the peasants of their property rights and made them serfs on their own land.

There are 11 million hectares of forests in Ukraine, approximately 9 percent of the entire area. The timber production is



Ethnographic Territory of Ukraine

lower than in other European countries, and it must be imported for the industrial areas of the Donets, Kharkiw and Odessa.

Coal, iron and other ores (mercury, phosphorite, kaolin, aluminum, dolomite) are found in the Donets Basin; the Kryvyi Rih area has iron ore; in the Nicopil area are: manganese, graphite, ochre, brown coal, kaolin. Petroleum, coal, lead, tin and iron ores are located on the slopes of the Caucasian Mountains in the Kuban district; petroleum, mineral wax, iron graphite, manganese, potassium and brown coal are located in the Carpathian Mountains.

Ukraine is the greatest producer of manganese in the world (450 million tons). Its manganese deposits are 40 percent higher than the total resources of the rest of the world.

The largest centers of industry in Ukraine are located in the Donets Basin: Kharkiv, Makiivka, Kramatorska, Voroshilovhrad, Horlivka, Konstantynivka, Artemivske, Slovianske, Mariupil; located at the Dnieper Bend are: Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhia, Kryvyi Rih, Nicopil, Mykolaiv, Dniprodzerzhinsk etc.

The hydro-electric plant, called Dniprelstan, built in 1927-1933 by American engineers, produces 558,000 KW and the total production of electrical current is 2,045,000 KW. Thus in this respect, Ukraine is far behind the other European countries, although only 8 percent of the available water power is used.

In Ukraine there are 170 sugar factories (8.5 percent of total world sugar production); 610 flour mills; factories of natural oil; canned food factories; 225 breweries and distilleries; 80 tobacco factories; at least 10 cement plants; brick plants; porcelain factories; glass factories; leather, paper, match, rubber, soap and chemical factories.

The railroad system is unsatisfactory from west to east, because the Russian administration was interested in the export of Ukrainian grain and other goods through the ports in the north, which are located on Russian ethnical territory. On the other hand, the network of railroads in the Western Ukraine, built by the Austrian administration (in Europe the railroad system is the property of the State), was planned from east to west because of strategical reasons.

The Dnieper River is the third largest in Europe and is navigable for 1,250 kilometers, as are several of its tributaries, namely, Prypiat, Desna, Seym. The Dniester, Kuban, Boh, Don with its tributary Donets, are partly navigable. The other rivers which are used for the floating of logs are: Buh, Vepr, San, Prut, Cheremosh, Strypa and Tyssa. The temporary overlords did not care to develop a thorough canal system that would regulate the rivers and make full use of the water-ways.

Odessa is the largest Ukrainian port near the Dniester, and Mykolaiv at the Boh estuaries. Novorosiyske is the largest port in the Kuban district, and Mariupil is the busiest port on the Azov Sea. There was and still remains the tendency to export and import merchandise through the Russian but not the Ukrainian ports, while the latter are used for internal purposes.

#### 4. THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

##### A. Type and Qualities.

The Ukrainian people are composed of six racial types: Dinaric, Mediterranean, Alpine, Nordic, Subnordic, and rarely Laponoid. These were the racial results of repeated migrations of different tribes in ancient times, who in the course of centuries were slavonicized by Ukrainian ancestors.

The original Ukrainian type was the long-skulled blond Nordic type, which was flooded by the round-headed dark Armenoid element from the South. At the present time, the predominant types of Ukrainians are: Dinaric dark long-headed and narrow-faced (44 percent); Alpine (or Celtic) 22 percent; in the northern part of the country prevails the Nordic type with the Sub-Nordic and very rarely Laponoid mixture; in the middle part of Ukraine, e.g. Kuban, Galicia, Southern Volynia, Carpatho-Ukraine, Hutsuly — Dinaric type prevails. In the Southern part of the country, a strong mixture of the Mediterranean (Greek) type is found.

Generally speaking, all Ukrainians are modest and very sensitive to outer impressions, but they react slowly using a great deal of philosophy based on their feelings, which they express in a rather peculiar way. They relate numerous age-long proverbs and anecdotes, containing a deep philosophy of national life.

Ukrainians love their country soil very dearly while considering it "a common mother" of all Ukrainians, since it feeds them all as a mother feeds her children. When a Ukrainian is compelled to leave his country he takes a little bag of his soil to be placed on his grave after his death in a foreign land.

It is generally known that all Ukrainians are industrious people who love their work. Hard life and an age-long struggle for freedom have made them distrustful and suspicious, for which reason they do not make quick acquaintances. The principles of the Christian religion and a traditionally high standard of morality prevent them from cruel and vengeful acts against their enemies, while love for their country and soil makes them quick to fight against oppressors even in circumstances where there is little or no possi-

bility of success. If they are convinced that their cause is a just one, they fight bravely and endure every hardship.

So great is their sense of personal freedom that sometimes even at the hour of national emergency it is very hard for them to submit themselves to the will of their own leaders. When great leaders, like Hetman Khmeltnysky or Metropolitan Sheptytsky, gained not only the respect but also the love of their kinsmen, they were able to accomplish great deeds, since they enjoyed the full support and obedience of the entire populace.

Ukrainian hospitality is world famous and it does not exclude their enemies, since they believe, "When a guest is in the home, God is in the home," and they never ask a guest for the reason of his visit. The subject must be brought up by the guest himself.

The official head of a Ukrainian family is the father, while every mother enjoys great authority and without her knowledge and consent no decision of great importance can be made. Ukrainians say that three corners of a home rest on the mother, and only one rests on the father. The family in Ukraine, even under Bolshevik domination, is considered sacred and in the case of an unhappy choice of a partner all hardships are endured in patience, because everybody believes, if they took an oath in church to cleave together "until death do us part" every thought of divorce and separation is sinful and a sacrilegious breach of that solemn promise made to God. Children, even grown-up and married, respect their parents, ask their advice, support them till the last moment of their lives, and pray for them after their death.

## **B. The Ukrainian Language**

The Ukrainian language is an independent branch of the Slavic family of languages. According to the recent researches, the north-eastern area of Ukraine was the original home of all Slavic peoples. The language of the Ukrainian ancestors of the 9th century was known to SS. Cyril and Methodius, the Apostles of the Slavs. It was used in their translation of the Greek Liturgical books, which they introduced into the use of the churches of the newly converted Slavic peoples. The liturgies, of course, contained many words of the Macedonic dialect, which were also known to the Saintly Brothers, because they came from Thessalonika.

The Church-Slavic (also Slavonic) language was the official language of the Church in Ukraine and it was so easy to understand that all the Ukrainian written monuments of the 9-18th centuries were written in that language, for instance, chronicles, theological works, heroic poems, sermons, biographies, etc. Church-

Slavic was also the official language of the Ukrainian kingdoms of Kiev and Halich-Volynia as well as of the Ukrainian-Bieloruthenian-Lithuanian Commonwealth Period, and the State documents were prepared in that language.

In the 18th century Ukrainian historical works were written in Church-Slavic, with additions of vernacular and foreign words. Only at the end of that century (1798) did pure vernacular language become the language of modern Ukrainian literature. During the 19th century it was highly developed and very soon it contained all the necessary vocabulary of philosophy, theology, and all the branches of modern science. It is noteworthy that a grammar of the Ukrainian language was compiled in 1618 by Archbishop Smotrycky. One hundred years later A. Pavlovsky's grammar established the Ukrainian as the national language. The Ukrainian scholar A. Potebnia was the founder of Slavic philology. However, one of the finest grammars of the Ukrainian language was prepared by Prof. Stepan Smal-Stocki.

Philologists agree that the Ukrainian language has advantages which insure it a high place among the Slavic languages. Its great wealth of vowels, full tone, softness, flexibility, transition of many vowels to the "i" sound, and the absence of massing several consonants into one syllable, make it the most melodious Slavic language. Its richness is more noteworthy inasmuch as its development came more from the people themselves, who collected its treasures and preserved them for their posterity, than through literature and science. Its purity is remarkable and the wealth of the colloquial language is in striking names for surface forms, natural phenomena, plants and animals. Ukrainian terminological construction in natural sciences, geography, philosophy, theology and most other branches of human knowledge is very easy.

### C. Ukrainian Literature

Christianity with the Greek and Roman religious, cultural, and juridical elements thereunto connected, brought a new national civilization into being. It is evident that Liturgical books, the Bible and other religious books used by the Church were translations from the Greek. These were soon followed by the valuable original work of scholarly monks and clergymen. Among whom were the monks Nestor and Nikon; Metropolitans Ilarion, and Clement; Bishop Kyrylo; Grand Prince Volodimir Monomakh and others.

Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise established a center of learning at St. Sophia's Church in Kyiv (Kiev), which spread the new

Christian civilization throughout the entire country. He also promulgated a Code of Law, called "Rus'kaya Pravda" (The Truth of Rus'), which was the first Code of Law among the Slavic peoples. His learned grandson, Volodimir II Monomakh, was the author of a precious work, which was written for the purpose of instructing his children to be steadfast Christians and patriotic rulers of their country. The real pearl of ancient Ukrainian literature is the epic poem known as the "Lay of Ihor's Campaign," written by an unknown author.

A political catastrophe, caused by the invasion of Asiatic Mongols in the first half of the 13th century, ended this golden age of Ukrainian literature. During the Ukrainian-Lithuanian-Bieloruthenian Commonwealth Period there were no works of paramount importance, except chronicles, official documents and the printing of the Bible by Franz Skorina in 1515.

In the second half of the 16th century, the Union of the Ukrainian Church with the Holy See of Rome and the opposition to it brought a national and cultural revival. The establishment of higher institutions of learning in Lviv, Ostroh, Kiev, Vinnitsia, and especially the famous "Mohylan Academy" in Kiev caused the re-birth of Ukrainian literature. The defense and opposition to Church Union is marked by several religious works of polemic character.

The publishing of Ivan Kotlarevsky's "Aeneid" in 1798 initiated a renaissance of modern Ukrainian literature, since it was written in the language spoken by the people. It initiated a new golden era for Ukrainian literature marked by several outstanding writers and poets, namely, Taras Shevchenko, Markian Shashkevich, Yuriy Fedkovich, Isidore Vorobkevich, Ivan Franko, Lesia Ukrainka, Marko Vovchok, Bohdan Lepkyi, Olha Kobylanska, Vasyi Stefanyk, Mykola Kostomarov, Panko Kulish and their contemporaries.

The "Shevchenko Scientific Society" in Lviv (now in New York—Paris) published 300 volumes from 1873 to 1914, which spread culture and civilization among the Ukrainians. During and after both world wars centers of Ukrainian intellectual life were established abroad. These are: the Ukrainian Free University in Prague (now in Munich), the College of Agriculture in Podiebrady; the Academy of Arts and Sciences (now in New York); the Society of Ukrainian Doctors, Architects, and Engineers; the Ukrainian Museum; the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin; the Petlura Museum and Library in Paris etc.

At the present time there exist, outside Ukraine, a few important religious centers, which spread Ukrainian culture and national traditions i.e. St. Josaphat's Seminary in Rome; St. Josa-



phat's Seminary in Washington, D. C.; St. Basil's College in Stamford, Conn.; Houses of the Basilian, Redemptorist and Franciscan Fathers in the U. S.A., Canada, Brazil, Argentina; and also the Minor Seminary of St. Josaphat in Rome which is conducted by the Fathers of St. Francis de Salle.

The Basilian Fathers have their publishing houses in Rome, Toronto (Canada), New York, (U.S.A.) and Prudentopolis (Brazil). The Redemptorist Fathers have such houses in Yorkton and Winnipeg (Canada). The Basilian Sisters have their Academy, College and Publishing House in Philadelphia (U.S.A.). The Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary have their Academy and Publishing House in Stamford, (U.S.A.). The Orthodox Ukrainians have their Academy and Publishing House in Winnipeg (Canada) and they publish a monthly magazine in Bound Brook (U.S.A.).

There are additional secular publishing houses of different ideological and political affiliations, which spread Ukrainian culture and civilization among Ukrainians in the Diaspora, of which it is noteworthy to mention: the "Providence" in Philadelphia, (U.S.A.); the Ukrainian National Association in Jersey City (U.S.A.); Houses in Scranton and Pittsburgh, (U.S.A.); there are Ukrainian publishing houses in West Germany (Munich), in London, (England), Buenos Aires (Argentina); Toronto, (Canada); Belgium, Poland, Brazil, France, Australia and other countries. In the fall of 1960 the "Ukrainian Theological Scientific Society" was renewed.

The work of all these institutions, particularly in the fields of religion, history, philology and sociology is of paramount importance, primarily because all these disciplines were destroyed or falsified by the Bolsheviks in Ukraine proper. Pamphlets and articles of polemical character, which from time to time are printed in Soviet Ukraine against the authors of the Diaspora, prove that the free Ukrainian idea finds its way to pierce the "Iron Curtain."

Thus all the above mentioned cultural centers are guardians and promoters of a free Ukrainian culture and civilization, because all institutions of higher learning in Ukraine proper are dominated by Muscovite Communism and they receive their orders from Moscow, and for this reason the Ukrainian scholars have no opportunity to conduct scientific research in the true sense of the word, because the slightest deviation from Communistic doctrine and its way of life is considered "treason." Numerous Ukrainian thinkers and scholars paid the highest price in defense of their convictions. They were shot or died of hunger in the slave-labor camps in Siberia.

In most works of Ukrainian thinkers and writers of all periods

of history we find a great deal of philosophical thought, based on three elements: love of God, neighbor, and native soil. For many centuries Ukraine has been an agricultural country and its people are in closest touch with the soil. It was God who created "Mother Soil," and if God were to deny His blessings, there would be no sunshine, rain, or harvest, and the soil would become a desert, not fit for human habitation.

These elements, together with the Christian philosophy of life, are deeply rooted in the hearts and souls of the people. They form a harmony, from which arises an aesthetic sense of expressing all forms of private and national life and mutual relations with the outside world.

The prominent 18th century Ukrainian philosopher, Hryhor Skovoroda, known as the "Ukrainian Socrates," was a product of his native country and all the above mentioned elements became his great inspiration.

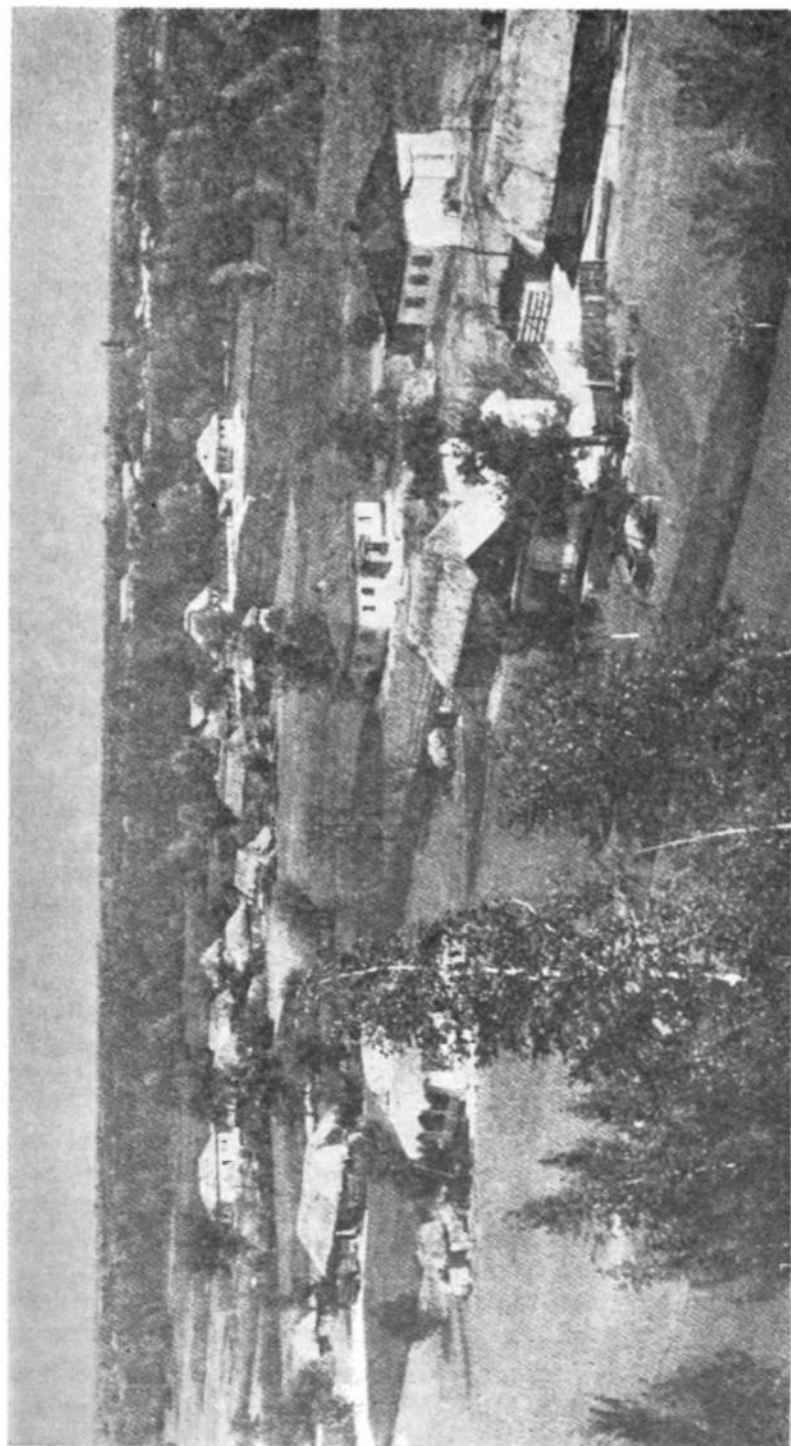
Taras Shevchenko, the "Ukrainian National Prophet," being the son of a serf, was intimately bound with "Mother Earth" and his creative genius was also based upon those three main elements. This is the reason that his poems are read by all Ukrainians one hundred years after his death.

According to the 19th century philosopher Yurkevich (the teacher of the Russian philosopher V. Soloviev) these three elements created the "philosophy of heart" which does not fully appreciate the capability of human reason alone to solve all questions of human life. Historian Mykola Kostomarov, tried to discover new ways of Ukrainian messianism. While at the same time ideas of rationalistic philosophy entered Ukraine. Mykhaylo Drahomaniv, Ivan Franko and Lesia Ukrainka planted a cult of "all-powerful reason," but after the Bolshevik occupation of Ukraine new thinkers started seeking new ways, e.g. Starosolsky, Dontsov and others. However, Viacheslav Lypynsky in his famous work "Letters to my Brethren Farmers" raised up the call of returning to the soil in order to create a class of militant peasantry, from which he expected the regeneration of the Ukrainian nation.

## 5. SOME AGE-OLD RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS

With every important event of Ukrainian individual and public life age-old customs are connected, for instance, births, baptisms, deaths, weddings etc. Most of these customs come from pre-Christian times, but in the course of time their form and content were adapted to Christian principles.

The life of the Ukrainian people during the year is in strict



A typical Ukrainian Village

conformity to the Ecclesiastical year, that is to the holy seasons, which are known to everyone without the use of the printed Calendar-Paschalia. If a peasant is asked the date of his birth or marriage, he answers, by giving a count of the days preceding or following Christmas, Easter or any of the many other major holidays of the year.

The Holy Liturgy and other shorter services of the Church are known and sung in Ukraine without the use of books. Nevertheless, the situation is now changed, since the Bolsheviks forbid the young generation to participate in church services. There is reason to believe that they are following the example of their parents.

Christmas in Ukraine is celebrated very solemnly in a true religious spirit for three consecutive days, because it is the Anniversary of the Coming of the Son of God from heaven to earth "to save all His people," as the Christmas carol intones. On Christmas Eve there is a strict fast (no meat, milk or eggs). After sunset the head of the family brings in a sheaf of wheat or rye, called "didukh," and places it in the right corner of the front wall in the dining room and also covers the floor with straw and the table with hay. The ritualistic fast-supper begins with the common prayer of the family and with the blessing of the first dish, called "kootia" (cooked wheat with honey and poppy-seed). After the supper the entire family sings several carols-koladas, until it is time to attend the Office of Apodeipnon (Povecherie) in church.

In Ukraine there are many beautiful inspirational Christmas carols, which glorify the Nativity of the Son of God in the little town of Bethlehem. The little boys and girls go "caroling" to their friends and neighbors, for which they receive a few pennies or cookies, for on this great holiday no one leaves the house empty-handed. On Christmas all quarrels and hatreds are ended, all injuries are forgiven, and all enemies shake hands.

On New Year's Day boys again go visiting friends with the seed of wheat in their pockets, sowing it at homes with wishes "to prosper better this year than last year," and again they receive their rewards.

The feast of Theophany, the Jordan, ends the Christmas season. The day before it is called "Shchedryi Vechir" (The Generous Eve), which is observed with the same strict fast and common supper as it is on Christmas Eve. The highlight of this feast, however, is the blessing of the holy "Jordan Water," which ordinarily takes place on the bank of a river. Holy water is preserved at home throughout the year and is used for many different purposes, e.g. for blessing homes, fields in the spring, for sickness, disease and especially at the hour of death.

After the Theophany, parish priests are obliged to visit all the homes of their spiritual children and on this occasion they are offered gifts as tokens of love and appreciation.

The Great Fast (or Lent) is a time of penance and self-denial. It begins on Monday after the Cheese-fare Sunday (three days earlier than the Latin Lent, which begins on Ash Wednesday) and is observed very strictly. There is complete abstinence from drinks and meat, while only a partial use of dairy products is permitted in recent times.

The last week before Easter, called Holy Week, is highlighted by many special services glorifying the Passion and Death of our Lord on the Cross. In some parts of Ukraine the pious people observe a complete natural fast for three consecutive days. It lasts from Thursday evening until Easter Sunday morning.

The blessing of the "Easter basket," containing "pascha," eggs which are painted or decorated, cheese, butter, salt, horse-radish etc. takes place around the church after the Holy Liturgy on Easter Sunday. This holiday initiates a new joyful season which lasts until the Day of Ascension of our Lord into heaven, and many ancient songs-hailky are sung.

The highlight of the Pentecost is the solemn procession of entire congregations and the blessing of the fields by the parish priest.

During the summer, other church blessings take place: on Transfiguration Day — that of new fruits and crops; on the days of the Nativity and of the Assumption of the Blessed Mother — that of flowers etc.

There are many other local customs of religious character, thus during the entire year the most important events in the life of the Ukrainian people are in conformity with the will of God. This is why the inexhaustible treasure of Ukrainian ancient legends, sagas, fables, proverbs, anecdotes and sayings have a deep religious and moral meaning.

## 6. UKRAINIAN MUSIC

Ukrainians, as most of the peoples of the world, must have had songs in pre-Christian times, for the song is an external expression of man's internal feelings about all important events of private and public life. For instance, the expression of man's submission to the will of "Higher Beings," births, weddings, deaths etc.

After the introduction of Christianity all these songs were adapted to the new faith, because the Church could not tolerate the old pagan beliefs. It is evident that the Greek Church's music in its

established form, as Chronicler Nestor reports, was transplanted into Ukraine and influenced not only Ukrainian church music, but also secular music. Traces of Greek musical elements are found nowadays in Ukrainian church music, namely in the so called Irmo-logion singing.

The heroic period of Ukrainian history in the 16—18th centuries, when the entire people took an active part in the wars of liberation, created the Golden Era of Ukrainian music. All important events and battles of those years, the ups and downs, were recreated by the people in numerous songs of epic character, called “dumas,” which glorify the famous Kozak leaders and their battles against the Turks and the Lakhs (Poles).

The people held in very high esteem the professional singers who were called “Kobzari,” oftentimes kozaks who had been blinded while in Turkish captivity, who wandered throughout the country singing “dumas” while simultaneously playing on their “kobzas” (34-36 stringed instruments).

On the other hand, the life of the Ukrainian people in the Commonwealth encouraged some musical influence from the West, especially polyphonic singing in the churches. The influence of Italian composers was very great, for instance, the composers: Dmytro Bortniansky (†1825), Maxim Berezovsky (†1777) and Artim Vedel (†1806), were educated in Italy and created a new era of Ukrainian polyphonic church music. They were followed by e.g. Verbytsky (†1870), Lavrivsky (†1873) and many others.

An outstanding composer was Mykola Lysenko (†1912), educated in Germany; also Leontovich (†1921); Stetsenko (†1922); and Filaret Kolessa (†1947). Composer Stanyslav Ludkevich, preserving the national character of Ukrainian music, created a new Ukrainian vocal and instrumental music, which compete with that of the West. Composer Vasyl Barvinsky, using Ukrainian folk-songs, created a new Ukrainian chamber music, and the same is true of Nestor Nyzhankivsky (†1940).

At the present time, Ukrainian music is enriched by the new creations of the following composers: Lysko, N. Kolessa, Rudnytsky (in U.S.A.), Latoshinsky, Revutsky, Kosenko, Kossitsky, Fiala (Canada), Fomenko (U.S.A.), Verykivsky and others.

Ukrainian folk-songs sung by choirs conducted by Koshets, Kotko, Hnatishin (Austria), Bozhyk, Kytasty, Cependa (U.S.A.) and others, captured the hearts of foreigners, although they did not understand the meaning of the lyrics. According to Taras Shevchenko “the Ukrainian songs and dumas will never die and they are a true glory of Ukraine.”

## 7. FINE ARTS IN UKRAINE

### A. Architecture

The archeological excavations in Trypillia, near Kiev, show that 2,000 years before the Christian era the inhabitants of Ukraine had developed a typical style of building their homes and this has



Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary  
at Pochaiv (1771 A.D.)

been confirmed by findings in about sixty other places. The arrival of the Iranian Scythians in the southern part of Ukraine and the presence of Greek colonies on the shores of the Black Sea influenced Ukrainian architecture. The ruins of monumental buildings in the ancient cities of Khersonesos, Olbia, Kerch, Eupatoria and other places, are remnants of the Greek classical civilization that influenced Ukrainian architecture. The Church of St. John (6-8th centuries) and the ruins of other churches prove that Christianity

was well established at that time in those parts of Ukraine, and therefore influenced Ukrainian building style.

The most important monument of Ukrainian architecture is the Church of St. Sophia in Kiev, built by Prince Yaroslav the Wise in 1019-1037. However well the preservation, during the course of time its appearance has been changed by additions. The following churches have also been spared the devastations of wars and fires: The Holy Redeemer in Chernihiv (1036); St. Nicholas in Vydu-betsky Monastery in Kiev (1077-1088); and the Holy Trinity of the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev.

There are more churches in the Ukraine from the 12th century, in Kiev, Chernihiv, Ovruch, Volodimir in Volhynia, Halich, and still more from the 13-16th centuries, for instance, in Lviv, Kholm, Ostroh, Horyany in Carpatho-Ukraine and others.

The Church of SS. Peter and Paul in Kiev and churches in Lubny and Sutkivtsi are fine Gothic style monuments in Ukraine. The influence of the Renaissance style is shown in the western Ukrainian cities of Lviv, Yaroslav, Zamostia, Peremyshl and Lutsk.

Baroque style in Ukraine had two forms: the so-called Jesuit style and the Kozak-Baroque. The great hetman Ivan Mazepa built many churches of this style.

St. George's Cathedral in Lviv is the most beautiful example of the Rococo style. The Ukrainian classical style of church construction was initiated by the last Ukrainian Hetman Kyrylo Rozumowsky (†1803). Nevertheless, in 1801 Muscovy forbade the erection of churches in the Ukrainian classical style and decreed that they accept the architectural designs made in Petersburg, that is with onion-like domes, contrary to traditional Ukrainian form and taste.

In Ukraine there are numerous ornate churches of wood construction and some of them have survived from the 15th century, one of them is the Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kovel (1505) and there are many more from the 17-20th centuries. The most elegant church of this style was one having ten domes, which was built by the Zaporozhian Kozaks in 1773.

## **B. Painting**

The best ancient frescoes and mosaics are preserved in St. Sophia's church in Kiev, artistic triumphs of the 11th century. The monk Alipius of the Monastery of the Caves was one of the famous painters of that time. During the 11th century miniature paintings of the "Codex Gertrudianus" were painted in the western principalities.



Beginning in the 14th century Ukrainian artists were also employed in Lithuania and Poland. King Casimir and King Jagiello (Yagello) entrusted them with the painting of frescoes in the churches of Lublin, Sandomir and even the royal castle in Krakow.

The influence of Renaissance painting is represented in Ukraine by the artist Fedushko of Sambir, whose Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (1579) is the first offering of this style in Ukraine.

The Kozak Baroque style of architecture and painting was adapted to Ukrainian national taste and form, and there are many glorious evidences of this creation throughout the country. Works of Ukrainian artists from that period were recognized abroad. It is significant to note that a portrait of King Jan Sobieski, painted by a Ukrainian artist, is displayed in the gallery of Florence.

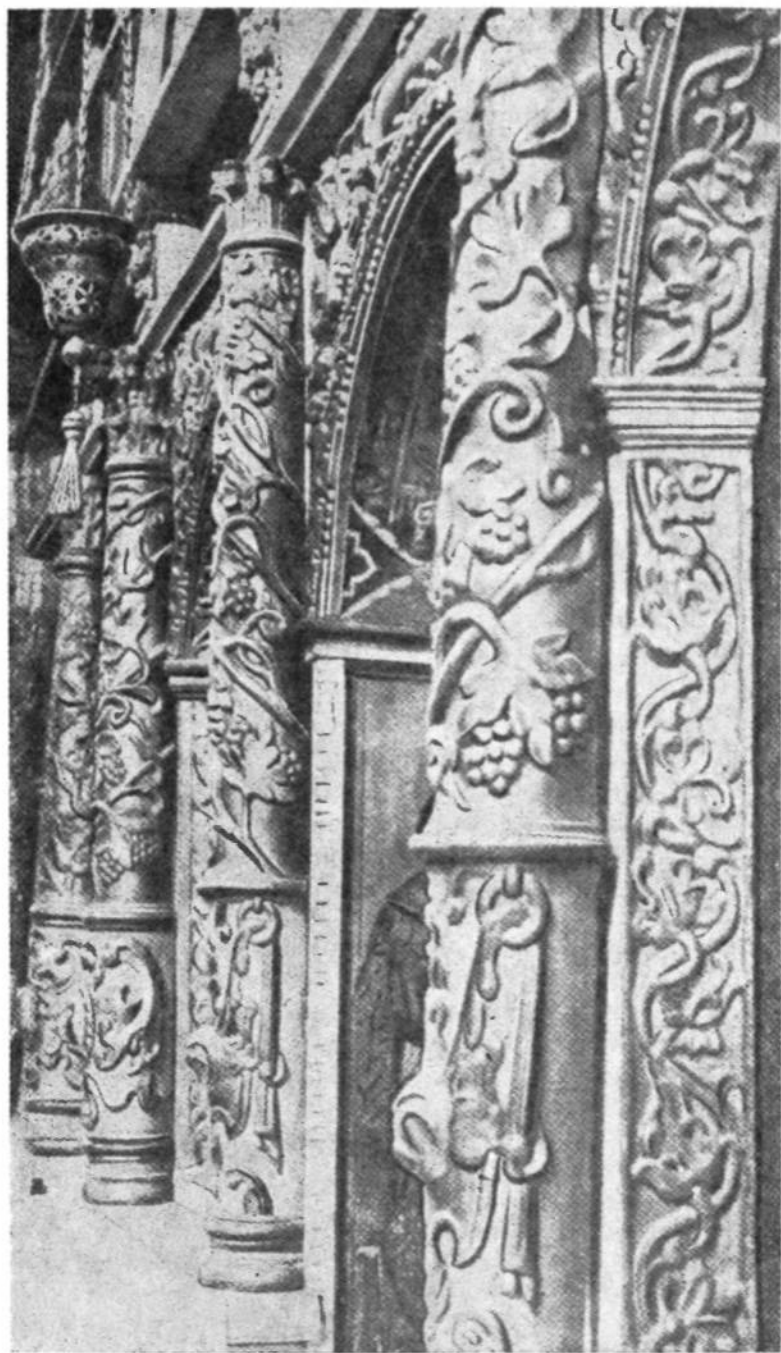
Anthony Losenko and Volodimir Borovykovsky were famous 18th century Ukrainian painters, whose works belong to the Classical Period of the 19th century. The works of these two great artists are held in high esteem in the western world of art.

How regrettable, that they were not permitted to stay and work in their own country, but were forced to go north; where their talents were lost insofar as the Ukrainian people were concerned. The Muscovite policy of exploitation in the course of the 19th century impoverished all fields of Ukrainian culture, with the result that this "Age of Reason" became the darkest century in the history of Ukraine.

To the period of transition belong the painters: Mykola Ge, Ilya Repnin, Ivan Stanislavsky, Mykola Burachok, Mykola Samokysha and others. The world famous Alexander Murashko, Fedir and Vasil Krychevskys and Mykhaylo Boychuk, made a successful attempt to create a new so-called Neo-Byzantine School of Painting, which is represented by L. Yasinchuk, S. Hordynsky, P. Andrusiw, P. Kholodny etc. Ivan Trush was an impressionist and Oleksa Novakivsky an expressionist, as were Wasyl Kryzanivsky and Victor Palmov. Prominent graphists were: Marko Kynarsky, Yuriy Narbut, Robert Lisovsky, Lev Lozovsky, Pavlo Kovzhun and others.

### C. Sculpture

In Ukraine there are monuments of Greek Classical sculpture which were discovered in the ruins of ancient cities on the shores of the Black and Azov Seas. In other districts many small figures have been discovered, which represent human beings and animals of the pre-Christian era.



Iconostasis at St. George's Church in Drohobich (1600 A.D.)

With the introduction of Christianity from Constantinople, sculpture was not promoted in Rus'-Ukraine, inasmuch as it was a period when the veneration of icons was so prevalent that even the Person of the Crucified Lord was painted on the crosses. The use of statues in the churches was completely abandoned, very probably, after the victory over the Iconoclastic heresy. It is evident that the Ukrainians followed the custom of the veneration of icons, even though we find some samples of sculpture, for instance, the portals of St. Panteleymon's church in Halich, the tomb of Yaroslav the Wise at St. Sophia's Church in Kiev etc. In Ukraine only the iconostasis was beautified with carved designs and sculptured ornaments.

At the time of the Renaissance there was considerable western influence upon sculptured ornaments and frames of icons. The Kozak Baroque developed a decorative sculpture of high value, but after the decline of Hetmancy it also died out. Ukrainian sculptors Ivan Martos and Mykhailo Kozlovsky went to the north and enriched Muscovy.

19th century sculpture is represented by the prominent artists: Mykhaylo Mykyshin (the monument of Hetman Bohdan in Kiev), Fedir Kamensky (professor of sculpture in New York), Parmen Zabilo, Viytovich, Kuznevich (in U. S. A.) and others.

In modern times Vernard Kratko, Nastia Pysarenko (neoclassicists), Kost Stakhovsky (sculptor of animals, who worked in Berlin, Vienna, and London), Oksana Laturynska, Fedir Yemets, Bohdan Mukhin, Hryhor Kruk, represent the Neo-Romantic style. At the present time, Oleksa Archipenko and Serhiy Lytvynenko (both in U. S. A.) are the most prominent Ukrainian sculptors outside Ukraine.

## 8. UKRAINIANS AND ANGLO-SAXONS

On account of geographical location the relations between the Anglo-Saxon race, which took its rise from England off the west European coast, and the Ukrainians located on the borders of Eastern Europe, did not develop into an enduring friendship in the past. While searching the past we find interesting events. First of all, the Celts overran the Roman Empire in the second century B. C., and at the time of King Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus dwelled in present Ukraine. Some of them moved westward, crossed the English Channel, establishing themselves in Ireland and England. They merged with the native population and imposed their language on the indigenous people.

Philologists detect some Celtic influence on the Ukrainian lan-

guage, but more important is the fact that at the present time about 22 percent of all the Ukrainian population is of Alpine (Celtic) type, which prevails in the South-western Ukrainian territories, where some of the ancient Celts took permanent abode and assimilated with the natives.

During the first centuries of the Christian era the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons and Ukrainians were exposed to Roman influence. It is an historical fact that a considerable part of the Southwestern Ukrainian territories was under Roman administration. What is more, numerous archeological discoveries all over Ukraine prove that the Roman monetary system was dominant there in the 3—5th centuries. This sharing of one common heritage was interrupted by the collapse of the Western Roman Empire in the 5th century, due to the ferocity of the barbarian invasions.

The third common force of Anglo-Saxon and Ukrainian heritage came from the north. In the first decade of the 10th century a number of Norwegian adventurers from Ireland called Vikings, invaded North-western England and their leader, Ragnall O'Ivar, made himself King of York. They were soon overpowered by King Athelstan of the Saxon dynasty (939) at whose court King Haakon (936-960) was brought up and baptized. Haakon was the creator of the Norwegian kingdom and he made the first attempt to baptize his State.

The Scandinavians (Swedes) who apparently came first and penetrated South Rus'-Ukraine in the 8th century, mixed with native Antian Slavic tribes and borrowed from them the very name Rus'-Rhos. The Danes and Norwegians followed them and they are represented in Rus' history by Rurik and Oleh of the second half of the 9th century.

Rus'-Ukraine of the Kievan Period was known to England. Furs, horses, gold, silver, and oriental silks were exported from there to England. In one version of the romance of *Beuve de Hamtoun*, explicit mention is made of the old maritime Varangian route to Rus' and the Black Sea to England, through the North Sea from England and the Baltic. The same poem relates that merchants from "Great Rus" bought *Beuve* in Hungary as a slave and sold him in Armenia. Gervase of Tilbury in his "*Otia Imperialia*" knew that Rus' could be reached from England via the Baltic Sea.

It is therefore obvious that the Scandinavians exercised an extensive influence in England and Kievan Rus'-Ukraine. Prince Volodimir I had four Scandinavian wives before his baptism. *Ingegirda-Irene*, the daughter of King Olaf of Sweden, was the wife of Yaroslav. The wife of Volodimir II was *Gyda* the daughter of the last English King of the Saxon dynasty, Harold II, who suffered



St. Yuri's Cathedral in Lviv

defeat (1066) in the battle of Hastings. His family sought refuge in Denmark. It was the King of Denmark, who arranged the marriage of Gyda with Volodimir II, who was the son of the Kievan Prince Vsevolod and a Greek princess and relative of the Byzantine Emperor Constatine IX Monomakh. Volodimir II initiated a new branch of the Kievan dynasty. It is said that the English Prince Philip, Consort of Queen Elizabeth II, is a descendant "in recta linea" of Emperor Constantine IX Monomakh.

Mstislav I, who was the son of Volodimir II, had a Swedish wife Christina who was the daughter of King Inge. Two Norwegian Kings: Harold Haardraad and Sigurd married women from Rus'-Ukraine. After Harold's death his widow Elizabeth, daughter of Yaroslav the Wise of Kiev, married King Swegn II of Denmark. After King Sigurd's death his widow Malfred, who was the daughter of Prince Mstislav I, married King Erik Emun of Denmark. The Danish King Waldemar I (Danish version of the name Volodimir) took unto himself a wife from Rus'-Ukraine.

During a struggle among the princes, Yaroslav the Wise

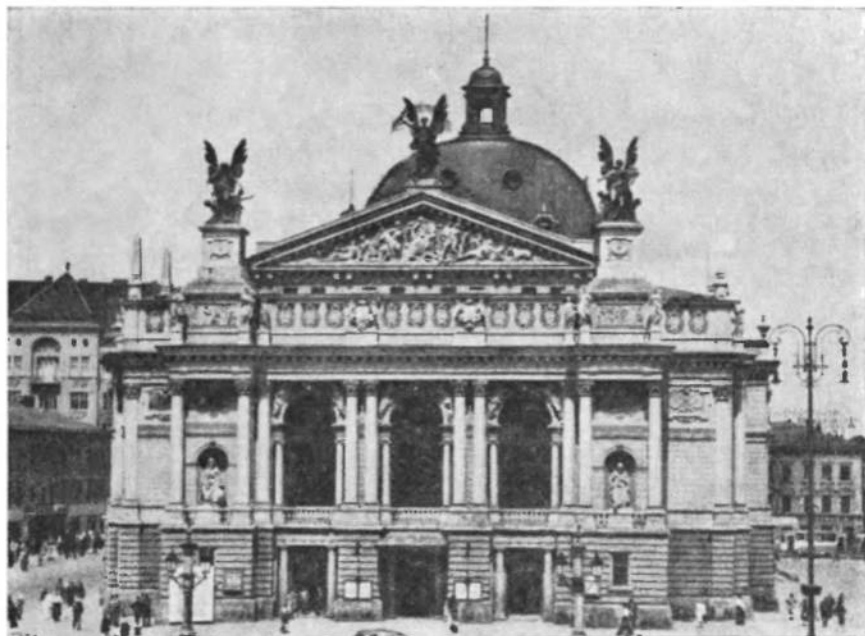
issued a call for help to the Norwegian King Haakon the Blind, and Nestor reports that the call was heeded, since Haakon brought a strong band to Novhorod. In 1112 King Erik Ejegod of Denmark appeared in Kiev on his way to the Holy Land and was warmly received by Prince Sviatopolk II of Kiev, who sent a special guard of honor to accompany him to Jerusalem.

The Normans made a valuable contribution to the English, Ukrainian and Byzantine armed forces, to wit, Volodimir I sent his Varangians to Constantinople and we know that from the second half of the 11th century the Varangians from England formed the imperial bodyguard in Constantinople. These close relations were not only of dynastic and military consequence, but they were also of a cultural and commercial nature. They existed in the 12th century, and it might be further noted that the Danish King Swegn III in 1157 seized a huge number of ships of Rus' enroute to England and distributed all the goods amongst his warriors.

References to Rus'-Ukraine are to be found in later English chronicles, which echo the catastrophe of the Mongol invasion, e.g. the continuation of Gervase of Canterbury's "Gesta Regum"; Annales of Burton; Chaucer's "Tales of Canterbury"; Matthew's of Paris "Chronica Majora". The latter reports the presence of Archbishop Petro Akerovich at the Council in Lyons. Of special significance is the knowledge that there existed in Kiev in the 11-13th centuries a Benedictine monastery founded by Scottish monks, who very probably sought refuge there when the Kings of Scotland cooperated with the Saxon dynasty against the Norman conquerors of England.

The English Ambassador in Constantinople, Thomas Roe, a friend of Patriarch Cyril Lukaris, who was a friend of the Kozaks, took great interest in their cause and made attempts to save the life of the Kozak leader, Samuil Koretsky, who was in Turkish captivity. It is recorded that Thomas Roe successfully promoted the alliance of Ukraine, Transylvania and the Swedes in order to check Poland. Yuriy Nemyrich, who was educated in England, played an important role in the arrangement of the 17th century Ukrainian-Swedish alliance.

The "War of Liberation" of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1648 was watched in England with great interest, where the Hetman was compared with Oliver Cromwell, who was the great English revolutionist. According to Ukrainian tradition it is said that both of these great men admired one another. Further reports that they both exchanged letters have not been adequately explored. The possibility that Hetman Bohdan's closest friend Colonel



The Opera House in Lviv

Maxim Kryvonos was of Scotch origin is indicative of English sympathy with the Ukrainian cause.

King Charles XII's of Sweden alliance with Hetman Ivan Mazepa and their war against Muscovy which ended in defeat near Poltava in 1709 also aroused sympathy in England, as could be seen in the reports of the English Ambassador to Moscow, Charles Lord Witworth. It is significant that even Czar Peter I, in order to check the power of Charles XII, was willing to recognize the English Duke of Marlborough as monarch of Ukraine. Later the English diplomats supported Mazepa's successor Philip Orlik in order to stop the advance of Czar Peter I in the region of the Black Sea, where England at that time exercised considerable influence. Thanks to the action of the English Ambassador in Constantinople, Peter I recognized the independence of the Right-Bank Ukraine in the Treaty of Prut.

The cultural movement known as Romantic Nationalism, directed the writers to native and local traditions and to the collecting of popular legends, which were drawn from their own national intellectual resources. That movement spread among the western Slavs from England and Germany. It aroused great interest among Ukrainian intellectuals and initiated studies on the vernacular language, songs, customs and traditions of the Ukrainians, thereby attracting interest in the past and present of Ukraine. This move-

ment changed the attitude of intellectuals towards the interests and the needs of the masses. In this way the modern national rebirth came into existence.

Czar Nicholas I (1825-1855) made himself a "protector of all Orthodox Christians in partibus infidelium"; under the cloak of this "protectorate" he advanced towards Constantinople. There he met the vigorous opposition of the able English Ambassador Stratford de Redcliffe. In 1853 the Czar occupied the Turkish territory on the Danube, and the next year English and French troops occupied the Crimean Peninsula and started the Crimean War. This war brought Englishmen to Ukrainian soil for the first time, while showing the weakness of czarist Russia it awakened the hopes of the Ukrainian people.

In the second half of the 19th century the Ukrainian Catholic Church which ministered in the provinces of Pidlashia and Kholmshchyna suffered severe persecution at the hands of Russian "soldatesca," which barbarically carried out the Czar's ukase by torturing, imprisoning, killing and exiling the priests and faithful. This barbaric persecution focused the attention of the civilized world upon this ruthless situation. Here again the British Ambassador Colonel Mansfield in Warsaw, who visited some of the regions in question, published a protest, giving an exact eye-witness report of the tragic occurrences in the village of Shpykolosy.

The 19th century, called the "Age of Reason," was the "Darkest Century" for the Ukrainians, inasmuch as all their rights and freedom were completely destroyed by the czarist regime. In that century in Russia "all tongues were kept in silence," as Taras Shevchenko said. On the other hand, Ukrainians in Austria enjoyed more freedom and they initiated a modern movement of liberation, that spread among their kinsmen in Russia. The Russians, being afraid of the "Irridenta," promoted the Russophile movement in Galicia, backed up by "Pogodin bribes" (posobia), while at the same time they began a diplomatic action in the West calumniating the Ukrainian national movement as a "product of German imperialism," during which action they were partly supported by the Poles. As a result the Ukrainians had very few friends in the West, who could have rendered assistance before, during, or after World War I.

After the downfall of czarist Russia the Bolsheviks, having in mind the reconquest of the newly established independent Ukraine, hastily opened negotiations with the Central Powers in the town of Brest Litovsk in Ukraine (December 1917). The government of the Ukrainian Republic, the Central Rada (Central Council) found itself between Scylla and Charybdis. It is true that





St. Sophia's Church in Kiev

England and France recognized the Ukrainian Republic, and their military representatives, General Picton Bagge and Tabouis tried to keep Ukraine out of the Brest negotiations, promising western help if Ukraine would prolong the war against Germany.

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that a considerable part of Ukrainian territory was occupied by Germans, Austrians and Bolsheviks, thus existed an immediate danger of territorial occupation by these three partners, if the treaty of Brest Litovsk had been concluded without Ukraine's participation. Undeniable proof of this is the historical fact that during these negotiations, the Ukrainian government was compelled by the Bolshevik army of General Muraviev to abandon its own capital Kiev and temporarily seat itself in Zhitomir.

It is evident that without Ukraine's participation in the Brest negotiations, it would have been impossible to proclaim the "Fourth Universal" on January 22, 1918, which was the last stage of its liberation process. This circumstance was not taken under consideration by some western statesmen. Notwithstanding this vital argument the Ukrainian decision was interpreted as an unfriendly step against the West, consequently after Germany's capitulation Ukraine was denied not only military reinforcement, financial and

medical support in the struggle against the Bolsheviks, but Ukraine was forced to fight on three additional fronts supported by the West: Poland, Denikin and Rumania. This pitiful circumstance brought about the collapse of the independent Ukraine and contributed highly to the rise of Russian Communism. President Woodrow Wilson announced his famous "Fourteen Points" on the right of self-determination. This great American President during his sojourn in Paris took personal interest in free Ukraine, e.g. when members of the Ukrainian Delegation to the Peace Conference at Versailles, following the Russian and Polish machinations, were denied equal rights in representing the cause of free Ukraine, although President Wilson demanded the recognition of Ukrainian independence at the sessions of the "Council of Four Powers." Nevertheless, after his departure from Paris, Ukraine lost its powerful friend and protector. Now there was no one who could challenge the rash decisions of the "Old Tiger" Clemenceau. The epilogue of the tragedy of Ukraine was highlighted by the decision of the Ambassadors' Council in Paris in 1923, in virtue of which the West Ukrainian territories of the former Kingdom of Halich-Volynia were handed over to the Poles in a 25 year trusteeship.

It is unquestionable that the Peace Treaty of Versailles, which was based more upon vengeance than justice, contributed to conditions that led to the outbreak of World War II and subsequently to the rise of Communism. When the West rejected Free Ukraine, the greatest possibility for the checking of Russian Bolshevistic imperialism suffered a serious setback. Ukraine's tremendous human potential and natural resources are exploited for the Communist conquest of the world. The heroic struggle of the Ukrainian stalwarts against the Bolsheviks after both wars, marked by artificial famine, mass-killings, and population deportations, destruction of the Churches etc., hindered Bolshevik imperialistic plans for world domination.

Simultaneously, the mass-exodus of Ukrainian patriots to the West, to a certain extent, altered the unfriendly opinion regarding the maturity of the Ukrainian people to become members of the community of free nations. English-speaking nations, especially the U.S.A., the leader of the free world, are now better informed about the Ukrainian people than they formerly were.

Here we would like to mention the Bill of Senator Copeland, which was introduced in the Senate of the United States on October the 30th, 1929, concerning the diplomatic relations between America and the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, recognized by Bolsheviks and Poles in the Treaty of Riga, it declares: "Whereas the Ukraine for many centuries maintained its independent exist-

ence, its racial identity, and the integrity of its language, institutions and laws against almost constant aggression and frequent invasion to which it was subjected and its territory has been, for many centuries, and is, occupied by people of the Christian faith; and — whereas Ukraine was succeeded by the Ukrainian Democratic Republic which has regularly and freely established, with a written constitution, on January 22, 1918; and — Whereas the existence of the Republic has been generally recognized by the nations of the world except the United States; and — Whereas notwithstanding such express recognition by the Russian government in 1918 that Government has since invaded and exercises control of the territory of the Republic, which has been compelled to transfer its governmental activities from Ukraine to Poland, Czechoslovakia and France, where its officials now function; and — Whereas it is the sense of the Congress that the Government of the United States should express its disapproval of the unwarranted action of the Russian Government and its sympathy with the people of this Republic; Therefore — be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that provision be made by law for authorizing the defraying of the expenses incident to the appointment of a diplomatic representative to the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, whenever the President shall deem it expedient to make such appointment."

Ukraine acquired many friends among the leading statesmen of the Anglo-Saxon world during and after World War I and World War II.

Franz Von Papen reports that President Roosevelt had a plan during World War II to establish an independent Ukraine. Von Papen was the German Ambassador to Turkey.

Following the Ukrainian Rada Republic's tremendous contribution in bloodshed and material during the struggle against Hitler, the United States and Great Britain consented to accept Ukraine as a Founding Member of the United Nations Organization with the hope that its sovereign rights and integrity would be safeguarded and respected by the Soviet Union. It was not the case, since all its rights, including freedom of conscience were destroyed by force and violence.

Congressman Kersten of Wisconsin introduced a resolution in the House of Representative (April 17, 1951) in defense of the Ukrainian and other peoples, who were the victims of Russian imperialism, guilty of terror and genocide. The resolution recalled the artificial famine in Ukraine (1932-33), the persecution and destruction of the Churches, and called the attention to the fight

of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) to overthrow Communist tyranny. The resolution reaffirmed "the friendship of the American people with the different peoples within the Soviet Union and the millions of Ukrainians, Bielorruthenians, Georgians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, and other non-Russian peoples between whom and the American people there are innumerable ties of kinship, and concerning whose mutual aspirations for democracy, liberty and justice there has always been an alliance."

This is the true voice of the American nation which after World War II became the leader of the free world.

The joint resolution (nr. 111) of the House of Representatives and of the Senate of the United States on July 17, 1959, concerning the designation of "Captive Nations Week," which was signed and proclaimed by President Eisenhower to the American and other peoples of the world, — again was a strong voice of encouragement to all "captive nations." It stated that "the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of those submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace and — whereas it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence."

This resolution of the Legislative Body of the American nation includes the rights and independence of the Ukrainian people. Thus it became one of the most encouraging events of the "cold war." The Ukrainian people received a solemn assurance that after the downfall of Communist tyranny they will be recognized as an independent nation. This and all previous resolutions of the English-speaking American nation in the defense of the Ukrainian people, who live in the most tragic period of their history, laid down a strong foundation of friendship between the two peoples for centuries to come.

## CHAPTER I

### ANCIENT TIMES

#### Sources and Literature

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It is the general opinion of geologists that about the time when human life first appeared on the surface of the earth, the sea receded from Ukrainian soil from the south to the north. There appeared between the Carpathian and Caucasian Mountains the present vast Ukrainian plain, where men could live.

The period when people inhabited Ukrainian territories, before the beginning of written history is called, the pre-historic

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Titles of works marked by an asterisk (\*) have been published in Ukrainian, Russian or Polish.

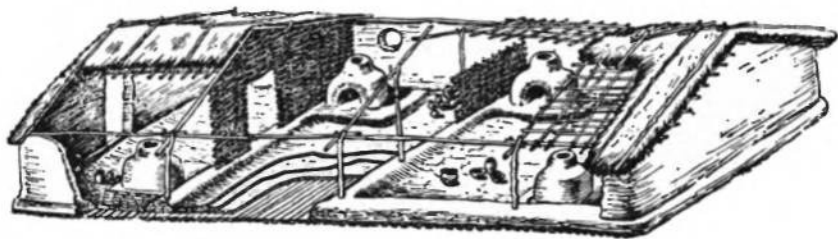


**Stone Age cemetery uncovered in Vovnihy on the Dnieper River, Ukraine (c. 6—2,000 B.C.)**

time. Where do we get our information about these times? Ukrainian archeologists find various relics hidden in the earth, for instance, articles of handiwork, dishes, tools, remnants of food, bones etc. These give us a good idea how the early inhabitants of Ukraine lived even before they acquired the knowledge how to use metals, sow grain or raise domestic animals.

Traces of human life from that period of history have been found in Kiev, on the Desna River, (near the city of Chernyhiw), and many other places. Man already knew how to cook his food and how to make stone tools to attack wild animals and to skin them. He also adorned bones with drawings and carved figures.

Later on, in the Old-Stone Age, Ukraine was very much like that of today. Although man still used stone he made from it many



**Trypillian dwelling uncovered in Kolomyischina, Ukraine (c. 3—2,000 B.C.)**



The Scythian Period: silver engravings found in the Solochian grave,  
Ukraine



Trypillian pottery found in the Zhur and Usativ cemeteries, Ukraine

different things, for instance, drills, axheads, hammers, chisels, knives etc. He polished them with sand.

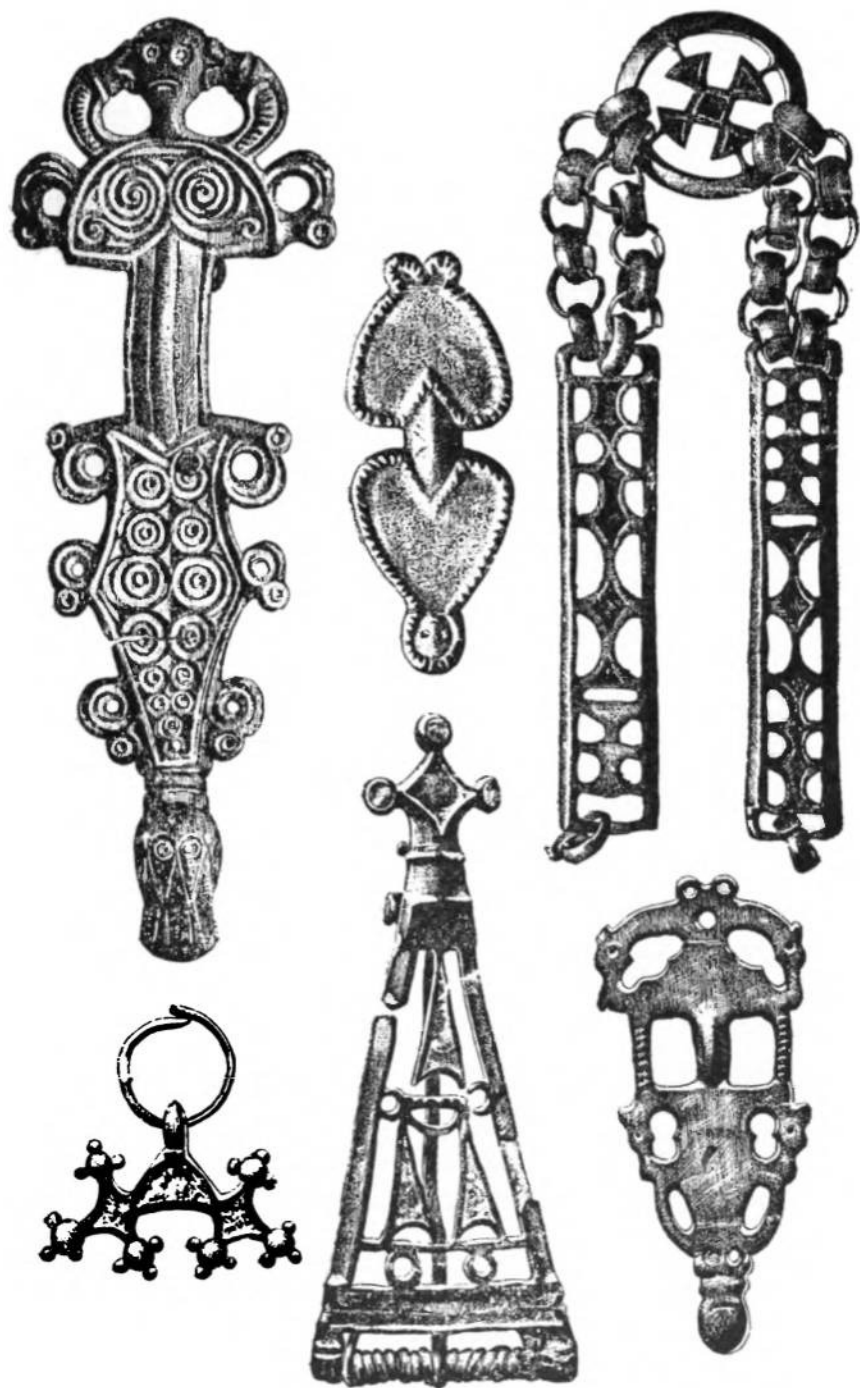
Now he raised cattle, lived on meat and milk and tamed dogs. In this age he started making dishes of clay, shaped them by hand and without the potters' wheel, adorned them with beautiful designs and baked them in fire. He built shelters: excavated pits covered with wood and earth, and even smeared the walls with clay.

In the New-Stone Age Ukraine was more densely populated and Ukrainian archeologists found traces of villages, cemeteries, workshops, strongholds etc. Sometimes people covered their dead with stone slabs and sometimes burned the bodies, but beside the bodies or parts of ashes we find various articles. Pots are beautifully decorated with colors: red, white and russet. Sometimes little figures of people or animals are found. From all this we are able to make certain conclusions about the way of life and civilization of these people.

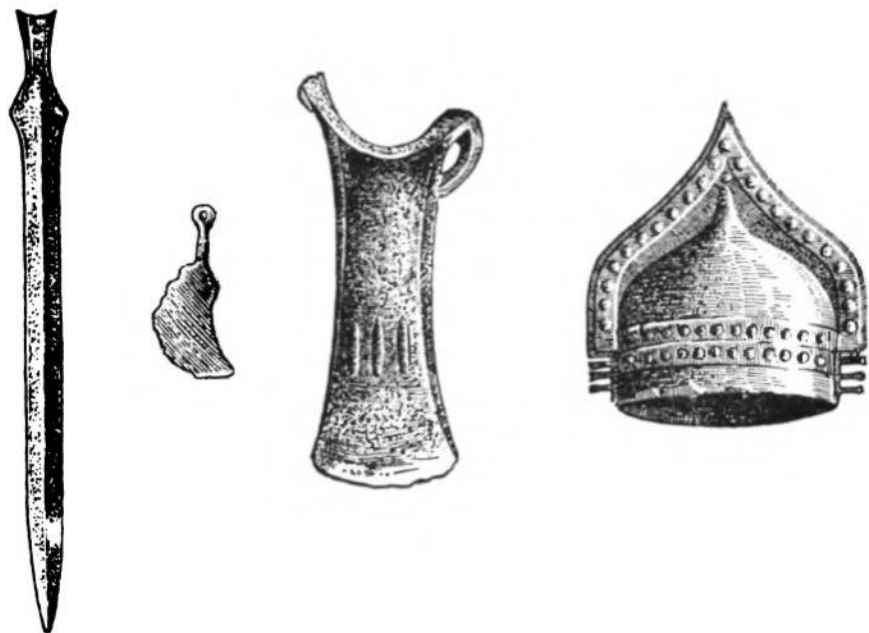
At the end of this period things made of bronze and copper could be found in Ukraine, that appeared there about 2,000 years B. C. (before the Birth of Christ), from western Europe. That period lasted almost to 1,000 B. C., when articles made of iron began to be imported from the south, especially from Syria, Babylon and Egypt, where people learned much earlier how to make and use them. This is good proof that the inhabitants of Ukraine in those ancient times established commercial relations with their southern neighbors.

Beginning with the 8-7th centuries B.C. many Greeks moved from their fatherland and established colonies along the shores of the Black Sea. Since that time, they have been mediators between





The State of the Antae; metal ornaments (c. 500 A.D.)



Bronze Age trinkets: sword, razor, helmet (11th—8th centuries B.C.)

their kinsmen in Greece and the inhabitants of Ukraine. We have information of the existence of several Greek cities in that part of Ukraine, for instance, Olbia, Khersonesos, Turas, Phanagoria, Pantikapes and others. Needless to say that the Greeks brought with them Mediterranean civilization and way of life, e.g. they introduced cloth, articles of gold and silver, precious vases etc. and exchanged them for furs, leather, wax and even slaves.

In the 7-6th centuries B.C. the southern part of Ukraine was invaded by Iranian warlike tribes, called Scythians, and they cut off relations of the Greek colonies with the inhabitants of Ukraine proper. The Greek historian Herodotus, called "father of European history," who personally visited some regions of Ukraine, states that many Greeks moved northward, settled among aboriginal tribes of Ukraine, and even embraced their language. Thus the Greek customs and civilization penetrated Ukraine.

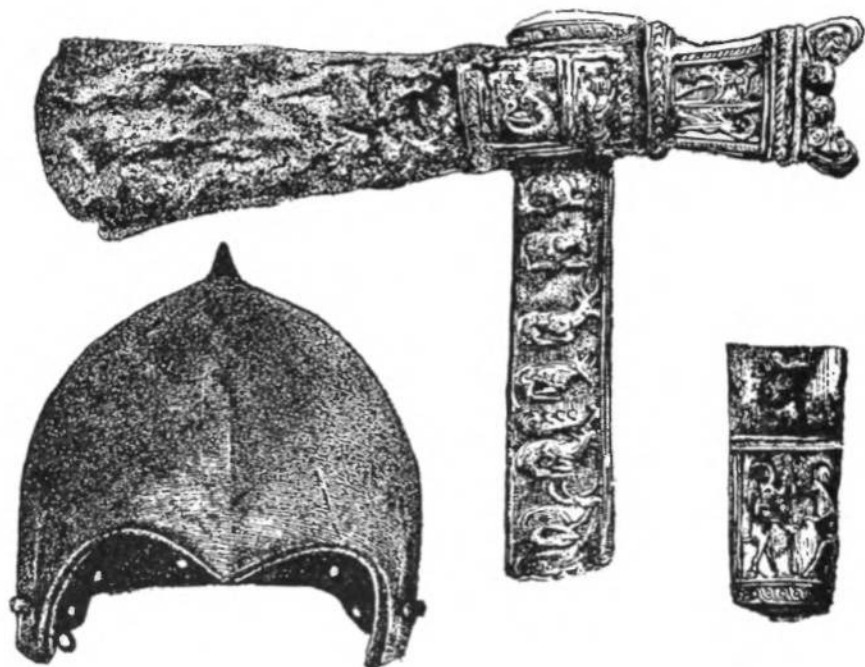
Among the tribes described by Herodotus were some of Ukrainian Slav ancestors, e.g. Neuri, Budyni, Geloni, Agathyrssae, — whom he mentioned in connection with the war of the Scythians against the Persian King Darius. In the 3rd century B.C. the power of the Scythians weakened and they fell under the power of another Iranian tribe, the Sarmatians, some of whom moved to the west and some to the north and there they extended their influence.

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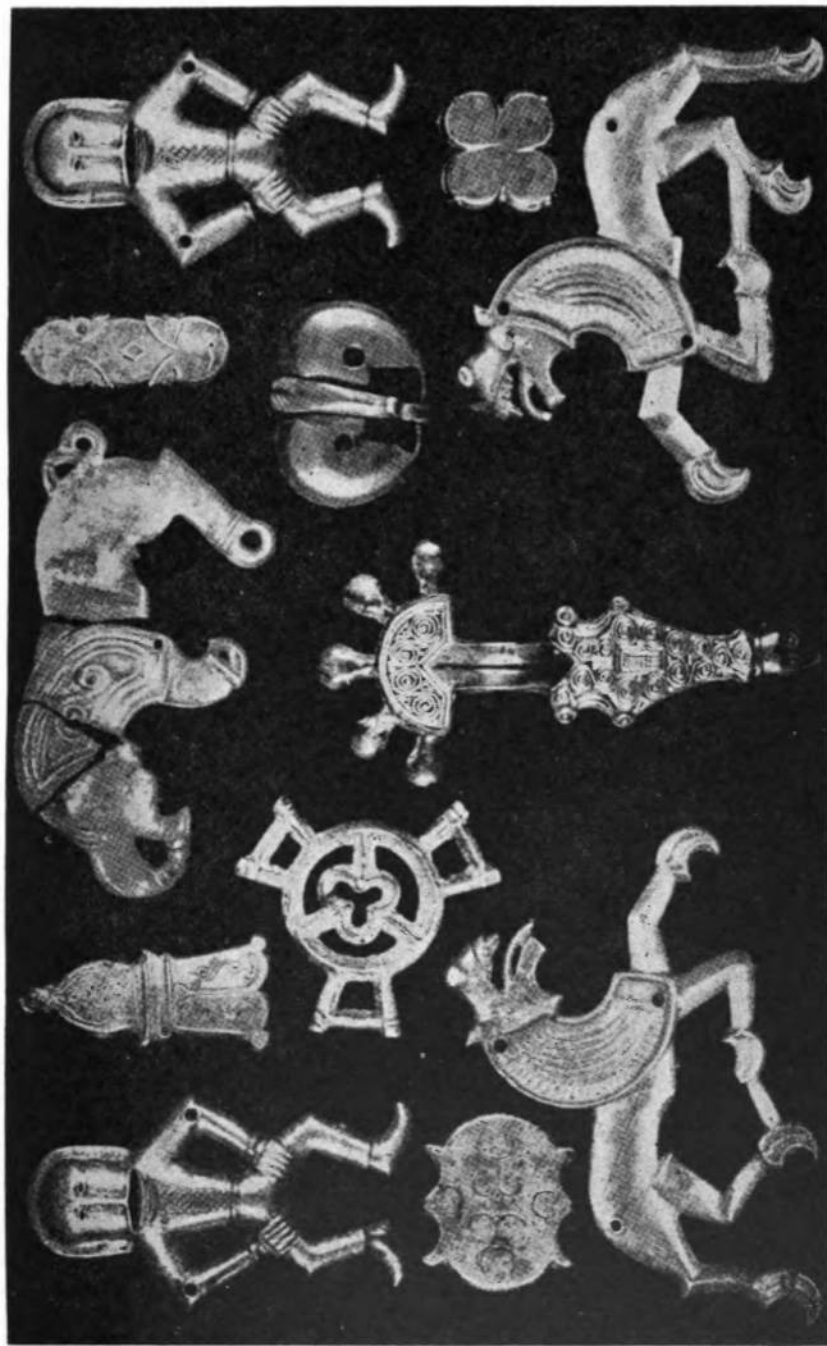
The State of the Antae in Ukraine: ornaments and utilities of the so-called Cherniakhivska Civilization (5—6th centuries)

At the beginning of the new era the Sarmatians were defeated by the Alans, also Roxolans or Rosomans (as they are called by Jordanis). The Roxolans (Iranian: *rughs* — light, and Alani, it is the "Light-Alani") settled down near the Azov Sea, as it can be seen from the map, prepared by Claudios Ptolemy of the 2nd cen-



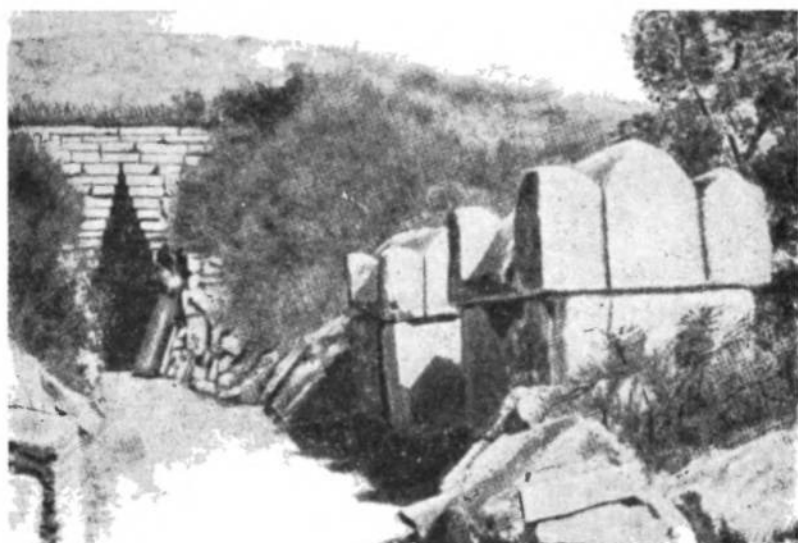
The Scythian Period: axe and helmet found in the Kelmerian grave, Ukraine

tury A.D. The Roxolons challenged the power and authority of the Bosphoran kings and especially the powerful King Mithridates VI Eupator (113 B.C.), who extended his influence to the northern shores of the Black Sea in order to gain access to the riches of South Ukraine. He was defeated by the Romans and committed suicide (62 B.C.) and South Ukraine was partially brought under the control of the Roman emperors. The Crimean Peninsula received its "charter of freedom" and existed as an autonomous land under Roman protection, who used it as a place of exile for outstanding Christians, for instance, Pope Clement I (90-99 A.D.), the third successor of St. Peter in Rome, was there in exile and preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and at his life-time 75 churches were established in the Crimean Peninsula. Following the Emperor Trajan's order Pope Clement I was martyred and his body was thrown into the sea, but his Christian followers buried it in a church.



The State of the Antae: ornaments found in Martynivka, Ukraine  
(6—7th cen.)

The Iranian period in South Ukraine contributed very much to the advancement of the Slavic aboriginal tribes, that lived along the rivers Dnieper, Dniester and Prypiat, the ancestors of the Ukrainians. Iranian words, toponimics and vocabulary are still used by Ukrainians. Even the historical name "Rus'" (Greek: Rhos), very probably, also comes from the Iranian period. There are indications in sources that in the 2nd century A.D. an amalgamation of some Iranian and Slavic tribes took place, and it must have happened before the Goths invaded Southern Ukraine.



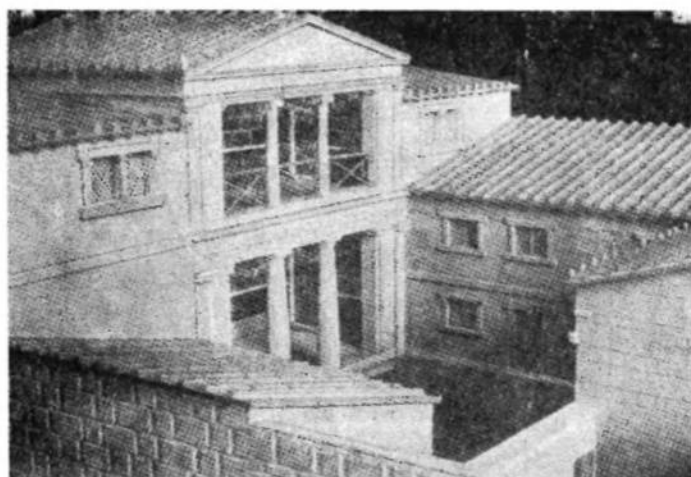
Royal grave in Kerch (4th cen. B.C.)

The oldest accounts about the Ukrainian ancestors, the Antae (Greek: Antai; Gothic: Anthaibos) and their state come from the Gothic writer Jordanis, who wrote the history of the Gothic migrations from the Baltic Sea into the southern regions of Ukraine at the end of the 2nd century A.D. The Goths stayed there until the end of the 4th century, when the Turkish tribe, the Huns, broke off from Asia in 375 A.D. The Huns defeated the Alans and attacked the Goths. According to other writers the Huns were a most barbarous and savage people, hardly resembling human beings. The King of the Goths Hermanric committed suicide, some of the Goths retreated behind the Danube River and the rest surrendered. The Huns settled down in the plains of Pannonia on the bank of the Danube River and began their bloody wars against the Roman Empire.

Jordanis reports that the Antic tribe Rosomans (Roxolans) helped the Huns in defeating the Goths and for this reason one

part of the Goths invaded the Antic territory and taking them by surprise crucified their King Boz, his sons and 70 "elders." But this did not break the power of the Antae. After the Goths' departure from the Southern Ukraine, the Ukrainian ancestors spread southwards toward the Black and Azov Seas. Now they made wars against the Gothic remnants, who retreated to the Crimean Peninsula, and also against the Roman Empire. This indicates that the power of the Antic State was very great.

We have several interesting accounts on those wars recorded by Greek writers, who describe the raids of the Antae into the Byzantine provinces of the Balkan Peninsula in search of plunder.



A house in Khersonesos (3—2nd cen. B.C.)

Sometimes the Byzantine Emperors hired them to attack their enemies. The famous Emperor Justinian I, very probably of Slavic origin, was a friend and ally of the Antic Prince Chilbudius, son of Sambatos (529 A.D.), who according to the latest researches is identified with Prince Kyi, the founder of the city of Kiev, the present capital of the Ukrainian Republic.

About the middle of the 6th century A.D. a new Turkish tribe, the Avars (chronicler Nestor calls them "Obri"), invaded again the Southern Ukraine and pushed the Ukrainian ancestors to the north. The first Ukrainian historian Nestor, a monk of the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, gives a short account of this disastrous invasion of the savage Avars. They destroyed the remnants of the Huns and settled down in their place, but they met the same fate in the 9th century.

After the Avars' departure from the southern Ukrainian steppes a new Turkish tribe, the Khazars, more civilized than the



Huns and Avars, took their place. The Khazars established their center in the city of Ithyl on the shore of the Caspian Sea. They were more interested in establishing commercial relations with their neighbors than in making wars against them. The Khazars were the only people in the history of mankind who embraced the religion of Moses, the Hebrew language and customs.

There is enough evidence that the Khazars exercised control over territories east of the Dnieper River and, very probably over



The gate of the city of Khersonesos

the city of Kiev itself. According to the Chronicler Nestor it must have been long ago, very probably, in the first half of the 8th century, since in the second half Rus'-Ukraine fought independent wars against its neighbors, including the Khazars themselves.

According to Nestor and descriptions of Arab and other foreign travelers by that time the Ukrainian territories were densely populated. Each tribe inhabited its own territory. There were seven Ukrainian tribes: 1) Polians — in the neighborhood of Kiev, who were known later as "Kievan Rus'"; 2) Siverians — east of the Dnieper River; 3) Derevlans (Forest dwellers) beyond the Polians; 4) Dulibs, also called Buzhians or Volynians; 5) Khor-





Sarmatian warriors

vats — at the foot and beyond the Carpathian Mountains (present West- and Carpatho-Ukraine) ; 6) Uliches — on the Black Sea coast, near the Dnieper River; and 7) Tivertses — west of the Dnieper River.

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In this period of history the Ukrainians made their living by growing grain, raising domestic animals and making wars. The archeologists uncovered many cemeteries and individual graves, and found sickles, plows, harrows, spades, flails, stones for grinding of grain and also grain of various kinds. The Ukrainians raised livestock and used honey. Those who lived in forests trapped and hunted animals and sold furs.

People made their cloth out of linen and used leather boots and sandals. They wore fur or knitted caps. Women had necklaces and neck pieces made of coins. The wealthy wore Greek or Arabian silk, spun with gold, and adorned themselves with gold, e.g. they

used chains, medallions, buttons and belts. Women, and sometimes men, used earrings.

The Greek writer Procopius praises the great hospitality of the Ukrainian ancestors, who generously treated their guests, although they might have been strangers or even enemies. The sense of hospitality was so highly developed that, in case of any harm done by a host to his guest, his previous host was under heavy obligation to punish the guilty party for breaking the law of hospitality. Even prisoners of war were treated like members of the family, and after they had done their work for their captor, which was prescribed by custom, they were considered free men and could go to their native country or join a Ukrainian family.

Procopius states that Ukrainians were freedom-loving people so much so that they refused to be subject to other authority. He says that they would have been irresistible if their sense of common action would have been more developed, for they were very brave in battle.

The Ukrainians worshipped one god, Svaroh, god of heaven, who sent down light and lightning. Later they called the god of sun, Khors or Dazhd, and god of lightning, Perun. Volos, or Veles, was the god of cattle. Ukrainians did not build temples and had no priests to serve these gods, but every one served them individually. People believed in life beyond the grave, since in many graves different articles are found, e.g. food, bones of dogs, horses and roosters, that had been burned with the dead. Sometimes bones of young girls are found, very probably slaves. This custom disappeared after the conversion of the Ukrainian people to Christianity.

## CHAPTER II

### THE KIEVAN KINGDOM

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Titles of works published in Ukrainian, Russian or Polish are marked by an asterisk (\*).

The *Kievan Chronicle*, written at the end of the 11th century by Nestor, monk of the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, states that the city of Kiev was founded by three brothers: Kyi, Schek and Khorev, together with their sister Lebed, who ruled that city in "very ancient times." It could have happened, very probably, in the beginning of the 6th century, or earlier, since there is a possibility that the city of Kiev existed at the time of Gothic invasion of Ukrainian lands. However, on account of scarcity of information in written sources we do not know what happened to these three princes and their dynasty. Some later chronicles, e.g. Joannes Dlugosius, report that Prince Askold, the ruler of Kiev in the 9th century, was a descendant of Prince Kyi. There is enough evidence in sources and they are supported by archeological findings in recent times, that princely form of government did not cease to exist in Ukrainian lands until 6-7th centuries.

At the end of the 8th and in the first half of the 9th centuries the Kievan State was well established, e.g. its prince Bravlin made attacks on Crimean Peninsula and captured the town of Sogdea (Surozh) and there is an account of another attack on the town of Amastris, near Synope on the northern shores of Asia Minor. In the year 839 the Kievan Prince sent his envoys to the Byzantine Emperor Theophiles, as has been recorded by a German chronicler of Hildenheim. Twenty one years later Prince Askold of Kiev attacked the city of Constantinople with ten thousand warriors, plundered the entire countryside and took by storm the section called Hieros. The city itself was saved by the miraculous intercession of the Mother of God, as Greek chronicles recorded. Chronicler Joannes Diaconus says that the "Rhos people" returned home in triumph. Since that attack the relations between Kiev and Constantinople improved and the miraculous event made a tremendous impression upon the pagan ancestors of the Ukrainians so much so that Prince Askold very soon dispatched his envoys to Constantinople with the request that they send missionaries to his state and convert "Rhos people" to Christianity.\*)

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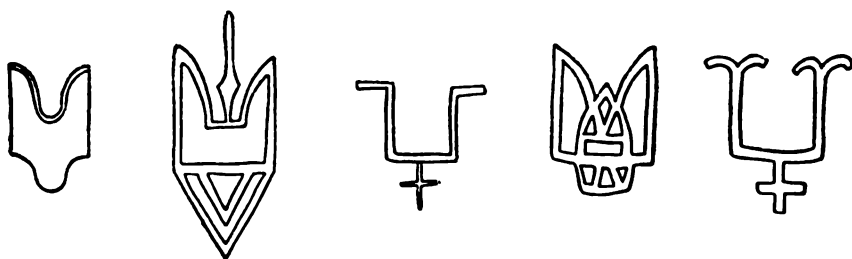
\*) The term "Rhos" (Rus') and its historical meaning is not to be confused with the meaning of present term "Russia—Rossia," which was adopted by Czar Peter I at the beginning of the 18th century. The term "Rhos-Rus'" was first used by the Ukrainian tribe Poliany who established the Kievan State, called Rus' and forced it upon other tribes. The fact that some Muscovite tribes were temporarily incorporated into the Kievan Kingdom has been used by modern Muscovites in their attempts to expropriate that glorious period of Ukrainian history with the aim to destroy the feelings of independency and of the individuality of the Ukrainian people. This has been going on since the subjugation of Ukraine by Czar Peter I and Catherine II in the 18th century. In the course of the 19th century the czarist regime forced upon the Ukrainians the name of "Little Russians" and at the same time the newly-assumed name of "Great Russians" (Muscovites) was pushed through into books and Encyclopedias.



St. Volodimir the Great

The conversion of Rus' took place and Prince Askold, together with his warriors were baptized. This historical event is called the "First Baptism" of the Ukrainian people. However, Kiev was soon invaded by pagan princes Oleh and Ihor and its Christian princes Askold and Dir were killed. At the end of the 9th century there were so many Varangian (Norse) warriors-mercenaries in Kiev that Chronicler Nestor one hundred and fifty years later thought that they originated the name Rus' — Rhos. To him, of course, other important sources were unknown and especially those of Arabic origin, which prove that the Rus'-people (ar-Rus) were Slavs (Saclab) and not Scandinavians.

Chronicler Nestor portrays Prince Oleh as a man of great ability, wisdom and courage. We have a fully preserved text of his

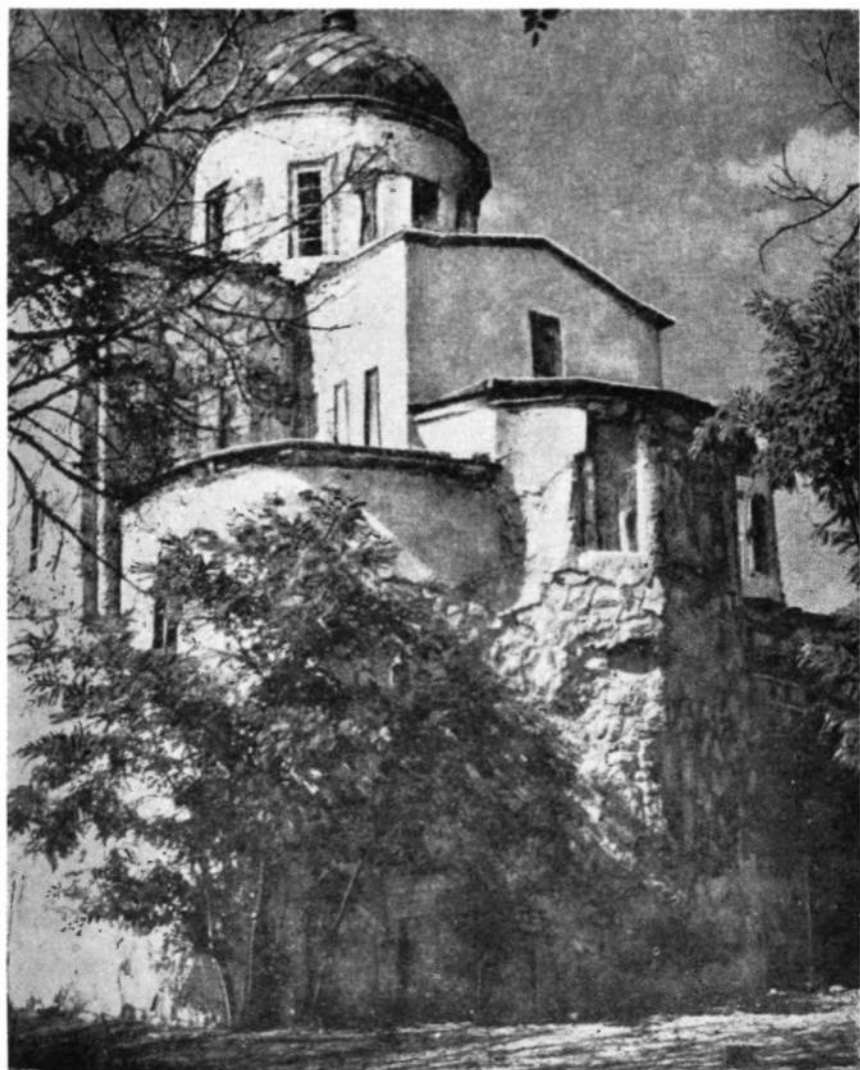


Various forms of the national emblem of Kievian Rus'-Ukraine

very favorable commercial treaty with the Greek Emperor, concluded in the year 911, that followed his successful attack on Constantinople in 907. From the Arabian writer Masudi we learn that Prince Oleh, having made peace with the Greeks, entered the Caspian Sea with his boats in 913 and plundered the country of Tabaristan, but on his way home he was attacked by the Khazars during disembarkation on the Volga River.

Also Prince Ihor (914-945) made war against the Greeks and laid waste the entire Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, but when the Greek General Joannes Curcuas attacked him from the land most of Ihor's ships were destroyed by the "Greek fire" in a sea battle led by the Admiral Theophanes. But in autumn of 944 he appeared with a large army on the Danube River and this time the Emperor disembarassed himself by gifts and money, and a new commercial treaty was concluded before the end of the same year. Ihor's expeditions to the Caspian Sea strengthened his power and state, and he subdued many provinces and tribes. According to the Chronicler Nestor Prince Ihor was killed by the tribe of Derevlians while collecting taxes.

His widow Princess Olha (945-960) became regent for her



The Church of St. John the Baptist in Kerch

minor-aged son Sviatoslav. She was a model of an able queen, who knew how to run the business of government wisely and justly. During her reign the Kievan State enjoyed peace and prosperity. Princess Olha herself embraced Christianity and made efforts to spread and support it in her state, and she kept priests at her court. She journeyed to Constantinople in 957 and negotiated with Emperor Constantine VII and Patriarch Polieukthos. Her efforts, however, were unsuccessful since after her return home she requested the German Emperor Otto I and through him Pope John

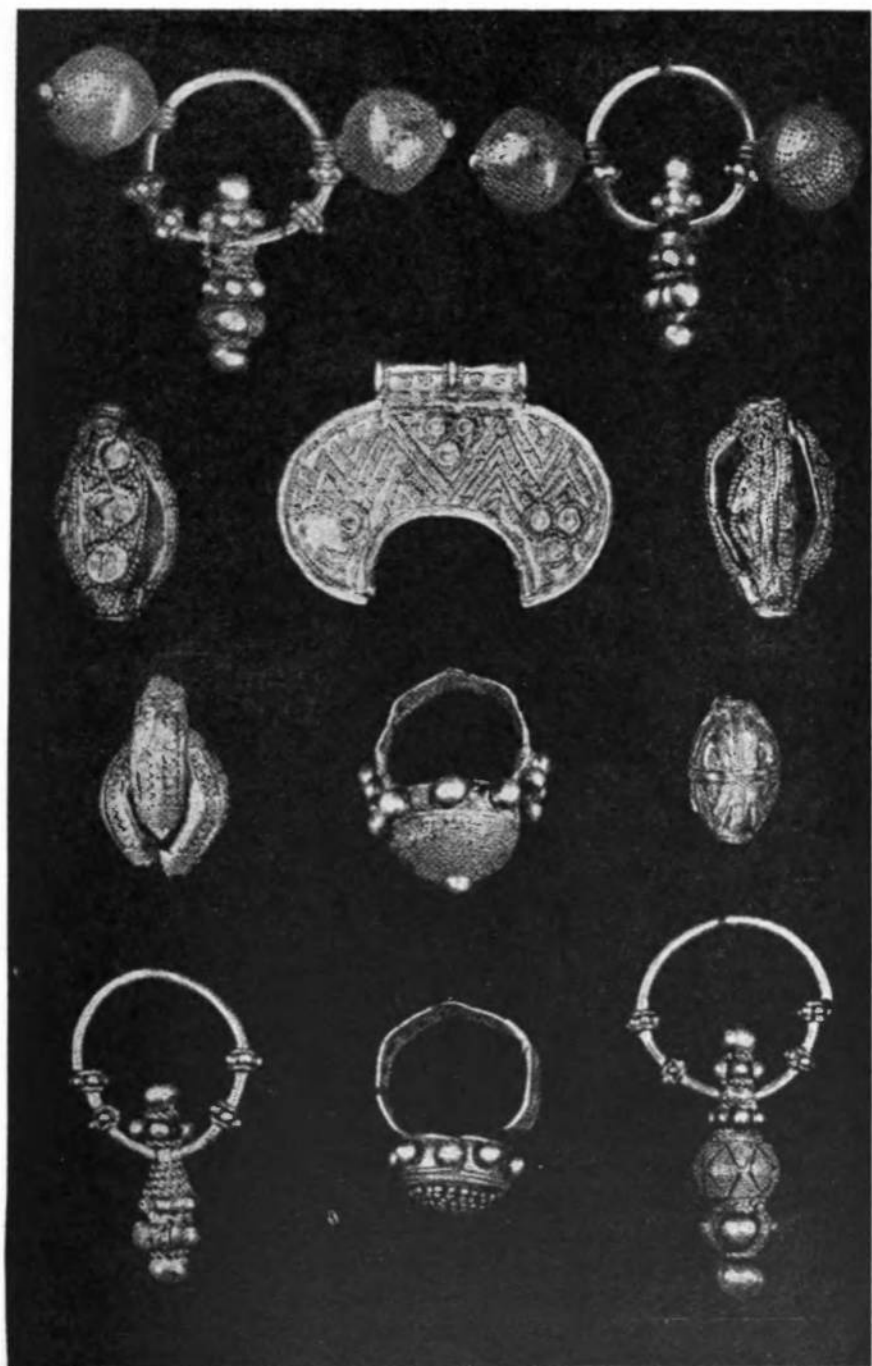
XII to establish a Metropolitan See in Kiev. Following these negotiations Adalbertus, former monk from Trier, became bishop of Kiev and stayed there in 961-962.

There is not enough evidence in sources as to why he left Kiev in 962. German chroniclers suggest that he abandoned his flock on account of pagan reaction, since Prince Sviatoslav in that year assumed the throne. The words of the German chronicler that he was "a gentibus expulsus" (expelled by the people) could have a broader meaning. It seems more probable that he being a German of Latin Rite met strong resistance on the part of a population that already professed their faith according to the Byzantine-Slavic Rite of SS. Cyril and Methodius, as it could be seen from Pope John XIII's letter to the Bohemian Prince Boleslaw II concerning the establishment of the Episcopal See in Prague. Princess Olha, on account of her saintly life and labors to spread Christianity in her state was canonized after her death. She is venerated by Ukrainian Catholics as well as the Orthodox.

Sviatoslav the Conqueror (960-972) was a courageous ruler and soldier, who dedicated his life to gain martial glory. He fought against Khazars, Kassohi, Yasians and Persians, and especially Greeks and Bulgars. We are told that in autumn of 965 Bulgarian envoys appeared in Constantinople to demand the tribute paid by earlier Byzantine governments, but the emperor had the envoys scourged and sent them home empty-handed. He soon called in the Grand-prince Sviatoslav of Kiev to subdue the Bulgarian Khan Boris II. In 968 Sviatoslav appeared on the Danube River and defeated the Bulgars. Now his ambition was to conquer the entire Balkan Peninsula and to extend his domain to the gates of Constantinople. Chronicler Nestor reports that Sviatoslav used to say: "I prefer to live in Pereyaslavets on the Danube; this is the centre of all good things and it will be the capital of my kingdom." Sviatoslav occupied the eastern part of present Bulgaria, but unexpectedly a nomadic Asian tribe, the Pechenegs (also Patzinaks) besieged Kiev, which was defended by his mother Olha and sons, Yaropolk, Oleh, and Volodimir. He was summoned to drive them off. In spite of the pleadings of his mother to stay home, the next summer, after her death, he went again to the Balkan, having appointed his sons: Yaropolk to be prince of Kiev, Oleh in Ovruch and Volodimir in Novhorod. During this campaign he took the Bulgarian Khan Boris II into captivity and thus became a powerful enemy of the Byzantine Empire.

Emperor Nicophorus Phocas was murdered (December 969) and John Tsymisces became his successor. He allied himself with the Bulgars and waged the war against Sviatoslav, who now had





The Kievan Rus'-Ukraine: silver ornaments found in Koptivka (10th cen.)

to face two enemies on foreign soil. In April 971 Tsimisces captured the Bulgarian capital and marched against the city of Dorostol on the Danube River, where Sviatoslav shut himself up. Being beleaguered and forced by famine he was defeated and a new treaty was signed, by which he promised not to attack Byzantine territories and the Emperor renewed the old trading privileges of Kiev. On his way home he encountered a great horde of Pechenegs, allied with the Greeks, and was killed in battle near the Dnieper rapids. The chronicler said, with regret, Sviatoslav seeking foreign lands lost his own.

After a struggle among his sons, two of them died, and Volodimir assumed the throne of his warlike father. Within a few years he spread his rule over many provinces and established the most powerful Empire in Europe at that period of history. Being a very able administrator Volodimir gave much thought to binding his tremendous state together and came to the conclusion that only the Christian religion could prevent it from falling apart. Christianity, of course, was not new to him, since in Kiev there existed a large Christian community and he himself was brought up by his pious grand-mother, St. Olha. It would be of interest to note that during Yaropolk's reign in Kiev he maintained friendly relations with the West, e.g. his envoys were at Quedlinburgh in 973 and Legates of Pope Benedict VII sojourned in Kiev. We may presume that Grand-prince Yaropolk sought the establishment of an independent Metropolia in Kiev, like his grand-mother did. However, it did not come to pass, since he was killed in war with Volodimir.

Here is to be explained that the Kievan Church before Volodimir's reign was of the Byzantine-Slavic (also Slavonic) Rite, introduced into the use of the Catholic Church by two saintly brothers, Cyril and Methodius, with the blessing and approval of two great popes of the 9th century: Hadrian II and John VIII. Latest researches show that the so-called Khazaric Mission of the two brothers in 843-862, recorded by the "Life of Constantine Philosopher" and chronicles of the 9th century, was not intended to convert Khazars, who a few decades earlier embraced the Law of Moses, but more the Slavs of Kievan Rus', who having made themselves independent from the Khazars, caused much trouble by their repeated raids on Khazaric and Byzantine possessions.

As has been mentioned, the Kievan Prince Askold after his attack on Constantinople asked for Christian missionaries, who baptized him and his "druzhdina" (warriors). He also accepted an Archbishop, ordained by the Patriarch S. Ignatius, as the Greek writer of the 10th century, the learned Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus states. From other reliable sources we know that



The Kievian Rus'-Ukraine: sword found in Kiev

SS. Cyril and Methodius, called the Apostles of the Slavs, preparing their mission, went to the Crimean city of Khersonesos and met there a "Rus'-man" who had the Bible written with "Rus' writing" (rosky pysmena) and "perceived many things" that were helpful in his translation of the Liturgical books from the Greek into the Slavic language.

This, therefore, indicates that the Christianization of the Slavs by the two Saintly Brothers began on present Ukrainian ethnographic territories and the baptism of the Kievan Prince Askold must have happened before their mission to Moravia in 862. However, during the reign of the pagan princes, Oleh and Ihor, the Christian religion could not develop properly, as it did in other Slavic countries, although there is no indication of religious persecution in Kiev. On the contrary, Chronicler Nestor reports that in the year of 944, when the treaty of Prince Ihor with the Greeks was signed in Kiev, one party of princely delegates went to the "Sborna" (Cathedral) Church of St. Elias to take the oath. It is, therefore, most probable that Princess Olha herself was baptized in Kiev, since on her journey to Constantinople in 957 at her court was a priest by the name of Gregory.

Rus'-Ukraine at that time was whole-heartedly attached to the Byzantine-Slavic Rite even though after the death of St. Methodius in 885 his Moravian Metropolia was abolished by Prince Sviatopolk under Germany's pressure and most of the priests of the Byzantine-Slavic Rite were banished from Moravia. Some of them went to Bulgaria and some to the neighboring Rus'-Ukraine, since according to the Bohemian Chronicler Cosmas Pragensis a considerable part of the West-Ukrainian territories belonged to the Moravian State. This circumstance explains why the Latin Rite Bishop Adalbertus was expelled from Kiev.

All these facts indicate that before the Grand-prince Volodimir's decision to proclaim the Christian Faith as the state-religion of his Empire there were priests of the Byzantine-Slavic Rite in Kiev, otherwise it would have been impossible to instruct large masses of the people and convert them to Christianity within a few years, as Chronicler Nestor reports. German Chronicler Thietmar of Merseburgh reports that in the year of 1018 there were in Kiev four hundred churches and that Archbishop Ivan, together with numerous clergy, took part in a procession.

On August 15, 987, the Greek Commander Bardas Phocas proclaimed himself Emperor and rebelled against the legitimate Emperor Basil II the Bulgaroktonos (The Killer of Bulgars). Being supported by officers of the army and by the aristocrats of Asia Minor, Bardas Phocas marched against Constantinople at the



The Kievan Rus'-Ukraine: spoon made of bone found in Kiev

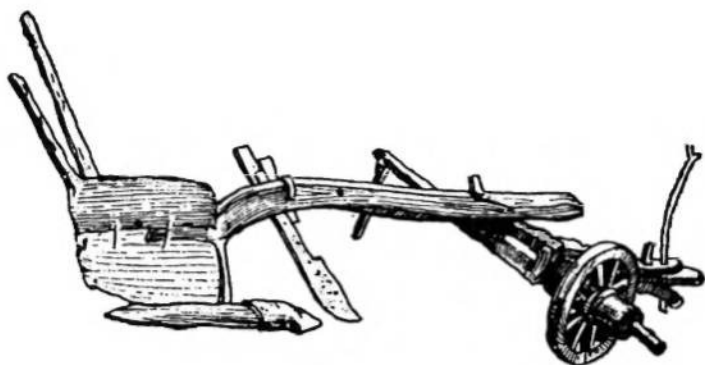
beginning of 988. The situation of Emperor Basil II was desperate and he appealed for help to Grand-prince Volodimir of Kiev, since his warlike father was still remembered in Byzantium. As a reward for his military help the Emperor promised that his "purple-born" sister, Princess Anna, would marry Volodimir, but to the promise was attached one condition: Volodimir must be baptized. Here is to be mentioned that no Byzantine princess of royal blood had ever before been married to a foreign ruler, e.g. Khan Peter

of Bulgaria was married to a daughter of Caesar only, and the German King Otto II was married to a relative of John Tsimisces, and they were not "purple-born." Only the Ukrainian Grand-prince Volodimir had that unique honor to be related by blood with the legitimate imperial house. Before this happened Volodimir sent his six thousand men, who under the personal command of Emperor Basil II defeated Bardas Phocas' army at the battle near Khrysopolis and Abydus. But when the danger was removed the Emperor refused to keep his promise and Volodimir invaded the Greek city of Khersonesos and threatened to conquer Constantinople itself. Then the Emperor Basil II relented and the marriage with Princess Anna was celebrated.

Patriarch Nicholas II Khrysobergos of Constantinople designated Archbishop Theophilactes of Sebastea Metropolitan of Kiev, but he was not accepted as such by Grand-prince Volodimir, since Nestor reports that he brought Archbishop Anasthasius of Khersonesos to Kiev and put him in charge of Desiatynna Church, which was the most beautiful church in Kiev. It is evident that the powerful ruler pursued his own ecclesiastical policy and refused to accept the Metropolitan dependent on Constantinople. Being an outstanding statesman, Grand-prince Volodimir was aware of the fatal consequences of imperial influences by such appointments. He lived to see the total destruction of the Bulgarian State of Czar Samuel by the same Emperor Basil II in 1014, and it was followed by the abolition of the Bulgarian Patriarchate of Okhrida in 1018, whose archbishops from now on were to be appointed by the emperors personally. There is enough evidence that during the reign of Volodimir Rus'-Ukraine and Bulgaria maintained friendly relations and it is quite possible that the above mentioned Archbishop and Metropolitan Ivan and another Olexisus were of Bulgarian origin, and that the latter might have been sent to Kiev by Pope Benedict VIII and stayed there from 1018 to 1025.

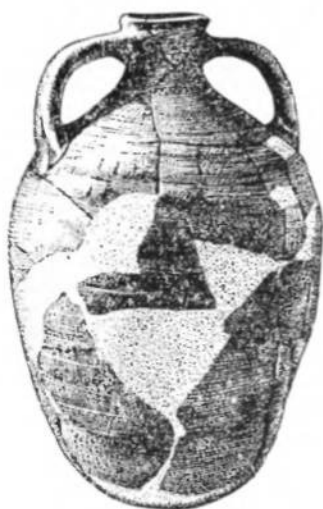
Here one important point is to be clarified. Some non-Catholic historians say that the Grand-prince Volodimir, embraced the Greek Orthodox Faith, which was not in communion with Rome, and introduced it throughout his Empire. However, the historical truth is that at this time the Eastern Church was in communion with Rome, even though these relations, since the dispute of Patriarch Photius and Pope Nicholas I, were strained. However, Pope John VIII recognized Photius as Patriarch and there was no schism until 1054, when Patriarch Cerularios broke off relations with Rome. At the end of the 10th century all the faithful of the Eastern as well as of the Western Church professed one and the same faith and belonged to one Universal Church. During Volo-

dimir's reign Pope John XV and Patriarch Nicholas II Khrysobergos maintained good relations. What is more, Grand-prince Volodimir, during his stay in the city of Khersonesos, received Papal Legates who brought gifts from the pope, very probably the relics of St. Clement the Pope and Martyr, the third successor of St.



The Kievan Rus'-Ukraine: a wooden plough

Peter in Rome, who was exiled to Khersonesos and died there the death of a martyr. Two years later Papal Legates visited with him in Kiev. The relics of St. Clement were discovered there by SS. Cyril and Methodius and taken to Rome in 867, after both brothers were summoned there by Pope Nicholas I. It is remarkable that the veneration of St. Clement at Volodimir's time was al-



The Kievan Rus'-Ukraine: inscription on pottery (10th cen.)

ready firmly established in Rus'-Ukraine, for instance the German Chronicler Thietmar of Merseburgh says that Volodimir and his wife Anna were buried at St. Clement's Church in Kiev.

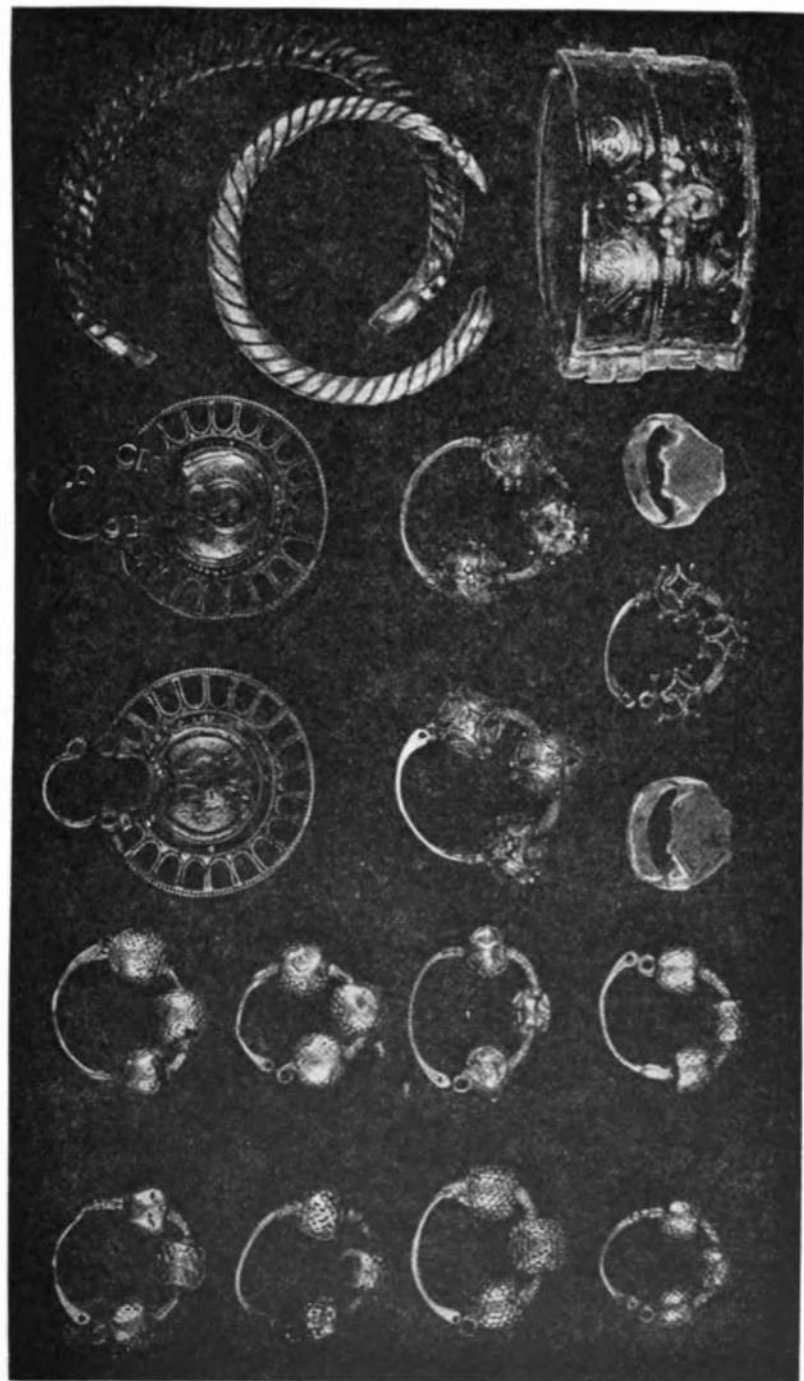
Grand-prince Volodimir built many churches in Kiev and throughout the country and many craftsmen were brought from abroad to decorate them. The most beautiful and the most important church was that of Blessed Virgin Mary, called Desiatynna, to which Volodimir gave a tenth part of his princely revenue. Chronicler Adam Canon of Hammaburg (died in 1074) praises the Ukrainian Church and in his "History of the Hammaburgensis Church" he calls the city of Kiev "an ornament of Christianity and the rival of Constantinople." The contents of his history suggest that he was personally in Kiev or at least knew everything from an eye-witness.

Some historians raise the question of Volodimir's coronation. There were two centres from which he could have received this honor: from Rome or from Constantinople. At the given period Pope Sylvester II (999-1003) and the Western Emperor Otto III planned to establish a "Universal Christian State" in Europe. The pope offered the royal crown to the Hungarian King Stephen I in 1001, together with the title "Apostolic King," and some scholars state that the Polish Prince Boleslaw I also received the same honor. It is quite possible that the Legates of Pope John XV, mentioned in the so-called Nikon's Chronicle, could have brought the crown to Prince Volodimir. On the other hand, we know that the Byzantine Emperor Basil II, Volodimir's brother-in-law, seeking alliance with the Croat state against the Bulgars, sent royal crown and insignia to the Croat Prince John Volodimir of Dioclea. It is quite possible that he would have offered the same honor to his brother-in-law in the first place.

Volodimir's reign politically and culturally proved to be most important in the history of Rus'-Ukraine. He laid down a solid foundation for his kingdom. In the earlier years of his reign he waged wars and is portrayed as harsh and even cruel, but after he embraced Christianity he lived on friendly terms with his neighbors, except the nomadic Pechenegs who devastated the south-eastern part of his domain. In the later years Volodimir devoted most of his time to the internal affairs of his kingdom. He held clergy and the monks in very high esteem and took care of the poor and gave away money and food to the sick and invalids. For all these deeds of Christian charity after his death he was canonized and the chroniclers gave him an honorary name "The Great."

When Volodimir was confined to his bed the news arrived that the Pechenegs appeared on the Sula River and Volodimir sent





The Kievian Rus'-Ukraine: ornaments

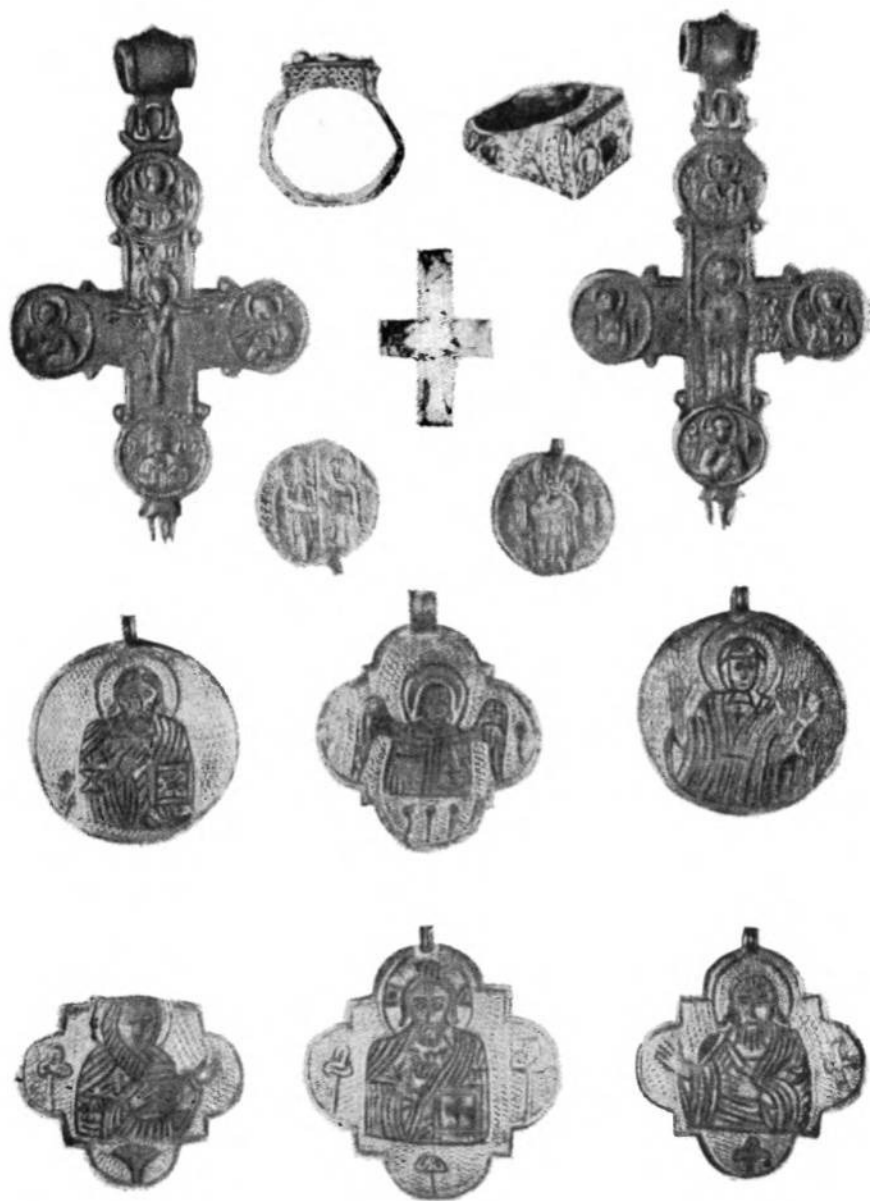
his ablest son Boris to stop their advance, but he did not live to learn the outcome of the battle. It happened in the summer of 1015.

After his death his sons began to fight among themselves. The ambitious Sviatopolk killed Boris, whom Volodimir kept always at his side and who was expected to become the Grand-prince of Kiev, and Sviatopolk's followers murdered another brother Hlib. Both princes were canonized. After a war of three and half years the city of Kiev changed its masters several times, Yaroslav was victorious, but very soon he was challenged by Mstislav of Tmutorokan, who hired nomadic tribes. Finally they both divided the country: the provinces east of the Dnieper River were under Mstislav's control, and those to the west remained under Yaroslav. After Mstislav's death in 1036 Yaroslav became the undisputed ruler of the entire country.

Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054) defeated the Pechenegs in a great battle near Kiev, where now the Church of St. Sophia stands and maintained good and friendly relations with all his neighbors. In Poland he assisted his son-in-law Prince Casimir to quiet down the rebellion. The Swedish King Olaf was married to his second daughter Irene; Harold the Bold of Norway married his third daughter Elizabeth; Anna became the wife of the French King Henry I; and the wife of his second son Vsevolod was the relative of the Greek Emperor Constantine IX Monomakhus.

Thus having established friendly relations with his neighbors, Yaroslav the Wise devoted all his time to the internal affairs of his state. He contributed very much to the development and strengthening of the Christian faith. First of all he built the beautiful Church of St. Sophia in Kiev and established a school there to train future clergy, to translate books from foreign languages and to write new original works. He built the Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary with the golden plated roof. He founded the monastery of St. George, his Patron Saint, — and another monastery of St. Irene, the Patroness of his wife.

Chronicler Nestor says about Yaroslav: "With him began the spread of the Christian faith in Rus', and monks and monasteries came into existence. He admired the church services; liked the clergy, and especially the monks, and he read books day and night. He gathered together many scribes and they translated the Greek books into the Slavic tongue to instruct the faithful. One farmer plows the land, another sows the seed, and yet others harvest and use the crop, so it was with Yaroslav. His father plowed and harrowed the soil and enlightened the country with



The Kievan Rus'-Ukraine: gold, silver and bronze medallions found beneath the Desiatynna Church in Kiev

baptism; Yaroslav sowed the seed in the hearts of the people by means of books; and later generations reaped the harvest."

Yaroslav cultivated Christian order and justice and introduced the first book of law, called "Rus'ka Pravda" (The Truth of Rus'), which secured the enforcement of justice according to Christian

principles, and this Code of Law was in force for many centuries in Ukraine.

During Yaroslav's reign a Metropolitan See was canonically established in Kiev and the Church of St. Sophia became the Cathedral church. The first Metropolitan Theopemptos, designated by the patriarch, was of Greek origin. Yaroslav being himself a patriot demanded his replacement by a native man and, when the patriarch disregarded his request, Yaroslav sent the Metropolitan back to Constantinople. In his place he promoted the election of a Ukrainian learned monk, Ilarion, at the Synod of all Ukrainian bishops in 1051.

Chronicler Nestor writes that before his death Yaroslav summoned all his sons and said to them: "My sons, I am about to leave this world. Love one another, since you are brothers by one father and mother. If you dwell in amity with one another, God will dwell among you, and will subject your enemies to you, and you will live in peace. But if you dwell in dissension, quarreling with one another, then you will perish yourselves and bring to ruin the land of your ancestors, which they won at the price of great effort. Wherefore, remain rather at peace, brother heeding brother. The throne of Kiev I bequeath to my eldest son, your brother Iziaslav. Heed him as you have heeded me, that he may take my place among you. To Sviatoslav, I give Chernihiv; to Vsevolod Pereyaslav; to Viacheslav Smolensk, and to Ihor Volodimir (in Volynia)."

After his death in the spring of 1054 his sons started fighting among themselves, hiring the nomadic Polovtsians and thus furthering ruin and anarchy. In vain the clergy and the people tried to bring them to their senses. Finally three brothers: Iziaslav I of Kiev, Sviatoslav of Chernihiv and Vsevolod of Pereyaslav, came to an agreement and formed a triumvirate.

Beginning in 1062 a powerful horde of Polovtsians, having annihilated the nomadic Torks, invaded the south-eastern provinces of Ukraine. Joint action of the princes dispersed them, but in Kiev there broke out a riot against Iziaslav and he had to flee to his brother-in-law the Polish Prince Boleslav II and with his help he soon returned home. But very soon Sviatoslav and Vsevolod conspired and expelled him again, dividing his domain between themselves. Now Sviatoslav made himself the Grand-prince of Kiev, and after his death in 1076 Vsevolod became his successor.

In the meantime Iziaslav I went abroad and requested the great Pope Gregory VII to accept his kingdom under the protection of St. Peter's Chair. This favor was granted to him and at the same time Pope Gregory VII raised Iziaslav's dignity to the rank

of western kings. Most probably Iziaslav's son, Yaropolk-Peter, who personally took the message of his father to Rome, was crowned there, as is shown by the miniatures of the contemporary "Codex Gertrudianus." Finally with the pope's help and diplomatic action Vsevolod resigned and Iziaslav took over his domain, but after one year of reign in Kiev he was insiduously murdered during a battle while helping his brother Vsevolod. This



Pope Gregory VII

happened on October 3, 1078, near the city of Chernihiv. He was succeeded by Vsevolod.

In the years of Yaroslav's death (1054) a very important event took place: Patriarch Michael Cerularius of Constantinople broke off relations with Rome. This happened more on account of political than of religious reasons and thus the division of the Church became an accomplished fact. The Ukrainian Church received Christianity from Constantinople and in 1037 Metropolitan Theopemptos came from Constantinople to Kiev. However, he was removed by Prince Yaroslav and a Ukrainian monk, Ilarion, was elected in his place, since according to the canons and traditions of the Eastern Church metropolitans were elected by their suffragans, and patriarchs had the honor of their canonical institution only. It seems that in the case of Metropolitan Ilarion the

patriarch failed to do this, for after Yaroslav's death there appeared in Kiev a new Greek Metropolitan Ephrem sent by Patriarch Cerularius, in order to replace Ilarion.

Grand-prince Iziaslav being occupied with interprincipely revolt, neglected to support Metropolitan Ilarion and he was removed from the Metropolitan See. This was the first and major failure, followed by another, since from now on Iziaslav lacked the moral support necessary in establishing his authority as Grand-prince. On the other hand, the ambitious Patriarch Cerularius by his new appointee was able to exercise not only religious influence, but also to interfere into the political affairs of the Ukrainian state, since it is very well established fact that he was more of a politician than a churchman. As the instigator of a conspiracy of the Byzantine aristocracy against Emperor Michael IV Paphlagonian he had spent some years in exile, where he became a monk. After the fall of Michael IV Cerularius became Patriarch (1043) and his restless and bellicose nature thus found a new outlet. It is also known that the patriarchs of Constantinople developed a doctrine that the Greek Emperor is the head of all Christian states and using their patriarchal authority demanded that the emperors' names were to be mentioned during all public services along with their own names. This doctrine prevailed until the fall of Constantinople in 1453\*.)

Following this Greek interference into the internal affairs of the Ukrainian State, in a few years we witness the establishment of two cultural centres in Ukraine: a) Kiev — the "Mother of Rus' cities" with its ancient traditions represented the highly developed national policy; and b) Chernihiv, the capital of Vsevolod's domain, willed to him by his father Yaroslav the Wise, became the centre of a pro-Byzantine party. Vsevolod's Byzantine wife brought from Constantinople numerous Greek councillors and they exercised political and religious influence.

It is noteworthy that the opinion of two saintly men: St. Theodosius and St. Anthonius, of the Monastery of the Caves in

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\*) Miklosich-Miller, op. cit. II, p. 191, have a letter of Patriarch Antho-nius (1388-90, 1391-97) to the Muscovite Prince Basil I of 1397, which proves that Greeks at the end of the 14th cen. still exercised a strong influence on Churches and nations depending on them. When Prince Basil forbade to mention the Greek Emperor's name in Muscovite churches, he received the Patriarch's protest, which read: "It is not possible for Christians to have a Church without an Emperor, for the imperial sovereignty and the Church form a single entity and they can not be separated from each other . . . Hear what the prince of the Apostles, Peter, says in his first Epistle: 'Fear God, honor the Emperor.' If other Christian rulers have appropriated to themselves the name of Emperor this has been done against nature and law by tyranny and force. Which of the Fathers, which Councils, which canonical rulings speak of these 'emperors'? They one and all proclaim a single Emperor, whose laws, ordinances and decrees hold throughout the world. Who alone, with none other, is revered by all Christians."



Coronation of Prince Yaropolk-Petro by St. Peter, according to the miniature of "Codex Gertrudianus" of the 11th century

Kiev, on the political situation, was divided. The first, being a representative of Kievan traditions, stood firmly for Iziaslav and prayed for him during his absence, refusing to recognize Sviaslav and Vsevolod as Grand-princes of Kiev and condemning them for breaking the will of their father. It is interesting that before Iziaslav's second exile the Greek Metropolitan George was again sent back to Constantinople. Instead we find a short note

in the chronicle that "there was another Metropolitan Lev in the city of Pereyaslav," which belonged to Vsevolod's domain. To that city, too, St. Anthonius fled after Iziaslav's return to Kiev. The chronicle also recorded that after Iziaslav's tragic death no Metropolitan attended his funeral.

All these facts, and especially the acceptance of the Kievan Kingdom under the protection of St. Peter's Chair, prove that Kiev in the second half of the 11th century did not follow in Greek



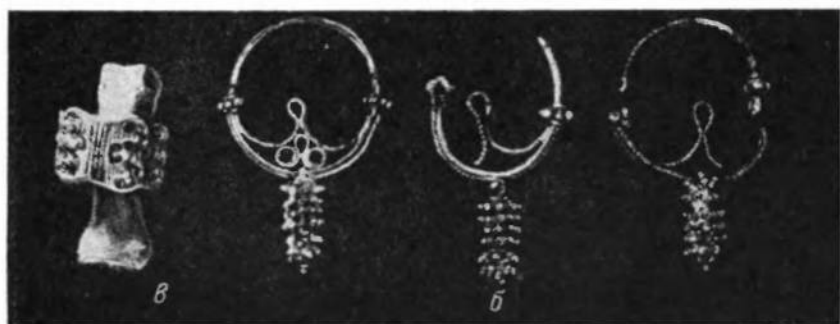
Grand-Prince Volodimir  
Monomakh.

footsteps and refused to accept the idea of Church division, but continued to profess the One and Universal Church.

Grand-prince Vsevolod (1078-1094) during his sixteen years of reign had to fight against his rebellious nephews, who struggled to regain their fathers' domains, assembled into Vsevolod's hands. After his death Sviatopolk II (1094-1113) became his successor in Kiev. Shortly thereafter Polovtsians invaded the province of Kiev, burned cities and killed many inhabitants. What is worse, some "dispossessed princes" invited them to join fighting against other princes. Even the Conference of Princes in Lubech in 1097 did not terminate these wars. The people suffered severely and many free peasants became slaves of the princes. Small farms were disappearing and were integrated into large princely estates.

Volodimir Monomakh (1113-1125), son of Vsevolod, was





A grave and ornaments found therein

elected to the throne of Kiev, for he was best liked by the people. He encouraged the princes, who increased in number, to better their government, to adjust it to the needs of the people, and to try to maintain good relations with them. It happened that, when the princes failed to comply with this, they were expelled by their subjects, who invited other princes. To control the power of the princes the people used their "popular meetings," called "Viche," that had the authority to present demands for reforms and even to depose their rulers, assuming all the government by appointment of temporary "Commanders-in-chief." This democracy in those ancient times, it is true, improved the lot of the common people, but contributed highly to the process of disintegration of

the different principalities and to the decrease of the political significance of the Grand-prince of Kiev.

In spite of this Volodimir Monomakh was a strong ruler and a skilled statesman. His deeds were marked by Christian spirit, since all social reforms were for him an extension of Christian charity. His "Testament" or "Instructions to His Sons" reveal him



Coins of the Kievan Rus'-Ukraine. Upper row: St. Volodimir's coins; middle row: Yaroslav's the Wise coins; lower row: Sviatopolk I's coins

at his best. This "Testament" is one of the most precious documents in the history of Kievan Rus'-Ukraine. He died in 1125.

Monomakh's popularity was so great that after his death his eldest son Mstislav (1125-1132) was recognized unanimously by all the princes and people as the Grand-prince of Kiev. He was Monomakh's son from his first wife Gyd, daughter of the English King Harold II. Grand-prince Mstislav himself was married to Princess Christina, daughter of the Swedish King Ingue. He, too, was a strong king. Being supported by his brother Yaropolk of Pereyaslav, Mstislav exercised authority over all the Ukrainian principalities and spread his influence to the Baltic Sea by defeating of the Lithuanian tribes.

Mstislav was succeeded by his brother Yaropolk II (1132-1139), who was unable to check his own brother Yuriy, the prince



Copper crosses found in Kiev

of the northern principality of Suzdal. Ambitious Yuriy invaded the city of Pereyaslav, but was defeated by his brother Vsevolod of Chernihiv, who enlisted the help of nomadic Cumans.

Although Grand-prince Yaropolk held his Kievan domain until his death in 1139 during his reign the unity of the Ukrainian kingdom and the supremacy of Kiev suffered so much that from a realistic point of view Rus'-Ukraine became a federation of several principalities of which most important were: Halich, Chernihiv and Suzdal in the north, whose princes already at this time



Sarcophagus found in the Desiatynna Church in Kiev, where St. Volodimir the Great was interred

started laying the foundations for a new nation, Muscovy, that originated in the 15th century.

Prince Yaropolk's death was followed by a thirty-year period of dramatic events. His immediate successor Vsevolod II (1139-1146) was a skilled statesman and a great patriot. We know that he refused to accept Greek bishops and appointed Ukrainians in their places. Seeing the close cooperation of the Kievan Metropolitan Michael, Greek by birth, with Suzdalian princes, he forced him to leave Kiev in 1145. However, before his departure to Constantinople Metropolitan Michael announced an interdict forbidding all Ukrainian bishops to conduct services at St. Sophia's Church in Kiev, thus causing deeper internal conflict.

Vsevolod II's successor Iziaslav II (1146-1154), son of Mstislav and grand-son of Volodimir Monomakh, was elected by the people. He was more radical than his predecessor, e.g. he called

all Ukrainian bishops to a Synod in Kiev in 1147 and promoted the election of a learned monk Clement of Smolensk to the Metropolitan See of Kiev. But here again the patriarch refused to recog-



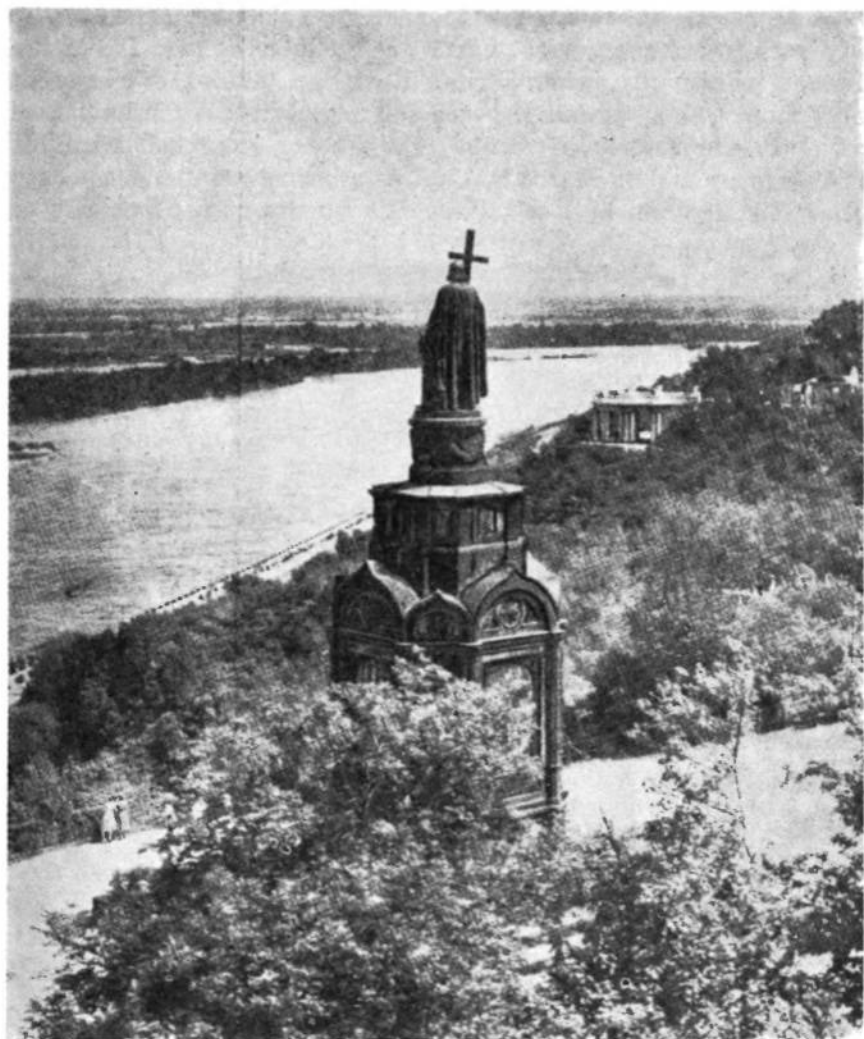
Kievans in the 10th and 11th centuries.

nize his election. In spite of this Clement was consecrated by the Ukrainian bishops. It is noteworthy that during his consecration in the presence of Prince Iziaslav II the Ukrainian bishops "put him



The tomb of Yaroslav the Wise

in charge of Rus' Metropolia with the Head of St. Clement, the Pope of Rome," as chronicler reports. And when a Greek bishop by the name of Niphont of Novhorod objected, he was imprisoned at the Monastery of the Caves. This incident again proves that almost one hundred years after the patriarchs broke off relations with Rome, the Ukrainian hierarchy continued to recognize Rome as the head of the Universal Church, even though it did not break the traditional relations with Constantinople. This was the reason why Emperor Manuel I Comnen (1143-1180) openly supported Prince Yuriy of Suzdal. There appeared an imperial ambassador



**St. Volodimir's Memorial in Kiev**

in Kiev and Halich with the instruction to promote Yuriy's succession in Kiev. Thus, being supported by the Greeks, Yuriy was invited to the small principality of Pereyaslav and immediately after Iziaslav's death he invaded Kiev with his northern detachments and assumed the reign against people's will. He stayed there for two years and after his death in 1157 his palace was looted and all his northern officials were killed or expelled.

During Yuriy's reign a new Metropolitan Constantine, a Greek by birth, came from Constantinople. Prince Iziaslav's body was exhumed and condemned and Metropolitan Clement was excommu-

nicated, and he had to hide in a monastery in Volynia. Thus because of Greek interference great harm was done to the prestige of the Kievan principality, where Prince Rostislav (1159-1167) brought once more a short period of peace and prosperity. When he passed away Prince Andriy of Suzdal, Yuriy's son, marched with his strong army and on March 8, 1169, in a barbarous manner sacked Kiev, the Mother of Rus' cities. His northern men set fire to



Queen Anna, daughter of Yaroslav the Wise and wife of French King Henry I.

churches, took away holy relics, pictures and even removed church bells and floor tiles from the churches.\*)

He could not stay in Kiev, but saw to it that only mediocre princes ruled over it, thereby lowering still further its power and prestige. Finally Kiev fell under the influence of the rising Halich-Volynian kingdom. It is of interest to note that on March 8, 1169, the Papal Legates were in Kiev, but they could not prevent its destruction.

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\*) Prince Andriy of Suzdal was pronounced, by the Church of Moscow, a saint after his assassination in 1174. It is not a coincidence that Bolshevik historians highly praise him as the "predecessor" of Czar Ivan the Terrible of the 15th century, who established the Muscovite State.



## CHAPTER III

### THE KINGDOM OF HALICH-VOLYNIA

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There is no exact information as to when the West-Ukrainian principalities joined freely or were incorporated into the Rus'-Kievan Kingdom. According to the Chronicler Nestor the warriors from West-Ukrainian Lands (the tribes of Khorvats, Tyvertsi and Duliby-Buzhany-Volyniany) took part in Prince Oleh's expedition against Constantinople in 907 and that means that they already belonged to the Kievan Kingdom.

When Prince Yaroslav the Wise distributed principalities among his sons, Volodimir received Halich, and his son Rostislav ruled that province until he was removed by his nephew Yaropolk-Petro, son of Grand-prince Iziaslav I, who planned to unite Halich-Volynia in one powerful state. During the internal turmoil Yaropolk, together with his father Iziaslav were compelled to seek help in the West, and on this occasion Yaropolk went to Rome and on behalf of his father asked Pope Gregory VII's assistance. The Kievan Kingdom was taken under the protection of St. Peter's Chair and, as Pope Gregory VII's letter to Iziaslav shows, it was raised to the rank of western kingdoms. It is noteworthy that the contemporary paintings in the "Codex Gertrudianus" show that Yaropolk and his wife were crowned by St. Peter, that is by his successor Pope Gregory VII. With the pope's help Iziaslav and Yaropolk regained their domains after Sviatoslav's death.

When Rostislav's sons grew up they started a war during which Yaropolk was killed in 1087 and they regained permanently the province of Halich, dividing it among themselves: Peremyshl fell to Rurik, Zvenyhorod to Volodar and Terebovla to Vasilko. Rurik died in 1094 and Volodar united Peremyshl and Zvenyhorod. Following a Conference of Princes in Lubech (1097) a coalition was formed against Volodar and Vasilko, but after a battle near Peremyshl, in which Hungarians and Polovtsians participated, the opponents were defeated and the rule of Rostislavichi in Halich was strengthened.

Volodar's son, Volodimirko (1124-1152) after the premature death of Vasilko's sons, united all Halich Lands under his rule. He even transferred his capital from Peremyshl to the city of Halich (1141) and being an able statesman he strengthened the position of his dynasty. Volodimirko maintained good relations with the Byzantine Emperor in order to check Hungary from the east. He was the first of the Halich princes who established an autocratic form of government, which prevailed in most of the European countries of the 12th century. Volodimirko disregarded the support of the city populace and based his power on military men, whom he richly rewarded with large estates, thus creating a new aristocracy (Boyars), which very soon was to play an important role in the country. Thus the Kingdom of Halich, that was free from raids of nomadic Polovtsians, prospered in peace and became the strongest of all Ukrainian principalities. Volodimirko's small wars against the Poles and Hungarians were successful and he also knew how to disembarass himself with gifts and money.

Yaroslav the Osmomysl (1152-1187), Volodimirko's only son, whose wife Olha was the daughter of Prince Yuriy of Suzdal, had

to face coalition of Iziaslav II of Kiev and of Hungarian King Geiza II, his brother-in-law. He defended his domain successfully until Iziaslav II's death in 1154 and spread his influence southward to the Danube River. Thus the position of the Kingdom of Halich was strengthened more than in his father's time. The anonymous author of the epic poem under the title "Lay of Ihor's Campaign" calls him a "shining sun," who knew how to defend his fatherland with his "iron regiments" and to protect the priests, monks and the poor of his kingdom.

On the other hand, he had to yield before powerful boyars (nobles), who interfered even in his private life. On the occasion



King Danylo of Halich-Volynia



King Lev I of Halich-Volynia

of his death on October 1, 1187, the chronicler says: "He was a wise, eloquent and God-fearing prince; honest in lands and glorious in campaigns; in time of national peril he did not lead his regiments himself, but sent his voyevodas (commanders-in-chief—I. N.); he loved his land, distributed alms, loved strangers and fed the poor; he loved priests and monks and held them in highest esteem; he walked the paths of the law of God taking part in church services and cared for good singing . . ."

The last representative of the Rostislavichi dynasty in Halich was his older son Volodimir II (1187-1199). In the beginning of his reign in Halich the young Prince Andrew of Hungary appeared, but Volodimir, — having secured friendship of the German Em-

peror Frederick Barbarossa, and the help of his vassal, the Polish King Casimir the Just, as well as Vsevolod's of Suzdal, — he chased the Hungarians away.

At this period, when the princes of Suzdal intended to disrupt the unity of the Kievan Kingdom, there emerged a great leader: Prince Roman, the grandson of Kievan Grand-prince Iziaslav II, who was ruler of Volynia. He turned his eyes on Halich, where Volodimir II quarelled with the powerful boyars and after his death in 1199 Prince Roman ascended the throne of Halich; thus acquiring unity of the Halich and Volynian Lands. He laid the groundwork for a powerful state, the Kingdom of Halich-Volynia. Prince Roman soon brought to justice all rebellious boyars and being supported by the people he spread his influence over Kiev itself. His popularity also spread beyond the borders of his kingdom, as Byzantine and Polish chronicles report. All Ukrainian people turned their eyes to Prince Roman in the hope that he would be able to unite the entire country under his rule and defend it against all enemies. The people of Kiev gave him their support and he appointed there his brother Yaroslav, and later his brother-in-law, Rostislav, to rule there in his name. The chroniclers gave him various titles, e.g. "Czar and Autocrator of All Rus'."

What caused his war with Poland in 1205, is not known. German chronicles say that Prince Roman intended to reach the Emperor Phillip Hohenstaufen of Swabia and since the Polish Prince Leszek the White was a partisan of the Guelfs, it meant war with Poland. Prince Roman was killed in a battle on the Vistula River near the town of Zawikhost on June 19, 1205. He was survived by two minor sons: Danylo, 3 years, and Vasilko, 1 year old. His widow Anna, a Byzantine princess and relative of the Emperor Isaak II Angelus, — after a meeting with the Hungarian King Andrew II in the city of Sanok, was recognized regent of the country, and he became her protector. However, princes and boyars rebelled against Princess Anna and after one year's stay in Volodimir she was compelled to seek refuge at Prince Leszek the White's court in Krakow with her younger son Vasilko, while the older son Danylo was sent to King Andrew's court in Buda.

With Prince Leszek's help Princess Anna in 1209 regained the Brest province and the boyar Vladislav Kormilchich, who ruled in Halich, was removed by King Andrew II. Now King Andrew and Prince Leszek the White made an alliance in 1214: Andrew's minor-aged son, Coloman, and Leszek's minor-aged daughter, Solomia, were married and crowned "King and Queen of Halich" and the 12-year-old Prince Danylo was recognized ruler of Volynia. He married the daughter of Prince Mstislav of Novhorod and, being

supported by the boyars of Volynia, he took back all territories recently occupied by the Poles, which the Hypatian chronicle called "the Ukrainian lands." Coloman and Solomia were captured and sent away from Halich in 1219. King Andrew tried to install in Halich his second son, Andrew (1226), but the whole Polish-Hungarian adventure ended unsuccessfully this time.

Prince Danylo became the master of Halich and Volynia and having the full support and co-operation of his brother Vasilko and the people, who hated the misrule of the boyars, he, like his father Roman, soon turned his eyes to Kiev with the intention



Episcopal miter of Peremyshl. King Danylo's crown is seen at its lower part.



The most ancient seal of the city of Lviv with King Danylo's emblem

to unite all Ukrainians under his rule. He was more successful than his father in this respect. When the unification was almost completed a new unexpected and tragic event took place, which brought a terrible disaster to Ukraine: it was the invasion of barbaric Mongols (also Tatars or Tartars) from central Asia.

The Mongols appeared for the first time in Ukrainian territory in 1223 (or 1224) and with their overwhelming forces defeated some Ukrainian princes in battle on the small Kalka River near the Sea of Azov. Their Khan Batu annihilated first the Volga Bulgars and Polovtsians (the remnants of the latter fled to their kinsmen in Hungary) and in autumn of 1239 attacked Ukraine once more with great forces. The Mongols first took the cities of Pereyaslav and Chernihiv, killing everybody, including women,

children, bishops and clergy, thus leaving complete ruin behind them.

The next year they besieged Kiev, since Danylo's governor refused to surrender the city. After a long and bloody fight of one man against hundreds of Mongols, the city was taken by storm on December 6, 1240. Practically all the brave defenders perished in the ruins of the churches, especially in Desiatynna Church, which was the last stronghold of resistance, as a chronicler recorded.

After the capture of Kiev the road was open into Halich. Many cities opposed Batu, but most of them he succeeded in capturing, e.g. the city of Volodimir in Volynia he took by storm and killed all its inhabitants. Princes Danylo and Vasilko retreated to Mazovia and stayed there for some time at a castle in Vyshehrad. The Mongols plundered Poland, Silesia, Bohemia, Hungary and Dalmatia and when Khan Batu planned the total destruction of western Europe, which was full of fear and almost helpless and defenseless, he received a message of the Great-khan's death and hurried back to the election of the new khan, hoping that he himself would take that place. When his dream did not come true he founded a powerful state, called Golden Horde, on the Caspian Sea, with its capital of Saray (near present Astrakhan) and from there he made repeated raids and plundered Ukraine.

Khan Batu ordered all Suzdalian and Ukrainian princes to pay him homage. Prince Yaroslav of Suzdal was the first who asked Batu's confirmation of his rights and he was followed by others. Kiev was for a long time without a prince. Finally, Batu demanded that Prince Danylo surrender his capital Halich or recognize Mongol supremacy. In 1245 Prince Danylo was compelled to pay homage at Khan's city of Saray. Although he was treated there with due respect, he considered this to be the greatest humiliation of his life. On the other hand, Danylo's alliance with the powerful Khan strengthened his position and no neighbor dared to oppose him, for all of Europe was trembling and expecting a new devastating raid of the Mongols, that could mean a total destruction of Christian civilization.

To prevent this imminent catastrophe the great Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254), in spite of the strong opposition of the German King Frederick II, called the Ecumenical Council to the city of Lyons in France (June 26, 1245) under his personal leadership. The western annals recorded the presence of Archbishop Peter Akerovich from Rus', who while attending the Council and being assisted by Catholic bishops, celebrated the Holy Liturgy according to the Byzantine-Slavic Rite. On the 3d session of the said Council (July 17) Archbishop Akerovich, as an eye-witness, gave

an exact report to Pope Innocent and to the Fathers of the Council on the imminent danger of Mongol invasion and requested help.

Pope Innocent IV, first of all, dispatched his envoy, a monk by the name John Plano de Carpini with the task to convert the



The mass-grave of Ukrainian warriors who defended Kiev against the onslaught of the Mongols in 1240, uncovered in the vicinity of the Desiatynna Church in Kiev.

Great-khan of Mongols to Christianity. Journeying through Ukraine the Papal Legate had conferences with Prince Danylo, his brother Vasilko and the Ukrainian bishops. Following these discussions Pope Innocent IV promised to organize a crusade against the Mongols and Prince Danylo formally recognized the supremacy of the Pope and submitted the Ukrainian Church under the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See of Rome. Danylo was crowned by the extraordinary Papal Legate Opiso in the border city of Dorohichin in the year of 1253.

It is true, that this great event raised the prestige of the Halich-Volynian Kingdom in the West, but at the same time the Mongol danger increased since the crusade did not materialize

on account of the indifference of western princes, and King Danylo and his brother Vasilko were left alone in their fight against the Mongols. It is also true, that Pope Alexander IV in his letters encouraged missionaries to preach crusade, and especially after a new Mongol onslaught on Poland in 1258-59. Also Alexander IV's successor Pope Urban IV ordered princes and bishops, and especially the Archbishop of Gniezno, to promote and support the crusade, but in spite of this nothing was done, except some local fights on the Lithuanian border.

King Danylo, having endangered his state by the said alliance with the West and being under a continuous Mongol threat, was compelled to revise his foreign policy and to restrain his relations with the West, from where for the time being he could expect no help. His disappointment grew when his son Roman, married to an Austrian Princess Gertrude, a kinswoman of Emperor Frederick II, did not receive adequate support from the Hungarian King Bella IV to the accession on the vacant Austrian throne, and the Bohemian King Ottokar II was elected and installed in Vienna. On the other hand, when King Bella IV, whose daughter was married to Danylo's son, Lev, needed help against the Bohemian King Premyslav II, King Danylo gave him full support.

Very soon the suspicious Khan sent his Commander Burundai with a large army to Volynia with an order to destroy all fortresses of the Halich-Volynian Kingdom, Danylo's brother Vasilko and other princes were forced to take part in a campaign against Lithuania and Poland. In this desperate situation King Danylo received no help from the West. According to the chronicler this second Mongol campaign of Burundai was much more tragic for the Ukrainian lands than the first one under the command of Khan Batu. Even now after this second humiliation King Danylo refused to submit himself and his kingdom under the yoke of the Mongols until his death. He died in 1264 and was buried in the beautiful city of Kholm (Cholm), founded by him, and it was the only city that could not be stormed by the hordes of Burundai.

The chronicler says about King Danylo: "The king fell ill and died, and was buried in the church of the Mother of God, built by him. King Danylo was a good ruler, courageous and wise, and he built many cities and churches, beautifying them with ornaments. He was shining by his love for his brother Vasilko. This Danylo was a second Solomon."

In the moment of King Danylo's death the Kingdom of Halich-Volynia was ruled jointly by his brother Vasilko in Volodimir; the son Lev in Lviv-Halich; the son Mstislav in Lutsk-Terebovla, — and his third son, Shvarno, son-in-law of the Lithuanian Grand-



prince Mendovh, became the latter's successor in 1267. King Lev's son, Yuriy I, was in Kholm. This was a period of anarchy in the Tatar horde and it caused frequent disturbances and raids on Ukrainian territories, which hindered their rebuilding and internal consolidation.

After Prince Vasilko's death in 1270 King Lev I (1265-1301) ascended the throne of Halich. After him the city of Lviv (also Lemberg, Leopoldis), present capital of West-Ukraine, was founded and named by his father Danylo. King Lev I was ambitious and



The bell of Prince Lubart-Dmytro  
Halich-Volynia (1341 A.D.)

an energetic man. In his foreign policy he made attempts to conquer the throne of Poland, since that country was in a state of anarchy and strongly influenced by Bohemia, — but he was unsuccessful. He, however, succeeded in reconquering the city of Lublin. Being himself the son-in-law of King Bella IV of Hungary, Lev I also made attempts to reconquer the Hungarian territories with the Ukrainian population (present Carpatho-Ukraine) and there is evidence that he exercised his influence there. On the other hand, the eastern part of his state was still endangered by Mongols and after the death of his brother Shvarno he also lost influence over Lithuania, which in a very short time made remarkable progress by making itself independent and a very dangerous neighbor of Rus'-Ukraine.

Lev I was succeeded by his son Yuriy I (1301-1315), a very capable administrator, who ruled the country with an iron hand. His royal seal with Latin inscription "King of Rus'" shows that he followed in the footsteps of his grandfather, King Danylo. Being married to Euphemia, the daughter of Casimir I of Kujawia, who was a sister of the Polish Prince Wladyslaw Lokietek, — Yuriy I made peace with Poland and supported Lokietek against King Vaclav of Bohemia. King Yuriy brought peace and prosperity to his subjects, notwithstanding the danger of Mongol invasion, since in the beginning of his reign they once more sacked the city of Kiev (1299-1300).

After this sacking of the "Mother of Rus' Cities" its Metropolitan Maxime transferred his seat to the north on a temporary basis only. His decision was contrary to the Church laws and traditions, and even worse, the princes of Suzdal could have gained an undesirable influence over the rest of the episcopal sees of the Kievan Provinces. Having this in mind King Yuriy I (some scholars think that already his father Lev) requested Patriarch Athanasius and Emperor Andronicus II Paleologos of Constantinople to establish canonically a separate Metropolitan See in Halich and to place all the Ukrainian bishoprics under its jurisdiction. This happened in 1302/03.

The first Metropolitan of Halich, Niphont, died in 1305 and King Yuriy appointed a Ukrainian monk, Petro, to succeed him. Petro was sent to Constantinople and consecrated to become the Metropolitan of "Kiev and all Rus'", since in 1308/09 he left Halich and moved to the north. Thus the Kingdom of Halich-Volynia was deprived of its own supreme Pastor in a very important moment of its history.

King Yuriy I died c. 1315 and his two sons, Andriy of Volodymir and Lev II of Halich, took over the government of the country and exercised it jointly. The fact that they made an alliance with the Teutonic Knights shows that they pursued a policy of checking the Lithuanian Prince Gedymin's expansion towards Ukrainian provinces. They also fought vigorously against the Tatars, as it appears from the letter of the Polish Prince Lokietek to Pope John XXII of May 21, 1323.

Both princes died unexpectedly. On account of silence of the Ukrainian chronicles the exact time and the circumstances of their death are not known. The Swiss chronicle of John Vitudoranus suggests that they were poisoned and the Polish chronicler says that they died in battle against Gedymin of Lithuania. The most reliable information we find in their uncle, King Lokietek's, letter to Pope John XXII where he praises them for defending the Polish



Church of Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Halich (13th cen.)

Kingdom against the Tatars, and it is most probable that both princes were killed in a combined Tatar-Lithuanian battle.

Princes Andriy and Lev II died without male heirs and a dangerous situation followed: Poles, Lithuanians, Hungarians and Tatars might have warred to seize the kingdom during the vacancy of the throne. There is some evidence that King Lokietek being supported by his son-in-law King Charles Robert of Hungary took some measures in that respect. However, following a strong reaction of Grand-prince of Lithuania, who, as it appears from his letters to Pope John XXII of 1323/24, sought the pope's recognition and was ready to submit himself to papal authority, — Lokietek retreated.

In the meantime Ukrainian boyars and nobles elected young Prince Boleslaw of Mazowia, the son of King Yuriy I's daughter, Maria. He was crowned in 1325 "Duke of Halich and Volynia" and embraced the name of Yuriy II, in honor of his grandfather. His position, however, was very difficult, since he was indebted to the boyars and nobles for his election, and they, as we have mentioned, were very eager to control the country. This was the seed of future misunderstanding.

There is no exact evidence that before his coronation King Yuriy II gave up his Catholic Faith and embraced the Eastern Orthodoxy, as some scholars think, nor that he acted against the interests of the Ukrainian Church. There are facts that contradict such a suggestion. During his reign a new Metropolitan of Halich was appointed by the patriarch in spite of a vigorous opposition on the part of Metropolitan Theognost of "Kiev and All Rus' ", who resided in the north. On the other hand, King Yuriy II's wedding in 1331 with Euphemia, the daughter of Prince Gedymin of Lithuania, who himself was a Christian of the Byzantine Rite, took place not in Halich or Volodimir, but at Plock in Mazowia, and the bride-to-be, being herself a pagan, was baptized in the Roman Catholic Faith. We hear of no protest on the part of Ukrainian boyars and nobles on account of this event.

It is true that Pope John XXII in his letters encouraged King Yuriy II to work for the cause of Church Union, but almost all the popes did the same and still do it. Yuriy's alliance with the Teutonic Knights and also his attack on the city of Lublin, which he again tried to reconquer from the Poles, show that he pursued his own independent policy for the good of his dynasty and the welfare of his kingdom. He alone, therefore, cannot be held responsible for the situation that brought about the tragic events that took place in the year of 1340.

The Polish King Casimir, son of Lokietek, who succeeded his father in 1334, made a basic change in traditional Polish policy. He secured peace with his western and northern neighbors by giving up Silesia to Bohemians and some small provinces to Teutonic Knights, and in 1338 (or sooner) he concluded a secret alliance with his brother-in-law, King Charles Robert of Hungary. The latter renounced the title "King of Halich and Volodimiria," assumed by his predecessor in 1214, but under one condition attached to it: if Casimir should die without a male heir Charles' son, Louis, would become the King of Poland. This alliance was a turning point of Casimir's eastern policy and started his "Drang nach Osten" (Drive on East), that is the conquest of Halich Lands. That this action was planned in advance could be seen from Pope



A fragment of St. Panteleimon's Church in Halich (before 1200 A.D.)

Benedict XII's letters to Polish, Bohemian and Hungarian bishops and princes with the request to promote the crusade against the Tatars (August 1, 1340) and he also sent envoys to Emperor Louis and other Catholic princes of the West, asking them to promote the same idea.

King Yuriy II was poisoned by his own boyars in the city of Volodimir in Volynia on April 4, 1340, and his tragic death started

a chain of events, which within a few decades erased the Kingdom of Halich-Volynia from the map of free nations of Europe. On account of scarcity of information in contemporary sources it is very difficult to establish how deeply Casimir of Poland was involved in that tragic event. We know that Polish and Hungarian armies waited at the border, since on April 16, 1340 (Easter), that is twelve days after Yuriy II's death, Casimir appeared in the city of Lviv, burned its fortress and took away a part of the treasures of the Kingdom of Halich-Volynia, and having met strong resistance he retreated, but came once more on June 24, 1340.

In the meantime Ukrainian boyars under the leadership of Dmytro Dedko and Danylo of Ostroh hastened the election of Prince Dmytro-Lubart, the youngest son of Gedynin of Lithuania, who was married to Bucha, the daughter of King Andriy of Halich, — and he was crowned "Duke of Halich and Volynia." In charge of government in Halich was Dmytro Dedko, a close councillor of the deceased King Yuriy. Now he and the boyars appealed to Khan Uzbek for help against Polish-Hungarian invasion. Jointly with the Tatars they made a retaliatory raid against Poland in winter 1340/41 and Casimir was compelled to give up a considerable part of the spoils and to open negotiations with Prince Dedko in the spring of 1341. A treaty was signed, by which Casimir promised under oath not to molest the lands of Halich again. But as soon as the immediate danger was removed he broke his oath and requested the pope's absolution. It was granted by Pope Benedict XII, as it appears from his letter to the Archbishop of Krakow of June 29, 1341.

Here again in those tragic days, when the Metropolitan Theodore of Halich made a temporary sojourn in Volynia, at the request of Prince Simeon of Moscow the Patriarch Isidore of Constantinople (1342-49) abolished the Metropolitan See of Halich, thus leaving the Ukrainian Church without a head. It declined considerably within a little more than two decades, so that Casimir in 1370 requested Patriarch Philotheos to renew the Metropolia of Halich. He sent his candidate Bishop Anthonius to Constantinople with the demand to install him canonically as a Metropolitan of Halich. Casimir wrote to the Patriarch that in case of his refusal the said Metropolia will be converted to Latin Rite and submitted under the pope's jurisdiction, because "the land cannot stand if the law is forgotten." Bishop Anthonius was installed in May 1371, and from the patriarch's letter it appears that most of the Ukrainian episcopal sees were vacant. He suggested that Metropolitan Anthonius should seek help of the Metropolitan of Moldavia, since according to the Church law the presence of three

bishops was required in order to consecrate a new one. To the new Metropolia belonged the dioceses of Halich, Peremyshl, Volodimir, Kholm and Turiv.

In the year of 1341 two powerful rulers died: Grand-prince of Lithuania and Khan Uzbek, whose Golden Horde started a slow path towards its certain disintegration. Now the shrewd Casimir



Seal and coins of Prince Volodislav of Halich

made peace with Gedymin's sons: Olgerd, Kiejstut and Dmytro-Lubart of Halich-Volynia, but at the same time he pleaded to Pope Clement VI for help, together with his absolution releasing him from the obligation of keeping the articles of peace treaty with "pagans and schismatics," this can be seen in the pope's reply of December 1, 1343. The death of Prince Dmytro Dedko of Halich in 1344 served Casimir an opportunity to take over the border district of Sanok (present Lemkivschina) and for granting recognition of Prince Lubart's rights to the Kingdom of Halich-Volynia he

received his consent to keep the said district under his temporal administration.

After a few years of peace, when the Lithuanian princes suffered a defeat from the Teutonic Knights in battle on Strawa River, Casimir hastily concluded an alliance with the German King Charles IV on November 22, 1348; with the Teutonic Knights in the summer of 1349 and also with the Tatars. Having received the pope's blessing for the Christianization of pagan Lithuania (pope's letter of Sept. 16, 1349), — he unexpectedly invaded the Kingdom of Halich with a powerful army and captured the cities of Peremyshl, Lviv, Halich and Terebowla. He was unable to take the city of Luts'k. Thus instead of converting pagan Lithuania he destroyed Ukrainian ancient cities.

On April 4, 1350, he renewed the alliance with King Louis of Hungary, who gave up all his pretensions to the Halich Lands and promised to assist Casimir under the following condition: Casimir would retain the Halich Lands until his death and if Louis should succeed him on the throne of Poland, he will regain them as his property; if, however, Casimir should have a male heir Louis will pay the sum of 100,000 "Guldens" to Casimir's successors and regain those lands.

In May 1350 Prince Dmytro-Lubart with the Tatars and Lithuanian princes took the cities of Brest, Kholm, Belz and Volodimir, captured by Casimir's surprise attack, and this was his reply to the Polish-Hungarian alliance. Now aging Casimir pleaded again for Pope Clement VI's help, emphasizing what great harm the Catholic Church would suffer if those lands should be lost, since he intended to establish seven Catholic bishoprics there. This we know from the pope's reply of March 14, 1351. Polish-Hungarian campaign in 1351-52 had no success and Casimir requested the pope to order the crusade. When it did not materialize Casimir concluded a new treaty with Dmytro-Lubart in autumn 1352, by which the latter was compelled to recognize Casimir's occupation of the cities of Peremyshl, Lviv and Terebovla, but on the temporary basis only, and they had to retain a broad autonomy. Casimir took the responsibility of paying tribute to the Tatars.

This short period of armistice was used by Casimir for the advancement of his diplomatic offensive in the West, e.g. he tried to convince the pope, Emperor Charles IV, who was married to his niece Elizabeth, and King Louis of Hungary, that the Lithuanian savage pagans must be converted to Christianity and with the western princes financial and military assistance Casimir could do it.

In 1359 Casimir concluded a truce with the princes of Kholm



district and with their consent established a Latin bishopric there on May 20, 1359. His Ambassador Joannes Pakoslavich was sent to Avignon to ask the pope's permission to erect a university in Krakow and establish a bishopric in Lviv, describing at the same time Lithuanians as "*nostri mortali inimici*" (our deadly enemies) and requesting help against them.

Following this diplomatic action Pope Urban V pronounced indulgence (July 8, 1363) for a period of twelve years to all those who would defend the Polish Kingdom against the Lithuanians, Tatars and schismatics. And the next year Casimir was released from all the obligations he might have contracted by any treaty with infidels. Having finished the preparations he invaded Volynia in the summer of 1366, and now some of the Lithuanian princes went over to his side. This successful attack was followed by a treaty in virtue of which Casimir received the capital city of Volynia, Volodimir, with its adjoining territories. They, however, were very soon reconquered by Prince Dmytro-Lubart, when Casimir died on November 5, 1370, after an accident during a royal hunt.

Casimir died without a male heir and King Louis of Hungary took over the Polish throne. He originally intended to keep Halich Lands as a separate kingdom and for this reason appointed Prince Volodislav of Opolia, whose mother was a descendant of the Ukrainian dynasty of Rostislavichi, — to be ruler of Halich. There is enough evidence in sources that he considered himself an independent ruler, e.g. his title "By grace of God Duke of Opolia and Volynia, ruler and lord of Rus' lands," also an inscription on coins with his name etc. He was a vassal of King Louis of Hungary until 1378 when he was removed and given another province of Louis' kingdom. From that time until Louis' death in 1382 Halich was under the supervision of the Hungarian administration.

Louis' 11-year old daughter Hedwig (Jadwiga) was elected and crowned queen of Poland on October 10, 1384. Before this happened, Polish nobles and "*shlakhta*" convened a Conference to Siewradz on March 3, 1383, and decided that the minor-aged Jadwiga should marry Prince Yagello (Jagiello) of Lithuania. On August 14, 1385, a formal pact was signed: Jadwiga had to marry Yagello, who was to receive baptism in the Latin Rite, together with pagan princes and nobles of Lithuania; to pay 200,000 guildens to Archduke William of Austria for disrupting Jadwiga's marriage with him; to conquer all Halich Lands at his own cost and to unite them with Poland, since they were reconquered by Prince Dmytro-Lubart after Louis' death. Now Yagello was elected King of Poland, baptized by the Archbishop of Gniezno on February 15,

1386; received the name of Wladyslaw; three days later his marriage with Jadwiga was solemnized and on March 4th he was crowned King of Poland.

While Yagello was busy in Lithuania, the youthful Queen Jadwiga on instigation of the Polish "shlakhta" invaded the Halich-Volynia Lands in 1387. Now Prince Volodislav of Opolia proclaimed a Manifesto on February 6, 1387, encouraging the Ukrainian boyars and nobles to resist and he also took up a protest to the rulers of the West against that invasion. But no action followed. The same year Yagello appeared in Halich Lands and took all the necessary measures to tie them up with Poland. Thus an act of great historical importance took place and it changed the face of Eastern Europe for centuries to come.

Although the Ukrainian-Lithuanian Commonwealth was tied up to Poland through the person of King Yagello, it existed as a separate state except, of course, the cities of Peremyshl, Lviv, Halich and Terebovla, that were incorporated into the "Polish Korona" (Polish Crown).

Vitovt (also Witold), the son of Prince Kiejstut of Lithuania, who originally embraced Eastern Christianity, exercised the strongest influence in the Ukrainian-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and especially after the death of his uncle Prince Dmytro-Lubart in 1382. He pursued a policy: all Rus' Lands must be united with Lithuania, and very soon his supremacy was recognized by all Ukrainian principalities, except Podolia, where princes of Koriatovich family managed to preserve their independency for a short period of time.

In 1397 Prince Vitovt defeated Tatars in southern Ukraine and considered himself the independent ruler of the Lithuanian-Ukrainian Commonwealth and "the King of Lithuania and Rus'", as Prussian chronicles recorded. At this time he cherished a plan of total destruction of the Tataric power. Pope Boniface IX proclaimed a crusade against them on May 4, 1399, and also the Patriarch of Constantinople encouraged Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev to promote and support the fight against the infidels. The battle of August 8, 1399, on the Vorskla River, in which Prince Vitovt was defeated by Khan Temer Kutluk, who advanced with his hordes to Volynia, destroyed Vitovt's power and increased Yagello's influence in the Commonwealth.

In January 1401 in the city of Vilna came an agreement, approved once more in Radom (March 11), in virtue of which the Commonwealth was brought closer to the "Corona Regni Poloniae" (Crown of Polish Kingdom). The Lithuanian nation, newly converted to Christianity, step by step fell under the influence of

Poland. The Charter of Horodlo of 1413 initiated a new era of Ukrainian national life in Commonwealth until the "Real Union of Lublin" in 1569, which destroyed the power of the said Ukrainian-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Thus in a short time the dynamic Lithuanian State was overpowered by Poland and very soon the Ukrainian people started their own war of liberation.

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Concluding this chapter of history of the Ukrainian nation one important question is to be clarified: what brought about the downfall of the young and powerful Kingdom of Halich-Volynia? It is not easy to answer this question, since there were many



Papal Legate Opiso crowns Prince Danylo

causes of international, national, religious and social nature, and we shall try to explain the most important of them.

First of all, the invasion of Asiatic Mongols (Tatars) not only impoverished the Ukrainian population, but also brought many changes that undermined the old national, political and social structure of the Halich-Volynian Kingdom. It became a "cordon sanitaire" between pagan East and Christian West more than ever before. King Danylo, realizing the great danger of the new situation, approached the West hoping to find there whole-hearted support and understanding. But the nations of the West after an

heroic era of crusades fell into a state of profound decline and at the given period were unable to take any action of international importance. The best proof of this impotence was immense apathy against the Turkish peril approaching the gates of Constantinople, even though East and West were reunited at Lyons in the year of 1274.

The recognition of papal authority by Archbishop Petro Akerovich of Kiev and the coronation of King Danylo by Papal Legate Opiso could have been the life-giving injection for years to come, if Danylo himself and his immediate successors had wholeheartedly followed that subconscious impulse of the instinct of national self-preservation, but it was not the case. Also the Church Union in Lyons, based more on political than ecclesiastical reasons, had no influence on Ukrainian national life. Ukrainian princes, boyars, nobles and hierarchy failed to profit from those new ideas of Christian unity, which could have strengthened the position of Halich-Volynian state, situated among Catholic Poland-Hungary and pagan Lithuania-Tatars.

In the first quarter of the 14th century the Polish King Wladyslaw Lokietek in his letter to Pope John XXII praised the Ukrainian princes Andriy and Lev II calling them "Scutum inexpugnabilem contra gentem Tartarorum (Impregnable protectors against the Tatar people). However, his son Casimir changed that high opinion of his father and unceasingly molested the Halich Lands requesting financial and military assistance from the West "contra Litfanos, Tartaros and alias infideles ac schismaticos" (against Lithuanians, Tatars and other infidels as well as schismatics), who became "nostri mortali inimici" (our deadly enemies). Able statesman as he was, King Casimir dedicated all his life and all means available to him, disregarding the basic principles of the love of neighbor and creating an opinion in the West that eastward of the Polish borders exists a schismatic savage state, which must be erased from the face of the earth, otherwise it will destroy the West.

He was successful in creating that myth. How different it would have been if the Ukrainian Kingdom and its Church had not restrained their relations with the West. Then Casimir's aggressive plans against them would have found one answer expressed by the German Emperor: "Cum sint reges potentes et fortes, se ipsos defendant ab infidelium incurso" ("Let the powerful and war-like kings defend themselves against the invasion of infidels"). This was the answer of a realistic ruler, who had a good idea of what was hidden behind Casimir's plans and pleadings for help.

During 36 years of his reign King Casimir brought up a new

imperialistic generation of nobles and shlakhta, so that after his death they carried on his plans and designs. The Union of Catholic Poland with a small half-pagan and dynamic Lithuanian nation was a realization of his ideas. The Poles succeeded in creating a cult of "Corona Regnis Poloniae" (Crown of the Polish Kingdom). Only by a promotion of this cult the artificial symbiosis of three nations could have been kept from falling apart in a few decades after the "Personal Union" of Poland with the Lithuanian-Ukrainian Commonwealth.

The lack of adequate resistance on the part of Ukrainian princes, boyars and nobles to the newly-created political situation could be explained not only by the disruption of the organized forms of government due to the repeated raids and invasion of the combined Polish-Hungarian armies, but also by the fact that they regarded the Ukrainian-Lithuanian Commonwealth as their own country.

It is a very well established fact that most of the Lithuanian princes, including the founder of the Lithuanian state, the Grand-prince Gedymin, were related by blood to the Ukrainian princely dynasties, embraced their faith, language, civilization and sincerely protected the people and Church. This explains why they went along and supported Prince Dmytro-Lubart, whom they elected ruler of their kingdom, and later also they supported Yagello's own brother, Svitrihaylo (also Swidrigiello), when he tried to cut off all the relations with Poland. Step by step they had to follow the policy of appeasement and contentment, which was forced upon them by stronger circumstances. In the course of the 15-16th centuries the Ukrainian aristocracy lost the feeling of their national mission and degenerated, so much so that most of them abandoned their own people and joined their enemy's privileged camp for the sake of securing their families' interests. Now it was up to the people themselves to emanate a new generation of leaders, who could re-establish the former rights and freedom on their own soil.\*)

## THE WAY OF LIFE AND CIVILIZATION OF KIEVAN AND HALICH KINGDOMS

### 1. The Way of Life.

Speaking of the way of life of Ukrainians in those two kingdoms one is compelled to make a distinction between life in the

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\*) Here again we would like to clarify the meaning of the term "Rus' Rutheni" used in documents and chronicles, and the term "Ukraine-Ukrain-

cities and that in the villages, because of a very stark contrast between them.

One must not forget that the cities were centres of culture and civilization, with highly developed civic enactments, commercial laws, and regulations. On the other hand, villages were far behind and there is not enough information in contemporary sources to indicate what life was really like, except, of course, in popular songs and various tales.

In these two periods the inhabitants of Ukraine built their homes out of timber, filled in with clay and roofs mostly covered with straw. Richer people built homes with several rooms; princely palaces were spacious and from the 10th century some of them were built of stone.

The common people built their stoves out of baked clay and later of bricks. Fat, vegetable oil, wax candles, while in poor homes wood splinters — supplied the light.

The people made their clothes out of linen, princes and boyars (nobles) used imported silk and brocades. Generally a cloak (svita) was used as an overcoat and in winter as a furcoat (kozukh), made out of sheepskins. Men used high boots and women wore low shoes. Men and women of the higher class used gold and silver ornaments.

The basic food was wheat bread and meat: beef, mutton, pork, geese, ducks, pigeons, or any wild animal. After the introduction of Christianity the Church objected to the use of the meat of some wild animals, and encouraged the use of fish especially during fasts. Milk products and eggs were used in large quantities.

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ians," which appears in chronicles of the 12-13th centuries, concerning some districts of Halich-Volynian Kingdom.

It should be kept in mind that Muscovites assumed the term "Russia-Russians" ("Rossiya, with double "s") in the second decade of the 18th century for political reasons in order to destroy the individuality of the Ukrainian people. However, the self-preserving instinct of the Ukrainians made them abandon the term "Rus'-Rutheni" and assume the term "Ukraine-Ukrainians," since both terms were their historical property.

It is true, that the Ukrainian western provinces, e.g. Galicia, Lemkivschina, Carpatho-Ukraine, having not been exposed to the immediate danger of Russification, used the term Rus'-Rusin (some still use it) up to the modern time.

In this outline we used the modern name and if it was necessary to use the term "Rus'" we added the term "Ukraine," since they both were used by the Ukrainian ancestors, who for thousands of years inhabited the same soil, where their sons live at the present time. It is a sincere belief of this author as well as of all Ukrainian historians, not to mention the people themselves, who are very proud of this modern name — that the term "Rutheni" without the addition of "Ukraini" (even in parenthesis) should never be used in any official document concerning the present day Ukrainians. This will remove any confusion among other nations, because "Natio or populus Ruthenus" live and act under their new name "Ukraine-Ukrainians." It is impossible to turn the wheels of history backwards.

Ukrainian ancestors drank "kvas" made of rye, "med" made of honey, and only the rich had beer and wine in their homes.

Bridegrooms paid a price for their brides and in some regions they were kidnapped by grooms. In Christian times engagements and weddings were performed in church. There was no dissolution of the union, except in case a husband and a wife desired to become a monk or a nun. It was customary for princes in their old-age to abdicate and enter monasteries to pray and do penance for their sins and make themselves ready for death.

In pagan times Ukrainian forefathers used to cremate their dead, but Christianity forbade that custom because of the belief that all will rise from their graves on the Day of Last Judgment.



The monastery of the Caves in Kiev (11th cen.)

## 2. Economy, Industry and Commerce.

The main natural resources of Rus'-Ukraine in both periods were the same as now: land, forests and rivers, that is agriculture, hunting and fishing. They supplied food and provided materials for commerce and payment of taxes.

The world famous Ukrainian black soil (chornozem) gave rich crops even in those ancient times when primitive tools: wooden hacks, were used by Ukrainian forefathers. They planted wheat and buckwheat, in some regions rye and barley. For vegetables they used cabbage, onions, garlic, pumpkins and peas.

Breeding of horses was general, since they were needed for agricultural, transportational and military purposes. Cattle also

were bred for their milk and meat, and oftentimes on small farms peasants used oxen and cows for tilling the land. The breeding of sheep was common in mountainous districts.

Princes and boyars had large estates where labor was done by the so-called "kholopy" (part slaves), "zakupi" (indentured laborers), "izhoi" (freedmen) and free contract labor. The Church vigorously opposed slavery so that it was used very seldom. As an institution it was illegal.

In the course of time the Ukrainian forefathers learned how to make fine things of hemp and flax yarn, for instance, garments, hunting and fishing nets, army tents, boat equipment etc. This was done by men and women at home, and later on by monks and nuns in monasteries. Also pots, pans and vases were made in Ukraine since ancient times.

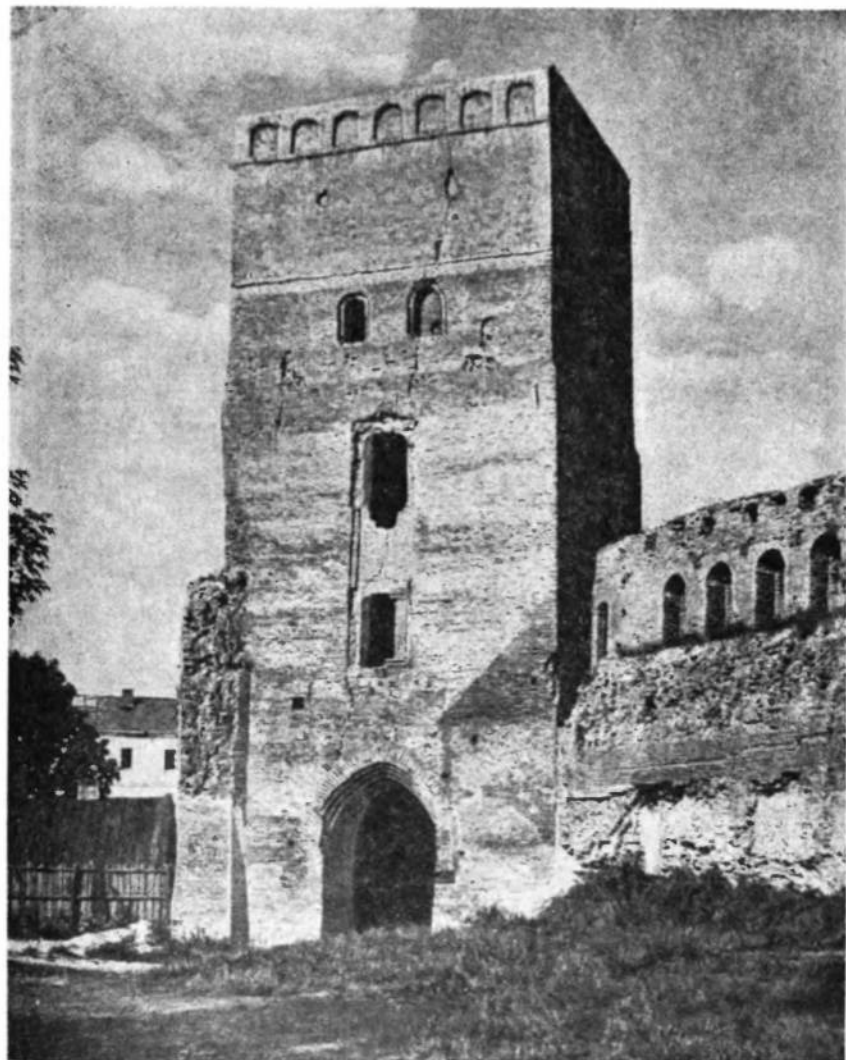
The city of Kiev was the earliest and greatest commercial centre in Eastern Europe and the Dnieper River was the main artery of commerce between the South and the North, and through Halich Lands between the West and the Caspian Sea. In Halich Lands there were more commercial cities: Peremyshl, Halich, Sanok, Zvenyhorod etc.

In those times Ukrainian ancestors exported: furs, honey, wax and slaves, captured in wars, but in Christian times the sale of slaves stopped, and there is no evidence of what the Ukrainian forefathers did with their pagan slaves. Ukraine imported from the southern countries: wine, silk, objects of art, fruit, and glassware; from the eastern countries they imported: silk, satin, steel, and horses.

From the 2-7th centuries A.D. Roman coins were in circulation in Ukraine and archeological excavations unearthed more than one thousand treasures, mostly in territories between the Dnieper River and the Carpathian Mountains, seldom east of the Dnieper. Some of them contained thousands of Roman coins from those centuries. Later Byzantine and Arabic coins were used as exchange money. The princes of both kingdoms minted their own coins.

It is of interest to mention how much human life was worth in those ancient times. The Code of Law under the title "Rus'ka Pravda," introduced by Grand-prince Yaroslav the Wise into general use, sets 40 "hrivnas" (twenty pounds of gold) on a free-man's life; on prince's man 80 "hrivnas" (forty pounds of gold); for the murder of a "smerd" (a free man) one had to pay a fine of 5 "hrivnas." Serfdom, as has been stated, did not legally exist in Ukraine in those times. It is true, there existed a social group of people, which may be called half-free people, but they were not serfs in the strict sense, for if one did not pay his debt in due time





Fortress at Lutsk (13—14th cen.)

with interest he became a "debtor" (zakup) of his creditor and had to work it out. This concerned farmers, merchants, artisans etc. Also enemies captured in war were subject to temporary slavery, if ransom money could not be collected soon.

### 3. Government.

A prince (kahan, or kniaz) originally was an elder of a tribe, elected by the people, but later they established princely dynasties.

A prince was a chief executive and during war commander-in-chief. After the death of Grand-prince Yaroslav the Wise the succession to the throne of Kiev was based on two principles: the right of seniority and the will of people, exercised by popular meetings, called "Viche."

All princes of the Kievan Period had a common heraldic emblem: the Trident (Tryzub), which in various forms can be traced all the way to the second century of the new era, as archeological findings show.

Every prince had a Council of Boyars (nobles) that helped him to run important matters of government of an internal as well as external nature. When a prince was elected by popular referendum ("Viche"), he used to "kiss the cross" with his Council of Boyars, who were descendants of tribal chiefs and their services to the princes were not compulsory and they could quit at any time.

In each Ukrainian city and village all national affairs were discussed in the "Viche" in a friendly way and only the heads of families voted, and the opinion of the majority ruled. Princes were not under obligation to attend the "Viche," except when they called it themselves.

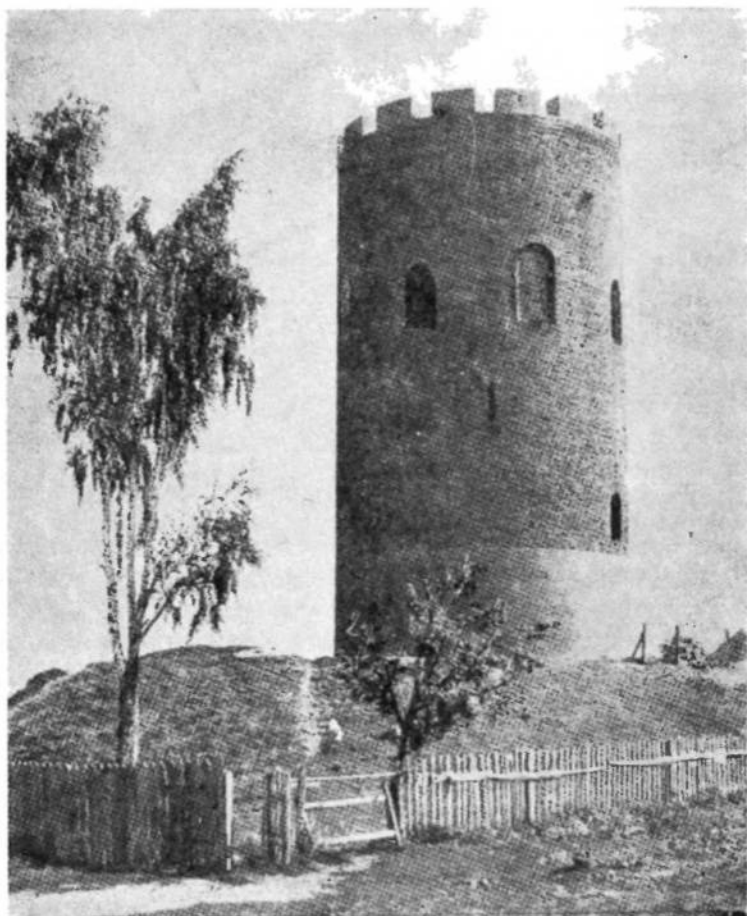
The princes appointed administrative officers: 1) Tysiatsky, chief of a thousand; 2) Sotsky, chief of a hundred; 3) Desiatsky, chief of ten. It is the opinion of scholars that Ukrainian forefathers took decimal system of government from Sarmatians, Huns or Khazars.

Taxes ("dan") were collected from "dym" (smoke, that is from each homestead), and farmers paid them from their "ralo" (plow). Also at the approaches to the cities or bridges tolls ("myto") were collected.

In princely Ukraine justice was done on the basis of three elements: old tribal traditions, princely rules and Church laws and regulations. Bishops were supreme judges over all "church-people" and under their jurisdiction were all offenses against religion and morality. Capital punishment in ancient Ukraine was unknown, it was introduced in the 14th century under the influence of German law and in the eastern part of the country under the influence of Mongol law.

#### **4. Spiritual Life and Civilization.**

In preceding chapters we mentioned the basic traits and characteristics of the pagan faith of Ukrainian ancestors. After conversion to Christianity they kept using some of their ancient customs, but pagan forms had been filled with Christian contents.



The White tower at Kamianets Litovsk (1288 A.D.)

The Holy Liturgy sung by the whole congregation and the reading of the Gospel during the church services in Slavic language was the main source of Christian training and piety of ancient Ukrainians.

They had great devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary and in many Ukrainian cities and villages numerous churches and chapels were placed under Her patronage and protection.

St. Volodimir the Great built in Her honor the "Desiatynna Church" and his son Yaroslav the Wise built other churches, and in 1037 he placed his Empire under the Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Yaroslav's grand-son Volodimir II Monomakh, being a layman himself, composed a beautiful prayer, which he addressed to Jesus and His Mother to protect the city of Kiev as Her city.



Fortress at Bilhorod (1438 A.D.)

It is remarkable that, although most of the Byzantine saints were bishops and monks, the first saints of Ukraine were laymen from princely dynasty, as for instance, St. Olha, St. Volodimir, St. Boris, St. Hlib and the two saintly monks, Theodosius and Antonius of the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev.

This monastery was the earliest centre of spiritual life and piety in Ukraine. In that monastery were written most of the first Ukrainian original books as well as many translations from foreign languages, that spread Christian culture and civilization throughout the country.

The language in which the first Ukrainian books were written was the Church Slavic language, introduced into church services by the two saintly brothers, Cyril and Methodius, the Apostles of the Slavs. We have mentioned before that they made the translation of some Liturgical books from Greek into the Slavic language, after they became acquainted with the language of the Ukrainian forefathers, while going on their "Khazaric Mission." This mission was followed by the "First Baptism" of Rus'-Ukraine during the reign of Prince Askold of Kiev. For these reasons the Church Slavic language was very well understood by the Ukrainian forefathers. It is noteworthy that patriarchs of Constantinople made attempts to replace that language with Greek, but failed because of the strong opposition of the Ukrainian people.

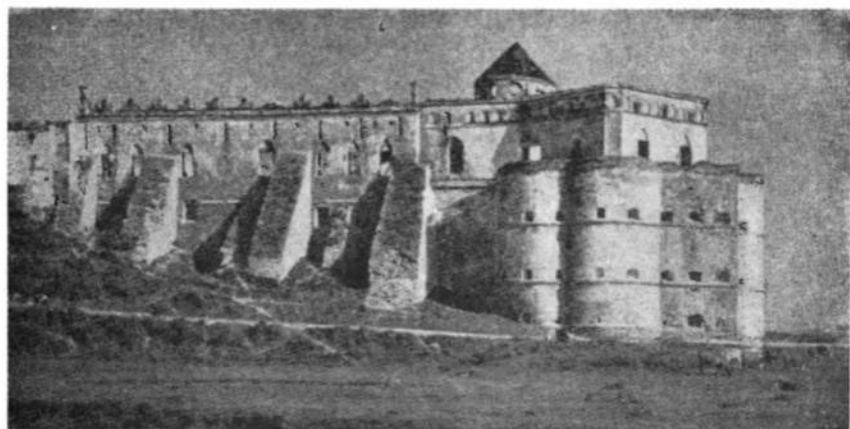
Early Ukrainian original books, except for the epic poem from the second half of the 12th century under the title "Lay of

Ihor's Campaign," were of religious content. In the 11-12th centuries there were a few polemical writings against the Latin Christians, but not even one of them was written by a Ukrainian. Ukrainians did not cultivate any prejudice or hatred against their Latin neighbors. All these polemical works were products of the Greeks, e.g. Nicephorus and Theodosius, sent by patriarchs to Kiev with orders to spread the schism in the Church.

Architecture and fine arts, painting and mosaics, were originally arts of the Church. The most beautiful churches in Kiev were those of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Sophia's; in Halich St. Panteleymon's Church; and in Kholm also of the Blessed Mother. All the princes built beautiful churches in their capital cities. How regrettable it is that except for St. Sophia in Kiev and main foundations in Kholm and Halich, almost all the churches from the 11th century were ruined by wars and fires. There are more churches from the periods under discussion, which were remodeled and are used by the people until the present time.

Concluding this chapter we would like to emphasize that the first Ukrainian chronicle, the source of our information about the Kievan Kingdom was written by the monk Nestor of the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev. It is called "Povist' Vremennykh Lit" (History of Ancient Times). It is very probable that the "Hypatian Chronicle," the source of information on the Halich-Volynian Kingdom was also written by a monk.

It is noteworthy, how both chroniclers dearly loved their country, encouraged the princes and people to mutual love and unity in the spirit of Jesus Christ. They praise good and pious princes and fearlessly castigate and fulminate bad ones. A bad prince invokes God's wrath by his impious deeds. All the wars



Fortress at Mezybizh (14—16th cen.)

among princes and famines are God's punishments for bad men's sins.

Chronicler of the 13th century complains: "These blessed times passed long ago, when our princes instead of hoarding riches defended their fatherland fighting against strange tribes; neither did they oppress their subjects with burdens, being satisfied with just tributes and giving them away to warriors for acquiring better arms. A boyar did not complain to his prince that 200 "hrivnas" were not enough for him; being satisfied with his income he encouraged his companions, saying: "Let us fight for our prince and the Land of Rus' ". At that time the boyars' wives had silver rather than golden rings. Nowadays things are different."

## CHAPTER IV

### LITHUANIAN-UKRAINIAN-BIELORUTHENIAN COMMONWEALTH AND THE NATIONAL REVIVAL

#### Sources and Literature.

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When Grand-duke Yagello (in Ukrainian chronicles: Yahaylo) was elected king of Poland, almost all of Ukraine consisted of small principalities. After the death of Prince Dmytro-Lubart of Volynia

his son, Fedir, became his successor and exercised influence over the rest of the principalities. Prince Fedir Koriatovich was in Podolia and Volodimir Olgerdovich ruled in Kiev over the territories beyond the Dnieper River.

Princes of Lithuanian origin, who were born in Ukraine, embraced the faith and Eastern Rite, language and culture of Ukraine, and ruled the country according to its ancient laws and traditions. They used to say: "We do not abolish the old, neither introduce the new." This was the main reason why Ukrainian princes, nobles, gentry, Church hierarchy and the people went along with them. But when Lithuania proper officially embraced the Roman Catholic Faith and fell under the influence of Poland there were several attempts to destroy that freedom, although until the year of 1569 most of the Ukrainian principalities managed to retain their broad autonomy.

On the other hand, under Polish domination in Halich lands Ukrainians were not permitted to hold higher offices and very soon they were demoted to a class of "second-rate" citizens. Also the Ukrainian Church was mistreated, e.g. King Yagello in 1442 seized the ancient Ukrainian Church in Peremyshl and donated it to a Polish bishop, having exhumed from its subterranean crypts all the bones of Ukrainian princes and bishops that were buried there. When after the conclusion of the Union in Florence Cardinal Isidore visited that city in 1440, that church was in the possession of the Polish bishop and there was no Ukrainian bishop in Pere-myshl, because the King kept that see vacant. This policy of extermination forced Ukrainian princes, boyars and gentry, e.g. Dashko Ostrozky, Alexander Nos etc. to take up a fight for their rights and they supported Yagello's brother, Svitrihaylo, the Prince of Volynia.

How important was the part played by the Ukrainian principalities in those days is explained by one unusual event. In January 1429 in the Ukrainian city of Lutsk, which was Svitrihaylo's capital a Congress of European powers took place, attended personally by the German Emperor Sigmund of Luxemburg, King Yagello, Grand-duke Vitovt, representatives of the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Paleologos, of the Teutonic Knights, the Grand-duke of Moscow, the Tatar Khan, the Hospodar of Moldavia as well as several Ukrainian princes. We have information that on the agenda of the Congress was the final partition of the Ukrainian-Lithuanian Commonwealth from Poland, favored by the German Emperor, who was at the same time King of Hungary and Bohemia. However, Yagello refused to co-operate. After Vitovt's death in 1430 a war broke out between the two brothers: Yagello and





Fortress at Terebowla (14th cen.)

Svitrihaylo for the Grand-duchy of Lithuania. The former made an attempt to seize other Ukrainian principalities. Finally, he recognized Svitrihaylo and was allowed to keep the Ukrainian fortress of Kamenets in Podolia.

The truce did not last long and a new war was terminated by a treaty: Yagello received Podolia and Svitrihaylo retained Volynia. In a new war (1435) the latter was aided by the Teutonic Knights, who invaded Lithuania, but were defeated. In 1440 two of Svitrihaylo's partisans: Princes Ivan and Alexander Chortoryjskys, assassinated Grand-duke Sigismund, with the intention of electing Svitrihaylo in his place. But this attempt, too, failed and young Casimir was chosen by the Lithuanian nobles to the Grand-duchy. Casimir proved himself more liberal and did not interfere in the internal affairs of the Ukrainian principalities.

The principality of Kiev enjoyed full autonomy under the powerful Prince Olelko. His son, Semen, after Grand-duke Casimir's

succession to the Polish throne was the most powerful candidate to the Grand-duchy, but because of King Casimir's political manoeuvre the crowning of Grand-dukes was abolished. When Prince Semen died in 1470 the Lithuanian nobles elected their own man, Martin Hashtovt, for the principality of Kiev and Semen's family was given a petty principality of Slutsk. This was the reason why Prince Michael Olelkovich conspired against the king, having secured the help of Muscovy and Moldavia. However, the plot was discovered by the king's spies in 1481 in the stage of preparation and all its participants were beheaded, except the Prince of Bilsk, who escaped to Moscow under the protection of Grand-prince Ivan.

Thus for the first time in the history of Ukraine a Muscovite prince was asked to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ukrainian people and help in the fight against Polish-Lithuanian supremacy. After this failure several border princes joined Muscovy with their lands and people. To prevent this exodus Lithuanian Grand-duke Alexander, married the daughter of the Muscovite prince, Helen, and under the Treaty of 1494 secured Ivan's promise not to interfere in Ukrainian affairs. The treaty was ineffective, since in the year of 1500 several border princes broke off again and joined Muscovy, and almost the entire principality of Chernihiv joined Muscovy.

At this period Muscovites came up with the idea "to defend Christians of Greek Rite against the oppression of Roman Catholics." At the beginning it was used with great success to make small territorial gains, but later to justify Muscovy's interference in the internal affairs of neighboring states. The Muscovites developed a plan to make out of Moscow a political as well as religious center, that would be in a good position to compete with Rome and Constantinople. The first step to this was the announcement that Prince Ivan III Vasilevich became "Czar and Autocrator of all Rus' ", and Muscovite bishops and monks worked out a theory that Moscow was a "Third Rome," since Rome and Constantinople "fell into hopeless heresy."

Moscow's interference into Ukrainian affairs came soon again. The Ukrainian princes and nobles under the leadership of Prince Mykhaylo Hlynsky, a man of great courage and ability, educated in western Europe, made an insurrection with the aim to liberate Ukraine from Polish-Lithuanian supremacy. In 1507 he received some help from Muscovy and started the war. But when the Muscovites rushed to occupy Bielorruthenian districts, the local princes seeing Hlynsky's difficult position refused to go along. Alone, he was unable to face the combined Polish-Lithuanian army and

retreated. He tried once more and even seized the city of Smolensk, but could not change the state of affairs in Ukraine.

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As we have seen some of the Ukrainian princes and nobles carried the entire responsibility of the struggle to liberate Ukrainian lands. The common people did not share their feelings and this was the main cause of all the failures. For the first time during Prince Hlynsky's insurrection the call "defend your Greek Faith against the Roman Catholic oppression" reached the lower clergy and the common people of some districts, e.g. the inhabitants of the town Mozir opened the gates and greeted Prince Hlynsky with a solemn procession and religious ceremony.

The real cause of the people's indifference was the very sad state of their social status in those times. The people did not realize that any improvement of their social position and justice could become a reality in their own independent state. The Ukrainian people, of course, were no exception in this respect, since similar social order existed in other European countries. But during all these struggles and turmoils the common people of Ukraine very soon found out that any betterment of their rights could be achieved by a hard struggle against their political oppressors in the first place.

Already at the end of the 15th century in some Carpathian districts of Galicia (Halichina) there operated a national hero, the "Chief Mukha," with thousands of his brave men ravaging estates of the Polish nobles, that had been taken away from Ukrainian boyars. This Ukrainian Robin Hood enjoyed the people's full support and spread the idea of national liberation from foreign yoke.

At the beginning of the 16th century in Ukraine a general movement came into being, promoted by the church-brotherhoods, organized in cities and towns. The most important of them was established in Lviv by the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and it became a pattern for all brotherhoods. Step-by-step this movement became a great national and political force.

Almost simultaneously another great force of military nature came into being. A part of the Tatars broke from the "Golden Horde," settled in the Crimean Peninsula and in the course of time they were forced to submit themselves to Turkish supremacy. They cultivated friendly relations with Muscovy and were encouraged by it to attack and plunder Ukrainian territories. When after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Turks started their wars on the European continent the Crimean Tatars repeated their raids almost every year and many Ukrainian men, women and children

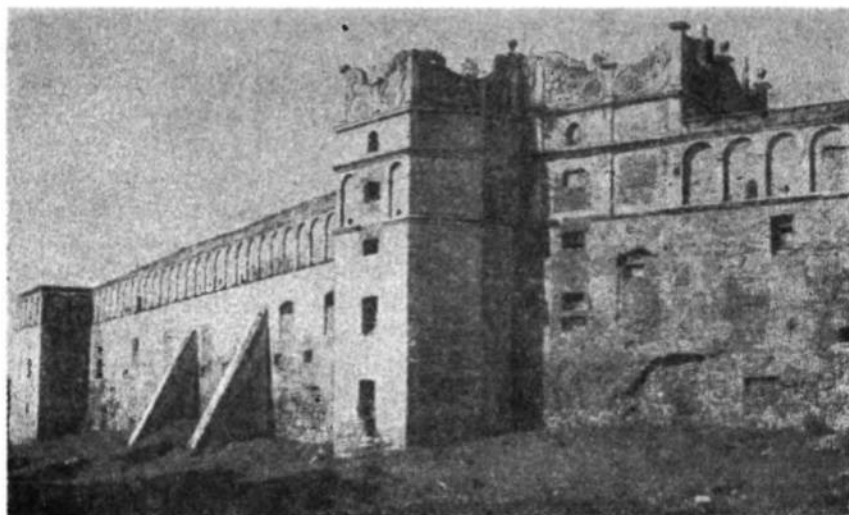
were taken away and sold at the markets of the Crimean cities as slaves. In 1482 the Tatars captured Kiev and as a token of friendship they sent to Prince Ivan III in Moscow a golden chalice robbed from St. Sophia's Church. The city was completely sacked and its Governor Ivan Khodkevich, who was very active in matters of religious reunion of the Ukrainian Church with the West, lost his life. On account of all those raids, systematically instigated by Muscovy, the Ukrainian population slowly moved to the north and to the west leaving thus vacant land, especially districts of the lower Dnieper River. That empty country, as we may call it, in the course of time became an attraction for young and brave men. Notwithstanding the danger from the Tatars these people started moving there from Halichina (Galicia) and Volynia in order to escape the oppression of landlords. These brave men called themselves Kozaks (also Cossaks).

The first authentic message of the presence of Kozaks in the southern parts of Ukraine is available from the year 1492, when the Khan of Crimea complained that the Kozaks seized one of his ships. Next year the Ukrainian Prince Bohdan Hlynsky took the Tatar fortress Ochakiv at Dnieper's estuary by storm and again the Khan called him and his men the Kozaks.

It must be mentioned that the word "Kozak" still did not refer to a separate class of people, but rather to their occupation, since in the ranks of the Kozaks were farmers, townspeople, gentry, even adventurous princes and royal officials, as for instance, Ostap Dashkovich, Preslav Lantskoronsky, Karpo Maslo, Bilous and many others. The Kozaks elected their chiefs who organized raids against the Tatars, freed Christian slaves and took booty.

In the beginning the number of Kozaks was not so large. In order to protect themselves from surprise attacks by the Tatars they built little forts, called "Sich." Later on they organized a great Kozak Union with the centre in Zaporozhia, that is below the Dnieper Rapids, so that they could not be reached by any officials of the King as well as Tatars. There the Kozaks established a military organization, introduced discipline and very soon gained in power and significance.

In 1550 the Ukrainian Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, called also Bayda, was chosen "Hetman" of the Kozaks and built a strong fortress on the Dnieper island of Khortytsia, where a garrison was located. This Hetman organized the Kozaks as a political power. He, for instance, waged a real war against the Tatars in 1556. The next winter the Khan came with his army and besieged the Sich on Khortytsia, but he returned home with empty hands. The following summer he arrived with a still greater army and forced



Ostrozkys' Castle at Stare Selo (1584 A.D.)

the Hetman to retreat from the island, but in 1558 Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky took the Tatar city of Aslemkermen by storm and stayed there till autumn. Vyshnevetsky also fought the Turks in Wallachia and there he was captured by treachery and put to death in Constantinople.

He was succeeded by another Prince Bohdan Ruzhynsky from Volynia and he, too, was captured in battle and put to death in Aslemkermen. But the most outstanding of all the early hetmans was Ivan Pidkova, who seized Moldavia from the Turks in 1577. He was captured by the Poles interested in Moldavian affairs and beheaded in the city of Lviv.

Successful raids and wars against the Turks and Tatars developed a very strong desire of the Ukrainian people for complete freedom from any supremacy whatsoever. The Kozaks refused to be subject to any authority and submitted themselves only to those whom they elected to be their hetmans for a certain period of time. During a war the hetmans were commanders-in-chief and during peaceful times they were chief executives.

Small wonder that the large masses of population were eager to join the Kozaks and especially when oppression by Polish landlords became unbearable. Young and brave men, leaving behind their poor huts and their families, joined the Kozaks. People gained new faith that the day was near when the Kozaks would chase away all oppressors and make Ukraine a free land for a free people. That great faith is to be found in numerous popular songs, called "dumas," composed in those times by unknown poets from among

the oppressed people and which to this day are still being sung by all Ukrainians throughout the world.

In the second half of the 16th century the Polish King Sigismund August, who was at the same time the Lithuanian Grand-duke, favored a closer union between the two peoples. The joint Polish-Lithuanian Diet on August 10-12, 1569, convened in the city of Lublin and under the pressure of the Polish majority came up with the so-called "Real Union" of Poland and Lithuania, which deprived the latter of its independence. This "Union" actually erased Lithuania from the map of Europe as a free nation. Thus the Polish-Lithuanian "co-operation" as equal partners came to an end. It is noteworthy that King Sigismund August before that Diet promised the Poles that all Ukrainian principalities of the Grand-duchy would be united with the Kingdom of Poland, and he immediately took all the necessary measures to incorporate Ukrainian territories under Polish rule.

This development changed the whole political and social structure of these territories. It is true, however, that King Sigismund August did not introduce the Polish language there and left in force the so-called "Lithuanian Statutes" that were based on "Rus'ka Pravda," and created separate court of appeals for Ukrainian territories. This shows his good will, but in practice the whole army of royal officials and gentry immediately appeared in Ukraine with king's "diplomas," by which they became new landlords of large estates that never belonged to any king, neither to Poland, but to the Ukrainian boyars, nobles and the people.

All those "newly-baked" landlords immediately started introducing a system of social injustice and serfdom. They themselves received many rights and privileges and no responsibilities, except to enrich themselves as soon as possible. They were free from military service and paid no taxes. They could establish laws and enforce them, for they employed small military bands. They also elected judges from among themselves. It is a well established fact that the kings of Poland were powerless and they themselves oftentimes were compelled to yield before the will of the gentry (shlakhta). Who was to punish the gentry's lawlessness and misdeeds in Ukraine? There was no law, no power that could have reached the shlakhta. The common people had to be completely at their mercy.

This state of national and social injustice, as has been mentioned, prevailed in Halichina since the beginning of the 15th century and now the Polish shlakhta hastened to introduce it in newly-acquired territories. Peasants were deprived of titles to their farms and could not move freely without their landlords' permission. If

a peasant should secretly desert his village he was prosecuted as a criminal, since he was considered the personal property of the landlord. Little by little the peasants of newly-occupied lands were deprived of all personal, social and, no need to say, political rights. There was nobody to appeal to, for how could one appeal to any court, if he could not move to a neighboring village without his landlord's permission? Would one landlord condemn another for the same crimes he himself committed? There was no legal way of defense.

In Halichina (also Galicia) the Polish landlords by the grace of kings took over the possessions of Ukrainian nobles, some of whom for the sake of keeping these possessions abandoned their own people and joined the camp of Polish *shlakhta*. In those times taxes were paid in the form of honey, wax, livestock and grain. But from the moment when foreign markets opened the gentry one-by-one seized the peasants' best lands and added them to their estates. Now peasants instead of paying taxes were compelled to work a few days every week on their landlords' estates without any pay whatsoever. In this way serfdom, called "*panschina*," was introduced in Halichina.

This was the reason that the bravest people were secretly leaving their homes and joining the Kozaks. They had to go at night in order not to be caught by the landlords' men, called "*hay-dukes*." He, who was lucky enough to reach the Kozaks, was a free man. There plowing his field in peaceful times had to carry a rifle on his back and a sword at his side, and he was ready to follow the hetman's call, when the time of emergency came.

After the "Real Union of Lublin" in 1569 the Polish gentry followed those brave people to the steppes like a plague of mosquitoes or locusts, showing them "royal diplomas" and claiming those lands to be their property. It is evident that the Kozaks refused to accept any landlords, to pay taxes or to go to the royal courts, since they had already established their own government of their own free land. Now the gentry organized their force, since every kozak was a brave warrior. Thus the landlords started wars against the Kozaks.

For the purpose of keeping the Kozaks in check the royal administration introduced a ruse: it was willing to "register" a certain number of Kozaks (for instance in 1583 about 600, and in 1590 about 1,000) and the remaining "unregistered" had to return to their landlords' estates. But the Kozaks would not go into slavery and the ruse did not work. The number of Kozaks grew so that by the end of the 16th century they made their raids against

the Tatars and Turks almost every year, liberating Christian slaves, plundering their cities and coming home rich with spoils.

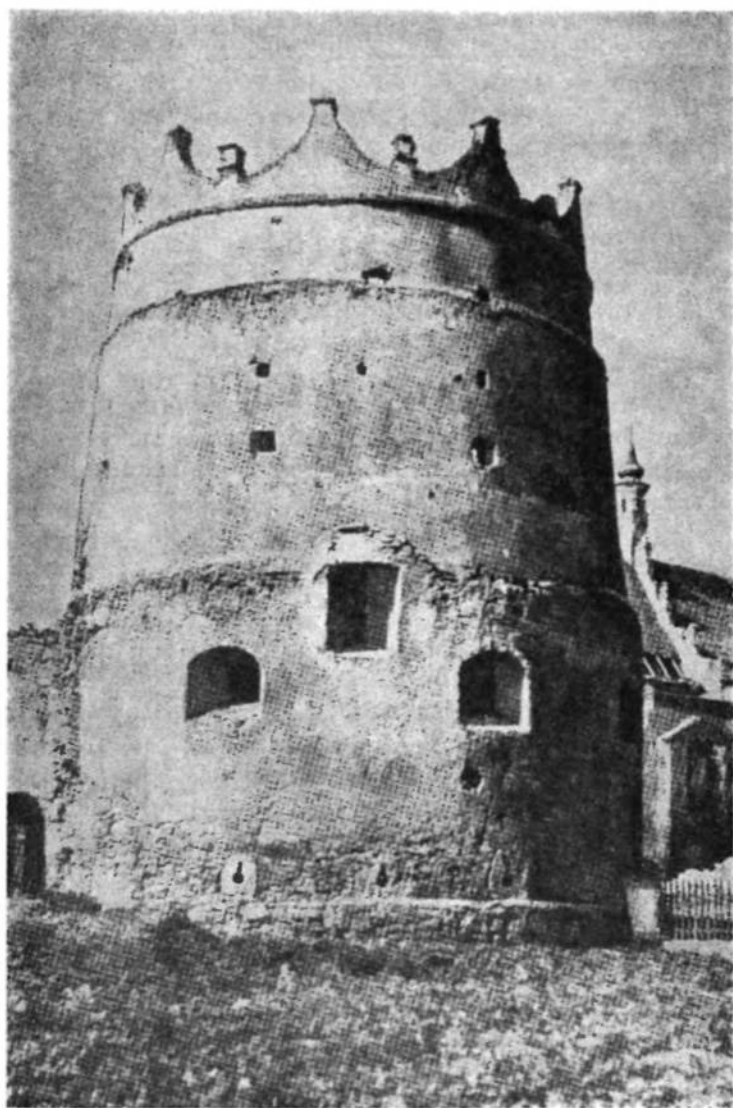
The entire population of Ukraine recognized Kozak authority, which year by year spread northward into the provinces of Kiev, Braslav, and further north, where Polish magnates had their estates. It oftentimes happened that in the midst of the landlords' estates used to appear tents of the Kozak officials to collect from the population supplies needed for the Kozak Army. This caused small and bigger wars with landlords, e.g. Christopher Kosynsky in 1590 attacked the estate of Prince Constantine Ostrozky near the town of Bila Tserkva, captured Kiev, Pereyaslav and other cities. Thus having become master of the Kiev district he conquered Volynia and forced the landlords to recognize Kozak authority. Although Prince Ostrozky was of Ukrainian nationality, he defended his interests and hired foreign mercenaries. He succeeded in defeating Kosynsky near the town of Pyatka, but he could not remove Kozak influence from his estates.

In 1593 as a result of a war against Prince Vyshnevetsky the Kozaks seized control over all Left-Bank Ukraine, that is the lands east of the Dnieper River. Here it should be mentioned that the Kozaks, being occupied with wars in this period did not intend to break off with the Commonwealth and did not care much to establish Ukrainian civil administration. What is worse, the Kozak leaders (e.g. Nalyvayko), who established their authority in "Volosti," considered themselves independent of the Zaporozhian Kozaks, called "Nyzovi," creating thus two centres, which weakened the internal power and solidarity of the Kozak Host. At this time the fame of the courage and bravery of the Kozaks spread abroad and even the German Emperor and the Apostolic See of Rome by a special Legate Msgr. Komulovich tried to gain the Kozaks for the anti-Turkish League, since the Turks had already occupied a large part of Hungary.

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Generally speaking, the early Kozak leaders, e.g. Prince Bohdan Ruzhynsky, Yuriy Pats, Prince Dmytro Putiatych (end of the 15th century), who were also royal officials, organized raids against the Tatars. However, in the beginning of the 16th century the Kozak Hetmans, e.g. Ostap Dashkovich, Prince Predislav Lanzkoronsky, Prince Ivan Ostrozky (the latter was called "summum cum Tartaris belli gerendi imperator"), Prince Semen Pronsky, Prince Fedor Sangushko, Prince Bohush Koretsky, — being appointed by the king were also elected by the Kozaks and defended





Fortress at Lehychiv (15—16th cen.)

Ukraine not only against the Tatars, but also made their raids against Muscovy. Beginning with the Prince Dmytro Vyshnevet-sky, who organized the "Sich" below the Dnieper Rapids in the 1550's, his successors of the 16th century, e.g. Prince Bohdan Ruzhynsky, Ivan Pidkova, Shakh, Prince Mykola Vyshnevetsky, — interferred in the internal affairs of Moldavia. The Hetmans: Christopher Kosynsky, Bohdan Mykoshynsky, Hryhor Loboda, Severin Nalyvayko, Baybuza, Krempsky, — having been raised

to the hetmancy by the Kozaks, exercised great authority not only in the Zaporozhian Host, but also in "Volosti," that is all the rest of the Ukrainian territories, where numerous magnates had acquired their estates by king's "diplomas," and thus severed relations between magnates and the people. This caused many uprisings and wars.

The Hetmans of the first half of the 17th century, e.g. Samiylo Kishka, Ivan Kosy, Havryil Krutnevich, Ivan Kutskovich, Hryhor Isapovich, Olenchenko, Dmytro Barabash, Olipher Holub, Marko Zhmaylo, Borodawka, Mykhaylo Doroshenko, and especially Petro Sahaydachny, — gained control in Ukraine and were able to influence some laws of the Commonwealth.

The Hetmans of 1630-40's, e.g. Hryhor Chorny, Ivan Sulima, Lev Ivanovich, Pavluk, Ostryanyn and Hunia, — making uprisings allied themselves with the Tatars in their fight against the Poles and Ottoman Empire. This was a turning point of the Kozak power and step-by-step the Zaporozhian Army became an element of national as well as international importance.

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The center of the Kozak power was the Zaporozhian Sich on Bazavluk Island, called Chortomlytske Dniprysche, and also on Khortytsia Island. The "Free Kozak Army," as they called themselves, was composed of regiments, regularly 500 men, which had five companies divided in 10 "tenths." Sometimes, for instance, during Khotyn campaign of Sahaydachny, regiments had 1,600-4,000 men.

Hetmans were elected by the Kozaks at their General Councils, since they refused to accept "appointed hetmans," even though in their relations with the king they used the following formula: "Hetman, Colonels, Captains and all the Knights of your Royal Majesty's Zaporozhian Army." The Hetman and in exceptional cases the Kozaks themselves convoked the General Council and there all important decisions, e.g. elections of hetmans, raids and campaigns etc. were made by the Kozaks, "referendum." Elected hetmans exercised the highest authority and power, including capital punishments for breaking of the Kozaw discipline. On the other hand, it happened that the Kozaks removed some incapable hetmans from office, especially during or after an unsuccessful campaign, and sometimes they were punished by death for their mistakes. Thus the highest authority of the Kozak Army was based on democratic principles and exercised by all the Kozaks at their General Councils where they showed their consent or disapproval by raising or throwing their fur caps among loud-voiced cries.

Small wonder that every Ukrainian wanted to become a Kozak, especially when he was forced by his landlord to do servile work. Having escaped from his master and come to the lands under Kozak authority, one was considered a free man, a Kozak, and there he built a home and established "khutir," where he stayed with his wife and family at the time of peace. Every Kozak used a rifle and sword, sometimes a short lance and very seldom arrows. Their uniforms were simple: a linen shirt, a long cloak (kyrea), baggy pants (sharavary) and leather high boots. Every Kozak grew a mustache and shaved his head, except for an Indian-like strip on the top of his head, called "oseledets," which he covered with his fur cap. The Kozak wives were not permitted to stay in Sich. During their husbands' absence they had to take care of their families and defend their "khutirs" against any surprise enemy attack, and they were helped by sons and daughters.

On their maritime expeditions the Kozaks used "chaykas," canoes 60 ft. long, 10-12 wide and 12 ft. deep, which could accommodate 50-70 men and all supplies, including a cannon.

## UKRAINIAN CHURCH IN THE 15-16th CENTURIES

The last Metropolitan of Halich, Anthonius, died in 1391 and Bishop Ivan of Lutsk was nominated by King Yagello to succeed him, but the patriarch declined to recognize this nomination. Notwithstanding the tragic events in Halich Lands the patriarch decided to abolish again the Metropolitan See of Halich and transfer all the faithful under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of "Kiev and all Rus'", who moved his seat to the north.

Now Ukrainian and Whiteruthenian bishops, gathered in a Synod at Horodok on November 15, 1415, elected Hryhor Tsamblak to the Metropolitan See, but he too was denied patriarchal canonical institution, most probably, on account of his pro-western activities. Very soon with the consent of King Yagello Metropolitan Hryhor went with a large delegation to Constance to take part at western unionistic Synod in 1418 with the intention to effect a Union of his Metropolia with the Holy See of Rome. Though on account of various religious and political reasons (it was the time of so called "Great Schism" in the West) his project did not materialize during his episcopacy, the historical fact remains that the idea of Church Union in the first half of the 15th century was originated by the Metropolitan See of Kiev and then it was followed by the Greek Church.

Twenty years later during the pontificate of Pope Eugene IV the Ecumenical Council was held in Ferrara-Florence (1439),

where the Patriarch Joseph II and Emperor John VIII Paleologos, and many Greek bishops as well as representatives of other eastern patriarchs recognized the authority of the Holy See of Rome. At Florence was also present Metropolitan Hryhor's successor, Metropolitan Isidore of "Kiev and All Rus'", being one of the chief promoters of that important event.

Here one point is to be clarified. The Kievan Metropolitan See since its beginning in the 11th century was under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, and it is evident that during almost one year of discussions in Ferrara-Florence the Kievan Metropolia was being considered a part of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Pope Eugene IV having to deal with a good-willed Patriarch and the Emperor could not discuss separately any affairs of any metropolitan see that belonged to Constantinople. Thus the Union of Florence did not bring any change in juridical relations between Kiev and Constantinople. Consequently, after the conclusion of the Union, Ukrainian metropolitans continued to seek patriarchal appointments before their consecration and canonical installation.

In Florence, indeed, nobody could have had the slightest idea that the fall of Constantinople was at hand and the Union would be jeopardized very soon, otherwise Rome would have, very probably, demanded direct jurisdiction over at least the Metropolitan See of Kiev, since the unionistic action of Metropolitan Hryhor could not have been forgotten by that time. In short, the Greek patriarchs under the sultan's pressure disrupted the Union of Florence and through old channels they were in a position to influence the Ukrainian Church.

Meanwhile after the conclusion of the Union of Florence Metropolitan Isidore was appointed Apostolic Legate and sent by Pope Eugene IV to proclaim that event in his vast Metropolia. In Ukraine he was received very friendly, but Muscovy refused to acknowledge the Union and there Isidore was imprisoned. He escaped, but it must be said with regret, that he did not settle in Kiev, where he was recognized by Prince Olelko and given all the former property of the Metropolia.

On his way to Rome Metropolitan Isidore met King Wladislaw in Buda at the moment of his preparations for a crusade against the Turks, — and in 1443 a special royal decree was promulgated to all the subjects of Hungary, Poland and the Lithuanian-Ukrainian Commonwealth, that from now on the Church of the Byzantine Rite will enjoy the same rights and privileges as that of the Roman Rite. This decree was the great success of the Union of Florence and for a certain period of time improved the position of the Church in Ukraine.



Fortress at Uzhorod (15—17th cen.)

In the meantime the Muscovite Grand-duke appointed Bishop Jonas of Kazan to the Metropolitan See of Moscow and he broke off all relations with Rome and Constantinople. Thus the first time in the history of Slavic peoples' a schism was officially announced in Moscow.

On the other hand, when Metropolitan Isidore resigned, Pope Pius II appointed his close associate, monk Hryhor, to take charge of Kievan Metropolia with its nine suffragan sees. He was consecrated by Patriarch Gregory Mammias of Constantinople and sent to Kiev. Now Metropolitan Hryhor called a Synod to Brest in 1460 and there the Union of Kievan Metropolia with the Holy See in Rome was approved, accepted and announced to the faithful.

In the meantime after the death of schismatic Jonas in 1461 his successor Theodosius followed in his footsteps. He without any canonical approval whatsoever took the title of "Metropolitan of Moscow," and thus the final division between schismatic Moscow and Catholic Kiev became an accomplished fact.

Metropolitan Hryhor II before his death in 1472 was recognized also by Patriarch Dionisius of Constantinople (1466-71, 1489-91), who at the same time condemned Metropolitan Phillip of Moscow. After four years of vacancy Misail Drutsky was appointed to the Metropolitan See of Kiev and he also recognized the Union of Florence, as it appears from his letter to Pope Sixtus IV, in which he sought his approval and canonical installation. That interesting letter was signed by the Ukrainian bishops and prominent laymen, e.g. Kievan Prince Michael Olelkovich, Prince Theo-

dore of Bila, Prince Viazemsky, senator Khodkevich, three Soltan brothers, ihumen Makary and others.

Metropolitan Misail's successors: Simeon (1481-84), Jonas I Glezna (1484-94) and Makary, very probably, also recognized the authority of the Holy See of Rome. The latter was killed by Tatars during his canonical visitation at the village of Stryholovy in Volynia. His successor Metropolitan Joseph I Bolharinovich received his canonical institution from Patriarch Niphont II of Constantinople in May 1498. On this occasion the Patriarch encouraged him to remain faithful to the Roman See, since "the breach of the Church brought unhappiness and misery to the Greeks." Metropolitan Joseph's institution was confirmed by Patriarch Niphont's successor Joachim I.

Thus slowly the Union of Florence would have taken root in Ukraine, if the Christians of the Byzantine Rite would have found adequate understanding and sympathy on the part of government. But it was not the case and very soon measures were taken to restrict all rights to higher offices to Roman Catholics only. The Byzantine Rite Christians considered this an injustice, since they were under the authority of the same pope. To justify this discrimination reports were sent to Rome with accusations that the "Greeks" are schismatics, for their clergy married, they use a deprecativ form of baptism, they receive Holy Communion under two species, they do not believe in purgatory etc. All these ancient customs of the Eastern Church were recognized by the Ecumenical Council of Florence and now once more approved by Pope Alexander VI. Yet it did not help much, e.g. Primate Jan Laski raised the same accusations at the 5th Lateran Council in 1512-1517.

There is evidence that Metropolitan Joseph signed his obedience to the Holy See of Rome on August 12, 1500, and recognized the decrees of the Council of Florence. It is most probable that his successor Metropolitan Jonas II (1503-1507) followed in his footsteps. Metropolitan Joseph II Soltan (1507-1521) in spite of stronger discriminatory measures of government adhered to the Florentine decrees, though he also maintained good relations with the Patriarch of Constantinople. After his death King Sigismund I promulgated in 1522 a royal edict forbidding "All Christians of Greek Faith" to hold important offices throughout his domain. This intolerant decree became a permanent law of the state and in this way great harm was done to the unionistic idea among the Ukrainian and Bieloruthenian Christians, not to mention the Halich Lands under Poland.

Metropolitan Joseph II's successors from 1522 to 1588: Makary II, Sylvester, Jonas III, Elias, Onysyphor, — were appointed



A cross from Carpatho-Ukraine

by the King, who assumed the exclusive right of nominating Ukrainian bishops. Having received their office by the grace of the King and sometimes the confirmation of the patriarch, they did not seek papal approval and thus alienated themselves from the unity of the Church.

It happened that some of them were laymen, sometimes even unworthy of their high office and instead of taking care of their faithful they accumulated earthly goods. The Ukrainian Church step-by-step was losing its sense of Christian oneness, restored by the Council of Florence, and fell into a state of decadence. It could not satisfy the spiritual needs of its members and especially of noble families, whose young members went abroad and there a tremendous cultural movement, called the Renaissance, and the Protestant rebellion against the Holy See of Rome set in motion a great Catholic spiritual revival, highlighted by the decrees of the Council of Trent.

The Polish Church after this Council received highly educated and vigorous foreign missionaries, mostly of Italian and Spanish origin, from the Society of Jesus, founded by St. Ignatius Loyola. They preached in churches throughout the country and taught in their famous schools, attended by the children of Ukrainian nobles. All this made the Roman Catholic Church attractive to them, and hundreds and thousands of Ukrainian nobles renounced their own Church and national heritage. This was the hardest blow suffered by the Ukrainian nation since the loss of its independence. The Ukrainian people were almost completely deprived of their upper class and were left with "khlop and pop" (with the peasants and priests), as some ironically would say.

It is evident that the patriotic clergy and the remnants of the Ukrainian nobility must have come to the conclusion that something radical should be done as soon as possible. The powerful Prince Constantine Ostrozky, whose own children abandoned their fathers' Byzantine Rite and national heritage, at first was of the opinion that an approach to Rome should be made again and the Union of Florence renovated, but he would include the entire Eastern Church, including Constantinople, Moscow and Moldavia. The realization of this proposition seemed at this period impossible, since the Muscovites and Greeks during the 15-16th centuries strayed too far away, and would have done anything to jeopardize the mere idea of Church Union. There, of course, was a much shorter way: the Ukrainian Church separately could ask the Holy See of Rome for the renovation of the Union of Florence and submit itself to the authority and jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiffs. This was the only way to raise the Ukrainian Church from





St. Mary's del Fiore Church at Florence, Italy, where the Union between the West and East was proclaimed on July 6, 1439

decadence and to prevent the desertion of its children to strange camps, and by the help of the Holy See to regain its ancient rights.

The necessity of realization of this idea was hastened by Patriarch Jeremia II, who maintained friendly relations with Rome and very probably this was the cause of his removal from office by the Sultan. We know that the Patriarch was encouraged by the royal Chancellor Jan Zamojski to transfer his seat to Kiev and from there administer the entire Eastern Church. However, Patriarch Jeremia II, having received the Sultan's permission to go to Muscovy, there created a new Patriarchate in 1589. On this occasion he visited Ukrainian cities and took some punitive measures, e.g. he removed Metropolitan Onysyphor from his office and appointed Michael Rohoza in his place. To check his activities he nominated Bishop Kyrylo Terletsky of Lutsk Patriarchal Exarch. He raised the Brotherhood of Lviv to the rank of "Stauropigia," thus giving its members the right to look after Bishop Balaban and to make reports to Constantinople. All these measures were hasty and controversial, and they deepened confusion already in existence.

Now it became imperative to seek reunion with Rome. Such

a decision was made by Bishops: Balaban of Lviv, Kyrylo Terletsky of Lutsk, Metropolitan Rohoza, Kopystensky of Peremyshl, Ipatiy Potiy of Volodimir-Brest, Dionisi Zbyruysky of Kholm-Belz, Leonty Pelchynsky of Pinsk-Turiv, Hryhor of Polotsk, — and numerous prominent clergy and monks.

When preliminary discussions with Papal Nuncio Archbishop Malaspina were successfully completed and the King gave his assurance that the Ukrainian Church would freely cultivate its Eastern Rite and ancient traditions, and that it would receive the same rights and enjoy the same privileges as that of the Latin Rite, — Bishops Terletsky and Ipatiy Potiy had been chosen by the hierarchy, given full authority to speak on their behalf and to ask Pope Clement VIII to formerly accept the Ukrainian Church under the direct jurisdiction of St. Peter's Chair.

Both Bishops went to Rome and their petition was discussed for almost two months on the basis of decrees of the Council of Florence. On December 23, 1595, in the presence of Pope Clement VIII, Cardinals and foreign diplomats at the Hall of Constantine in the Vatican both Ukrainian bishops: Terletsky in Ukrainian and Potiy in Latin, made Profession of Faith, prescribed by the Council of Florence, and the solemn act of reunion took place.

Thus an event of paramount importance was accomplished. It was brought to the attention of the entire Church by the special Apostolic Constitution of Pope Clement VIII, which gave solemn assurance that all the rights and traditions of the Ukrainian Church would be respected, safeguarded and preserved by the Holy See of Rome for centuries to come.

\* \* \*

In the meantime Prince Constantine Ostrozky, who was not included in final discussions, was deeply hurt and threw all his power and influence against the Church Union. He called an anti-Synod of lower clergy and laymen with the participation of the patriarchal official, Nicephorus, to the city of Brest, but was unable to prevent the solemn proclamation of the Union that took place in the same city on October 6-9, 1596, according to the wish of Pope Clement VIII. Only two bishops: Balaban of Lviv and Kopystensky of Peremyshl, following Prince Ostrozky's action, revoked their consent.

Now the opposition to the Union spread rumors among the lower clergy and the people, especially among the Kozaks, that Ukrainian bishops betrayed their Church and their flocks with intention to deliver them into the hands of the Poles. At that time

the Kozaks made their raids in Volynia and other adjoining districts and plundered the landlords' estates. Stanislaw Zolkiewski was made commander-in-chief of the royal army and sent on an expedition against the Kozaks, whose chiefs Severein Nalywayko in Volynia, Loboda in Bila Tserkva and Zaporozhians in Bieloruthenia, — tried to raise a general revolution. Unfortunately before the decisive battle near Lubny, Hetman Loboda was killed during an argument at a council meeting of Kozak chiefs and this destroyed unity and self-confidence among the Kozaks. Having been exposed to bombardment and hunger with their wives and children in a fortified camp the Kozaks were defeated. Their chiefs were tortured by their captors in prisons and killed. The rest of the Kozaks moved to the lower Dnieper.

Kozaks were fighting against the Polish magnates, who oppressed the Ukrainian people. Most of those magnates belonged to the same Rome under whose authority and jurisdiction the Ukrainian Church went after its reunion in Brest. No need to emphasize that this circumstance was used broadly by the opposition to the Church Union. The Kozaks, as we have seen, were not politicians, they were fighters and it was not too hard to make them persecute their own Catholic kinsmen, since in their imagination every Catholic must have been a friend of the "Lakhs" (Poles) and consequently an enemy of the Kozak liberation movement. Thus the Kozaks initiated a persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, e.g., Metropolitan Rohoza was stoned by a mob in Slutsk and he soon died. This was the first baptism of blood without which the Church Union would have been a mere paper agreement and not a life-giving necessity.

Were the Church Union in Ukraine and Bieloruthenia only a "Jesuit intrigue," as some non-Catholic historians say, there hardly would have been people willing to suffer and die for the idea originated by treachery and introduced by force and violence. No reasonable argument can be produced that the Ukrainian bishops, monks, clergy and the people in communion with Rome loved their fatherland less than their disunited brethren. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

On the contrary, Ukrainian bishops at this time must have felt greater responsibility before God and human history for eternal salvation and temporal well-being of their flocks, than anybody else, — in this particular case the Kozaks. Let us not forget, that if the Ukrainian bishops did not have a great number of followers the Church Union would have disappeared after the first Kozak blow. It was not the case. The Catholic Church in Ukraine very soon proved itself to be a great spiritual force that

contributed highly to the religious and national regeneration of the Ukrainian people.

It is true, that the Church Union would have been more successful from the beginning if all the obstacles and persecution on the part of its opposition had not endangered its very existence. Our disunited brethren under the leadership of Prince Constantine Ostrozky joined the Polish Protestant rebellion of Zebrzydowski in order to secure their support in the Polish Diet (Sejm). There a special jury was appointed from among the opponents to the Church Union in order to condemn Metropolitan Ipatiy Potiy, Rohoza's successor, but he declined to recognize them as judges.

In those years the power of the Kozaks under the leadership of Hetman Samiylo Kishka rose considerably and the King sought their aid needed in wars against Moldavia and against Sweden in Livonia (1604), where Kishka was killed. The Kozaks attacked the Turks, having captured the city of Varna, they took 180,000 gold pieces of booty (1606). When the Polish King decided to wage war against Muscovy 30,000 Kozaks aided him to besiege the city of Smolensk (1609). From 1613 to 1620 the Kozaks increased their maritime operations against the Turks and created a new heroic era. In their first expedition (1613) they destroyed a large fleet of galleys in Ochakiv and then sacked Trebizond and Sinope on the southern shores of the Black Sea. There they set on fire another fleet of galleys and returned home safely (1614). It is said that when the Sultan learned of this disaster he ordered the Grand Visor to be executed. In 1615 the Kozaks attacked the Sultan in his own capital Constantinople to "smudge the walls of Tsarhorod with smoke from our muskets," as the Kozaks used to say. They burned two parts of the city: Mizevna and Ardioca, and went home rich with spoils. The Turkish fleet was sent to overtake them, but it was completely destroyed by the Kozaks and the Admiral himself was captured. Again in the same year the city of Kaffa in the Crimean Peninsula was taken by storm and a large number of Christian slaves regained their freedom. In 1616 the Kozaks attacked the province of Anatolia in Asia Minor and burned again Trebizond, defeating the Turkish fleet under the command of Italian Admiral Cicali from Genoa. Having learned that the Sultan sent another fleet to Ochakiv to intercept them, the Kozaks sacked the suburbs of Constantinople and sailed to the Sea of Azov and from there using small rivers they reached unharmed the Sich below the Dnieper Rapids.

The famous Hetman Petro Sahaydachny, a scion of local gentry from Sambir in Halichina, who was commander-in-chief during some successful expeditions against the Turks, was not only

an excellent admiral and commander-in-chief, but also a good diplomat. He was a man of few words, self-controlled and in case of disobedience he did not hesitate to impose punishment on guilty Kozaks.

Upon the king's request Hetman Sahaydachny took part in the war against Muscovy (1617-1618) and in those years the Kozak Host gained almost complete control of Ukraine. At this time the Kozaks supported the opposition against the Church Union, which organized an action throughout the country. Dele-



The tower of Ostroh (16th cen.)

gates to the Diet (Sejm) were instructed to pass a law prohibiting the holding of higher offices by all adherents of the Union (1607) and another law set a fine of 10,000 florins against every citizen who would dare to promote unionistic ideas among the populace (1609). Both laws were ratified by the King.

Taking all the above mentioned facts under consideration, one must come to the conclusion that the Church Union could not have been forced upon the Ukrainian population, as some historians say. On the contrary, its adherents and leaders were persecuted, e.g. Metropolitan Potiy during his canonical visitation on Aug. 12, 1609, was attacked by a noble Ivan Tupeka, and thanks to his pectoral cross he escaped death, although his fingers were cut off. Notwithstanding all the dangers which he had to encounter, he unceasingly labored by spoken and written word and never relaxed

his efforts for the juridical recognition of the Union in Ukraine and Bieloruthenia.

His successor Metropolitan Joseph IV Rutsky (1613-1637), a Basilian monk and convert from Calvinism (like his predecessor was), by reforms of the Church and of the Basilian Order laid strong foundations for the further development of the Union and the removal of the myth that the reunion of the Ukrainian Church with Rome served only as a bridge for the introduction of the Latin Rite in Ukraine.

Thanks to his efforts Pope Paul V published an official declaration in which he emphatically stated that it was not the intention of the Holy See of Rome to alter the Ukrainian Rite in the smallest detail, still less to suppress or replace it by the Latin Rite.

In spite of this declaration the opposition against the Church Union increased its action. After the war with Muscovy (1618) King Sigismund demanded that Hetman Sahaydachny reduce Kozak forces and stop their expeditions against the Turks. Hetman considered this a great ingratitude, but wishing to avoid unnecessary bloodshed was compelled to sign a treaty that the Kozak army would be limited to 3,000 men only and the rest of the Kozaks had to return to their landlords' estates. For the Kozaks it was a great disappointment, which caused still deeper mistrust and prejudice against the "greedy Lakhs." This politically unsound move was made on account of pressure of the Polish nobles, who cared more for their possessions than about the security of the state, since at that time the Turks made final preparations for invading Poland.

In 1620 Patriarch Theophanes IV of Jerusalem personally ordained in Moscow the Czar's father Philaret to be patriarch of that city. On his way home he stopped in Kiev. At the Czar's instigation he entreated the Kozaks not to fight against Muscovite Orthodox brethren under penalty of mortal sin and excommunication from the Church. This threat made a tremendous impression upon the Kozaks, who considered themselves the "defenders of Orthodoxy."

In 1620 there lived only one Bishop Eustachy Tyssarowsky in Lviv, who did not join the Church Union and during Patriarch Theophanes' sojourn in Kiev a Conference of the opposition to the Union took place on March 26, 1620. There came up the idea of consecrating new Orthodox hierarchy. Patriarch Theophanes decided to do this secretly and to install new parallel bishops for all Ukrainian and Bieloruthenian episcopal sees. Thus Yov Boret-sky, a native of Halichina, became anti-Metropolitan; Meletiy Smotrytsky anti-Archbishop of Polotsk; Isaya Kopynsky anti-

Bishop of Peremyshl; Isaak Cherchytsky anti-Bishop of Lutsk; Paisiy Cherkowsky anti-Bishop of Kholm and Abraham Stagonsky anti-Bishop of Pinsk-Turiv.

This happened without precedent in the history of the Church and the validity of Patriarch Theophanes IV's procedure has been disputed ever since, because of the violation of Church canons as well as the violation of rights of the civil authority. Going home under Kozak protection the Patriarch forced Hetman Sahaydachny and the Kozaks to pledge under oath to fight by all means the Ukrainian Catholic Church and forbade any participation in its services. This was the real "Trojan horse" of the Ukrainian people and it caused so many troubles for years to come.

Very probably it would not have happened, if the King would have treated the Kozaks more in a spirit of justice and refused to enforce upon them the above mentioned treaty, which was of very short duration, since the King very soon was in trouble on account of Turkish peril. Also guerilla war broke out in Wallachia, aided by German Emperor Ferdinand II, and this brought the danger close to the Polish border.

The Kozak help was needed badly again and although the King ordered the arrest of some newly-ordained "jure caduco" bishops on account of troubles in certain cities, connected with their attempt to take over churches and their properties, nobody paid any attention to the order of the powerless king.

Finally Hetman Petro Sahaydachny approached the King personally with the request to recognize the newly-ordained bishops and assuring him that this would be the price of the Kozak help against the Turks. He received the King's promise not to oppose if such a law should pass in the Diet. Having received this promise Hetman Sahaydachny took part in a great battle near the town of Khotyn on October 10, 1621, with more than 40,000 Kozaks. The Turks suffered a devastating defeat, and Sahaydachny was wounded and died on April 10, 1622. Pope Gregory XV in his letter to King Sigismund III praised this great victory calling the fighters "defenders of the world and victors over the worst enemies."

In the meantime the Semi-Calvinist Patriarch Cyril Lukaris of Alexandria, who took a new title: "By the grace of God Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and Judge of the entire Church on earth" and Patriarch Theophanes IV of Jerusalem, encouraged all opponents of the Union to fight its adherents with all means. These calls were followed by a "Kulturkampf" in Ukraine. Among the first victims of this second blow were the Mayor of the city of Kiev, Theodore Khodyba, killed by the Kozaks, and Archimandrite

Anthionius Hrekovich of Vydubetsky Monastery, who was drowned in the Dnieper River.

Kiev, Vilna, Polotsk and Vitebsk became centres of anti-Union action. The new Orthodox Metropolitan Yov Boretsky called a Synod to Kiev on June 5, 1622, where plans were made to fight the Church Union. Very soon many written protests were sent to the Diet (Sejm) in Warsaw with the demand to suppress the Church Union. Even the Polish bishops were influenced and forwarded a petition to Papal Nuncio Archbishop Lancelotti with the suggestion that Pope Gregory XV should immediately suppress the Church Union in Ukraine and Bielorruthenia, since "these folks could become good Catholics by individual conversions only."

Thanks to Pope Gregory XV and Cardinal Bandini and especially Cardinal Barberini (afterwards Pope Urban VIII) this Polish bishops' suggestion was rejected. The next year Archbishop Josaphat Kunceвич of Polotsk was attacked by an Orthodox mob in the town of Vitebsk and killed with an ax on November 12, 1623. His death became the turning point of the Church Union in Ukraine, so that its many opponents were converted. His anti-Archbishop Melety Smotrytsky, who made pilgrimage to the East, having returned home, started a reconciliatory movement between the two Churches. This action was approved by the Orthodox Metropolitan Yov Boretsky and the famous Archimandrite Petro Mohyla as well as Catholic Metropolitan Joseph Rutsky. But the common people, some monks and the Kozaks followed calls of an "ultra-Orthodox" Bishop Isaya Kopynsky, residing at Hustynsky Monastery and maintaining close relations with Muscovy, and thus the attempt of so-called "Second Union" was jeopardized.

On account of strong action of the opposition to the Union the Diet passed an abortive law in 1623, which recognized the legality of the Ukrainian Catholic bishops, but at the same time approved the activity of their Orthodox opponents, — thus legalizing the division of the Ukrainian Church into two parts. Metropolitan Boretsky taking Patriarch Theophanes IV's advice sent one of his bishops to Moscow asking for protection, but he received an evasive answer: if Ukrainians decided to fight the Poles they should make known this decision and then the Czar would take this under his consideration.

The Kozaks having secured peace with the Tatars made a new expedition against the Turks in 1625, but the Poles bribed the Tatars and invaded territories that were under control of the Kozak Host. The expected help did not come from Muscovy and the Kozaks were compelled to sign a highly unfavorable truce



near the Lake of Kurukiv. Hetman Mykhaylo Doroshenko, an able administrator and statesman, unfortunately was killed on one of his Turkish campaigns and the Polish General Koniecpolski once more invaded the Kozak Host. However, the new Hetman Taras Fedorovich, called also Tryasylo, came up from Zaporozhia and defeated Koniecpolski near the city of Pereyaslav and a new treaty restored all Kozak rights.

King Sigismund III died in 1632 and the Ukrainian representatives in Sejm under the leadership of Drevinsky, Kropivnitsky



Kievan Prince Olelko  
Volodimirovich



Hetman Dmytro Vyshnevetsky-  
Bayda.

and Kisil, being supported by Hetman Kulaha, who started plundering estates in Volynia, demanded complete division of the Ukrainian dioceses into two parts: Catholic and Orthodox.

The new King, Wladyslaw IV, consented on account of his political plans. He needed Kozak help in the war with Muscovy, since he took the title of "Czar of Muscovy" and thirsted for military glory. After the death of Metropolitan Boretsky the "ultra-Orthodox" Kopynsky was elected his successor. He was of the opinion that Ukrainians would never gain any rights as long as they belonged to the Commonwealth, instead of this they should look for the Czar's protection. However, the new king, Wladyslaw IV, by his consent to recognize legality of the Orthodox hierarchy gained confidence of the Kozaks and the Archimandrite Petro

Mohyla was elected Metropolitan, and Kopynsky was removed from his office. Now the Kozaks attacked Muscovy, but the Diet forced the King to terminate the war, and dispatched General Koniecpolski to Ukraine with the order to build the fortress Kodak on the lower Dnieper with the intention to cut off all the relations between the Zaporozhia and Volosti. The Kozaks waited for an opportune moment to destroy this Polish stronghold in Ukraine. During the Polish-Swedish war in 1635 Hetman Sulima, a very brave commander-in-chief, who captured numerous Turkish galleys and freed many Christian slaves, 300 of whom he sent to the pope as a gift, attacked fortress Kodak and completely demolished it. However, the registered Kozaks helped General Koniecpolski in capturing Sulima and he was beheaded in Warsaw. His successors Pavliuk, Ostryanyyn and Hunia continued the war with Poland, but without any decisive result. Finally having exhausted their human potential the Kozaks recuperated during the next few years.

In these bloody wars the Ukrainian Catholic Church suffered severely. Pope Urban VIII took it under his protection. First of all, he published a very important decree through the S. Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith on February 6, 1624, forbidding all transfers from the Byzantine into the Latin Rite under penalty of nullity of the act itself and Church censures against disobedient clergy of Latin Rite, who would dare to prolong such unlawful practice. Although the above mentioned decree was never published properly in Poland proper, it still pacified internal relations in Ukraine to a certain extent, so that very soon the outstanding men of Catholic and Orthodox camps formed a new idea of the "Second Union."

During discussions between Catholic Metropolitan Joseph Rutsky and Orthodox Petro Mohyla a new project was born: the establishment of the Ukrainian Patriarchate in Kiev, since it was believed that this was the only way to the unification of all Ukrainians in one Church. Pope Urban VIII supported this project whole-heartedly and appointed his Nuncio Extraordinary Msgr. Filonardi, giving him instructions to deal in the spirit of the Council of Florence.

It would be of interest to mention some points of the Orthodox project: 1) they wanted to recite the Symbol of Faith without the Latin addition "Filioque"; 2) they were ready to accept Catholic teaching about purgatory, but it must not be said that there exists a real fire there; 3) they pray for poor souls; 4) they desire to continue relations with the Patriarch of Constantinople, if he accepts the above mentioned points and agrees to forward his Profession of Faith to the Ukrainian bishops and to the King;

5) the Metropolitan of Kiev will pray first for the pope and then for the patriarch; 6) he also will send his Profession of Faith to the pope and then exchange it with the patriarch; 7) he will read it in the presence of the papal Nuncio, and he will not appeal to the patriarch, since now there is no order in Constantinople.

The author of this project, was very probably, Metropolitan Petro Mohyla, a learned and capable man, who sincerely desired unity and peace for the Ukrainian Church. In the meantime Metropolitan Joseph Rutsky died (1637), but in his last will he encouraged Catholic as well as Orthodox clergy and the faithful to work unceasingly for the great idea of Church Union. After his death discussions were carried on and it seemed that this effort would come to a happy conclusion in 1647, but then the Metropolitan Mohyla died. The new events of paramount importance brought new unfavorable changes and the project did not materialize.

## CHANGES OF RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE 15, 16 AND 17th CENTURIES

### A. Aristocracy

We have seen in preceding chapters that the population of Rus'-Ukraine of both kingdoms was composed of three main classes: boyars, urbanites, and peasants. Those people who depended upon the Church and the free men who depended upon the princes and boyars, were not considered a separate class of society. Slavery as a class was forbidden by law.

During the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, the social structure underwent a change by the formation of a new upper privileged class of aristocracy, which was composed of princes and magnates. Grand-duke Vitovt is credited with adding the words "et baroni" to the accepted usage of "principes et boiari." It was in this manner that recognition was given to the new status of the newly-created magnates. The Polish-Lithuanian treaties of 1401 and 1413 failed to mention the princes, boyars, and nobles who were of Ukrainian nationality. Their strong opposition to King Yagello and Grand-duke Vitovt was followed by a new "privilege" that contained the attendant article: ". . . predictos nobiles et boiarios Ruthenorum eisdem gratiis et libertatibus, privilegiis et commodi gaudere et utifruui volumus, quibus principes, nobiles et boiari Lithvaniae pociuntur et fruuntur . . ."

In such wise, theoretically, Ukrainians were granted the same rights in one Commonwealth, but the so-called "Lithuanian Statute" of 1529 limited these privileges by restricting some high offices to Catholics. That article reads: . . . "Quae quidem digni-

tates: palatinatus, castellanatus, nec non officia perpetua terrestria et curiae nostrae non conferuntur a nobis et successoribus nostris nisi catholicae fidei cultoribus et romanae ecclesiae subiectis — et ad consilia nostra, dum pro bono rei publicae tractantur, non admittandum nisi ipsi catholici et indigenae m. ducatus huius, quia saepe disparitas cultus et diversitas nationum diversitatem inducit animorum et consilia patent credita, quae traduntur secrete observanda.”

The selfsame “Statute” gives us an approximate idea of those privileges, e.g. if an aristocrat were to hit someone of his own class, a fine of 10 “kopy” (c. 6 guld) was demanded; for the same crime, a non-aristocrat would suffer the amputation of his hand; if a noble were accused of theft, he could have cleared himself by taking an oath, but a non-aristocrat would hang for the same offense. If one were to murder an aristocrat or a Grand-duke, he would be penalized by 100 “kopy,” while for the murder of a non-aristocrat a payment of a mere 10 “kopy” was extracted. According to the revised Statute of 1566, the act of calumny against an aristocrat on the part of an ordinary citizen, resulted in the cutting off of the offender’s tongue. In the case that an aristocrat were killed by a man of his own class, regardless of the number of conspirators involved, the guilty one alone could have suffered the death penalty. Contrariwise, an ordinary citizen convicted of a like crime would have to be executed along with at least six other persons near and possibly dear to him.

## **B. Rural Populace**

To that extent which the privileges of the aristocracy increased, a proportional decrease in the rights of the rural populace was effected. The above named Statute of 1529 also recognized the existence of slavery: 1) by birth, 2) by wartime captivity, 3) by commutation of a death sentence to life in bondage, and 4) by voluntary marriage with a slave. Pagans were forbidden to enslave a Christian. The revised Statute of 1566 abolished slavery as a condition of life one was to accept upon receiving a death sentence commutation. With its revision in 1588, all forms of slavery were theoretically abolished.

Generally speaking, the rural sixteenth century Ukrainian population was composed of landed people with small farms, and landless people called “zahorodniki,” who owned a house with a yard. The latter were considered “landlords’ people,” and were obligated to work for the landlords at an unfair sharecroppers level. In some districts they received four “barrels” of rye for one year’s

work, while in others they received one and one half "kopy" of rye (1 kopa has sixty sheafs). Lithuanian laws of 1557 and 1566 denied the peasants the right to own land or donate it to their children. Peasants who had been entrusted with a 12-14 acre farm were compelled to work for the landlords for three days a week without pay, and when ordered by their masters they were required to perform other menial and difficult tasks.

A document-protest from the second half of the 16th century, made by Sanok and Kaminka district peasants to the King, com-



Prince Constantine Ostrozky

plaints that they were forced into daily serfdom by their landlords. In some regions this burden lasted from sunrise until noon, while in others from noon until sunset.

In each village (selo, osada) there was a "tywun, hataman or an elder," who was formerly elected by the people and later appointed by the landlords. The landlords relegated civil and judicial authority to the elders. A condemned peasant could appeal to his landlord, who would appoint a judge, ordinarily a noble, whose verdict was final. Sentences of the "elders" of the so-called royal goods (owned by the King) could be submitted to the King for review and appeal, but rarely did anyone make such entreaty. In the 15th century the entire Halich Land population was under exclusive lordly jurisdiction. Sixteenth century royal courts were ordered not to accept appeals from the people against their

landlords. The constitution of 1532 guarantees the right of subjects to appeal to the royal court against a royal official, e.g. "starosta." Actually, there never was a lone decision of this kind handed down in the Kiev, Volynia, or Braslav districts.

There is a known case against the "Starosta" Drohojski of Peremyshl. Drohojski, at that very time, was a member of the Royal Court of Appeals. One can see by the King's letter to him in 1603, that he not only disregarded the King's decision which favored the people, but that he used his military might to punish them severely for their having appealed to the King. When the peasants of Lezhaysk district appealed and received the King's "iron letter" concerning the abuses of a royal official, they were ordered by the "Starosta" to swallow that "iron letter."

Theoretically it was possible for a peasant to desert his master and join a new one, in which case the latter was obliged to pay "okup" (ransom) to the former. The Diet of 1496 states: once a year one "kmet" could leave his village, but to prevent the "depopulation of estates" only one peasant's son could leave with his landlord's written permission, while the other sons had to remain; those who were only-sons were forbidden to leave the villages. Cities were ordered to forbid the admittance of peasants seeking to advance themselves. In 1505 the Diet of Radom forbade any exodus without the landlords' permission, and any violator was criminally prosecuted.

### C. Urban Population.

Some Ukrainian cities, e.g. Lviv, Kholm, Volodimir, and Lutsk, were subject to the so-called Magdenburg laws, which exempted them from the general legislation of the land; their civil and judicial authority being relegated to them by the Kings. This, however, deprived them of the right to influence general laws, since no city enjoyed that right except Lviv. Lviv was represented at the Diet.

As we have seen, the Ukrainian rural element had next to no opportunity for settling down in urban areas, with the result that the cities were overcrowded with Poles, Germans, Armenians and Jews. The Ukrainians found themselves in a minority, and step-by-step they were removed from city administration with the resultant deprivation of basic rights. In the 1520's Ukrainian inhabitants of Lviv protested to the King against governmental religious discrimination, e.g. they were forbidden to arrange church processions and their priests could not walk freely about the streets while taking the Viaticum to their dying faithful. King Sigismund the Old responded to the protest by permitting processions without

singing and without the lighting of candles, while the ringing of church bells was allowed only on Rus'ka street.

It is evidenced from the protests of 1560-1570 that Ukrainians were not accepted in the Guilds, they could not own shops, nor were their children admitted to city schools. They could not purchase new houses, and they were excluded from city government which even refused to recognize the validity of their oaths.

Despite all this discrimination Ukrainians not only managed to survive in Lviv, but very soon became leadingly instrumental in



Hetman Petro Sahaydachny

the revival of the national spirit of the country. They influenced the entire land by their organizing Brotherhood of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and their founding of their own school and printing house. A marked contribution to that revival was the reestablishment of the Episcopal See of Halich with its seat in Lviv. Patriarch Jeremias of Constantinople, in 1589 while visiting the Ukrainian churches raised this Brotherhood to the rank of Stauropegia and it was under his direct patriarchal authority. Following Lviv's example most Ukrainian cities formed their own Brotherhoods, and in this way the national rebirth of Ukraine in the 16-17th centuries was accomplished.

## D. Administration, Courts and Defense of the Country in General.

At the outset of the new regime, there were no changes made in the old laws of both Ukrainian kingdoms, except for the royal appointments of the "Starostas" (district administrators) in some cities, e.g. Sanok, Lviv and later in other cities. The official language being that of the Ukrainian kingdoms, and later Latin was officially added.

"Starostas" held civil and judicial authority and by such they appointed judges of "Judicium terrestre" (the Land-courts).

In the second half of the 15th century, when Polish legislation was slowly introduced into Halich Lands, the "termini camera-rorum" were established. Following a reform in 1435 judges chosen from the aristocracy were elected at their district "Sejmi-ki" (Diets), in the same place where elections of "Sejm" (Parliament) representatives were held. At that place representatives were instructed by the aristocracy and empowered with "liberum veto" (a free veto), by which one man had the power to prevent the passing of a new law, because unanimity rather than majority vote was the rule of order. This unlimited power of the aristocracy and their absolute waywardness, during the period from 1652 to 1764, caused the disruption of fifty-five "Sejms" under their "liberum veto" pressure. Only seven "Sejms" possessed sufficient political determination to pass some laws. This anomaly limited also the power of the King, thereby preventing useful reforms of an administrative, judicial and economic nature, which were sorely needed for government betterment.

The Commonwealth had no regular army. All landlords were under the obligation of producing a given number of soldiers when called upon to do so. In times of national emergency a special tax was imposed by the "Sejm" and mercenaries were hired. Since the 16th century they had been stationed at garrisons in Ukraine on account of the repetitive Kozak uprisings. In 1569 the King was constrained to relinquish one-fourth of his income from the "royal goods" for the keeping of a permanent army which was called "wojsko kwartsiane." During these days it was possible for the sum of 500,000 guldens to maintain an 8,000 man cavalry for a one year period. We have information that one-fourth of the royal income amounted to 102,000 guldens in 1574, while during the reign of King Stephen Batory it varied from 80,000 to 130,000 per year. At the same time an extraordinary defense tax ranging from 500,000 to 530,000 guldens was levied by the "Sejm."

In line with proclamations of national emergency it was the





Metropolitan Velamin Rtsky

King's prerogative to appoint the "Hetman Koronny" (The Royal Commander-in-Chief), his helper the "Hetman Polny" and other high-ranking officers. Oftentimes, the King personally led his army during a campaign.

### E. Monasteries

It is remarkable that in spite of very unfavorable circumstances, when the Church was humiliated and reduced to "peasant church" status, its vitality did not diminish.

It would be of interest to note that in most of the official documents concerning the Ukrainian and Bieloruthenian Churches, their bishops and priests we do not find generally accepted terms: ecclesia, episcopi, sacerdotes, etc., but in their stead were used humiliating terms: secta, synagoga, popones, baytcones, vladica ets. Different occasional 16-17th century documents indicate that

there were more than 91 monasteries in Halich lands alone, while there were 32 known ones in Volynia and 13 monasteries in Kiev proper.

Here it would be worthwhile to mention some of the monasteries and the names of their Ukrainian aristocratic founders. Prince Khotkevich founded Suprasl Monastery; Prince Theodore Sangushko founded Milets Monastery; Prince Zaslawsky the Holy Trinity Monastery in Dvorets near Zaslav; Prince Bohdan Koretsky in Horodysche near Korets; Prince Constantine Ostrozky, of Holy Trinity in Ostroh; Princess Anna Hoyska the Monastery of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Pochaiv; Prince Adam Vyshnevetsky founded St. Nicholas' Monastery in Brahynia; Prince Michael Vyshnevetsky the Hustynsky and Ladynsky Monasteries; Princess Raina Mohylanka the Mharsky Monastery near Lubny; Princess Koretska, who became a nun herself, founded monasteries in Nevirkiw and Bilyniw; the Litynsky family founded two monasteries; the powerful magnate Adam Kisil founded three monasteries; and Princess Raina Solomyretska founded the monastery in Hoscha.

In spite of the desertion of the Ukrainian aristocracy to the strange camp, as has been emphasized in the preceding chapter, their remnants clung faithfully to their Church and sincerely helped it through those difficult times.

## F. The Lower Clergy

Official "Lustrator" (revenue agent) censuses show that Ukrainian churches and clergy paid substantial taxes, while Catholics were exempted. The report to Rome by Kievan Metropolitan Joseph Rutsky (1613-1637) shows that "the patrons of parishes" (each landlord was considered the patron of the parish church in whose confines his goods were located) imprisoned, tortured and forced Ukrainian priests to do serf work. The "Sejm" of 1659 enacted a law which exempted Ukrainian priests from taxation, to which King Michael Wisniowecki by special edict included the "church people." Nonetheless, this law was not generally effective, inasmuch as we are aware that Bishop Joseph Shumlansky of Lviv (1676-1700) appealed to the King to restrain the aristocrats from forcing his clergy to pay taxes and work as serfs on their lands.

Some parish priests, particularly those to whom the landlords "sold" parishes, were required to pay an annual tax assessment of 24-30 guldens. This abuse took root in the 16-17th centuries. The "bought and sold" parishes were handled by the landlords as

a source of income, while they accepted the responsibility that the parishes in question would be presented to members only of the family of the "buying" priest, with the proviso that church-land was not to be divided among members of the priest's family, but kept intact from generation to generation. Thus a custom of inheritance was introduced which interfered with normal Church administration.

There was one and sometimes two priests in every Ukrainian village (osada). Tax rates, available from four Halich districts of



Metropolitan Petro Mohyla

the 16th century, show that there were 1,270 village and 190 urban churches with 1,600 clergy. Each parish church had its priest, cantor, janitor, "proskurnytsia" (a woman, who baked the bread which was used in the celebration of the Holy Liturgy, and, rarely, a deacon. Priests were married and oftentimes were succeeded by their sons, who at first served as cantors and deacons, and if capable, were ordained to the priesthood. Due to a lack of Seminaries in those times, this was the only method of educating new priests.

A candidate for the priesthood had to appear before his bishop with his patron's "hramota" and had to produce further a certificate of good conduct from the village "elder." This was necessary to prove his eligibility for ordination. Following which, in the

presence of the bishop, he was subjected to a reading test of the Psalter, Apostol and Gospel. If it was satisfactorily completed, he made his confession and received his Holy Orders. Within a few weeks he was to serve in the cathedral, and then he was assigned to the parish which was presented to him by his "patron."

Each parish priest used a "lan" (piece of land) and had free grain grinding privileges in the local mill. His firewood he received from the forest. He also received donations from his parishioners, usually in the form of agricultural products. It was his duty to pay taxes to the State as well as to his bishop.

### G. Church Hierarchy

Elections and appointments of Metropolitans and bishops were separately discussed. Here it is to be noted that in this period the dependence of bishops upon the metropolitan considerably decreased, with the same being true in the case of the metropolitan's dependence upon the patriarch.

Ancient Church tradition of electing bishops by a Synod of the provincial hierarchy was replaced by the King or Grand-duke making such appointments. The Provincial Synod of the Kievan Metropolia in 1509 vigorously but vainly protested against laic interference in purely spiritual Church matters.

"Ius patronati" concerning episcopal appointments became a real cancer for the Ukrainian Church, and it was likewise a problem insofar as the appointment of monastic superiors was involved. It became a source of income, e.g. for the appointment of Archimandrite of the Monastery of the Caves one was required to pay 50 guldens (1522); Bishop Makary Tuchapsky of Lviv had to pay 300 bulls for his appointment to King Sigismund August in the year of 1538.

Zacharia Kopystensky wrote in his "Palinodia": "It happens that episcopal and metropolitan seats are occupied by unworthy men, and they brought disgrace, scandal, and sin; (they were) not men from monasteries, accustomed to live a regular and single life according to the laws of the Church, rather they were men taken from secular, rural or military professions, as rewards for their service; and they lacked learning and manners, ignorant of the Bible, and were without any "probation" while not even trying to know something about the life under regula . . ."

There were attempts on the part of some outstanding and pious aristocrats to bring to a halt these appointments. Those unsuccessful attempts were made in 1566 and 1595. Only the Holy See in Rome was in a position to remove this abuse, and the correction occurred after the Church Union in 1595.

## CHAPTER V

### LIBERATION OF UKRAINE

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#### A. Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky

After 1638 registered Kozaks were deprived of their former privileges and self-government, while unregistered Kozaks were reduced to peasant status and forced to endure countless insults and hardships under the heavy fists of the landlords. The royal official foreign policy was now based on one principle: to maintain peace so that the whole army could stay in Ukraine and keep the Kozaks in check.

The great Pope Innocent X organized a crusade against the Turks, and requested that all Catholic princes take an active part. Polish King Wladislaw IV also received an invitation, along with 30,000 golden scudi for the organization of the Kozak army in order to halt the advance of the Turks. The King being aware of unwillingness on the part of his magnates to undertake any war, entered into secret negotiations with some Kozak leaders to enlist their help. Discovered in his act, the King was forced to abandon this worthy project.

Meanwhile, one of the Polish gentry in Ukraine seized Subotiv estate, which was the property of Kozak Captain Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who, when he demanded justice was thrown into prison until some of his friends managed to free him. Khmelnytsky being one of those who had been secretly negotiating with the King, went to Zaporozhia and finding there full sympathy with his cause was elected Hetman. After having contacted the Tatars and having secured the help of Khan Tuhay Bey, he started preparations for the recovery of Ukraine from the Poles.

The Polish landlords, learning of this requested General Potocki, commander-in-chief, to ward off a possible insurrection. Shortly after Easter of 1648 Potocki made his appearance in Ukraine with a powerful army. His son Stephen was ordered forward with the cavalry to meet Hetman Bohdan, while Potocki accompanied by General Kalinowski and main army units slowly advanced while picking up Polish garrisons on their way to meet the Kozak army.

Hetman Bohdan having completely destroyed Stephen's cavalry at Zhovti Vody (Yellow Waters) on May 6, 1648, marched against the main Polish army, which he met near the city of Korsun and wiped it out in a bloody battle. All the officers, including the commander-in-chief along with General Kalinowski were captured and presented to Khan Tuhay Bey.

At this time Hetman Bohdan and his close advisors had no intention of breaking off all relations with the Commonwealth, but wished only to restore full freedom to the Kozak Host and to increase the contingent of the Kozaks to 12,000 in all. With this thought in mind, the Hetman dispatched his ambassadors to the King, while at the same time, called upon the people to revolt and evict all of the landlords from the Ukraine.

He distrusted the Polish gentry, and learning of King Wladislaw's death on May 20, 1648, he slowly advanced with his army to Volynia where he could await the election of a new king with whom he could negotiate an honest peace which would secure rights for the Kozaks. The Polish nobles and gentry organized a new army

under the leadership of Kozak arch-enemy Prince Yarema Vyshnevetsky, a powerful magnate of Ukrainian origin, who had abandoned his national heritage and joined the Poles. The Hetman also annihilated this army near the town of Pilawtsi in Volynia on September the 28th.

Then the Hetman having moved into Halich Land, collected ransom money from the inhabitants of the city of Lviv, marched



Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky

toward Zamostia near Warsaw, and decided to await the election of the next king. Jan Casimir, Wladyslaw's brother, was elected. Casimir was a former monk of the Society of Jesus and a Cardinal of the Roman Church. He pledged to comply with all the Hetman's demands.

Having liberated Ukraine, the Hetman returned to Kiev where he was solemnly welcomed by Metropolitan S. Kosiw and Patri-

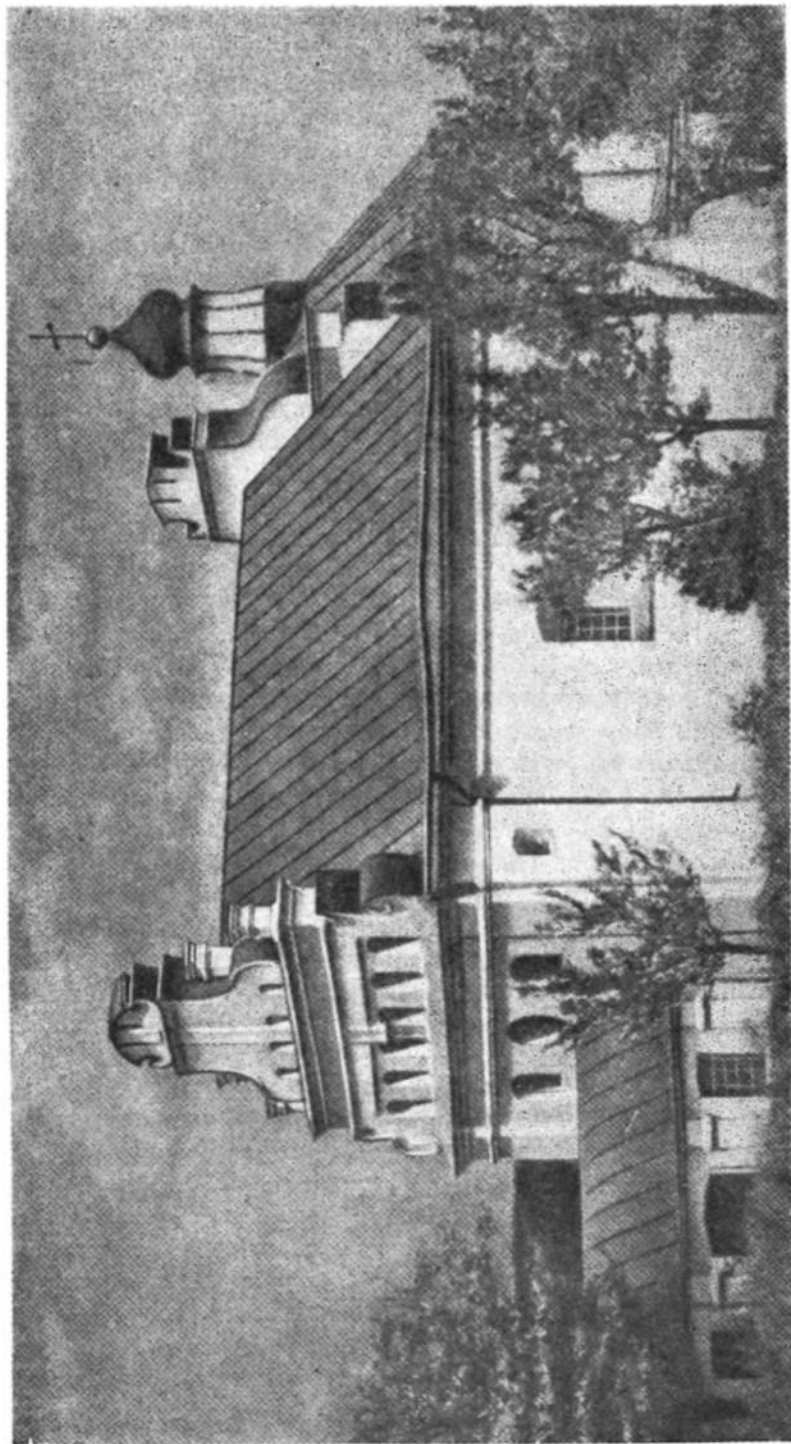
arch Paisiy of Jerusalem as the liberator of the Ukrainian people from the Polish yoke. In that instant, having realized his great responsibilities, he saw his role in a different light, therefore said he to the royal commissioners: "Not a single prince or nobleman shall I permit to set foot in Ukraine, and if any one desires to eat our bread he must be loyal and obedient to the Kozak Host. I am a small and insignificant man, but by the will of God I have become the independent ruler of Rus'."

Henceforth Hetman Bohdan acted as an independent ruler. When he learned that the above mentioned Vyshnevetsky had gathered another army, he besieged the strong fortress of Zbarazh; and when King Jan Casimir personally advanced with the new army to Zbarazh, Hetman Bohdan surrounded him. At this moment the Poles succeeded in bribing the Tatars and under the Khan's pressure the Hetman consented to talk peace near the town of Zboriw on August 18, 1649. By virtue of this treaty the Eastern Ukraine was recognized a free nation and left under complete control of the Kozak Host.

Acting quickly under his advisors' pressure, the Hetman demanded that the Church Union be abolished in the Commonwealth. Having made this demand, he lost the wholehearted support of a considerable part of his own subjects. The Poles, on the other hand, made use of this act as an excuse to nullify the treaty at anytime convenient for themselves while taking unto themselves the title "defenders of the Catholic faith and western civilization," hoping as they would to secure Western help and sympathy. For the time being the said treaty passed through the Sejm, ratified by King Jan Casimir, notwithstanding the protests by Metropolitan Anthony Selava, who personally appeared in Warsaw to defend the freedom of conscience for his flock. His well-intended efforts were unsuccessful.

Hetman Bohdan also failed to profit from his recent sad experience with the Tatars. Khan Tuhay Bey, by his double-dealing near Zboriw, put Bohdan in a very unpleasant position. Anew the Hetman made alliance with Bey, instead of putting more trust in his own people. He also prematurely sought the protection of Sultan Mohammed IV. At the time of the Turkish peril, this association was doubtlessly considered an un-Christian step. It reduced his status in the West and directed sympathy toward Poland. It is a well established fact that Pope Innocent X had sacrificed everything to withstand and check the Turkish peril. Records show that the tremendous debt of 48 million golden scudi which the Pope's successor inherited was the debt incurred by Innocent in his defense against the Turkish peril.





Church in Subotiv (1653) where Hetman Bohdan was interred

Whereas the Sultan recognized the independence of Ukraine, he rendered no assistance. Very probably, this forced the Hetman to request the Czar of Muscovy, Alexy Michaylovich, to "protect the Orthodox Faith" (1652). However, the Czar hesitated also, and only in 1654 was he ready to sign the abortive treaty of Pereyaslav. This grievous mistake was corrected by an alliance with King Charles X of Sweden, who pledged his support and recognized Ukraine as an independent State in all its territories.

The Hetman being at the summit of his spiritual and physical powers, wasted too much precious time making promises and seeking protection abroad, thereby affording the Poles ample opportunity to mobilize a fresh army for the new invasion.

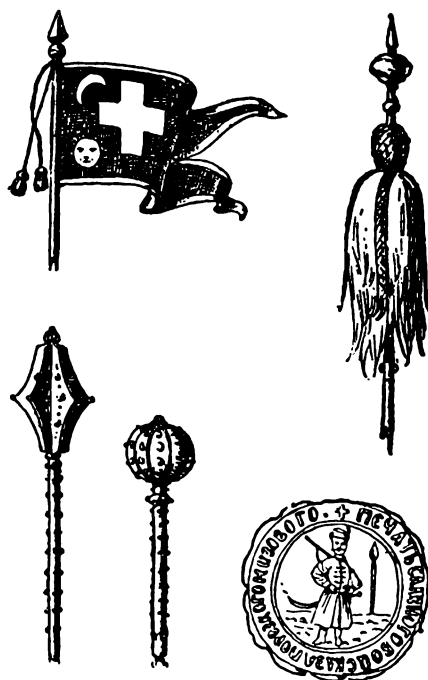
The tragic consequences of the Hetman's folly soon came: when Khan Islam Gerai appeared in Ukraine in a very angry mood, because he had been forced by the Sultan to aid the Kozaks, a tragic train of events resulted. At a crucial point of battle while a powerful army of c. 160,000 men under the command of King Jan Casimir was encamped near the town of Berestechko in Volynia, the Khan deserted the Hetman after a few initial skirmishes. When the Hetman followed the Khan to his headquarters to persuade him to return, the treacherous Khan carried him off at a most pressing moment while the Poles were launching their main attack during the absence of the much-needed leadership of the Hetman. The unregistered Kozaks, unaware of the real cause of the Hetman's absence, retreated in panic. In spite of the great heroism of the Kozak officers, who perished in the swamps, the Kozaks suffered ignominious defeat on July 10, 1651.

Time had run out when Hetman Bohdan returned and he was forced to accept a new treaty in Bila Tserkva on September 28, 1651. The terms which were laid down recognized Kozak privileges only in the Kiev province and their army was reduced to 20,000 men, while the landlords regained their estates and serfdom was reinstituted. The treaty, however, did not repeat the demand to abolish the Church Union in the Commonwealth. It is true that it did not endure very long, since in June of the following year the Hetman reeked vengeance when he obliterated the Polish army and slew its commander General Kalinowski.

After this defeat the Poles were willing to recognize the full autonomy of Ukraine. However, the Muscovite Czar now decided to wage war against Poland in order to regain some provinces lost during the time of the "Velika Smuta" (Time of Troubles). His justification for intervention was the customary excuse, "Defense of the Orthodox Faith." His ambassadors demanded that the Kozak rights, which had been guaranteed by the treaty of Zboriv,

be reinstated. The Poles refused to comply and having concluded an alliance with the Tatars, again invaded Ukraine.

Whereupon, the Czar sent a delegation to the city of Pereyaslav (January 1654) to negotiate a formal treaty with Hetman Bohdan. During the discussions, the Czar's envoys requested a dec-



Kozak insignia: (upper row) flag and standard; (lower row) colonel's baton, hetman's mace and seal.

laration for the submission and swearing of allegiance on the part of the entire Kozak Host to czarist sovereignty.

For the acceptance of these conditions, the Czar promised as part of his bargain to recognize all the rights and liberties of the Ukrainian people in their own State. The Kozaks were to freely elect the hetman and he was to receive foreign envoys; Ukraine was to maintain its own army and in case of any conflict the Czar was to be forewarned. This deceptive treaty pretended to recognize Ukraine as a free political entity, bound to Muscovy only through the person of the Czar. Actually, the treaty was a mere scrap of paper, since the Czar immediately violated the covenant by sending his officers to Kiev where he stationed a garrison and attempted to collect tax levies.

In spite of great dissatisfaction, Ukrainian and Muscovite armies jointly occupied part of the Commonwealth as far north as the cities of Vilna, Lviv and Lublin. During this campaign many arguments and quarrels ensued among Ukrainian and Muscovite officers and soldiers so that the Hetman resolved to break from Muscovy as soon as possible.

When Charles X King of Sweden and Prince Rakoczy of Transylvania attacked Poland, they encouraged the Hetman to dissolve relationships with Muscovy and join them, since Muscovy's autocratic form of government would enserf Ukraine rather than tolerate a free people. The Hetman agreed to and consummated an alliance with Sweden. Whereupon the Czar, envisioning great danger hastened to arrange for an armistice with Poland and attacked Charles X. The Ukrainian army which was under the command of Colonel Anthony Zhdanovich joined the allies. On June 19, 1657, Lublin, Warsaw and Krakow were taken by storm, precipitating the flight of King Jan Casimir to Silesia. Unfortunately, Hetman Bohdan's plan to replace the King by elevating Prince Rakoczy did not materialize. Presumably, this failure caused his grave illness. On July 27, 1657, suffering a stroke, he died at a fateful moment when Ukraine was at stake. There was no capable substitute for the Hetman's post, at a time when Ukraine was in a most difficult situation warring against the Poles, Muscovites and Tatars.

Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky was one of the foremost men in Ukrainian history. He was a renowned military leader and an outstanding administrator. He was well acquainted with the art of mastering the masses of the people; he knew how to gain their full respect, while at the same time he was able to enforce discipline and secure obedience. By his genius he won their hearts and minds to such an extent that many former serfs heroically answered the Hetman's call to lay down their lives for the national idea in the interest of freedom.

An excerpt from a letter by Captain Philip Umanets to a Muscovite "voyevoda" explains how deeply rooted was this feeling of national pride. It states: "Your grace recently suggested that a commoner should not write letters to a voyevoda . . . By the grace of God, however, we are not a common people, we are the Knights of the Zaporozhian Army . . . Now by the grace of God, until His holy will might permit, here in the province of Siveria there is no voyevoda, no starosta, no judge, nor even a scribe, — may God preserve the good health of our Lord Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Hetman of the whole Zaporozhian Army. Here the Colonel installed a voyevoda, the captain, a starosta, while a city

otaman became the judge." A new national spirit was awakened in Ukraine by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky's epochal accomplishment. That spirit of his great individuality and its tremendous impact on the masses still prevail in Ukraine, even though 300 years have since passed.

### **B. Ivan Vyhowsky and Yuriy Khmelnytsky**

Fulfilling Hetman Bohdan's wish, the Kozaks elected his inexperienced twenty-year-old son Yuras (George) his successor.



**Hetman Yuriy Khmelnytsky**



**Hetman Ivan Vyhowsky**

This grave error was corrected by the Kozak Officers' Council which elected Ivan Vyhowsky, an intimate friend of the late Hetman. Vyhowsky at that time was the Kozak Army's Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Vyhowsky's position was made rather difficult, inasmuch as his election had not taken place in regular Assembly.

The new Hetman maintained neutrality with all his neighbors and concentrated his efforts upon the internal consolidation of the State. He made peace with the Tatars and extended the Alliance with the Swedes. Charles X once more took upon himself the obligation of protecting Ukrainian freedom, with the end in mind that the Poles would be obliged to renounce their claims to Ukrainian territories. The train of events which made it necessary

for him to remove his army to Denmark, made it impossible for him to carry out his promises.

Muscovy immediately took advantage of this predicament by invading Ukraine and establishing garrisons there. Although the Hetman and the Kozaks held little trust in the Poles, the Hetman was forced to enter into negotiation with Poland. In concert with this unhappy situation arose an unexpected difficulty: the Zaporozhians, who had lost their former influence during the autocratic reign of Hetman Bohdan, with the support of some ambitious Kozak officers, made an attempt to force Vyhovsky's resignation from office. While asserting that his election took place at the Officers' Council only, they spread rumors that he intended to "sell Ukraine to the Lahks." Although a new Assembly of representatives from the regiments reelected him, some of the Zaporozhians maintained secret contacts with Muscovy behind the Hetman's back. He severely punished all the leaders of the rebellion and decided to sever relations with the tricky Czar. A "Manifesto" (Universal) was dispatched to the nations of Europe, in which Muscovy was charged with unfaithfulness. It also outlined Muscovy's efforts to subject Ukraine.

In the summer of 1658 the Hetman entered formal negotiations with Poland, which were concluded at the city of Hadiach on September 16, 1658. Known as the "Union of Hadiach," the treaty stipulated that Ukraine agree to join the Commonwealth as an autonomous "Grand-duchy of Rus'." The provinces of Kiev, Braslav and Chernihiv formed a separate state with its own ministers and treasury; it was to be governed independently by the Hetman who was to be elected by the entire population of Ukraine; it was to have an army of 30,000 Kozaks and 10,000 mercenaries; the "ancient Greek faith" was to enjoy full rights with its bishops occupying seats in a joint parliament; the Mohylian Academy in Kiev was to receive the same status and privileges as the University of Krakow and another university which had to be established in Ukraine.

After the conclusion of this treaty the Hetman was eager to expel the Muscovites, because the Czar proclaiming him a "traitor" sent an army under Prince Trubetskoy, which besieged the city of Konotop. On July 8, 1659, the Hetman crossed the Dnieper, and in a battle near Konotop captured the commander-in-chief of the Muscovites during the destruction of the Muscovy forces. However, he was unable to make full use of this important victory, due to new internal troubles, which were stirred up by some rebellious Kozaks who disapproved of his policy.

During Hetman Bohdan's reign a new system of government

was established in charge of which were officers with their staff members. They held almost complete authority over the remaining population. Thus the Hetman, with the help of his officers, was the real master of the entire country. This military type of government excluded, at least for the time being, the participation of the civilian population. After Hetman Bohdan's death the Zaporozhians, out of whose ranks hetmans were traditionally elected, were not allowed to regain their former privileges. The inevitable result was internal conflict. The liberation of the country was not yet completed, and war was still being waged. At the very time of the victory over Konotop the Zaporozhian Kozak Sirko, supported by the ambitious Colonel of Uman Khanenko, revolted against the Hetman and received the support of the common Kozaks. Then Vyhowsky resigned.

His place was taken by Yuriy Khmelnytsky, who entered into negotiations with Muscovy and even went personally to Pereyaslav, where through the machinations of the Czar's representative Prince Trubetskoy, a Kozak General Assembly which was hostile to its officers, convened. By using the common Kozaks as tools, Muscovy enforced the "revision" of the treaty of 1654 and destroyed almost everything that Hetman Bohdan had built. Henceforth Muscovite troops were to be stationed in Pereyaslav, Nizhin, Chernihiv, Braslav, Uman and Kiev. Although Muscovy could not immediately implement their decisions due to a defeat suffered at the hands of the Poles near the city of Chudniw, this treacherous "revision" provided a convenient excuse for its meddling into Ukrainian affairs.

### **C. Pavlo Teterya and Petro Doroshenko**

Ukraine became a divided country: in its eastern part there were two candidates for the hetmancy, Somko and Zolotarenko, both Kozak officers; while its western part was ruled by Hetman Yuriy. Following his officers' advice he requested the King to dispatch military aid against Muscovy. It is true that a small detachment came, but following on their heels were nobles who started retaking their estates while forcing the people into serfdom, so that Yuriy was forced to order their expulsion from Ukraine. The Tatars also started plundering villages and carrying inhabitants off into slavery. Inexperienced Yuriy, being incapable of restoring order, resigned in 1663 and became a monk.

The successor of Yuriy was his brother-in-law Pavlo Teterya, elected by the Kozak officers. The new Hetman established friendly relations with Poland, by means of which he prevented the annexa-

tion of the western part of Ukraine by the Muscovites. Muscovy withheld recognition from Pavlo, and in his stead promoted the election of the Zaporozhian Hetman, Ivan Brukhovetsky, at the "Black Council" of Nizhyn, who was the candidate of the common Kozaks. Somko and Zolotarenko were beheaded, since they had been deserted by all their Kozaks who followed Muscovy's intrigues.

Now Ukraine had two Hetmans: Teterya on the Right-Bank and Brukhovetsky on the Left-Bank. This partition caused internal weakness and nearly stopped the progress of internal consolidation. Teterya along with Polish and Tatar troops, and his Kozaks crossed the Dnieper and advanced to the Hetman's capital city of Hlukhiv, but here again due to the strong hostility of the civilian population toward the Poles, he retreated before the advancing army of Brukhovetsky. Nevertheless, the latter failed to use this opportunity for the unification of the country. Here it is to be noted that Polish General Czarnecki's methods of quieting popular uprisings stirred the entire population against the Poles, e.g. he ordered that the bones of Hetman Bohdan be exhumed and burned, a profanation of the memory of the great Hetman which was never to be forgotten by the Ukrainians. Last but not least, the Poles abandoned Ukraine and Hetman Teterya, unable to restore a semblance of order with his own power, resigned.

Teterya was succeeded by Hetman Petro Doroshenko, who was elected by the Kozaks in August of 1665. He was a good soldier highly respected by the Kozaks because of his great personal qualities and bravery. He determined to renew the alliance with the Turks in order to keep the Poles in check. Now the Sultan promised his assistance in the unification of Ukraine, including Halich and all the provinces under Muscovite control. Doroshenko, speedily, expelled the Polish detachments from the Right-Bank and decided to do likewise with the Muscovite garrisons on the Left-Bank, where Hetman Brukhovetsky, after a new treaty of 1665, only defended some rights of Kozak autonomy, e.g. he even consented to subject the Kievan Metropolia to the Patriarch of Muscovy, and when bishops, clergy, Kozaks and the people resisted, he sent the most prominent leaders to the Czar, who banished them to Siberia. His burdens became intolerable, when the Czar's tax collectors appeared in Ukraine levying exorbitant taxes. Violent uprisings broke out in many cities and villages.

Concurrently with this tragic situation, a secret truce between Poland and Muscovy was arranged in the small town of Andrusowo in January of 1667, where both partners agreed to divide Ukraine between themselves. Hetman Brukhovetsky and the Kozaks considered this a violation of the Treaty of Pereyaslav and started



a war against Muscovy. This presented Hetman Dorosheko with a good opportunity to reunite the country. He crossed the Dnieper River and captured Brukhovetsky near the town of Opishnia, by which feat he became the master of all Ukraine. This bold feat shook the hopes of Muscovy, and its troops under General Romanowsky left Ukraine without any fight whatsoever. There Hetman Doroshenko appointed Damian Mnohohrishny his Deputy-Hetman and recrossed the Dnieper. Then the Czar ordered a new



Hetman Ivan Brukhovetsky



Hetman Pavlo Teterya

invasion of the Left-Bank and named Mnohohrishny Hetman of "Siveria." Thus the "division" of the country was repeated.

In March of 1669 the so-called "Hlukhiv Articles" were forced on Mnohohrishny. They might well be termed a temporary loss of independence for the Left-Bank Ukraine.

Meanwhile, the Sultan accompanied by Hetman Doroshenko's Kozaks invaded Poland in 1672 and forced the treaty of Buchach on the Poles. Under the terms of this treaty they consented to leave all Ukrainian territories under Doroshenko's control.

Mnohohorishny was captured and sent to Siberia by the Czar, while Ivan Samoylovich was elected to take his place. Ivan had plans to remove Doroshenko and he saw his first opportunity to do so when a new war, in which the Turks were defeated by the outstanding Polish Gen. Jan Sobieski, was culminated near the town

of Khotyn. Due to his unpopular alliance with the Turks, Doroshenko did not receive the peoples' support. Being left with a handful of faithful officers and Kozaks, he defended the independence of his domain for many years in a very vigorous manner. The civil war between him and Samoylovich was referred to by the people as "Velika Ruina" (The Great Ruin) of the Right-Bank Ukraine. It had most tragic consequences for Ukraine, since many people were obliged to leave their dwellings and cross the Dnieper to settle down in the so-called Free Communes (Slobozhanshchyna), which are the present Kharkiv and Voronezh Provinces. Behind them they left an "empty country." Doroshenko resigned in 1676.

In the following year the Turks promoted the election of Yuriy Khmelnytsky, who was released from his monastic vows by the Patriarch of Constantinople, and again he appeared in Ukraine. It was already too late. The Poles and Muscovites signed a treaty of "Perpetual Alliance" in 1680 and it was repeated in 1686 as a treaty of "Eternal Peace." Poland took under its control the Right-Bank territories, without the city of Kiev, and Muscovy controlled the Left-Bank territories and paid a balance of 146,000 rubles for the city of Kiev, while committing themselves to assist the Poles against the Turks and Tatars.

To the end of this tragic period in Ukrainian history it is important to mention, that following an unsuccessful campaign by Muscovy against the Tatars, Ivan Samoylovich was removed from office, banished to Siberia with his family, and his son was executed.

## CHURCH RELATIONS

The Church Union in the Commonwealth was abolished following the Treaty of Zboriw. Parliament passed this law, which was ratified by King Jan Casimir on January 8th, 1650. By the stroke of a pen the Ukrainian Catholic Church ceased to exist "de jure." Such a tragic circumstance precluded the possibility of regular Church administration. Metropolitan Anthony Selava, whereas he was old and in ill health, staunchly refused to recognize that enactment and did not hopelessly despair that the Church could still be saved. Compelled as he was to hide in catacombs, from which he would rise to wander from village to village, he inspired his spiritual children and encouraged them to endure all hardships for their faith in Christ.

In order to make ecclesiastical administration easier, he appointed as Co-adjutors the Bishops Havryil Kolenda and Pakhomiy Voyna-Oransky. The latter was captured and killed in 1653. After

Metropolitan Selava's death in 1655, Bishop Kolenda took over the entire administration of the Metropolia in the catacombs. On account of the lack of its legal status in the Commonwealth, Metropolitan Kolenda's canonical institution by Pope Alexander VII could have only been made in 1665.

After Hetman Bohdan's treaty with Muscovy in 1654 Poland was invaded by Ukrainians and Muscovites, but very soon the Hetman broke from Muscovy joining the Swedes and Hungarians, and then both the Polish Capitals Krakow and Warsaw were taken



Hetman Petro Doroshenko



Hetman Damian Mnohohrishny

by storm. King Jan Casimir escaped to Silesia. At this tragic juncture in Polish history, its diplomats entered into utmost secret negotiations with Muscovy. Soon their parliament was ready to recognize Czar Alexey as the ruler of Poland, and he promised to recognize the authority of the Apostolic See of Rome. At the same time King Jan Casimir started secret negotiations with Hetman Bohdan on the terms of the Treaty of Zboriw, including the suppression of Church Union.

When Ivan Vyhowsky succeeded Hetman Bohdan who died in 1657, he concluded the Treaty of Hadiach with Poland on September 10, 1658. This treaty recognized equal rights for the "ancient Greek and Roman faiths" in the future "Grand-duchy of Rus'." The legal status of the Church Union was not discussed. The

Ukrainian bishops protested and requested Pope Alexander VII to do likewise. In spite of all protests the "Union of Hadiach" passed through Diet and was ratified by the King without opposition from the Polish bishops, who were members of the Senate.

Facing their Church's final liquidation, the Ukrainian and Whiteruthenian bishops brought up one important point: the "ancient Greek faith" mentioned in the Treaty of Hadiach is to be understood as the Church in communion with Rome, for the "ancient Greek faith" recognized the primacy of Rome, and Patriarch Cerularios broke off these relations with Rome only in 1054. This was a convincing argument and it removed the immediate danger of Church Union suppression. It prolonged its existence until the so-called "Eternal Peace" of Poland with Muscovy, by which Ukraine was divided into two parts.

The Left-Bank Ukraine fell under Muscovy's influence and control. Hetman Ivan Brukhovetsky, during his visit to Moscow, (September-December 1665) requested Czar Alexy to appoint Kievan Metropolitans. Even Bishop Lazar Baranovich of Chernyhiw, who for a period of time substituted for the Orthodox Metropolitan, was a champion of the pro-Muscovite policy during the reign of Hetman Mnohohrishny. The bishop even used all his influence to persuade the Hetman not to fight against the Muscovite army under the command of Prince Romadanowsky.

After the death of Orthodox Metropolitan Josyp Tukalsky in 1675, some Orthodox Ukrainian bishops, clergy and monks forwarded a formal request to Patriarch Parthenios of Constantinople, that Kievan Metropolitans be consecrated by the Patriarch of Moscow. In 1681 after Muscovy's treaty with the Turks at Bakhchysaray this permission was granted with the condition added thereunto, that every candidate for the Metropolia be approved by Constantinople and then consecrated in Moscow. This was done with the Sultan's consent, who wanted to secure peace with Muscovy at a time of preparation for his main assault against the West, which took place in 1683 near Vienna, where the Sultan suffered defeat.

Moscow disregarded the condition placed by the Patriarch of Constantinople and in 1685 appointed the Bishop of Lutsk, Prince Gedeon Chetwertynsky, to the Metropolitan See of Kiev without the consent of Constantinople. Thus the Ukrainian Orthodox Church fell under the complete influence of Moscow at the time of Hetman Samoylovich and Patriarch Joachim Savelov.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church situated on the Right-Bank Ukraine managed to maintain its existence. Although from that time forward it was under tremendous pressure from the Polish



The Samarska Church (1773 A.D.)

government. Notwithstanding this fact, it did not lose its national spirit. This retention of the national spirit was thankfully a result of the constant protection of the Roman Pontiffs. King Michael Wisniowecki (1669-73) recognized its legal status and appointed six commissioners, in whose charge he placed all the affairs of both Ukrainian Churches.

It is noteworthy, that in spite of the long vacancy of the Kievan Metropolitan See, the Ukrainian Church did not lose its vitality, since in the year of 1669 there were still 10,000 parish

churches in communion with Rome, as it appears in the official report of Metropolitan Kolenda to Pope Clement IX. In spite of opposition to the Church Union it gained in popularity, so much so that Orthodox Metropolitan of Kiev, Joseph Sumlansky, who was Bishop also of Lviv, together with Bishop of Peremyshl Innocent Vinnitsky, and Archimandrite of Univ, Varlaam Sheptytsky, submitted themselves to the authority of the Holy See in Rome.

The diocese of Peremyshl with its 800 parishes, 3,000 nobles, and hundreds of thousands of the faithful embraced the Catholic faith after the Eparchial Synod of Sambir in March of 1694. In the year of 1700, the diocese of Lviv followed this example as did the diocese of Lutsk in the year of 1701. In 1720 the Provincial Synod of Zamostia laid a solid foundation for the further development of the Ukrainian Catholic Church on the Right-Bank Ukraine.

## CHAPTER VI

### HETMAN IVAN MAZEPA

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The Ukrainian State, founded by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, had no peace necessary for development and improvement of its governmental system, and for the maintenance of order and discipline. None of Hetman Bohdan's immediate successors had enough personal abilities and authority to check freedom-loving, oftentimes unruly Kozak masses, and this circumstance highly endangered the very existence of the newly-founded state.

Catholic Poles as well as Orthodox Muscovites did not give the Ukrainian people a helping hand. For selfish reasons they refused to recognize their basic God-given rights to live in peace and freedom on their own soil, and the treaties of Pereyaslav and Hadiach show that the Ukrainians had no aggressive plans and aims against their neighbors.

The Polish kingdom and Muscovite czardom, ruled by magnates and nobles, who tyrannically oppressed their own common peoples and made serfs out of them, would not digest the existence of a nation, created by freedom-loving peasants and kozaks, who refused to accept every form of slavery. Therefore, the greediness of those two Slavic nations forced Hetman Khmelnytsky and Hetman Doroshenko to turn to the Tatars, Turks and Swedes for help in order to establish the necessary balance of power, without which the free Ukraine would not have been able to exist between its two closest aggressive neighbors even for a short period of time.

Only pride and greediness caused the shortsighted policy of the Polish "shlakhta," who dreamed of a state "from sea to sea" and brought their own country to the brink of bankruptcy during the Swedish and Turkish wars, and almost caused the loss of its independence. Even this hard lesson of history did not bring the Polish magnates to their senses, since their shortsightedness contributed very much to the above described dismemberment of Ukraine and suppression of its independence on the Right Bank. No need to say that this helped Muscovy to grow so much so that within a few decades it was strong enough to destroy the independence of the Polish kingdom itself.

In the meantime on the Left Bank Ukraine after the removal of Hetman Samoylovich, the Kozak officers elected to the hetmancy, Ivan Mazepa, on August 4, 1687. The new hetman was a descendant of Ukrainian nobles and received his training and education at the Polish royal court, but wishing to help the cause of liberation of his country he joined the Kozak Army during the reign of Hetman Petro Doroshenko.

Hetman Ivan Mazepa was compelled to follow the policy of his predecessor, since the Kozak officers after the downfall of Hetman Doroshenko and the partition of Ukraine considered the continua-





Hetman Ivan Mazepa

tion of the war of liberation against Muscovy to be hopeless in existent circumstances. They pursued a temporary policy "of least resistance and appeasement" to the Czar, being of the conviction that this was the only way to secure peace needed for the preservation of the newly-acquired rights. They cherished the hope that in due time with the people's support they would be able to reestablish independent Ukraine. Muscovy, however, had different designs and started introducing changes in political and social structure of Ukraine with the intention to keep it permanently with its own line.

First of all, at the expense of common people the Czar "donated" large estates to the Kozak officers and thus a new Ukrainian nobility was created and the foundation for a new serfdom of peasants was laid. Thus the breach between Ukrainian leaders and the people became an accomplished fact. Consequently, the Kozak officers became dependents of the Czar and at the same time lost confidence of the Kozaks, for they replaced the old Polish nobility and were considered foes of the freedom-loving people. It is no wonder that Kozaks and the common people turned their eyes to the more radical leaders, and especially to the Zaporozhians, who managed to preserve and enjoy their old freedom.

In the meantime in Muscovy the young Czar Peter I took over the government from his sister Sophia. Hetman Mazepa was a good politician and he gained the confidence of the new Czar. This helped him to strengthen his own position, and at the same time, being a wealthy man, he promoted religious and cultural work in Ukraine, for instance, he built many beautiful churches, erected new and remodeled old monasteries and founded schools. The Mohylan Academy in Kiev reached its peak during Mazepa's reign. His great generosity was also known abroad, e.g. in the church of Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem till this day a silver plate is used with the inscription: "Donated by His Highness Ivan Mazepa, Hetman of Rus'", and he financed the printing of the Bible (New Testament) in the Arabic language.

Although Hetman Mazepa defended the common people in his "Universals" (1691) and eased the taxes, he was unable to penetrate the hearts and minds of all his subjects, and consequently he could not gain their wholehearted confidence and support, needed in time of great decision. Hetman Mazepa knew that the friendship of the ambitious Czar Peter I was of short duration and in case of any popular discontent he would share the fate of his three immediate predecessors. The first sign of such a discontent was the uprising of the Kozak leader Petro Ivanenko (called also Petryk) in 1692-96. He fled to Zaporozhia and made attempts

to overthrow Mazepa and to free Ukraine from the Muscovite yoke. The Tatar Khan recognized Ivanenko as the Hetman of Ukraine and promised his assistance in case he would start a new war of liberation. He soon appeared in Ukraine with small Tatar detachments, but the Zaporozhians would not risk their freedom and refused to support him. Ivanenko was unable to stir up the whole population against Muscovy and Hetman Mazepa.

Mazepa considered himself "hetman of both sides of the Dnieper River," and he never gave up the hope of regaining the Right Bank of Ukraine, which by virtue of the Polish-Muscovite treaties of 1667 and 1686 was under Polish control. The Poles designated there the outstanding Kozak leaders, e.g. Ostap Hohol († 1679) and Stephen Kunitsky (1683-84) to be "hetmans" aiming to gain the confidence of the kozak masses and population. Having in mind the full reorganization of the country the Polish Sejm (Diet) renewed the hetmancy (1686) and Kozak leader Andriy Mohyla (1684-89) was recognized as a lawful hetman. He was succeeded by two hetmans: Hryshko (1689-92) and Samuil (Samus) Ivanovich (1692-1704). But at the same time other Kozak leaders, and especially the famous Semen Paliy (Hurko), who took part at the battle of Vienna in 1683 with King John Sobieski, being dissatisfied with the state of affairs, organized his own small army and plundered the Polish landlords' estates driving them out of Ukraine. He succeeded in capturing fortresses Nemyriw and Bila Tserkva, and waged a real war of liberation. This was a threat to Hetman Mazepa's plans, since Semen Paliy became a national hero and a premature full-scale revolution might have spread very easily in the Left-Bank Ukraine. This would have given Czar Peter a good pretext to suppress the hetmancy. Mazepa's position worsened when the Czar started a new war against the Tatars (1695), and demanded more Kozak troops from Mazepa. He very soon joined the Poles in the war against the Swedish King Charles XII and Mazepa again was compelled to send his troops to Saxony and to the north, where they suffered from the cold climate and went through many hardships. This brought about a general dissatisfaction in Ukraine against Muscovy and Hetman Mazepa.

Being a good patriot and a far-sighted politician Hetman Mazepa soon came to the conclusion that something radical must be done in order to protect the people and to secure full freedom for his country. The best opportunity came when Swedish King Charles XII invaded Poland and forced its King August II Saxonian to abdicate and to give up all his claims to the Polish throne. Charles XII also promoted the election of the new King Stanislaw

Leszczynski (July 2, 1704), who became his ally. In this situation the Swedish invasion of Ukraine became a possibility.

There still existed an unwritten agreement of hetmans Bohdan and Ivan Vyhowsky with the Swedes, by which the independence of Ukraine was guaranteed and to which Hetman Mazepa now gave much thought and he was encouraged by King Leszczynsky's emissaries to break away from Muscovy. In the meantime at the Czar's request he had to use his troops to quiet down the uprising on the Right Bank Ukraine. There Samus Ivanovich resigned and handed his insignia to Hetman Mazepa. Semen Paliy was captured and his relative Colonel Omelchenko was appointed by Mazepa as Deputy-hetman. This was a good beginning since Mazepa gained control over the entire country and united it under his reign. When the Czar demanded (1707) that he return the newly-acquired territories to the administration of King August II Mazepa hesitated to comply. He was accused by some ambitious Kozak officers (Iskra, Kochubey) that he intended to break away from Muscovy. Thanks to his shrewdness he was able to maintain his position.

In this most dangerous game he was cheered up by other officers, who used to say: "We all pray to God for the soul of Bohdan Khmelnytsky remembering that he liberated us from the Polish yoke — and our children will condemn your soul and bones, if you leave the Kozaks in this slavery." Hetman Mazepa made up his mind to enter into the utmost secret negotiations with King Leszczynski through the mediation of Princess Dolska, the mother of Prince Wyshnevetsky. Only some of the officers and his close associates were informed. By doing this Mazepa kept the Czar in the dark, but at the same time he deprived himself of the whole-hearted support and assistance of the rest of the officers, of the Kozak masses and of the people. The situation became very serious, since to the last moment of his great decision he was compelled to send troops to Muscovy, and almost on the eve of his break with the Czar he had to put down the uprising of the Don Kozaks, who must have been considered natural allies of Ukraine in their mutual struggle against Muscovy.

At the beginning of 1708 Charles XII attacked Peter I in Bielorruthenia and it came to the conclusion of the treaty between him and Hetman Mazepa. By virtue of this treaty Ukraine with all its territories was to be free and independent and Charles XII promised to defend it against all its enemies; Mazepa was recognized as Prince or Hetman and after his death the General Council (or States) were to elect his successor. It was agreed that until the ter-

mination of the war with Muscovy the Swedish troops were to be stationed in Ukrainian cities of Starodub, Mhlyn, Baturyn, Hadiach and Poltava at the Muscovite-Ukrainian border.

Only after Charles XII's arrival in Starodub Hetman Mazepa disclosed his secret plan before the Council of Officers. He told them: "I am calling Almighty God to be witness and I swear that I am not seeking high honors, riches nor any other things, — but for you, who are my subjects, for your wives and children, for the good of Mother, the poor Ukraine, and for the well-being of all Ukrainian people, to establish their full rights and liberties.



Swedish King Charles XII

By the help of God I intend to preserve you, your wives and the fatherland from the yoke of Muscovy and Sweden."

The Officers' Council approved the treaty and requested Charles XII to cross the Desna River and to wait there until the next spring so that Hetman Mazepa could gather more Kozak troops. However, young Charles marched into Ukraine and there a battle near Krasnyj Kut took place, but it did not destroy the power of the Czar, and he was compelled to encamp his army near the city of Poltava and wait the coming of Spring.

But at this time of great decision Hetman Mazepa became a victim of his utmost secrecy: the Czar discovered his alliance with Charles XII sooner than his "universals" reached the popula-

tion. This was the reason why Peter I was able to occupy many towns and cities and to capture Mazepa's capital Baturyn, where he seized all supplies, murdered all defenders and burned the city. He did not spare the priceless treasures of art and books collected by the Hetman at his palace during his long reign. The Czar spread rumors and sent out circulars accusing Mazepa as a "traitor," who intended to "sell Ukraine to the Polish landlords and to destroy the Orthodox faith." To paralyze all Mazepa's efforts in bringing the Kozaks and population to his side the Czar ordered that Kozak Officers who were under his command, to elect a new hetman Ivan Skoropadsky. How regrettable that even members of the Orthodox hierarchy, including Metropolitan Joseph Krokowsky, submitted themselves to the Czar's will and denounced their former benefactor, Hetman Mazepa, as a "traitor" in churches throughout the Left Bank Ukraine. A special ceremony of Hetman's excommunication was composed and until the revolution in 1917 it was "celebrated" in all Orthodox churches of the Muscovite State on the first Sunday of Lent.

In that tragic situation Mazepa's and Charles XII's proclamations to the people were of no avail. The people were confused, since Mazepa too long pretended to be a friend of Muscovy. Only Koshovy of the Zaporozhian Kozaks, Kost Hordienko, joined Mazepa, but it took him several months to convince his Kozaks that Mazepa was a great patriot and intended to liberate Ukraine from Muscovite slavery. This long hesitation and inactiveness of the Kozaks was the only cause that the Czar succeeded in capturing the Sich below the Dnieper rapids and dispersed the Kozaks. Only a part of them moved to Oleshky at the estuary of the Dnieper River, where they could not be reached by the angry Czar.

No need to say that the small detachments that faithfully followed Mazepa could not help the Swedes much when two armies met near the city of Poltava on July 8, 1709. The Czar had under his command 50,000 men and 72 canons, and Charles XII 31,000 men and 4 canons. The King was wounded and his army was forced to retreat. He and Mazepa went to the city of Bendery in Moldavia, which was under Turkish control. Czar Peter set the price of 300,000 talars on the Hetman's head, however, the Sultan refused to hand him over to the Czar. Broken in body and soul Mazepa died on September 22, 1709. Although the dream of his life did not come true, his friends and close associates carried on his plans so that all the Ukrainian freedom-fighters were called by the Muscovites, the "Mazepintsi."

General Secretary Philip Orlik and Mazepa's close friend was chosen to be his successor in 1710. The same year the Ukrainian Constitution was proclaimed, the so-called "Pacts and Constitution of Rights and Liberties of the Zaporozhian Army" (April 16, 1710). It instituted the General Assembly, composed of officers, representatives of the Kozaks and deputies from Zaporozhia, — and it was to make the laws of the land. The Hetman was the chief executive officer and he was to be advised and helped by the General Staff. The Kozak officers were forbidden to use Kozaks and peasants for servile labor on their estates and they were to



A kozak at the time of Mazepa



A colonel at the time of Mazepa

remain free citizens of the country. This may be considered the first liberal Constitution of the European mainland, since it was proclaimed ninety years before the French revolution, based on democratic principles.

Hetman Orlik's raid in Ukraine in 1711 was successful and he captured several cities. But here again the liberation of the country was jeopardized by the Tatar plundering of the towns and villages and this was the reason the population failed to support Orlik wholeheartedly. Following a new war in 1711 the Czar was forced by the Sultan to recognize the independence of the Right Bank Ukraine and it enjoyed a short period of peace. The Poles, however, brought up their claims again and started

a new war. Hetman Orlik being unable to bring the liberation of Ukraine to a happy conclusion, went into exile and from abroad promoted the cause of independency of his beloved country to the last moment of his life in 1742.

It would be of interest to note that Hetman Orlik cherished a great hope when in 1719 a very important alliance was formed in Vienna, the capital of Austria, in order to stop Russian aggression. Austria, England and the Electorate of Hanover decided to destroy the aggressive aims of Czar Peter. The Polish Sejm, however, refused to join the said alliance and the whole project was abandoned. In a few decades Poland had to pay a very high price for this mistake.

## HETMANS OF THE XVIII CENTURY

In the fall of 1708 Peter I promoted the election of Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky by the Council of Officers. Skoropadsky was an old and sickly man and surrounded himself with his relatives, appointing them to high offices. His ambitious wife, Nastia, exercised a great influence so that it was said that she bore the mace and he wore the dresses. His son-in-law, Charnysh, who was made general army judge, introduced corruption, falsehood and bribery into the military courts. Thus in a very difficult situation Ukraine lacked a strong and capable leader.

Peter I closely watched all the events in Ukraine and under the pretext of preventing the "repetition of Mazepa's treason" he placed his governors and garrisons in all bigger Ukrainian cities. "Mazepa's betrayal" was a good reason for the Czar to take every measure in order to destroy the rights of the Ukrainian people, guaranteed by his predecessor by the treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654.

The first step to this was the appointment of a "minister-stolnik" in the person of Ismailov on August 11, 1709, and he had to "advise" the Hetman in all important affairs of his government and to prevent any rebellion of the "Mazepintsi." The next year another minister was added to spy on the Hetman, and without the consent of these two men the Hetman could make no decision of great importance.

Peter I personally interfered appointing members of the Officers' Council without asking the Hetman's opinion, e.g. Peter Tolstoy was named to the colonelcy of Starodub the largest in Ukraine. On April 29, 1722, the Czar announced an "ukaze" establishing the so-called "Little Russian Board," composed of six Muscovite officers stationed in Ukraine under the chairmanship of



Brigadier Velyaminov. The "Board" received great powers, including the inspection of the Hetman's Chancellery. The Czar excused this innovation by the exaggerated abuses of the Hetman's administration. All Hetman Skoropadsky's appeals were in vain, since Peter paid no attention to his just arguments. At the same time the Czar sent out a written order with a tricky statement that the "Little Russian Board" was established for the "protec-



Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky



Hetman Danylo Apostol

tion of the common people against the abuses of the Kozak officers."

Hetman Skoropadsky could not stand any more. He fell ill and died in July 1722. His death was a good opportunity to abolish the hetmancy. When Colonel Pavlo Polubotok took over the government he was ordered not to do anything without Velyaminov's approval. Also the customary election of the hetman was not permitted. At the same time the Czar transferred all Ukrainian affairs to the Senate. In plain language it meant that he intended to consider Ukraine an ordinary province of "Great Russia." On all the requests to allow the election of a new hetman he used to say: "From Khmelnytsky to Skoropadsky all hetmans were traitors."

Thus the hetmancy was abolished and Velyaminov became a real ruler of Ukraine and he used to boast: "I am your law"! He increased taxes, oppressed the population, drafted Kozaks for his

army etc. Finally Pavlo Polubotok was ordered to transfer his Chancellery to St. Petersburg and when he resisted he was thrown into prison and died there in the fall of 1724. Chroniclers recorded his last words to the Czar: "In defense of my fatherland I am not afraid to be put in irons nor to suffer in prison for I prefer the most horrible death, than to look at the general peril of my kinsmen."

The next year Peter I died and was succeeded by his illegal wife Catherine I with whom he lived since 1712. Feeling insecure she eased the oppression of Ukraine and promised to abolish the "Little Russian Board." She also ordered the customary election of a new hetman. She died in 1727 and Peter II, the grandson of Peter I, who was 12 years of age, became the new Czar. In October 1727 Colonel Danylo Apostol of Myrhorod was chosen hetman. Now the dreaded Velyaminov was replaced by the more reasonable Naumov and in 1728 the so-called "Definite Articles" were announced and some old Kozak rights reinstated. The Zaporozhian Kozaks who lived under Turkish supremacy received permission to return home and to establish the "New Sich" on Pidpolna River.

Peter II died in 1730 and his aunt, Anna, was chosen by the "Secret Supreme Council" to succeed him. Acting under the advice of her most influential minister, Byron, of German origin, she revived the whole system of Peter I's reign. After the Hetman Apostol's death in 1734 she again abolished the hetmancy and all Ukrainian affairs were jointly directed by three Ukrainians and three Muscovites under the presidency of Prince Shakhovsky who became the master of Ukraine.

After ten years of Anna's reign the daughter of Peter I, Elizabeth, took over the throne in the fall of 1741. Her personal sympathies caused some changes in policy concerning Ukraine: before her accession to the throne she fell in love with the court singer, Olexa Rosum(owsky), the son of a Ukrainian peasant from the province of Chernihiv and after she became the Empress she married him secretly and showered him with titles and favors. Thanks to his influence she eased the oppression of Ukraine and permitted the election of the new Hetman Kyrylo Rozumowsky, her husband's younger brother. His election took place at Hlukhiv in 1750.

The Russian officials were removed from their positions in Ukraine, their offices being abolished; the Zaporozhian Sich was placed under the authority of the hetman; the Ukrainian administration was restored as it has existed before 1722; the affairs of Ukraine were placed under the ministry of foreign affairs and

later at the hetman's request they were transferred under the authority of the Senate. The new hetman was brought up in St. Petersburg and married Catherine Naryshkina, a relative of the Empress Elizabeth, and for this reason he felt lonely and made frequent visits to St. Petersburg. He paid little attention to Ukrainian affairs and allowed the Officers' Council to govern the country according to its will and to deal directly with the Senate.



Hetman Kyrylo Rozumovsky

Because of his influence in St. Petersburg no Muscovite dared to interfere in Ukrainian affairs. His reign lasted almost 15 years.

Empress Elizabeth died on June 6, 1762, and Peter III, her nephew, after six months of reign was removed and ordered to be killed by his wife, Sophie-Augusta von Anhalt-Zerbst, daughter of a German general, known better as Catherine II. Although before her marriage to Peter III she agreed to give up her Protestant religion and embrace the Russian Orthodoxy, in her personal and public life she was the most immoral ruler on the Russian throne.

Catherine II employed all means to enforce Hetman Rozumowsky's resignation from the hetmancy. Count Rumyantsev was appointed the Governor-General of "Little Russia" and he presided over the "Little Russian Board," composed of 4 Ukrainians and 4 Muscovites. Acting under her instructions he suppressed freedom and abolished the whole system of administration. She employed

her own officials to enforce the Russian system of government in Ukraine. She legalized serfdom and colonized southern Ukrainian territories. When Koshovy Petro Kalynshevsky of Zaporozhia, a wise and able statesman, vigorously protested, she decided to destroy the "Sich" by force and treachery. The moment was chosen when most of the Kozaks were fighting in Podolia (1775) and then General Tekeli was ordered to march with a strong army and capture the "Sich." Pretending to be their friend he overpowered the small garrison and burned this last fortress of freedom in Ukraine. During negotiations Hetman Petro Kalynshevsky was captured and imprisoned at Solowky Monastery on the White Sea, where he was kept for 25 years locked in a small cell. He was permitted to leave it three times a year to take part in Church services: on Christmas, Easter and on the Transfiguration of Our Lord.

Numerous Kozaks refused to live in slavery, for instance, 7,000 of them moved southward to Ochakiv (1776) and there the Sultan allowed them to settle at the mouth of the Danube River; 8,000 received permission of the Austrian government (1785) to settle in the province of Banat on the lower Tissa River; in 1792 several thousand of them moved to the province of Kuban on the northern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains, where the Koshovy Kharko Chepiha established their own democratic form of government; in 1828 some of the "Danubian Kozaks" with their Koshovy Osypp (Joseph) Hladky moved to the shores of Azov Sea, between the cities of Berdiansk and Mariupil, and in 1860 they joined the Kuban Kozaks.

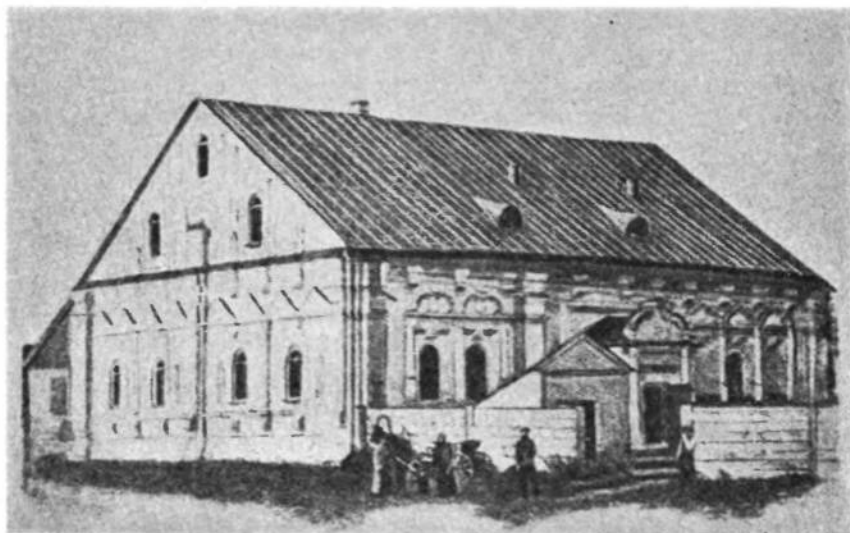
After the destruction of the Kozak system of government Catherine II divided Ukraine into three provinces (gubernias): Kiev, Chernihiv and Novhorod-Siversky. Serfdom was reintroduced in 1783 and it was generally enforced. This was the tragic consequence of the "Treaty of Pereyaslav," concluded on the basis "equal to equal." Thus the "Orthodox elder brother" put his "younger Orthodox brother" into irons on the Left Bank Ukraine.

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It has been mentioned that after the death of Hetman Mazepa his successor Philip Orlik (1710-1742) revived the war of liberation aiming to recapture Ukraine from Poles and Muscovites. In July 1711 the allied Turkish army of Sultan Ahmed III surrounded the army of Peter I on the Prut River, and only for a large sum of ransom money the Czar's life was spared, and he was forced to sign the "Treaty of Prut," by which he agreed not to interfere in

internal affairs of the Ukrainian people. This treaty was followed by the final agreement between Muscovy and Turkey: the Czar renounced all claims to the Right Bank Ukraine, which was to be under the Sultan's protectorate, and the Left Bank Ukraine was to remain in federation with Muscovy as an autonomous state. Peter I violated this international treaty, as we have already discussed.

Very soon the Polish magnates, e.g. Potocki, Lubomirski and others, invaded the Right Bank Ukraine with their military de-



Hetman Mazepa's house in Chernihiv.

tachments and provoked unrest, disturbances and uprisings of Kozaks and of the population. Thus the provinces west of the Dnieper River became a warlike camp. Beginning with the year of 1750 the fighters, called Haydamaks, initiated the desperate "life and death" struggle of chasing away all magnates from Ukraine. In 1768 Chieftain Maxim Zalizniak succeeded to stir up a peasant uprising which spread throughout the entire Right Bank Ukraine. In June of that year he captured by storm the fortress Uman and killed most of its inhabitants, together with the Ukrainian Catholic clergy, monks and the faithful, since Zalizniak considered himself to be a "fighter for the Orthodoxy." He was proclaimed hetman and it seemed that with the Russian support he was successful in the restoration of the Kozak government.

At this moment, however, Catherine II, who planned total destruction of Poland and wholeheartedly supported Maxim Zaliz-

niak, — ordered General Krechetnikov to march with his troops and rescue the Polish Commander-in-Chief Count Branicki and at the same time to suppress the newly-established Kozak government. Zalizniak and his close associate Ivan Gonta were captured by Muscovites; the former was exiled to Siberia and the latter beheaded by the Poles.

The last Polish independent King August III Saxonian died in 1762 and in November of the same year Catherine II and Frederick II of Prussia made a secret alliance intending to divide and destroy Poland. The first step toward this goal was Catherine's support of Stanislaw Poniatowsky, her former lover, to the Polish throne. She dispatched her troops to Warsaw in order to enforce his election, and from now on her ambassadors, Kaiserlink and Repnin, became dictators in the Polish capital. The situation worsened when the Poles formed two parties: the so-called Radomska Confederation under leadership of Prince Radziwil followed the policy of appeasement and full cooperation with Muscovy; and the so-called Barska Confederation under the leadership of Bishop Krasinski, who not long ago requested Catherine II's help in suppressing Zalizniak's uprising, but now declared himself to be her enemy.

In October 1768 when the Sultan started a new war against Muscovy and King Frederick II invaded northern provinces of Poland, Catherine II using the excuse of wiping out the remnants of Kozak revolutionaries occupied some parts of the Right Bank Ukraine. This circumstance was the immediate cause of the first partition of Poland in 1772. Empress Maria Theresa of Austria joined Russia and Prussia, and occupied most of the territories of the former kingdom of Halich-Volynia, since she being at the same time the Queen of Hungary, based her pretention on the fact that some of her predecessors of the 14th century exercised their influence there.

After the first partition the Poles made efforts to introduce some basic reforms on territories still under their control, now realizing what brought about the downfall of the Commonwealth. French philosopher Rosseau said about the Polish government: ". . . rien ne la gouverne, mais rien ne l'obeit" (nobody is ruling and nobody is obeying it). Only in 1791 a new liberal Constitution was prepared, but it was too late. The people were confused and a new confederation the so-called Targovitsa stirred up the insurrection against its own government inviting the Muscovite army to Warsaw, and the Sejm abrogated the said Constitution so that it never went into effect.

At the second partition in 1792 Muscovy occupied provinces of Kiev, Podolia and Volynia. When in 1794 the Poles made an uprising, which was put down by the Russian and Prussian troops, it was followed by a third and final partition of Poland in 1795. Poland was erased from the map as a free nation. This was the highest price paid for the selfishness and short-sightedness of the magnates and "the shlakhta," who placed their private interests over those of the country.

Poland's downfall crushed also, at least for the time being, the possibility of establishing free Ukraine in the nearest future, since on all the newly-occupied territories Muscovy introduced the most severe methods to suppress political as well as cultural development of Ukraine. On the other hand, the territories annexed by Austria received a more liberal and just government than they had in the Commonwealth. This was why the Halich lands very soon were to initiate a new era of Ukrainian national renaissance.

## UKRAINIAN CHURCH IN THE 18th CENTURY

Beginning with the appointment of the Orthodox Bishop of Lutsk Prince Gedeon Chetvertynsky to the Metropolia of Kiev by Patriarch Joasaph II of Moscow in 1686, which the following year was approved by Patriarch Dionisy of Constantinople, Czar Alexey succeeded in "unification of the Little Russian Church (Ukrainian) with that of Great Russia (Muscovite)." In plain language it meant that the Ukrainian Orthodoxy was in danger of losing its autonomy and national character.

This danger became imminent when after the death of Patriarch Adrian in 1700 Czar Peter I, wishing to subject the Church under civil authority, made up his mind to abolish the patriarchate. He appointed a learned and able Ukrainian Orthodox priest and former rector of Kievan Academy, Stephen Yaworsky, to be Metropolitan of Ryazan and the "Substitute for the Patriarch" (the "Mistoblustytel"). This was followed by a long period of preparation for the intended reform. The Czar chose another Ukrainian Orthodox priest, Theophan Prokopovich, and put him in charge of the whole ecclesiastical reform. Thus step by step a separate ecclesiastical body, called the "Holy Synod," came into being and it took over the Church government of the entire Russian State. It would be of interest to note that among the bishops of the Synod which took place on February 14, 1721, and approved Theophan Prokopovich's reform, — except two Russians, all the rest were of Ukrainian origin. To pacify the opposition Czar Peter I requested

Patriarch Jeremia of Constantinople to approve establishment of the Holy Synod. The Patriarch dispatched a special "Chrysobull" of September 23, 1723, to the "Autocrator and holy Czar of Muscovy, Little and White Russia, and of all the Northern, Eastern, Western and numerous other countries . . . the Lord and Emperor Peter Alexeyevich by grace of the Holy Spirit our Beloved Brother," -- by which he recognized the Holy Synod as a ruling body of the Muscovite Church for "all the ages."

From now on the Synod was to carry out the Czar's orders given by one layman, called the Oberprocurator, who was to be appointed by the Czar personally. Metropolitan Joasaph Krokowsky of Kiev resisted and he was imprisoned by the Czar. His successor Varlaam Vonatovich (1722-30) for the same reason was condemned, removed from his office as a heretic and sent to the Bileozero Monastery. The resistance was crushed and from now on all members of the Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchy were to receive their appointments from the Czar and carry out his orders, e.g. he forbade printing of the Liturgical books in Ukraine and enforced the use of those printed in Muscovy. Thus the initial cooperation of some Orthodox Ukrainians with the "older Orthodox brother of Muscovy" brought about the loss of autonomy of their own Church. Having reformed the Russian Church and established there Seminaries and institutions of higher learning those Ukrainian pioneers were replaced by the Russians. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church by the end of the 18th century lost its national character. Finally after the death of Metropolitan Yerotey Malicky in 1799 all metropolitans of Kiev, except one Rumanian, were Muscovites.

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In the meantime the Ukrainian Catholic Church on the Right Bank Ukraine was struggling very hard to achieve its internal consolidation so that former strongholds of the opposition to the Church Union submitted themselves to the authority of the Holy See of Rome. Following a request of the energetic Metropolitan Yuriy Vynnytsky of Kiev the S. Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith renewed the decree of Pope Urban VIII forbidding all transfers from Byzantine to the Latin Rite, and the Polish bishops were to forbid their clergy under pain of excommunication to take Ukrainians into their churches.

No need to say that one century of persecutions, the long life in catacombs, and some local reforms and regulations brought changes in customs. Now when the dioceses of Lviv, Peremyshl



and Lutsk joined the Church Union it became imperative to call a Provincial Synod for the restoration of former uniformity. Pope Clement XI at Metropolitan Lev Kishka's request permitted to call such a Synod to the city of Lviv, but on account of an epidemic it was transferred to the city of Zamostia. On August 26, 1720, in the presence of Papal Legate Archbishop Grimaldi; Metropolitan Kishka; all Ukrainian Catholic bishops; Basilian Proto-Archimandrite; 8 Archimandrites, 129 theologians and two representatives of Lviv Brotherhood, — all important matters of the Ukrainian Catholic Church were taken under careful scrutiny.

Generally speaking, most of the disciplinary reforms of the Synod of Zamostia were based on the decrees of the Ecumenical Council of Trent, it is in the spirit of western discipline. This was the reason they were approved by Pope Benedict XIII under the following condition: all decrees of the Ecumenical Councils as well as these of the Roman Pontiffs concerning the discipline of the Byzantine Church must remain in full force. Placing this condition the Holy See emphasized clearly that because of exceptionally dangerous situation in Ukraine the usage of some disciplinary measures could be borrowed from the West, but only on a temporary basis.

On the other hand, most of the Liturgical practices and innovations introduced at the time of bloody persecution and struggle for unity of the Church, which might have been considered a deviation from the genuine Byzantine Rite, by the approval of the Zamostian Synod and of the Holy See of Rome formed a new Ukrainian branch of the Byzantine Rite.

The Holy See at the request of Metropolitan Athanasius Sheptytsky, Lev Kishka's successor, once more renewed the above mentioned decree of Urban VIII and advised all confessors of the Latin Rite in Poland to act accordingly. At this time it was evident that the practice of transferring Catholics from one Rite to another highly endangered the mere idea of the Church Union, since it caused great resentment and confusion among Eastern Catholics. It seemed that some members of the Polish hierarchy now realized the damaging effect of such practice, e.g. the Latin Rite Bishop Zinkewicz of Vilna made an agreement with Metropolitan Sheptytsky in 1744: all Eastern Catholics, who after the promulgation of Pope Urban VIII's decree were received into the Latin churches of his diocese, were to return to their own Rite. There is no evidence, however, as to how many of them returned, but the existence of this agreement shows at least a moral victory of the Eastern Catholics, achieved with the help of the Holy See of Rome.

The Russophile party under the leadership of Prince Chartoryski enforced the creation of a special Royal Commission intending to take over the property of churches and monasteries of the Eastern Rite, which during the Muscovite occupation were taken by force and given to the Orthodox. Following strong action of Pope Benedict XIV this danger was averted and internal consolidation of the Ukrainian Church progressed and its administration improved.

At this time another vital matter came up. The overwhelming majority of clergy of the Ukrainian Church were married and as such ineligible to the episcopacy, except the widowed ones, who were to become monks and as such regained their privilege of becoming bishops. The Zamostian Synod, however, changed that ancient custom by excluding widowers and reserving that privilege for monks only, adding a paragraph that if a secular priest (or person) is appointed to the episcopacy he should go for a certain period of time to a monastery and become a monk. Since at given periods in the Ukrainian Church there was the only Basilian Order, therefore, its members claimed the exclusive right to the episcopacy. This, however, was in disagreement with the practice in the East as well as in the West. Thus this matter became the issue of a dispute between Metropolitan Sheptytsky and the Basilian Order. Pope Benedict XIV decreed that if a secular priest received an appointment from the Holy See to be a bishop there is no need for him to become a monk. Pope Benedict XIV founded a Papal College in the city of Lviv for the education of secular clergy and announced three very important Constitutions regulating matters of the Eastern Church, e.g. exemption of the Basilian Order from the Metropolitans' control and putting it under the direct jurisdiction of the Holy See of Rome, thus removing causes of misunderstanding and promoting its work. All these measures strengthened the Ukrainian Church and secured its more vigorous development.

However, the situation worsened when in 1762 the good-willed King August III Saxonian died and Catherine II concluded a secret alliance with King Frederick II of Prussia aiming at the destruction of Poland. With Catherine's support King Stanislaw August IV Poniatowski assumed the throne and against Pope Clement XIII's advice made an "Eternal Alliance" with Muscovy. Now a state of anarchy prevailed and it was followed by the partitions of Poland and its final destruction.

No need to say that the first victim of the said anarchy was the Ukrainian Church. Metropolitan Philip Volodkovich (1762-78),



Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kiev  
built by Hetman Mazepa

old and ill, was not permitted to hold the intended Synod in Brest and this deprived him of the possibility to organize the defense and resistance against the pressure of Muscovite Orthodoxy, since Catherine II ordered the destruction of the Eastern Catholic Church in her domain. After nine years of her "missions," that is her military expeditions in Ukrainian provinces—at least 1,300 of

Catholic churches were taken away by the Orthodox clergy. Numerous documents of this bloody persecution are available, and numerous Ukrainian Catholic priests, monks and the faithful, who refused to renounce their allegiance to the Holy See of Rome, were imprisoned, tortured or killed.

Catherine II concluding the "Treaty of Grodno" (June-July 1793), accepted the following responsibility: "(Article VIII) Catholics of both Rites who by virtue of this treaty (Art. II) became subjects of her Imperial Majesty of all Russia, will be allowed to freely profess their faith in the entire Russian State and, as the 2nd article says, on all acquired territories their status and possessions will be upheld. Her Imperial Majesty of all Russias in her name as well as in behalf of her descendants and successors irrevocably guarantees for the times to come free use of their privileges, possessions and churches, — a free observance of cults and discipline; and of all rights connected with the religious cult, — and declares for herself and in behalf of her successors never to assume the supremacy of the Roman Catholic faith of both Rites in all provinces, that by virtue of this treaty became her domain."

Had this treaty been made by a more civilized nation, it would have given all rights and possibilities for development of the Ukrainian and White-ruthenian Churches in existent circumstances. Muscovy violated this international agreement and initiated a full-scale and barbaric persecution. Archimandrite Victor Sadkowsky of Slutsk was in charge of Muscovite "missionary activity" in Ukraine and he was "backed up" by troops of General Sheremetev who made repeated "punitive expeditions" to "convert" people to the "Russian Orthodoxy."

In 1794 Catherine II's ukaze ordered that all, who embraced the Church Union in 1595, must return to the Russian Synodal Church, although they never belonged to it. Another "ukaze" of the same year "joyfully" proclaimed that 2,300 Ukrainian churches "freely returned to their Mother Church in Moscow."

All Ukrainian episcopal sees were abolished and their bishops were taken away from their flocks and sent into exile. Thus from 5,000 parishes of Kievan, Kamenets Podolsky and Volodimir dioceses barely 200 managed to survive. These tragic events made a tremendous impression in the West so that Empress Maria Theresa, who was corresponsable for the partition of the Commonwealth, — and Pope Pius VI vigorously protested, but to no avail.

Only after Catherine II's death, when her son Paul I assumed the reign, some of his mother's "ukaze" were revoked and the exiled bishops and priests were allowed to return home from

Siberia. However, on account of opposition of the ultra-imperialistic Holy Synod, supported whole-heartedly by Latin Rite Archbishop Siestrzencewicz of Mohyliv, the Kievan Metropolia with its suffragan sees was not reinstated. The good-willed Czar Paul I was strangled in 1801 by conspirators and his son Alexander I assumed the throne.

## **THE UKRAINIAN HETMAN STATE**

### **A. Territory**

After the treaty of Zboriv in 1649, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky established the State which included the provinces of Kiev, Braslav, and Chernyhiw along with a part of Volynia and Bieloruthenia. The rest of the territories remained, for the time being, with the Commonwealth. Following the "Black Council" in June 1663, Ukraine was divided into the Right Bank under Polish control and the Left Bank under Muscovite control.

Hetmans Samoylovich, Doroshenko and Mazepa are well known for having made efforts to unite all territories under their rule, and for short periods of time they were successful. During turmoil and wars vast numbers of the people from western provinces moved eastwards and southward, colonizing the regions to the Donets River; while, in the second half of the 18th century, Ukrainian colonists migrated to the northern shores of the Black Sea.

### **B. Social Changes**

The establishment of the Hetman State led to a series of changes in social interaction. The supremacy of the magnates was removed. The rural masses and common Kozaks insisted upon a radical change in the entire social structure. On the other hand, remnants of the Ukrainian nobility, wealthy Kozak officers, and to a certain extent the urban population, favored moderate reforms in order to retain their former rights. The Kozak officers, who had by the grace of hetmans accumulated more lands, almost immediately assumed the positions of the former nobility and opposed the establishment of a full-scale democracy. Social equality, which was one of the real motivations of the revolution, could not be obtained in the face of this opposition, and a resulting grave internal conflict developed. In the 1730's for instance, 52 percent of Left-Bank Ukraine land was in the possession of Kozak officers, who

were in charge of government and justice while they were exempted from tax payments by reason of their military class status.

During the revolution, the rural populace was freed from landlordism and they regained their rights of owning land and of joining the Kozag forces. It became their lot to carry the almost entire burden of taxes, which was necessitated by the expense of maintaining a huge army.

With the increase of Kozak officer privileges, there was a corresponding decrease in peasant rights, so that in the beginning of the 18th century the rural population of the Hetmanite State was forced to work two days weekly on the estates of officers, for which they received no pay. In 1735, sadly enough, only 35 percent of the rural population enjoyed complete freedom, while the rest were enserfed.

It is evident that this social misfortune widened a breach between the officers and common people. The latter were defended and protected by the Zaporozhian Sich and its "Koshovys" (hetmans), e.g. Sirko, Paliy, Sukhovienko and others, who advised the people to resist their own officers, and lend their support to popular uprisings. They accepted everyone who quit his village and joined the Kozaks. The common Kozaks exercised their influence by means of the so-called Black Councils, sometimes forcing the resignation of hetmans, other times forcing the elections of their replacements. This endangered the very existence of the States, since the Muscovites employed demagogues and removed from office the hetmans who did not suit their designs.

The urban people, who enjoyed more rights in pre-revolutionary times, were more conservative than the rural populace. During the revolution a sizeable part of that group joined the Kozaks. All the rest of the city merchants and artisans organized Guilds, and won control of the entire export and import trading. Hetmans in general, and Danylo Apostol in particular, protected and promoted city development.

### C. Hetman Administration

Hetman Bohdan, the founder of the Hetmanite State, ruled like a monarch with an iron hand; he possessed a keen sense of awareness necessary for the checking of ambitious officers, and his dutiful approach to the protection of the common Kozaks along with the common people insured their well-being. The same can be said of the short hetmancy of Ivan Vyhowsky, with the exception that he favored Kozak officers. Doroshenko's reign was

marked by gentleness, relatively devoid of severity. The hetmans: Brukhovetsky, Mnohorhishny, Samoylovich, and Mazepa, although indebted to the Kozaks for their elections, successfully maintained the prestige of their offices. Their trying struggle to protect their freedom against Muscovite encroachments raised the national and political conscience of the officers to such a plane, that during the reign of the last Hetman Rozumowsky (1750-64), the idea of establishing the Hetman monarch came to the fore.

During the reign of Hetman Bohdan, the main bulwark of his power was the Central Ukraine with its cities of Chyhyryn, Cherkasy, Korsun, Kaniw, Bila Tserkva, Pereyaslav, and Kropyvna. In those places at least one half of his registered regiments was stationed. In the wake of wars and devastations his center of power was moved to the Left Bank provinces. The city of Kiev did not become the capital of the Hetman State on account of its strong urban and ecclesiastical influence. From the time of Hetman Bohdan until that of Doroshenko the city of Chyhyryn was the capital of the hetmans. After the ruin of that capital by Turks and Tatars, Baturyn and Hlukhiw became capitals.

The Hetman presided at General and Officers Councils; he had the right to make laws, and proclaim them by his "universals" (edicts); he appointed and discharged officers; he was commander-in-chief of the army; he supervised all State financial matters; and he represented the State in its dealings with foreign nations. His title "Hetman and Autocrator of Rus'" was commemorated in the churches.

The Hetman governed the country in conjunction with his General Officers: the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, the Quartermaster (in whose charge were the artillery and all military supplies), two "Osauls" (Deputy-Hetmans who were his campaign aides), and two judges. The Secretary General, responsible only to the Hetman, was the most influential man, since he was in charge of all internal as well as external State matters.

The entire territory of the Hetman State was divided into regiments and companies, where colonels and captains with their staffs exercised civil, military, and judicial authority according to the laws and instructions from the Hetman's Chancellery.

The finances of the State were provided by the income from the former "royal goods," the taxation of urban and rural inhabitants, the rents derived from mills and breweries, and foreign tariffs.

The army of Hetman Bohdan ranged in strength from 200,000 to 300,000 men, of which the registered ones varied from 40,000

to 60,000 in all. These were committed to have their own arms and equipment in readiness, and to be ready to follow the Hetman's beck and call in case of an emergency. The later Hetmans, e.g. Mnohohrishny, Doroshenko, Mazepa and especially Rozumowsky, employed foreign mercenaries also.

Kozak justice was based on the principle, "where there are three kozaks, one shall be judged by the other two." The "Lithuanian Statute" and the Magdenburg laws were applied in the courts. However, during the reigns of Skoropadsky, Polubotok and Apostol a Code of Law was drafted, but due to Muscovite opposition it never received general application.

The court of the first instance was the "Village Court," where the "Ataman" (Chieftain) was in charge; the "Company's Court" was that of the second instance and it was presided over by a captain. That of the third instance was the "Regimental Court," over which a judge presided, and in the case of a criminal offense the colonel himself was the presiding judge. The "General or Supreme Court" was presided over by the General Judges, while since 1728 (The "Definite Articles") it was presided over by the Hetman, three Ukrainian and three Muscovite judges.

#### D. Schools and Culture

During the revolution, the school of the Lviv-Brotherhood, the Academy of Ostroh and the Catholic Academy in Kholm (1640's) fell into a state of decadence. Only the Mohylian Academy in Kiev attained a peak of development, markedly so at the time of Hetman Mazepa's tenure. The curriculum consisted of the contemporary sciences, e.g. philosophy, theology, natural sciences, mathematics, geography, poetics, cosmology etc. At certain times it was attended by 2,000 students from all the Ukrainian provinces. It also established filial schools in the cities of Hoscha, Vinnitsa, Chernyhiw, Bilhorod, Kharkiw, and Pereyaslav. We have information, that during the time of Hetman Bohdan, there was in nearly every larger Ukrainian village a grammar school, with the educative result that even "women sang from their prayerbooks while in church."

Many sons of the officers and nobles attended universities abroad, e.g. Leipzig, Heidelberg, Koenigsberg, Strassburg, etc., as the records of these universities testify. Many Right Bank Ukrainian Catholic students attended Italian universities, principally in Rome.



## E. Foreign Policy

By concluding an alliance with the Tatars, Hetman Bohdan was able to wage the war of liberation and protect his interests in Moldavia. The aftermath of his campaign of 1650 was that he forced the Sultan's vassal, the "Hospodar" Lupul to sign a treaty of friendship with the further proviso that Lupul's daughter was to plight her troth to the Hetman's son Tymish. By this event Ukraine became a "next door neighbor" of the powerful Ottoman Empire. It recognized Ukraine as a free state and they exchanged envoys. The Sultan declared his willingness to take Ukraine under his protection (1651), although except for free commercial relations with the Black Sea region he gave no help to Ukraine.

Most probably, this fact forced the Hetman to direct his attention to the north for the purpose of halting Poland. Czar Alexey Mikhaylovich had been entreated to "save the Orthodox faith." However, he had preferred to await the result of the Ukrainian-Polish war. Czar Alexey's delaying hesitation cost Ukraine a tremendous loss of lives and material. Finally, seeing the Hetman's successes, the Czar resolved to conclude the "Treaty of Pereyaslav" (1654), in which he recognized Ukrainian independence, while desirous of making it, in the course of time, his own vassalage.

This dangerous treaty was soon ignored by Hetman Bohdan, when he secured a much more favorable treaty with the Swedes, with whom he joined his troops to capture by storm the cities of Lublin, Warsaw and Krakow. It was his intention to dethrone King Jan Casimir and enthrone Prince Rakoczi from Transylvania, thereby hoping to secure the independence of his State for future centuries. At the very crucial time when Polish power was broken, Hetman Bohdan suffered a stroke and died.

His immediate successor Hetman Ivan Vyhowsky, reversed Bohdan's policy, and concluded a treaty with Poland, which was called the "Union of Hadiach" (September 18, 1658), with the stipulations that Ukraine would be recognized as the "Grand-duchy of Rus'" and would take her place as a third partner of the Commonwealth. This was followed by a war with and defeat of Muscovy near the town of Konotopy on July 8, 1659. However, Hetman Vyhowsky's conception and victory were jeopardized by internal opposition on the part of Colonel Ivan Bezpaly, one who had assumed the leadership of the common Kozaks, who were dissatisfied with Vyhowsky's conception, and at the instigation of Muscovy started a civil war. In keeping with this intervention, the Czar ordered his General Trubetskoy to invade Left Bank territories.

This caused the resignation of Vyhowsky and the election of Yuriy Khmelnytsky. The new Hetman was bound to recognize Muscovy's unilateral "correction" of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, by which he was deprived of his most essential rights and Ukraine was dually divided. This dual division was sanctioned by the treaty of Andrusowo (1667) between Poland and Muscovy.

In this dilemma Hetman Doroshenko renewed the alliance with the Ottoman Empire and restored freedom in all the territories. How regrettable it is that as a result of Tatar plundering of Ukrainian citizenry Doroshenko was unable to receive his people's full support, and was forced to relinquish his insignia of office to Hetman Samoylovich.

Hetman Mazepa, having to deal with numerous Muscovite encroachments against his State, severed relations from Muscovy and renewed the alliance with Sweden, the only powerful nation from which he could have expected adequate help in the restoration of full freedom for Ukraine. King Charles XII underestimated the power of Muscovy and suffered defeat near Poltava (July 8, 1709). After Mazepa's death his successors of the 18th century, with the exception of Pylyp Orlik, had no opportunity to maintain any relations with foreign nations.

One might seriously question why did the Ukrainian Hetmans not maintain friendly relations with the western nations, the sole exception to this policy was in the case of Venice. It must not be forgotten that nearly all of Western Europe had been devastated by the thirty year war. Yet, it must be admitted, with regret, that the Hetmans, being biased by their Orthodox leadership, did not seek the recognition and help of the popes, which to a certain extent, would have been able to slow down or perhaps stop Polish aggression, e.g. by the support of Vyhowsky's conception in creating the "Grand-duchy of Rus' " and what is more important by preventing the Polish-Muscovite partition of Ukraine in Andrusowo.

Sweden and the Ottoman Empire could have been considered natural allies of Ukraine, yet due to their geographical position, their good will and sporadic intervention were not sufficient to alter the situation, and they had no permanent value in the maintenance of Ukrainian independence. After the Swedes met defeat near Poltava and the Turks were overcome near Vienna (1683), both States lapsed into a state of decadence. Those states which were former allies, were unable to render assistance to the Hetman State, which was left at the mercy of the Polish Scylla and Muscovite Charybdis.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL RENAISSANCE IN THE 19th CENTURY

#### Sources and Literature

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The annexation of Western Ukrainian territories by the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa brought about the renaissance of the Ukrainian people of that province. The imperial government, first of all, took all the necessary measures to make equal all the citizens before the law of the country, to lighten the burden of the peasants and to check the boundless privileges of the Polish magnates and gentry on the newly acquired territories. Schools were opened in towns and villages and institutions of higher learn-

ing, especially for the education of clergy, were established. Finally the vernacular language was introduced in schools (1792, 1813).

The smallest branch of the Ukrainian people in the Carpatho-Rus' under the leadership of its famous Bishop Andriy Bachynsky of Mukach, who devoted all his life and energy for elevating the education of his clergy and the people, was first in initiating this Ukrainian modern renaissance. Men educated by him in the national spirit very soon became the first professors of the newly-founded university of Lviv (1784). The Austrian government ordered that some subjects be taught in the vernacular language. In Vienna the Seminary, called Barbareum, was founded in 1774 for the education of Greek-Catholic clergy. Ten years later the General Seminary in Lviv was founded and in 1786 a separate Liceum, called Ruthenian Institute, was established to prepare young Ukrainians for the university in their own mother tongue.

However, the death of Emperor Joseph II in 1790 was followed by a period of reaction and it hindered the cultural and national progress of the Ukrainian people. The Polish magnates in the imperial court falsely accused the Ukrainians of being in sympathy with Muscovites and especially with Orthodox religion. As a result the "Ruthenian Institute" was closed and the Polish language was reintroduced first in higher and then in grammar schools.

The Metropolitan Cardinal Mykhaylo Levytsky of Lviv, an outstanding man, established numerous Ukrainian parochial schools and wrote a book in the defense of Ukrainian language. He also used that language in writing of his pastoral letters. To train the teachers he established a College (or Seminary) in Peremyshl and the "Society of Priests" under the leadership of Fr. Anthonious Mohylnytsky prepared new books with the vernacular texts.

Thus step by step the Ukrainian national movement was set in motion, and the first Ukrainian "Society of Intellectuals" appeared in Peremyshl at the beginning of the 19th century.

In the 1830's the students of Lviv Theological Seminary developed a progressive and patriotic spirit. Markian Shashkevich, the first popular poet in Halichina (Galicia) is recognized as a leader and patron of the modern Ukrainian movement. He, Yakiv Holovatsky and Ivan Vahylevich, the "Galician Triumvirate," devoted their knowledge and energy to awaken the people. To avoid local censorship and prohibition of the Austrian-Polish administration in Galicia of printing Ukrainian language books they published their book "Rusalka Dnistrovaya" (Rusalka of the Dniester)

in Hungary (1837), but upon its arrival in Lviv it was confiscated and kept until 1848.

The year 1848, called the "Spring of Nations," brought also some changes in Galicia. First of all, the Poles prepared a revolution in order to free themselves from Austria, but the Ukrainians who followed their own policy, refused to go along, and the revolution failed. The Austrian government in order to weaken the Polish influence turned its eyes towards the Ukrainians, who brought up a proposition of separating Eastern Galicia with purely Ukrainian population from that of Western with a majority of Polish



Father Markian Shashkevych  
Prominent Western Ukrainian poet

population. The Austrian Governor Count Stadion of Galicia received instructions from Vienna to support the rights of the Ukrainians.

"Holovna Rus'ka Rada" (The Supreme Rus' Council) was established in Lviv and very soon it had 45 filial organizations throughout the country that promoted the spirit of national and political emancipation of the Ukrainian people.\* Holovna Rada published its official organ under the title "Zorya Halitska" (The Halich Star) and to check the activity of the Polish reactionary

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\* The Austrian government used the term "Die Ruthenen-Ruthenians" to emphasize its claims to Halich-Volynian Lands. This Latin term was equivalent to that of Rus' in Ukrainian sources.

circles the Ukrainians formed their own national "Guard." In 1848 the Congress of Ukrainian Scholars took place in Lviv.

When in the same year the Hungarians revolted against Austria and on request of the Austrian government the Russian regiments suppressed the revolt, there appeared in Carpatho-Rus' an able man Adolph Dobryansky and he was appointed by the Emperor Governor General of the "Ruthenian District," that is territories with Ukrainian inhabitants. However, the Hungarian revolutionists soon "repented" and regained their influence in the imperial court. Adolph Dobryansky was removed from his office and the national progress in that province was brought to a halt.

In the Eastern Ukraine at the end of the 18th century the Russian government suppressed all the basic rights of the Ukrainian people. Strong opposition was organized by the nobles and sons of former Kozak officers, who prepared a conspiracy, e.g. they sent Wasil Kapnist of Poltava to Germany in 1795 to request its support in case a general revolution should break out in Ukraine. However, he was informed that only in case of a Russo-Prussian war the Ukrainians would receive Prussian help.

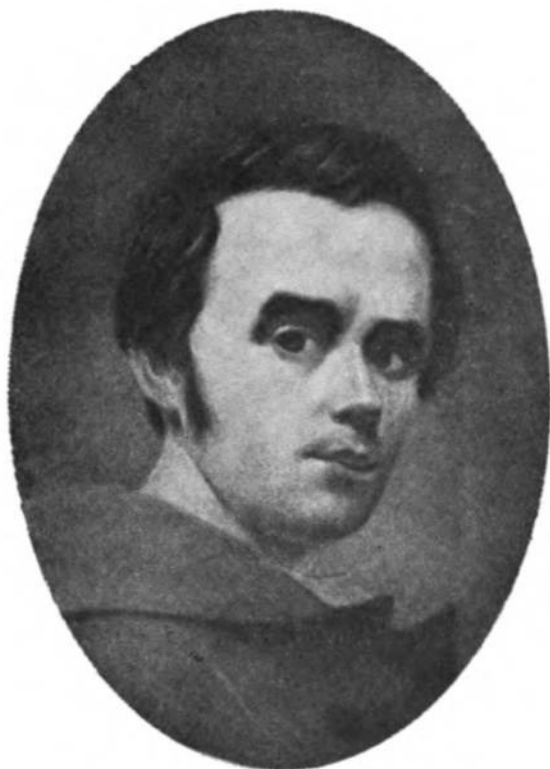
The Czars extended serfdom in the entire territory, e.g. in Podolia the peasants, including women and minor-aged, were forced to work even on Sundays on their landlords estates, and in case of refusal corporal punishments and imprisonment were applied. Popular uprisings in 1799 and 1807 were suppressed in a bloody manner.

Czar Alexander I (died in 1825) introduced a system of despotism and his younger brother Czar Nicholas I, who succeeded him, formed a special committee to supervise the Russification of Ukraine. He introduced the Russian language in courts and schools. The Kievan University, established in 1834, was to become the center of that action, being supervised by the czarist secret police. In 1835 the Magdenburgh laws and in 1840 the "Lithuanian Statutes" were replaced by Russian legislation. The Orthodox Church was subjected to civil authority and the Catholic Church of the Byzantine Rite was completely destroyed (in 1839 in Bieloruthenia and Volynia, and in 1875 in Kholmschina and Podlashia). The tyrannical regime of the Russian Governors Bibikow in Kiev, Dolgorukov in Chernihiv, and Vorontsov in Novorossiysk caused popular uprisings in the 1840-1850's, which were suppressed.

In spite of all these measures the common people in their songs, verses and tales carried on the spirit of nationalism, which became the inspiration for intellectuals. Ivan Kotlarevsky first published his travesty of Virgil's Aeneid in the Ukrainian language in 1798 and it awakened the interest of the upper class.

Aeneid was followed by operetta "Natalka Poltavka" by the same author and then poems of Hulah Artemovsky, beautiful stories of Kvitka Osnovianenko, Hrebinka and others.

However, the most powerful and prophetic voice came from the "Kobzar"\* of Taras Shevchenko, published in 1840. Shevchen-



Taras Shevchenko (1814—1861)  
The greatest poet of Ukraine

ko's was the strongest voice of the Ukrainian Renaissance, which spread beyond the artificial boundaries and soon became a great force for the national movement everywhere.

In the 1840's a secret "Society of St. Kyrylo and Methodiy" was founded to spread the idea of liberty and equality of all Slavic peoples, and that each Slavic nation was to have its own independent state. Even though it was uncovered by Muscovite secret police in 1847 and its members were arrested and condemned, no one was able to turn back the wheels of history.

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\* "Kobzar" was a collection of Shevchenko's inspiring poems based on popular songs-dumas, sung by Kozaks and the people.

The German scholar John G. Kohl, who visited Ukraine in 1841, wrote: "The aversion of the Ukrainians against Muscovites, their oppressors, is so great that it can be called hatred . . . There is no doubt that some day the huge body of the Russian Empire will fall apart and the Ukrainians will rise again as a free and independent nation. The time is nearing slowly but surely. Ukrainians are a people with their own language, civilization and historical traditions. For the time being they are divided among their neighbors, but material for establishing of the Ukrainian State is ready: if not today, maybe tomorrow a Founder will appear and he will build from that material a great and independent Ukrainian State."

The abolition of serfdom in Austria in 1848 and in Muscovy in 1861 awakened new hopes in the hearts of the Ukrainians in all territories. New publications appeared, e.g. *Khata*, *Osnova*, *Slovo*, *Vechernytsi*, *Meta*, *Nyva*, *Rusalka*, *Pravda*, *Dilo* etc. and little by little united all Ukrainians in spite of the division by the artificial boundaries.

It did not matter that Governor Count Goluchowski of Galicia initiated the reactionary course of Austrian policy with the aim to submit that province to complete Polish influence. On the other hand, it must be said with regret that his policy forced some conservative Ukrainians, who distrusted the Austrian government, to initiate a new political orientation: to look to Russia for help. At the same time the young and dynamic generation followed the road of Ukrainian nationalism. They found sympathy and support of the champions of freedom in the Eastern Ukraine, where the city of Kiev became a center of national revival, and especially the group of prominent patriots, called *Hromada*, to which belonged: Antonovich, Chubinsky, Rudchenko, Zhitetsky, Drahomaniv, Rudansky, Nechuy-Levitsky, Konysky, Staritsky, Lysenko and others.

This tremendous national revival frightened Muscovy so much so that in 1876 the infamous "ukaze" of Minister Valuev was issued, which read: "There never was, there is not and there never will be a Ukrainian language." No need to emphasize that the Russian pressure worsened the situation, since the secret political societies and organizations, e.g. "*Narodna Volia*" (The People's Will) and "*Tarasivtsi Brotherhood*" started working to stir up a general revolution.

In Galicia the society of "*Prosvita*" and the "*Shevchenko Scientific Society*" vigorously promoted national revival by publishing the scientific and popular books on the rights of the Ukrainian people. Beginning 1870 Ukrainian Nationalists in Galicia rapidly increased in number and soon they transferred their activity



to politics. The political parties initiated a hard struggle for the rights of the people. Among others, Ivan Franko, the most outstanding poet and writer of Galicia played the prominent role in this movement. The so-called Russophiles soon became an insignificant minority, deprived of influence.

The new idea penetrated to the most isolated towns and villages and promoted close co-operation with the patriots of the



Ivan Franko, prominent  
Ukrainian poet and writer

Eastern Ukraine. In the beginning of the 20th century Galicia became a terrain of tremendous struggle for national and political rights of the people. In that struggle they were whole-heartedly supported by the Ukrainians in Bukovina, called the Green Bukovina. This is the southewstern district of the former Halich-Volynian Kingdom, which after its fall belonged to the Moldavian principality in the 14—18th centuries. In 1774 Empress Maria Theresa of Austria occupied Bukovina as an integral part of the Halich-Volynian Kingdom, which she took over after the partition of Poland. Since that time Bukovina was part of Austria, first jointly with Galicia and after 1849 as a separate province. Bukovina played a very important part in Ukrainian national life of the 18—20th centuries. Its poets, writers, scholars, statesmen and clergymen took an active part in all important events of the Ukrainian national Renaissance in modern times.

## CHURCH RELATIONS IN THE 19th CENTURY

### 1. Kievian Metropolia

Following the partitions and final destruction of Poland at the end of the 18th century the Ukrainian Catholic Church was divided into three separate provinces: 1) Eastern Ukraine or Kievian Metropolia, 2) Metropolia of Halich, and 3) Church in Carpatho-Rus'.

After the death of Kievian Metropolitan Theodosius Rostotsky (January 1805) Czar Alexander I nominated Archbishop Heraclius Lisovsky "Metropolitan of the Uniate Church in Russia." He did not permit him to take up his seat in Kiev, notwithstanding that he was appointed by Rome and given all the rights and privileges of Kievian Metropolitans. Archbishop Lisovsky died in 1809. Before his death he requested the Czar to nominate Bishop Hryhor Kokhanovich of Lutsk to succeed him. At the same time the Czar established the Diocese of Vilna and re-established in Polotsk, Lutsk and Brest, since they had been abolished by Catherine II.

When the Czar nominated candidates for these dioceses: Ivan Krasocsky, Andriy Holovnia and Lev Yavorivsky, — the Metropolitan Hryhor Kokhanovich, together with Bishop Joseph Bulhak, with the Czar's consent prepared a document, called Epikeia, where they expressed their submission to Pope Pius VII, who at that time was in Napoleon's captivity. This document was forwarded to the Pope through the Nuncio in Vienna, Archbishop Severoli. Thus using the Epikeia they consecrated the newly nominated bishops.

Metropolitan Hryhor Kokhanovich died in 1814 and the Kievian Metropolia "in partibus" remained vacant until the year of 1817. The Czar, being occupied with the Congress in Vienna, had no time to nominate a new Metropolitan. Only in 1817 he nominated Bishop Joseph Bulhak, who also received his canonical institution from Pope Pius VII with the simultaneous request to the Czar to designate a permanent seat for the Metropolia. However, the Czar disregarded that request and failed to do so. After this Pius VII appointed Metropolitan Bulhak "Apostolic Delegate" for all Byzantine Rite Catholics in the Russian State.

Statistics show that the Kievian Metropolia "in partibus" at the beginning of the 19th century had the following dioceses: 1) Vilna with 304 parishes, 305 secular priests, 127 monks, 27 nuns and 284,292 faithful; 2) Polotsk with 463 parishes, 500 secular priests, 114 monks, 22 nuns and 489,075 faithful; 3) Lutsk with 160 parishes, 460 secular priests, 266 monks, 14 nuns, and 111,598

faithful; 4) Brest with 549 parishes, 675 priests, an unknown number of monks, 17 nuns, and 542,614 faithful.

This was a remnant of the former vast Kievan Metropolia, which was abolished by Catherine II and not reinstated by her successors on account of the strong opposition of the Muscovite Orthodox Church, supported by the Roman Catholic Archbishop Sestrzencewicz of Mohyliw.

In 1825 Czar Alexander died (or "disappeared") and he was succeeded by his younger brother Nicholas I. The new Czar two months after his accession to the throne announced a "ukaze" forbidding the printing and using of Ukrainian prayer-books. He used an ambitious man, Joseph Siemashko, a member of the Lutsk Consistory, and of the "Church Collegium" in St. Petersburg, which was a ruling body over the remnant dioceses. This man, having in mind his own career, worked out a truly devilish plan of "uniting Ukrainian and Bieloruthenian Catholics of the Byzantine Rite with the Mother Church of Moscow."

Firstly, the Czar announced a "ukaze" (April 22, 1828) establishing a separate "Church Collegium," composed of Metropolitan Bulhak, one bishop, one archimandrite and four presbyters (one from each Consistory) and the latter were to receive their appointments from the Czar. The ukaze abolished all four existent dioceses and in their place established only two: Bieloruthenian and Lithuanian. Now the "Church Collegium" was submitted to the Senate, and from there it was to receive its orders. All Basilian monasteries, except 24, were abolished and their superiors were to receive their appointments from the "Church Collegium."

Four years later the Czar's ukaze (February 1832) abolished the Basilian Province of the Most Holy Trinity and on July 17 of that year the entire Basilian Order was suppressed and all its property confiscated. The Czar ordered all Ukrainian and Bieloruthenian Catholic parents to bring up their children in the Orthodox religion. The Latin Rite priests were forbidden to minister Sacraments to the Byzantine Rite Catholics. All theological schools of the Byzantine Rite were closed and their students were transferred to the Orthodox Seminary in St. Petersburg. Finally, a special ukaze submitted the Catholic Church of the Byzantine Rite to the Orthodox Holy Synod.

At the same time throughout the country a severe and barbaric persecution was set in motion. The above mentioned Joseph Siemashko was appointed Auxiliary-Bishop to the Metropolitan Bulhak and put in charge of the "Church Collegium." The protests of the Metropolitan and clergy were to no avail. Many Catholic

churches of the Byzantine Rite were closed and still more "donated" to the Orthodox clergy. Hundreds of priests and many thousands of the faithful were exiled to Siberia, with many tortured and killed.

In 1838 Bishop Joseph Siemashko called a Synod to Polotsk and there a "free unification of the Uniate Church with the Mother Church in Moscow" was proclaimed. The "Act of unification" of these men from February 13, 1839, has the signatures of 21 priests only, and according to the statistics the above mentioned four dioceses had 1,900 secular clergy, not including the priests of the Order of St. Basil the Great. This circumstance proves clearly how "free" that "unification" was, in spite of six years of persecutions, tortures, killings and exiles.

Thus the Kievan Metropolia, which in 1771 had c. 13,000 parishes and almost 17,000 churches and chapels, was destroyed. Metropolitan Joseph Bulhak, who until his death remained in union with Rome, and Pope Gregory XVI protested, but to no avail.

## **2. Metropolia of Halich and the destruction of Kholm Diocese**

After the partition of Poland, Halichina and Kholmschina Provinces fell under Austrian domination. Now, when the Kievan Metropolia was abolished the idea of the renewal of the former Halich Metropolia became a necessity, because the Ukrainian Catholics in Austria were separated from their head. This was also the reason that the Polish bishops at the time of Metropolitan Lev III Sheptytsky (1778-1779) requested the government in Vienna to submit the Ukrainian Church in Halich Lands under their jurisdiction. However, the Holy See of Rome and Empress Maria Theresa as well as her son Joseph II not only refused to go along, but forbade any attempt of Latin bishops with the suggestion not to appoint new bishops for the vacant Ukrainian sees was also refused (1803).

Finally Pope Pius VII by his Bull of February 24, 1807, renewed the ancient Metropolia of Halich and transferred its seat to the city of Lviv, and submitted to it the dioceses of Lviv-Halich, Peremyshl and Kholm. Bishop Anthoniy Anhelovich became the first Metropolitan of "Lviv, Halich and Kamenets in Podolia." Thus after almost four hundred years this second Ukrainian Metropolia was reinstated.

Following the so-called "Schönbrunn Treaty" in 1809 the district of Ternopil with its 400,000 population fell under Muscovy's temporary control. However, the Congress of Vienna re-

instated it to Austria, otherwise it would have had to share the fate of other provinces, which "freely joined the Russian Mother Church." On the other hand, the Congress of Vienna created the so-called "Kingdom of Warsaw" and put it under Muscovy's control. In this way the greater part of the diocese of Kholm was incorporated into that "kingdom." Thus 317 parishes, 400 priests, six monasteries and 227,673 of Ukrainian Catholics fell under Muscovy's domination. Communication with the Metropolitan of Halich was restricted and for this reason that diocese was subjected to the direct jurisdiction of the Holy See of Rome, but even now it could not be saved.

The last Ukrainian Catholic bishop of Kholm, Mykhaylo Kuzemsky, even though sympathetic to the Russophile orientation, was compelled to resign. Markel Popel, a tool of the Muscovite Governor General in Warsaw, from whom he received his orders, was put in charge of that diocese. After several "ukaze," a long persecution, numerous arrests, tortures and exiles of priests and faithful, Markel Popel went to Moscow in 1875 and declared that "the Kholm Diocese pleads to be kindly accepted to the bosom of the Russian Mother Church." Thus the last Ukrainian Catholic diocese under Muscovite domination was destroyed in a most barbaric manner.

Meanwhile the Metropolia of Halich progressed rapidly. Metropolitan Mykhaylo Levitsky (1815-1858) with the help of Austrian government bettered the financial matters of his clergy and promoted the use of vernacular language in grammar schools, high schools and also in the General Seminary in Lviv. He himself used that language in writing his Pastoral letters, thus promoting the religious and national revival in modern times. For his services rendered to the Church and to the people, Pope Pius IX rewarded him with the dignity of Cardinal of the Roman Church. In the Vatican Secret Archives recently has been discovered a Project (1842-43) of establishing the Ukrainian Patriarchate in Lviv, which was aimed at the unification of all Ukrainians in Austria, including the dioceses of Carpatho-Rus'. If it had not been jeopardized by civil authorities, it would have unified all Ukrainians, including Orthodox.

Metropolitan Cardinal Levitsky's successors: Hryhor Yakymovich (1860-1863) and Spiridon Lytvynovich (1863-1869) carried on the policy of their predecessor. Thanks to the efforts of the latter an agreement the so-called "Concordia" between the Latin Rite and Byzantine Rite hierarchy of Galicia was concluded in Rome. This, at least theoretically, removed the causes of all previ-

ous misunderstandings in matters of interritual relationship. Also during his episcopacy the cause of beatification of Archbishop Josaphat of Polotsk, the Martyr for Church Union, was brought to a happy conclusion.

On June 26, 1870, Archbishop Joseph Sembratovych became Metropolitan of Lviv. This was a time of reaction and the Polish officials of the Austrian administration in Galicia enjoyed full support of the federal government in Vienna. The Ukrainians were subjected to continual cruelty and injustice in national, political and economic fields so much so that they considered themselves "under a two-headed beast," as some would say.

Due to this unbearable situation a Pan-Slavic movement was originated within Ukrainian conservative circles, which pursued the Russophile orientation in the hope that Russia would help reinstate full rights of Ukrainians in Galicia. No need to say that the Russian government supported this movement morally as well as financially. Some elderly priests, called "Svyato-Yurtsi" (St. Gorgians), considered this orientation the only way to get rid of that "two-headed beast."

Metropolitan Joseph Sembratovych was a Pastor and not a politician. It is true he did not support that movement, but on the other hand, he did not take stronger measures to check it among his clergy. Being a fervent Pastor he labored unceasingly to eradicate another great evil that was ruining his flock: the excessive use of alcohol. This "enemy" destroyed thousands of men morally, materially and physically every year. To check this vice he ordered that in every parish of his Metropolia a religious society, the Brotherhood of Temperance, be formed and that every adult person, who was enrolled in this society, was to take an oath to abstain from the use of alcohol. It is remarkable that in a short time in almost every village of Galicia these societies were established and the vice was checked.

It should be kept in mind that in every village there was a Polish landlord, who owned one or more brandy-distilleries (horalni), because during serfdom the use of a certain quantity of brandy was prescribed for each individual, because the landlords knew that "the ear of a drunkard does not hear clinking of his fetters." Thus being accustomed to drinking during serfdom the peasants continued to do it even after its abolishment in 1848, and thus were a good source of income to the landlords.

Metropolitan Joseph Sembratovich's antialcoholic action damaged the private interests of landlords and they sent reports to the imperial court in Vienna and also to the Holy See in Rome



St. Andrew's Church in Kiev

with false accusations that he supported the Russophiles and intended to break Ukrainians away from Austria. In plain language he was accused of being a "traitor" to the State. His delators did not pay attention that the great Pope Leo XIII at that time favored and promoted a similar movement, by which he expected to bring all Slavic peoples to unity with St. Peter's Chair. Following all these false accusations Metropolitan Joseph Sembratovych, fear-

ing that the action against his person might jeopardize the spiritual progress of his flock, — resigned his office.

He was succeeded by his nephew Sylvester Sembratovych (1885-1898). The new Metropolitan was a very strong supporter of the Ukrainian national movement. During his episcopacy two important events took place: the Basilian Order, being in a state of decadence, was reformed with the help of the Fathers of Society of Jesus; and the entire Church underwent a reform.

At the Metropolitan's request Pope Leo XIII permitted the convocation of the Provincial Synod to the city of Lviv in 1891 with the aim of bringing necessary uniformity of the Church Rite and introducing disciplinary measures, needed on account of territorial changes since the time of the Synod in Zamostia in 1720.

The Synod of Lviv was held in the atmosphere: to break away as far as possible from the practices and rites of the Russian Synodal Church, which, as has been stated, destroyed the Kievan Metropolia and now was trying to bring a state of confusion into the Metropolia of Halich. This Russian meddlesomeness caused that some of the Ukrainian Catholic priests without the approval of episcopal authority introduced new practices of Church rites and discipline. Some of these practices were approved by the said Synod and thus the Ukrainian Church went still more westward.

Here again is to be noted that Pope Leo XIII renewed the plan of establishing the Patriarchate of Lviv, but because of the influence of Hungarian magnates in the imperial court this plan did not materialize. A separate Patriarchate would have attached the attention of all Ukrainians and in a more convenient political situation, e.g. after the Russian revolution in 1917, — would have brought them into unity with the Holy See of Rome, thus removing the influence of the Russian Holy Synod once and for all.

Metropolitan Sylvester was honored by Pope Leo XIII, who appointed him to the Cardinalate of the Roman Church. He was the third Cardinal of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

### 3. Church in Carpatho-Ukraine

The Church in Carpatho-Rus' (present Carpatho-Ukraine) joined the Church Union in the 17th century, so that in 1660 there were 400 priests of the Byzantine Rite in communion with Rome. At the end of the 17th century 350 more priests, together with their parishes, professed the Catholic Faith. However, the progress



of that branch of the Ukrainian Church was hindered by the status of the Mukach Diocese: it was considered a "Diocese in partibus," hence its bishops did not enjoy their full rights. They were considered Vicars General of the Hungarian Archbishop of Erlau, e.g. without the latter's consent they could not ordain priests, bless new churches or install new pastors. Oftentimes it happened that the Ukrainian pastors were considered assistants of Latin Rite pastors. In 1748, for instance, the Archbishop of Erlau during his visitation to the Ukrainian churches in Mukach had ordered that all marriages of Byzantine Rite Catholics be assisted by Latin Rite pastors, who were granted the exclusive privilege of collecting money from the Ukrainians and used it for their own churches.

These extraordinary rights and privileges, assumed by the Hungarian hierarchy, were contrary to Church customs and traditions and hindered the labors of Ukrainian bishops, pastors and halted progress of the faithful, since the inhabitants of Carpatho-Rus', like those of Halich Lands, did not desire any Latinization. Reports on these abuses of the Hungarian clergy reached the imperial court in Vienna and the Empress Maria Theresa on April 30, 1766, requested Pope Clement XIII to canonically establish a separate diocese in Mukach, producing very strong arguments, e.g. that the diocese had 839 churches, 675 priests and 119,107 faithful, who made their Easter duty in that particular year. The Archbishop of Erlau, Count Esterhazy, however, jeopardized that project by his "113 points" against the establishment of the said diocese.

This matter became urgent very soon again and Pope Clement XIV by his Bull of September 19, 1771, canonically erected the Diocese of Mukach. Its first Bishop Bradach died the next year and he was succeeded by Bishop Andriy Bachynsky (1772-1809), who transferred his seat to the city of Uzhorod. He introduced the vernacular language into the schools and maintained close relations with the Kievan Metropolia as well as with that of Lviv. Bishop Bachynsky was a strong advocate of unity for the entire Ukrainian Church in Austria under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Halich-Lviv. He was the most outstanding candidate for that post in 1807, but here again Hungarian influence in Vienna jeopardized that project.

In 1818 Pope Pius VII erected a second diocese in Pryashiv (Preshov) and appointed Hryhor Tarkovich its first bishop. The "Magyarization" of that province was initiated in 1836, but it was stopped in 1848 when the "Ruthenian District" with 391,000 inhabitants was created under the leadership of Adolph Dobryansky.

Very soon the Hungarian insurrectionist magnates "repented"

and regained their influence in Vienna. The "Magyarization" of Carpatho-Rus' and its Church went on with full force, so that in 1914 there was not even one school with the vernacular language and most of the Ukrainian priests, having been educated in Hungarian Seminaries, despised the tongue of the common people and spoke Hungarian publicly and privately.

## CHAPTER VIII

### UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT STATE

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## 1. World War I and Halichyna (West Ukraine)

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Ukrainian national movement gained in force and was marked by an unceasing struggle to restore full rights to the people. The political parties of Halich-Ukraine (Halichyna) expected to achieve this goal by parliamentary means, but had to face opposition from the local Austrian-Polish administration, supported whole-heartedly by the federal government in Vienna.

The Governor of Lviv, Count Potocki made a rather unusual plan to jeopardize that liberation movement: he made an alliance with the remnant Russophiles. Following this "artificial injection" Dudykevich, the editor of "Prykarpatska Rus'", sponsored mass desertion of the Russophile villages, especially in Lemkivschyna, to the "Russian Mother Church" and encouraged all young men to study for the priesthood in Russian Seminaries.

The parliamentary election in 1908 was marked in some districts by violence on the part of Potocki's administration, including the killing of prominent Ukrainian leaders, since Potocki ordered the support of the Russophile candidates. He was assassinated by a young student. This tragic event was brought to the attention of the government in Vienna, and it was compelled to do something for the Ukrainian population. Potocki's successors: Bobrzynski and Korytowski, — were instructed to make reforms of an economic and parliamentary nature in order to ease tension in Halichyna. Austria antagonized Russia by its annexation of Bosnia (1908) and the outbreak of hostilities was to be expected.

On June 28, 1914, Arch-Duke Francis Ferdinand was assassinated at a Serbian town of Sarajevo, and on July 28 the Austrian soldiers marched to punish Serbia. Russian Czar Nicholas II ordered general mobilization two days later, and the next day Germany, and in August France followed Russia's example. Thus World War I began.

With the outbreak of the war the Ukrainians in Halichyna had been assured that after its termination their national rights would be restored. Now the Legion of the "Ukrainski Sichovi Striltsi" was organized and a decision was made to loyally fulfill the duties required by common citizenship.

Meanwhile Czar Nicholas II ordered his regiments to march

into Halichyna with instructions to suppress all centers of Ukrainian national life. He also ordered the arrests of many prominent Ukrainian patriots in Eastern Ukraine, and their deportation to Siberia. The publication of Ukrainian papers and magazines in Kiev was prohibited and very strict censorship was introduced in other cities.

A few weeks after the capture of Lviv by the Russian army, the printing of all papers was also prohibited. All libraries and reading rooms were closed and all Ukrainian societies suppressed. The Ukrainian language was removed from all schools and from



A group of officers of the "Ukrainski Sichovi Striltsi" 1914-1919.

the administration. The reign of terror was initiated and it was marked by the plundering of private homes, wrecking of cultural organizations and the torturing of Ukrainian clergy and intellectuals. Muscovites disregarded all human rights and exiled men, women and children into Siberia. During their retreat they forcibly took many thousands of Ukrainians into the interior parts of Muscovy. This Russian barbarism was emphasized in "Duma" (the imperial Russian parliament) by Representative Milukow on July 19, 1915.

On the other hand, when the Hungarian regiments appeared in Halichyna they had been instructed to punish every "Russo-ophile," since the Hungarians had not forgotten that the Russians, in a bloody manner had suppressed their revolution against Aus-

tria in 1848. Thus the executioners were busy in almost every Ukrainian village. There was no just reason for this "legal mass-killing," since at the beginning of the war the Austrian administration took all Russophiles to the concentration camps in Austria, e.g. Thalerhof, Gmind and other places. Most of the victims of the Hungarian gallows were Ukrainian peasants, men and women, oftentimes illiterate, and many were priests. When they were asked by the Hungarian soldiers who they were, the answer was: Rusin' — and this was enough to be hanged. Following the intervention of Ukrainian parliamentary representatives in Vienna this merciless mass-killing of innocent people stopped.

When Austria and Germany jointly declared the independence of Poland (October 23, 1916) promising the Poles the Ukrainian part of Halichyna, the General Ukrainian Council protested. The "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine," consisting of Ukrainians from all parts of the country, also joined in this protest. This double-dealing of the Austrian government opened the eyes of many Ukrainian leaders.

## 2. Proclamation of the Ukrainian Republic in East Ukraine

In the meantime the Muscovite "colossus on wooden legs" was shaken by the revolution, which broke out in Petersburg on March 12, 1917, and it is a well established fact that the Ukrainian colony in that city played an important part in that event. It was upon the anniversary of Shevchenko's death that the "Guardian Regiment of Volynia" composed mostly of Ukrainian officers and men, started the revolution by joining the strikers and caused the downfall of czarist despotism.

Early in March of 1917 leaders of the socialist parties gathered in Kiev and set up a national organ, the so-called "Ukrainian Central Council" (Ukrainska Centralna Rada) under the leadership of the most prominent Ukrainian historian Professor Mykhaylo Hrushevsky. The Central Rada made preparations aiming at the establishment of the Ukrainian independent state in federation with the Russian Provisional Government headed by Prince Lvov.

Conventions of Ukrainian soldiers and deputies of urban and rural population worked on a new Constitution in Kiev. In spite of the protest of the Russian Provisional Government the "First Universal" of the Central Rada was proclaimed to the Ukrainian people on June 23, 1917, and it read:

*"... Let Ukraine be free. Not breaking from all Russia, let the Ukrainian people have the right to make order on Ukrainian land and*

*live their own way of life. Let the Ukrainian General Assembly, elected by general, equal, direct and secret balloting, make laws and order in Ukraine . . . since no one else is in a position to know what we need and which laws are better for us. No one knows better the needs of our farmers and how to take care of our soil . . ."*

The Universal proclaimed the nationalization of all farmland, as was being done in Russia.

The Provisional Government recognized the Central Rada and its Temporary Executive Committee under the leadership of a pro-



Michael Hrushevsky  
President of the Ukrainian  
Democratic Republic

minent socialist Volodimir Vinnichenko. This first Constitution, influenced by Russian socialism, abolished the right to private ownership and introduced other socialist reforms. But at the same time it took under careful consideration the interests of all national minorities in Ukraine, e.g. a separate Ministry for the Jews was established. It would be of interest to note that later a prominent Jew, A. Margolin, was appointed Ukrainian Ambassador to the Court of St. James in London.

After the suppression of the Bolshevik uprising (July 1917) the Provisional Government of Alexander Kerensky, a prominent Russian Jew, scrutinized the "Statutes" which were proclaimed by the Central Rada in its "Second Universal" to the citizens of

the Ukrainian land on July 16, 1917. The result was that Kerensky's "Temporary Instruction to the General Secretariat of the Temporary Government in Ukraine" (August 17) intended to disrupt the autonomy of Ukraine. This Russian policy caused indignation and confusion among the ranks of the socialists, and when the Bolsheviks removed Kerensky on November 6-7 and established their own government the Central Rada was ready for quick action. It announced the "Third Universal" on November 20, 1917, by which a Ukrainian Democratic Republic was proclaimed, but still in federation with non-communist Russia. It read:

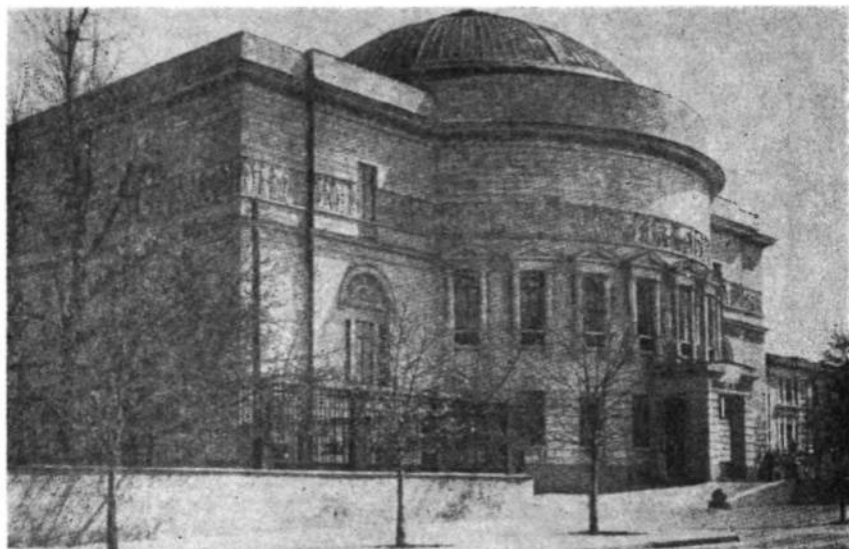
*" . . . People of Ukraine, You, together with the brotherly peoples of Ukraine, have entrusted us with the task of protecting our rights won by the struggle, of creating order and of building up a new life in our land. And we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, by your will, for the sake of creating order in our country and for the sake of saving the whole of Russia, announce that henceforth Ukraine will be the Ukrainian National Republic. Without separating from the Russian Republic, and preserving its unity, we take up our stand firmly on our lands that with our strength we may help the whole of Russia, and the whole Russian Republic may become a federation of free and equal people . . . "*

This Universal introduced an eight hours' working day in factories and workshops; it abolished the death penalty, giving full amnesty to all prisoners; it guaranteed full freedom of the press, of speech, of religion, of assembly, of union, of strikes, of the inviolability of the person and one's habitation, the right and possibility of national minorities to use their own tongues in dealing with all authorities. It also fixed the date for the election of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly on January 9, 1918, and the date for its summoning January 22, 1918.

Following the proclamation of the "Third Universal" Lenin sent an ultimatum to Kiev (December 17), which read: "Nevertheless, we accuse the Rada of Ukraine of the fact that, under the cover of phrases and declarations regarding national independence, it has given itself over to a systematic bourgeois policy, under which neither the Rada nor the Soviets of Ukraine are willing to recognize the action of our Soviet over their country . . ." Lenin submitted the following questions: 1. Does the Rada promise to renounce in the future all action for the disorganization of the common front? (It should be kept in mind that at this time Lenin's emissary Leon Trotsky conducted peace negotiations with Germans in Brest Litowsk). 2. Does the Rada promise to refuse in the future to permit the passage of any troops over Ukrainian terri-



tory going into the region of Don, the Urals, or elsewhere (all these troops were hostile to Bolsheviks and later on fought against them in different Russian anti-Communist units, e.g. General Denikin, Admiral Kolchak etc.). 3. Does the Rada promise to lend assistance to the armies of revolution in the struggle against the antirevolutionary forces of the Cadets and of Caledine? 4. Does the Rada promise to put an end to the attempts to crush the armies of the Soviet and Red Guard in Ukraine, and return their arms, immediately and without delay, to those from whom they have been taken? In case a satisfactory reply has not been received within 24



Building of the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kiev

hours, the Soviet of the People's Commissaries will consider the Rada in a state of war with the influence of the Soviet in Russia and in Ukraine."

The Rada considered this an interference into the internal affairs of Ukraine and protested. It sent out a circular to the Ukrainian troops that they not comply with the orders of the Soviet commanders on the front.

Now Lenin ordered c. 125 leaders and deputies of the Communist party in Ukraine to move immediately to the city of Khar'kiv and establish there a competitive body, the so-called "All-Ukrainian Central Deputies' Council" (December 26) and Bolshevik bands invaded Ukrainian territories. Thus the Russian "socialist brethren" started the war against the newly-proclaimed Ukrainian Republic. These detachments, under the leadership of

a former czarist Colonel Muraviev, plundered and ruined Ukrainian cities, towns and villages, killing Ukrainian patriots.

This was the reason V. Vinnichenko sent an appeal to the Central Powers (Jan. 10, 1918), who conducted peace negotiations with the Bolsheviks in Brest Litowsk. He wrote: "The power of the Council of Commissars (Soviet) does not extend to the whole of Russia, and therefore not to the Ukrainian Republic. Any eventual peace resulting from negotiations with the powers waging war against Russia can therefore bind Ukraine only if the terms of this peace are accepted and signed by the Government of the Ukrainian Republic."

At this hour of national peril the representative of France, General Tabouis, warned Vinnichenko not to join the above named peace negotiations, otherwise the French Government would withdraw its recognition of the newly-established Ukrainian Republic. He also promised France's help and assistance if Ukrainian troops would prolong the war against the Central Powers. How regrettable that this promise could not have been carried out soon. Without the immediate help of the Western Allies Ukraine, which had no substantial army, could not defend itself against the Bolshevik invasion and there was the danger that in the case of a successful conclusion of the Russo-German peace treaty Ukraine would be invaded by both partners.

On January 22, 1918, the Central Rada proclaimed its "Fourth Universal," by which it declared complete independence of Ukraine. It happened at the moment when Colonel Muraviev's troops approached the city of Kiev. To hold them back the government sent 750 soldiers, including 250 high school boys, who volunteered to stop 6,000 Russian marines advancing toward Kiev. It resulted in a battle near the railroad station of Kruty, in which all the boys, including the wounded and captured, were massacred by the Russians. Kiev was captured on February 8, 1918, and within three weeks 5,000 Ukrainian patriots were shot to death by the "brother socialists" of Russia. Similar mass killings took place in other cities captured by the Bolsheviks. Every one who cooperated with the Central Rada had to die.

On February 9th at Brest Litowsk, the Ukrainian Government signed the peace treaty with the Central Powers. Ukraine was recognized as an independent state and promised military assistance in clearing up the Bolshevik bands from its territories. In exchange for this help it had to send grain in order to save the people of Austria from a hunger catastrophe. It is said that Professor Hrushevsky shed tears, before his announcement of the arrival of German troops in Ukraine, since he knew in advance the out-

come of this adventure. Facing the dilemma of going into Bolshevik captivity or asking for German help he chose the latter no matter how dangerous it would be for the country. Now he came to realize what a grave mistake he had committed believing in a "universal socialist brotherhood" which made him demobilize his army.

However, the Central Rada promised more than it could perform. The country was exhausted by war and it was impossible to gather the promised food supplies. Germans organized their "punitive expeditions" and interfered into the internal affairs of the country. Relations between the Germans and Ukrainians,



Money of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic (1917)

in April 1918, deteriorated so much that the Germans planned to appoint their own military government in Ukraine. They demobilized two Ukrainian divisions and forced their way into the chamber of the Centralna Rada and arrested some of its members.

### 3. The Ukrainian Hetman State

In that hour of national peril General Pavlo Skoropadsky came into the picture. He was a descendant of an ancient Ukrainian noble family (Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky was Mazepa's successor in 1708-1722) and one of the most prominent generals of the Czarist army. When the revolution broke out in 1917 and Communist propaganda had demoralized the front troops he organized the 1st Ukrainian Corps that fought against the Germans as well as pro-

tected the hinterland against Bolshevik plundering. As has been mentioned, the Central Rada believing in a "universal socialist brotherhood" demobilized this 1st Corps. General Skoropadsky took heed to organize semi-military detachments the so-called "Vilne Kozatstwo" (Free Kozaks) throughout the country and they kept law and order in towns and villages.

On April 29, 1918, a Congress of the Ukrainian Peasant Democratic party (Khliboroby-Democracy) convened in Kiev with the participation of 6,432 delegates from all over the country. Being dissatisfied with the socialist reforms of the Central Rada, they elected General Skoropadsky "Hetman of all Ukraine" and he introduced an autocratic form of government. He removed the Rada in a bloodless manner and took the government into his own hands. He revoked all socialist reforms and reintroduced the right of private ownership. This was the reason former members of the Rada refused to go along and set a movement into motion against the Hetman's regime. Consequently he was compelled to fill important offices with new and unknown people who very recently joined the Ukrainian liberation movement. There is no doubt that Hetman Skoropadsky was a Ukrainian patriot. During his 8 month reign he brought law and order to the country, notwithstanding the difficulties on the part of German occupational authorities and their "punitive expeditions."

In the fall of 1918 two members of the Central Powers (Bulgaria and Turkey) were forced to conclude separate peace treaties with the Western Allies and thus the Austro-German armies headed toward their defeat. On November 8th Germany capitulated and its army in Ukraine disregarded the request of the Allies to stay in Ukraine and continue the fight against the Bolsheviks until a new military force would come into being. Hetman Skoropadsky's mobilization plan was hindered by the Germans and here again the country found itself in a dangerous situation. Taking all this under careful consideration Hetman Skoropadsky came to the conclusion that Ukraine itself, defenseless as it was, could not sustain the onslaught of two Bolshevik armies advancing in the direction of Kiev (c. 75 thousand men).

On November 14th he announced a "Manifesto" (Hramota) in which he said:

*"... Being of the conviction that other ways would bring a catastrophe to Ukraine, I am calling all, who care for its future, closely bound to the future and happiness of all Russia (non-Communist), to unite with me in defending Ukraine and Russia. I believe that in this holy and patriotic cause, You, Citizens and Kozaks of Ukraine, together*

*with the rest of the population, will give me full-hearted and avid support."*

But it was not the case. The "Ukrainian National Federation" (Ukrainsky Nacionalny Soyuz) under the leadership of Simeon Petlura and Volodimir Vinnichenko proclaimed a "Universal" accusing the Hetman of being a "traitor" to the Ukrainian cause.



Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky

The resulting civil war lasted until December 14th when the Hetman abdicated. Then the political parties set up a new political body the so-called "Directoria" of five men: Vinnichenko, Petlura, Shvets, Andriyewsky and Makarenko. All of them, except Makarenko, were socialists.

#### **4. The West-Ukrainian Republic**

On West-Ukrainian territories under Austria, the leader of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation, Dr. Evhen Petrushevich, proposed a project (May 30, 1917) that all these territories should be united in one independent Kingdom. In spite of Polish resistance this project was taken under consideration during peace negotiations in Brest Litowsk with the result that Austria was to proclaim the said Kingdom on July 31, 1918. However, in mid-summer of that year Austria entered its road to complete dis-

integration and the project did not materialize. The imperial "Manifesto" of October 16th announced that, in the spirit of self-determination, (it was after the proclamation of the famous "Fourteen Points" of President Woodrow Wilson) all the nationalities of Austria were entitled to establish independent states on their own ethnographic territories.

In accordance with this "Manifesto" on October 18, 1918, the Ukrainian parliamentary representatives summoned a Congress to the city of Lviv, which elected the Ukrainian National Council (Ukrainska Nacionalna Rada) that proclaimed the Western Ukrainian Republic (to the Ukrainian people). On November 1st, 1918, Ukrainian soldiers stationed in Lviv (60 officers of lower ranks and c. 1,400 men) were ordered to take the city from the Austrian military and civil authorities. Dr. Evhen Petrushevich was elected President of West-Ukrainian Republic.

How regrettable, that few days after its birth it was forced to fight against Polish rebels in its own capital, since the Poles refused to be loyal to the Ukrainian State and thus caused the Polish-Ukrainian war.

Here is to be noted that Germany and Austria proclaimed the Polish independent state on November 5, 1916, and it was to be a monarchy. German Kaiser Wilhelm II and Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph I, on December 6, 1916, appointed a Council of State (Rada Stanu) composed of 25 members under the leadership of a "Royal Marshal." The Council took over the government of the country on January 14, 1917. That future Polish monarchy had no king and for that reason the Berlin and Vienna governments appointed a "Regency Council" composed of Archbishop Alexander Kakowski, Prince Zdzislaw Lubomirski and Joseph Ostrozki. Thus the Poles having received their independence were in a good position to organize their internal affairs and build up military forces. On November 14, 1918, the Regency Council issued the following decree to Gen. Joseph Pilsudski, the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish armies: "The temporary decision of the sovereign power of the State created by the decree of Nov. 11, 1918, could not last without harming the Nascent Polish State. This power should be indivisible. In view of that and in the best interest of the country, we decree to dissolve the Regency Council, and from this moment we place in your hands, Sir, all our duties before the Polish Nation for the transference of them to the National Government."

Thus General Joseph Pilsudski became a dictator of new Poland. The Polish rebels in Lviv very soon received considerable help from Poland proper and Ukrainian government was forced to

evacuate the city on November 21, 1918, and establish a front-line along the Polish-Ukrainian border. The bitter fighting was going on until the spring of 1919. The Poles, having superior military leadership and supplies from the West, were unable to push the Ukrainians back. In March the Supreme Council in Paris dispatched an Allied Commission in order to stop the fighting. French General Berthelemy was the head of that Commission and he made a demarcation line, according to which Ukrainians were to retreat and



Evhen Petrushevich  
President of the Western  
Ukrainian Republic

give up a considerable part of their territory, including the oil-fields of Boryslav and Drohobych. This proposition was rejected by the Ukrainians and fighting resumed. In May another Allied Commission headed by the English General Botha proposed a new demarcation line more favorable to the Ukrainians, and the Poles rejected it.

At this period the Polish Government came to realize that without substantial military help from the West it was unable to terminate the war. Thus the Polish diplomatic offensive in Paris was set in motion with the aim of bringing six Polish divisions to Poland, organized from the prisoners of war which were under the command of General Haller. They were very well equipped and supplied by France. Notwithstanding the stubbornness of Premier

George Clemenceau, the Supreme Council gave its approval under the condition that General Haller's army under no circumstances whatsoever would be employed against Ukrainians, but only against the Bolsheviks. This condition was disregarded and the said army was ordered to attack Ukrainians, who at the same time were engaged in a bloody war against Bolsheviks on the eastern front. The Polish onslaught began on May 14, 1919, notwithstanding the fact that the armistice ordered by the above mentioned Commission was still in force.

When the Ukrainian delegation to the Peace Conference protested, Premier I. Paderewski personally appeared in Paris to defend the "Polish expedition into East Galicia," as he called the war, in order to "liberate" Ukrainians from their own government. What is worse, following this Polish "diplomatic offensive" French military authorities ordered the Rumanian army to invade a part of Ukrainian territory (Bukovina and Pokuttia on May 24, 1919) and establish a "common border" with Poland. In spite of this the Ukrainians waged a surprise offensive on June 6th and almost recaptured the city of Lviv, but having exhausted munitions they retreated to the Zbruch River. In the meantime the Supreme Council fell under Clemenceau's exclusive influence and a note was dispatched to President Petrushevich (June 25) that the temporary occupation of Galicia by Poland has been approved by the Supreme Council. Thus great misfortune befell the Ukrainians, who under the inspiration of the American President Wilson, had set up a democratic state on their own territory.

Then the Ukrainian armies of the Directoria and of Western Republic joined together (July 16), formed one command under the leadership of General Yunakiw and made preparations to drive the Bolsheviks from the Right-Bank Ukraine. Dr. Petrushevich became a member of the Directoria headed by Simeon Petlura.

Here we would like to bring up a matter of great historical importance. The Ukrainians had been divided by artificial boundaries for centuries and in spite of this they preserved their true spirit of oneness and national integrity. On January 22, 1919, on St. Sophia's Square in Kiev an "Act of Unity" took place in the presence of delegates from almost all Ukrainian provinces. On this historical occasion a "Universal" was proclaimed, that read:

"... From henceforth on all parts of Ukraine divided for centuries: Halichina, Bukovina, Carpatho-Rus' and the Dnieper Ukraine, will be one great Ukraine. The dream for which the best sons of Ukraine lived and died came true. From this day forward there will be one independent Ukrainian National Republic."

It is remarkable that the Ukrainians of the Carpatho-Rus',



who were under Hungarian domination since the 11th century in their General Congress in the city of Khust represented by 420 delegates from the towns and villages formed the "Central Ukrainian National Council," which decided in favor of union with the Ukrainian Democratic Republic.

### 5. Joint March on Kiev

It is an established fact that French military authorities developed a strategic plan against the Bolsheviks in order to reestab-



Simeon Petlura  
President of the Ukrainian  
Democratic Republic

lish the former Russian Empire and the Ukrainian Republic, which as we have seen, suffered severely from the Bolshevik invasion and was not recognized as a full partner, notwithstanding that General Denikin's army (c. 200,000 men) was to attack the Bolsheviks on Ukrainian territory. In spite of the Ukrainian Government's repeated efforts to come to any agreement with General Denikin, he refused to recognize its legitimacy and foolishly rejected its cooperation in fighting the Bolsheviks.

Simeon Petlura made one great mistake: presuming that Denikin's forces attacking the Bolsheviks would hasten their advancement towards Moscow, he ordered his troops not to fire on Deni-

kin's soldiers in any circumstances. The Ukrainian army took the city of Kiev by storm, on August 30, 1919, at 8 o'clock P.M. and General A. Kraus, whose 3rd Corps took the city, did not destroy bridges on the Dnieper River, nor did he secure the approaches on the opposite side, since the order "not to fire on Denikin's soldiers" had not been recalled. During the night Denikin's General Bredow waged a sneak-attack on Kiev, since Ukrainian soldiers having orders "not to fire" let his cavalry pass to the city. Petlura having in mind the fight against the Bolsheviks recalled his troops. Then Denikin made his major mistake, instead of marching on Moscow he threw a wedge between Ukrainian army and very soon (September 22) ordered an attack against the Ukrainians, and forced them to fight against White as well as Red Russian armies.

So it happened that five different forces were fighting on Ukrainian territories in the fall of 1919: 1. The Polish Army from the west, equipped and supplied by the Western Allies; 2. Rumanians from the south-west also supplied by the same source; 3. The Red Army from the north, supplied by Moscow; 4. Denikin's Army, supplied and equipped by the West; 5. The Ukrainian Army, being attacked from four sides with no bases of supply. This was the reason Dr. Petrushevich from the beginning was against the march on Kiev preferring instead the march on Odessa, should negotiations with Denikin fail. Then Petlura's Kievan failure and a new war against Denikin endangered the very existence of the whole army.

What is worse, a terrible epidemic of typhus spread out among soldiers and civil population. Medical supplies left over by the Germans and Austrians were exhausted. The hospitals were overcrowded and ill soldiers lay on floors uncovered in unheated rooms and corridors. In October of 1919 almost 90 per cent of the entire army fell victim to this terrible disease. The Chief of physicians, Dr. A. Burachynsky, sent out a short report to Evhen Petrushevich, which read: "Our troops are not an army any longer, this is not even a hospital, but a wandering storehouse of corpses." All Petlura's pleadings for help were unsuccessful, although plenty of medical supplies that could have saved thousands of young lives were stored in the nearby city of Chernivtsi in Bukovina as well as in Odessa.

The survivors of the Ukrainian army, who were able to carry arms and defend themselves against the Bolsheviks and Denikin-ites soon found themselves in the "Square of Death." In this situation General Myron Tarnavsky, the Commander-in-Chief of the West-Ukrainian troops, concluded an armistice with General Denikin. Dr. Evhen Petrushevich, in order to preserve his freedom

of action in the defense of the Ukrainian cause, was granted Austrian asylum.

Simeon Petlura ordered General Omelanovich-Pavlenko to march with the rest of the troops behind the Bolshevik lines with the aim of contacting insurgents thus securing their full cooperation in a new war that was to begin in the spring of 1920. Petlura went to Poland and concluded a secret alliance with Marshal Pilsudski on April 21, 1920, by virtue of which the latter recognized



Hetman Khmelnytsky Memorial in Kiev

the Ukrainian Government headed by Petlura, and promised to give the necessary assistance as well as military help to drive the Bolsheviks from Ukraine. Both sides took a solemn obligation upon themselves not to enter any peace negotiations with a third party without their mutual consent and approval. Petlura consented that the Western Ukrainian territories would remain temporarily under Polish occupation.

One of Petlura's former ministers (Ivan Ohienko — who is now the Orthodox Metropolitan in Canada) reports that after Petlura's return to Ukraine on May 1st, he told his close associates

the following story: "I know that many of you do not believe in the success of this new alliance (with Poland), and now I shall tell you something: — Daddy, look, the devil goes to our house, — cried a frightened boy. — And his father quietly replied: — Let the devil go, if only the Muscovites will stay away."

In the beginning of April 1920 General Denikin's army was wiped out by the Bolsheviks, who became the undisputed masters of most of the East-Ukrainian territories. Thus the "great strategic plan" of the French commando, which disregarded the will and cooperation of the Ukrainian people, — completely failed, so that in the first days of April the French expeditionary forces evacuated Odessa.

It is highly unfortunate that this happened a few weeks before Marshal Pilsudski's and Petlura's successful "March on Kiev" (April 25, 1920), when the city of Kiev was taken by storm on May 7th. The Bolsheviks, however, having annihilated Denikin's army prepared the main assault against Poland. Marshal Budienny's cavalry succeeded in breaking the Polish-Ukrainian lines from the south and the main Bolshevik army under the command of General Tuhachevsky advanced toward the Polish capital from the east. Marshal Pilsudski ordered a general retreat from Ukraine. In this perilous situation French General Weygand personally assumed the command of the Polish army and a great battle ensued on the Vistula River. The Bolsheviks suffered defeat and the immediate danger of their intended attack against Western Europe was averted. In this great battle Ukrainian troops fought bravely on the Galician front and General Bezruchko, by his successful defense of the city of Zamost, (c. 40 miles from Warsaw) held up Budienny's advancement thus contributing to the common victory. The Bolsheviks retreated and very soon requested an armistice. On October 12, 1920, in the Latvian city of Riga "The Treaty of Armistice and Preliminary Conditions of Peace Between the Soviet Union and Soviet Ukraine, From One Part, and Poland, From Another Part" was signed. By recognition of Soviet Ukraine the Polish partner unilaterally annulled his treaty with Simeon Petlura of April 21, 1920, and the latter's delegation was not admitted to peace negotiations. For this disloyalty Poland was allowed to keep the West-Ukrainian territories under its occupation.

## **6. The Ukrainian Rada (Soviet) Republic**

The peace treaty of Riga was ratified on March 11, 1921, by all partners and the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, which was pro-

claimed in Kharkiv on May 5, 1919, signed it as an independent state and recognized as such by Poland and Muscovy. It is true that in the beginning the autonomy of Ukraine was respected, e.g., it had its own foreign minister, army, separate school system and administration. But at the same time Lenin ordered the nationalization and collectivization of the farmers. This and a long severe drought brought a great famine to Ukraine in 1921-1922 so that many people suffered death from hunger. Now Lenin called off the program of collectivization and proclaimed the New Eco-



Colonel Evhen Konowalets  
Head of the Organization of  
Ukrainian Nationalists  
(Assassinated by Soviet agent in  
Rotterdam in 1938)

nomic Policy (NEP), which allowed the small farmers to raise grain and sell it on private markets.

Lenin died in 1924 and the power of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) passed into the hands of the former Commissar of Nationalities, Joseph Djughashvili, a Georgian by birth better known as Stalin. During his dictatorship severe measures for the russification of Ukraine were introduced, for instance, even the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, established in Kiev during Hetman Skoropadsky's reign, was to receive its orders from Moscow. The prominent Ukrainian communists, e.g., Skrypnyk, Kotsiubinsky, Kossyor, Chubar, Petrowsky, Lubchenko, Bondarenko, Khwylyowy and many others were killed, committed suicide or

"disappeared" into the slave labor camps of Siberia. Generally speaking, all heads of the Ukrainian Rada Republic from Rakowsky to Bondarenko (1921-1938) were liquidated.

In spite of this terror the liberation movement continued to exist under the leadership of the "All-Ukrainian Guerilla Committee," called "Vsepowstankom," up to 1924. Then the "Brotherhood for the Ukrainian Statehood" (BUD) came into being in the 1920's. The "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" (SVU) under the leadership of Prof. Serhiy Yefremov carried on until he was condemned in 1930 during a "show-trial" in Kharkiw. After this the "Association of Ukrainian Youth" (1923-1933) together with the "Ukrainian National Center" under the leadership of Vsevolod Holubovich took over. They were in close contact with the "Ukrainian Military Organization" (UWO) headed by Colonel Evhen Konovalets, which was transformed in 1929 into the "Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists" (OUN).

Stalin introduced a barbaric dictatorship unheard of since the time of Czar Ivan the Terrible of the 15th century. The agents of the much dreaded Cheka, GPU, NKVD and finally MVD-MHB, called "the ear and eye of Stalin," became the undisputed masters of all the unhappy human beings of the "Soviet paradise."

In 1928 Stalin ordered the program of collectivization by forcible dispossession of Ukrainian peasants, marked by mass-arrests and killing of innocent people who loved their soil. In order to break their resistance, Stalin organized the artificial famine in 1932-33 and as a result in some parts of Ukraine, e.g., Kherson district, 85 per cent of the total population were starved to death, and according to the general estimate at least 10 per cent of the Ukrainian rural population died because of that famine.

Stalin sent his trusted friends to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, e.g., Kaganovich, Postyshev, Yezhov, Khrushchev and others, with a strict order to liquidate all Ukrainians, including Communists, who would dare resist a complete Russification of their fatherland. The mass graves in the city of Vinnitsia, of these Ukrainian patriots shot by NKVD agents in 1937-38, uncovered during World War II, are witnesses to the terror exercised in Ukraine by Stalin's men. As a result on the eve of World War II Ukraine was deprived of many of its political as well as cultural rights, and was made one of Muscovy's colonies.

\* \* \*

The west Ukrainian territories found their epilogue in the Council of Ambassadors in Paris, represented by England, France, Italy and Japan. On March 14, 1923, Poland was given a 25-year

trusteeship over these territories with 8 million people with the condition that after 25 years the population itself would decide its own fate by a general plebiscite.

The Bukovinian Ukrainians established their own government also, and the Ukrainian National Council under the leadership of President Omelan Popovich. On January 22, 1919, Bukovina joined the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, which protested on May 17, 1919, before the Peace Conference in Paris against the Rumanian invasion of Bukovina. However, the members of the Peace Conference disregarded the will of the people and approved



A group of officers and soldiers of "Karpatska Sich" the para-military organization of Carpatho-Ukraine in 1938-1939.

Bukovina's occupation, which lasted until 1940 when the Bolsheviks incorporated it into the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

Thus the tragedy of the Ukrainian modern State came to an end and the life of the people under four occupants became an unenviable one. Although Ukraine was once more erased from the map of the free nations of the world, the people did not give up their fight for freedom.

The new generation which was enriched by fame, learned much from the mistakes and tragedy of their fathers, took over their unfinished struggle for freedom and carried it on.

From the petition of 62 members of the English Parliament to the Secretary of the League of Nations in Geneva it appears that the Poles pursued the policy of extermination in Halichyna; they persecuted men, women and children; they killed innocent people during "military punishing expeditions" in at least 700 localities. In Galicia prior to the Polish occupation there were

3,662 Ukrainian schools, and in 1925, there were only 1,055 left. In all the Ukrainian territories, entrusted to Poland — the petition stated — there were 28,336 schools, of which 22,996 (84 per cent) were Polish; 2,257 bilingual (8.3 per cent) and 2,083 (7.6 per cent) with other languages. In 1927-28 there were only 771 Ukrainian schools in Poland.

The Ukrainians, under Polish rule, were denied the right of having their own University in Lviv and the privately organized university was driven underground by police. The Ukrainian peasants were denied the right to buy new land and taxation was so heavy that in some regions the population starved almost every year in springtime, since all grain was taken for taxes.

Small wonder that the Ukrainian Military Organization (UWO), transformed in 1929 into the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), refused to recognize the legitimacy of Polish authority and used every means to weaken it in order to enforce the broadcast autonomy, or even independence. The infamous "pacification" of Ukrainian towns and villages in 1930, ordered by Marshal Joseph Pilsudski, reached the peak of persecution and volens-nolens, brought the idea of liberation, and the will to fight and die for it even in the remotest villages. The "boiling state" of affairs prevailed until the eve of World War II. Since 1921 there were 914 political trials and in August of 1939 alone, 75 Ukrainian patriots were condemned. The Polish concentration camp in Bereza Kartuzka, established for the "reeducation" of Ukrainian patriots, became a place of mass tortures, e.g., in 1939 there were c. 8,000 men and women with little children in Bereza Kartuzka. All these people were sent there without any hearings or trials whatsoever.

After the "Munich Agreement" on September 29-30, 1938, Hitler decided to destroy the Czecho-Slovakian Republic and the next month the Carpatho-Ukraine was granted autonomy by Czech authorities. The parliament elected by the people proclaimed its own independent state: the Carpatho-Ukrainian Republic was its official name. Monsignor Augustine Voloshin was elected first President of the Carpatho-Ukraine.

However, at the instigation of the Italian Dictator Benito Mussolini and with Hitler's silent consent the Hungarian army made a surprise attack on that Republic at the moment when German tanks were rolling into Prague. After a bloody fight with the "Karpatska Sich," the semi-military organization, the Magyars reached the Polish border in the Carpathian Mountains. President Voloshin and his cabinet went into exile. The Magyars immediately introduced a system of national extermination, e.g. they abolished



all Ukrainian schools and organizations, and ordered Ukrainian priests to use the Hungarian language in the churches.

All these measures, however, could not turn back the wheels of history and the Magyars were not able to destroy the national spirit and determination of that branch of the Ukrainian people to fight for their freedom. The general sympathetic response of



Msgr. Augustin Voloshin, President  
of the Carpatho-Ukrainian  
Republic (1938-1939)

all Ukrainians and their support of Carpatho-Ukraine proved that they are one undivided nation in all their territories.

## 7. World War II and Ukrainians

Hitler's and Stalin's "Pact of Non-aggression" of August 23, 1939, brought on World War II. In accordance with the secret protocol of that pact, the Red Army invaded Western Ukrainian territories to "free the Ukrainian brothers from the Polish yoke," as the Bolsheviks used to say. Thus Kholmschina, Pidlashia, Zabuzhia and Lemkivschina fell to Germany and the rest of the Ukrainian territories were occupied by the Bolsheviks. Following the speedy elections of October 22, 1939, the "People's Assembly" in Lviv was forced, by the NKVD agents, to request "father Stalin" to accept the people of West-Ukraine into the fold of the Soviet

Union. This "favor" was magnanimously granted on November 21, 1939.

Then the Muscovites abolished all Ukrainian political, cultural, and economic institutions. They closed all libraries and reading rooms. When the people were caught by surprise all their Ukrainian books were burned. The land and factories were nationalized and the so-called Stakhanov labor system" was introduced. Very soon special trains were taking thousands of Ukrainian patriots into Siberia and Kazakhstan. At the same time the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists stepped up its activity under the German and Bolshevik occupancies. On the eve of the Russo-German war the dynamic and vigorous members of the OUN, on Western Ukrainian territories, eager to fight for the liberation of their country, broke up with Colonel Andriy Melnyk, Konovalets's successor, and followed the call of Stepan Bandera. Under his leadership the OUN waged a real war against the Germans and Bolsheviks.

The abortive alliance between Hitler and Stalin was of short duration and on June 22, 1941, Hitler ordered his powerful army to invade the Soviet Union. On June 30, 1941, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, proclaimed, in Lviv, the independence of Ukraine. At the same time a National Assembly was called and a Provisional Ukrainian Government was established with Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko as its Prime Minister. Simultaneously, in all Ukrainian cities, towns and villages, which were liberated from Communist tyranny, the Ukrainian administration was established.

Hitler and his close associates reacted to the Ukrainian proclamation of June 30, 1941, with the arrests of several members of the Ukrainian government, including Premier Stetsko and the OUN leader Bandera, who were deported to the Nazi concentration camp of Sachsenhausen, in Germany, where they spent almost four years. Many other prominent Ukrainian nationalists were shot or imprisoned.

On August 11, 1941, the West-Ukraine was annexed to the General Government, the former Polish State, which Hitler intended to annex to the German Reich. A "Reichskommissar" Erich Koch was appointed for the East-Ukraine. He was better known as the "Butcher of Ukraine." He introduced a system of government rivaling that of the Bolsheviks.

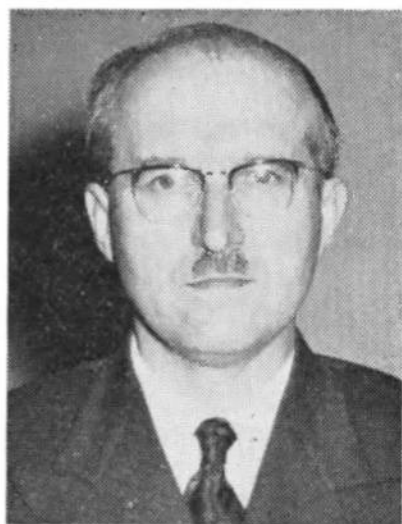
German greediness and Hitler's immense brutality, within a few months of occupation, made the Ukrainians the enemies of the Reich and very soon guerilla warfare started on all those Ukrainian territories which were occupied by the Germans. By

the end of 1942 the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists formed the "Ukrainska Povstancha Armia" (The Ukrainian Insurgent Army) with its General Staff, military training camps and supplies. Its detachments were fighting on both sides of the front line.

On the other hand, since 1941 many Ukrainians, who cherished the hope of regaining freedom for their fatherland, were fighting on the eastern front in different German formations as small independent groups. Some of them were recruited for that purpose from the POW-Camps, where they had been starving, and others voluntarily joined the fight against Communism for ideological



Stepan Bandera  
Head of the Organization of  
Ukrainian Nationalists  
(Assassinated by Soviet agent in  
Munich in 1959)



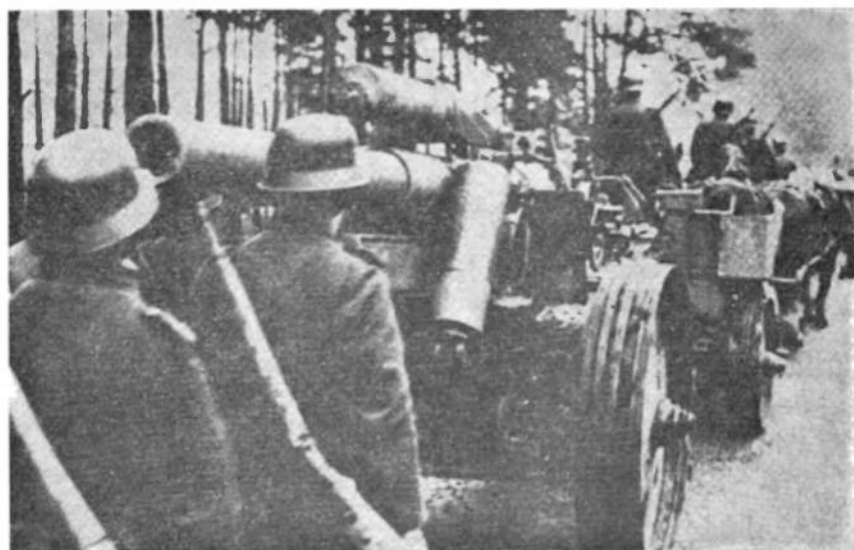
Yaroslav Stetsko  
Prime Minister of the Ukrainian  
Government in Lviv in 1941

reasons: to free Ukraine from the Bolsheviks. At that time in Ukraine the general opinion prevailed that Germany would lose the war in the West, and every Ukrainian hoped that this would not happen before the downfall of Stalin's tyranny. This was the chief reason that the Ukrainian patriots decided to make use of Germany's military know-how and sponsored the idea of forming larger fighting units, which would have been able to gather all these small detachments which were scattered along the eastern front line. Thus the "Division Halichina" was born. Thousands of youth, especially students, went to training camps and within a year a new generation of officers joined their fathers' fight against Communism. It was already too late. The Germans were

hopelessly retreating from Ukraine, before the advancing Red Army which was helped and supplied by the Western Allies.

In February 1945, at meetings in Yalta, the Western Allies consented to admit the Ukrainian Soviet Republic into the United Nations Organization as one of its founding members, and Mr. Dmytro Manuilsky, a former agent of Russia in Kiev during the reign of Hetman Skoropadsky, became the first representative of Ukraine to this organization. Of course, he and his successors were not then and still are not now, the true representatives of the Ukrainian people, since they were and are appointed by Moscow. For this reason the Ukrainian people are not responsible for their activities in the United Nations Organization.

There is no doubt that World War II increased the power of the Soviet Union and raised its ambition to dominate the world. This circumstance tightened the Bolshevik yoke on the Ukrainian people. Over 200,000 Ukrainian patriots, together with hundreds of priests, Catholic as well as Orthodox, and thousands of intellectuals went abroad to carry on the struggle of liberation. Their most important task was to present the just Ukrainian cause to the West, to make friends there and preserve the substance of Ukrainian culture and civilization, which faces destruction under Bolshevik domination.



Heavy artillery of the First Division "Halichina" of the Ukrainian National Army (1943-1945) marching against the Bolsheviks.

## 8. The Church During and After World War I

Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytsky (1900-1944), descendant of a noble Ukrainian family, initiated a new era in the history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. During the forepart of his episcopacy, Ukrainians in Galicia were resolutely contending for the establish-



Servant of God Andriy Sheptytsky, Metropolitan of Lviv

ment of a separate university in Lviv. They were sustained in their efforts by the new Metropolitan, who during the secession of Ukrainian students from the Polish-controlled university in 1901, closed the General Seminary of Lviv for a year and sent all the seminarians to Vienna. As a consequence of this resistance and the Metropolitan's unwavering support, the goal was attained.

By special Imperial decree in 1913 provision was made for the establishment of the Ukrainian University in Lviv, which was to be accomplished before September 1, 1915.

Generally speaking, there was no field of a religious or national nature that would have not been promoted by Metropolitan Andriy. His famous speeches in the Herrenhaus (House of Lords) in Vienna in defense of the rights of the Ukrainian people, were well known throughout Europe, since they quickly introduced the Ukrainian cause to consideration as one of international portent.

Metropolitan Andriy was an eminent champion of the unionistic idea. He was convinced that the Ukrainian Synods of Zamostia and Lviv, which had introduced some western disciplinary practices had rendered the Ukrainian Church incapable of being "a bridge between the East and West," as several Roman Pontiffs had wanted it to be. The Metropolitan undertook measures to halt its further "westernization" or Latinization and encouraged his clergy to observe all the ancient Eastern Rites and traditions. For the purpose of establishing closer contact with some prominent Orthodox circles, he journeyed "incognito" to Russia. In 1912 Pope St. Pius X delegated him the powers of an Apostolic Legate for the entire Russian Empire.

After the Russian occupation of Lviv in 1914, Metropolitan Andriy was deported to the interior of Russia. During his absence Russian officials diligently labored, using, with little success, the methods of Catherine II and Nicholas I, "for the conversion" of the Church of Halichyna to the "Mother Church in Moscow."

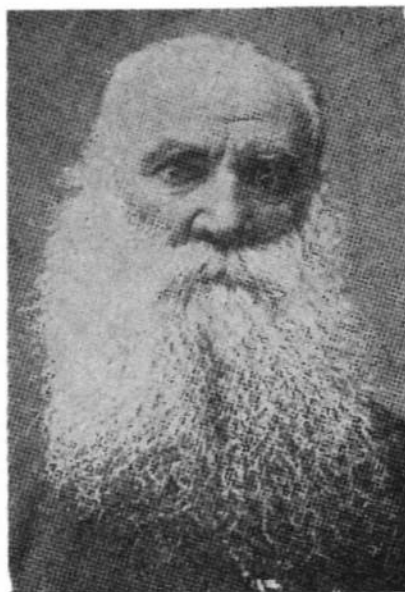
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According to official statistics of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine in 1917, on Ukrainian territories there were: 1 Metropolitan in Kiev, 3 Archbishops, 5 Bishops, and 19 Auxiliary-Bishops; bringing the entire hierarchial total to a number of 28. The extent to which the Ukrainian Orthodox Church had been Russified could be attested to by fact that a mere 4 of them were Ukrainian-born. In Ukraine there were 1 Academy, 1 Pastoral-Missionary School, 9 Seminaries, 1 Pastoral School, and 29 Minor Seminaries (Dukhovne Uchylische). There also were 102 monasteries, of which 66 were for monks and 36 were for nuns.

The outbreak of the 1917 revolution brought great political changes in the "prison of nations," a name which Russia had justifiably been called. The establishment of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic immediately introduced to notice, the matter of juridical relations between Kiev and the Church of Muscovy which had soon reinstated its former Patriarchate. The Pan-Ukrainian Synod, in

Kiev, on July 9, 1918, contrived new "Statutes," by which the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was prescribed to recognize Patriarch Tykhon, who was to have the authority of installing the Kievan Metropolitan after his election by the Synod of Ukrainian bishops. Patriarch Tykhon was to have the right of receiving appeals from the bishops, as well as the right to approve Synodal Statutes.

Patriarch Tykhon refused to cooperate. The Orthodox hierarchy in Ukraine, as we have seen, was mostly of Russian origin



Vasyl Lypkivsky  
Metropolitan of the Ukrainian  
Autocephalic Orthodox Church  
from 1919—1930

and was of unswerving allegiance to Tykhon. Wherefore, a new so-called Autocephalous Church was established by the lower clergy. From among one of themselves they elected the Reverend Vasyl Lypkivsky, a great patriot, Autocephalous Metropolitan of Kiev. This of course, was contrary to the canons of the Eastern Church, since a priest does not have power to consecrate a bishop. In this time of crucial importance they failed to request the aid of Metropolitan Andriy of Lviv, under whose guidance the unity of the entire Ukrainian Church could have been restored. A prominent Ukrainian Central Council member, Volodimir Vynnychenko, favored the establishment of a separate Ukrainian Patriarchate in Kiev, which was to be in communion with Rome. It was his opinion that this was the one and only way of bringing to a sudden

end the influence of Muscovy and its meddling into Ukrainian Church, and State affairs.

The said Autocephalous Church progressed so rapidly that in 1927 it had 34 bishops, c. 10 million faithful and 3,000 priests. In order to arrest its further development, the Bolsheviks supported an "Apostolic Living Church." Thus in Ukraine, for a part of the post-war period, three Orthodox Churches simultaneously operated. This period was short-lived, since on April 8, 1929, Stalin decreed that the Church no longer existed "de jure" and a general persecution of all Churches, Catholic and Orthodox, was set in motion. The first subversive act of the Bolsheviks was to impose unconscionable taxes on churches, e.g. the cathedral church in Proskuriw was assessed 5,000 rubles and the one in Zhytomir burdened with a levy of from 35 to 40,000 rubles. It was impossible to collect such sums from such impoverished congregations. The churches were ordered closed because the faithful could not match their willingness to pay with their ability to raise the funds in such troublesome times. By the year of 1932 there was not a surviving bishop or priest of the Autocephalous Church. It has been authenticated that from 1917 to 1935 the Bolsheviks deported or killed in Soviet Union 217 bishops, 27,000 priests and several million of the faithful. All churches, monasteries and chapels were closed; some were destroyed, others were converted into museums, garages or workshops, still others were used as theatres. Many church edifices were confiscated and their facilities were used for the distribution of godless propaganda. Unfortunate examples of this horrendous activity are the famous Monastery of the Caves in Kiev and St. Sophia's Church. Although the Church in Soviet Ukraine was destroyed prior to the outbreak of World War II, Christianity itself survived with the believers secretly worshipping in their homes.

Meanwhile, the Orthodox Church in Poland was also autocephalously formed, but within two decades it was brought under complete control by the Polish government and divested of its legal rights and moral claims. In 1938 the Polish government attempted to blot that Church out, in the districts of Pidlashia and Kholmschyna, under the pretext that the Orthodox churches in question had been erected and possessed in the 18th and 19th centuries by Catholics, who had been enjoined by the forcibleness and violence of the Czar to submit to the Muscovite Orthodoxy. We know that the last part of this argument is quite true, but those churches never did belong to the Polish Roman Catholics, and they had no just claim to their ownership. When police and semi-military detachments, so-called "Strzelcy" (The Sharp-



shooters) started to tear these Ukrainian churches apart, Metropolitan Andriy of Lviv protested in his special Pastoral Letter, thereby calling the whole matter to the attention of the Apostolic See of Rome. This modern barbarism was stopped in the next year, most probably by the intervention of the Secretary of State Cardinal Eugene Pacelli (late Pope Pius XII). The Apostolic See was misinformed by the Polish government, the truth being that 149



Polikarp  
Ukrainian Orthodox Metropolitan

churches were given over to the Polish clergy, 189 were demolished, and only 51 remained intact.

The legal status of the Orthodox Church in those districts was not restored until the outbreak of World War II. Some of the faithful, being denied the opportunity of conducting church services, accepted the only alternative and leaned toward Communism. Almost on the eve of the war, the godless Bolshevik government officially protested against those events in Catholic Poland. When war came and the power of the Polish State had been dealt its death blow by the Germanic invasion, some of the peasants made hasty exit from their villages and sought asylum in Soviet Ukraine. They refused to live in proximity with the Poles. Pitifully, after living a year in the Soviet "paradise" most of them returned without their personal belongings.

On the other hand, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Poland

enjoyed more freedom thanks to the Apostolic See of Rome. Pope Benedict XV recognized the Ukrainian Democratic Republic and accredited Count Mychaylo Tyshkevich its first Ambassador to the Vatican on May 25, 1919. It is a firmly established fact that a secret agreement was signed in London on April 26, 1915, by statesmen from Italy, France and England duly representing those powers, which excluded the Apostolic See of Rome from participation at the Peace Conference in Paris. By this exclusion, the Papal Legate in Paris, Archbishop Ceretti, was in no position to prevent any harsh dealings on the part of French Prime Minister Clemenceau, called the "Old Tiger," concerning the territorial changes and rights of the new nations which emerged after the war. Even though the Legate had received instructions from Secretary of State Cardinal Gasparri to defend the just cause of the Ukrainians, he was unable to prevent unjust decisions. Legate Genocchi was sent to the West Ukrainian Republic, but he too was rendered ineffective by his detention in Poland.

In 1921 Metropolitan Andriy went abroad to personally promote the Ukrainian cause in the West, but his efforts to alter the course of events were also frustrated. As he was homeward bound he was detained at the border by Polish police, and only after the Pope's intervention was he permitted to proceed to Lviv where he could share the fate of his people during the occupation, while uplifting the hearts of his spiritual children during their ordeals of persecution.

The Concordat between the Apostolic See and Poland was signed on February 10, 1925, and thanks to it, the Ukrainian Catholic Church received powerful protection. Metropolitan Andriy, the "Ukrainian Moses," as his own people called him, was not only Chief Pastor of His Archdiocese, but was also the leader of the entire nation which had endured the suffering of four occupancies. The Catholic people as well as the Orthodox, could hear his fatherly voice of encouragement broadcast from "Lviv Radio Station."

His untiring efforts in post-war years brought forth a new generation of patriotic priests, educated in the Theological Academy, which was founded by him in Lviv as a keystone for the future Ukrainian Catholic University of that city. During the "pacification" of 1930 which engulfed at least 700 localities, when priests and faithful were tortured by Polish "punitive expeditions," Metropolitan Andriy, stricken in years and suffering a partial paralysis which since 1929 had made him unable to walk, flew to Warsaw to plead for a halt of the inhuman tortures being inflicted upon his beloved people, but he was denied the desired

audience with the men who were sufficiently responsible to ameliorate this sad impasse.

## 9. Destruction of the Church by Bolsheviks

The collapse of Poland and the 22-month period of the first Bolshevik occupation of Western Ukraine marked the "First Baptism of Blood" upon his flock. Even in the sight of this godless regime he courageously and repeatedly protested against all the encroachments to which the Church was suffering subjected. He exhorted the priests and faithful to hold steadfast to their faith, even though they be called to lay down their lives by their testimony to God and His truth, for the sake of Christ and the Catholic Church. The Metropolitan took the necessary measures to inspire his flock with the fortitude necessary to sustain them during the impressive persecutions.

In this spirit, the Ukrainian Church, guided by its fearless shepherd, withstood the first attacks made by the godless regime. He called a convocation of the Archdiocesan Synod in order to encourage his terrorized clergy. In this way he helped strengthen their faith so much that they were able to unequivocally accept regulations that were necessary for the life of the Church in the new situation.

"During this regime — the Metropolitan wrote — God has blessed our Church and our people with the highest grace of the sacrifice of martyrdom for many of its faithful. It seems an undeniable fact that, at the present time, the hatred for Christ and His Church is the chief motive of our persecutions. They who endured these persecutions until death were convinced that they suffered for the Catholic faith . . ."

In his letter to Rome he expressed, that if such be the will of God, he was ready to die for his flock, and he asked Pope Pius XII's blessing for his faithful and himself. On August 16, 1941, he reported to Rome that the Bolsheviks had deported 250,000 people from his Archdiocese, while in prisons in the city of Lviv alone 6,000 corpses were discovered, with like occurrences in nearly every city, although the number of the killed and mutilated varied. The Metropolitan further reported in his letter to the Vatican, that 250,000 souls were deported from the dioceses of Peremyshl and Stanyslaviv. This was the "First Baptism of Blood."

The outbreak of the German-Russian war on June 22, 1941, was followed by a three year German occupational period in Ukraine. While there was little deviation between German and Communist governance, the Ukrainian Church was tolerated and

had freer movement, at least for the time in question, to perform the functions of its God-given mission.

The Orthodox Church was also recognized and its faithful throughout the Ukraine reopened all those churches which hitherto had been closed. They established new houses of prayer in those areas where their religious edifices had been razed. Then Metropolitan Andriy made a significant approach toward reconciling the Orthodox Church with the Holy See in Rome. His first move was to address a few letters of invitation to the Orthodox hierarchy, clergy and faithful, in the hope that discussions of reconciliation could be placed before an agenda of responsible authority. He received some very encouraging replies from a number of the bishops, while from others the replies were somewhat downheartening. The bleak turn of events in Ukraine did not permit a renewal of his invitational program.

After Germany's withdrawal from Ukraine in 1944, the early part of the second Bolshevik occupation maintained favorable relations with the Church, for the reason that millions of Ukrainians were engaged in battle on the western front.

On November 1, 1944, Metropolitan Andriy died under very mysterious circumstances. Within a few days before his death the Sisters were shifted from his household, and they were supplanted by an "official nurse" from Kiev.

His successor Metropolitan Josyp Slipy, was even permitted to conduct a solemn ceremony of enthronement, but when final victory over Germany was at hand the Bolsheviks reversed their policy toward the Church. On April 6, 1945, they published and distributed an obscure pamphlet under the title "With Cross and Knife." Five days later they apprehended Metropolitan Slipy; and the bishops Khomyshyn and Latyshevsky from Stanyslaviv; and bishops Budka and Charnetsky from Lviv. They were placed in the prison of Kiev and condemned for "collaboration" with Germany. A few weeks later, the Bolsheviks established, in Lviv, the so-called "Pioneer-Group" of priests for the "reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church" under the leadership of the lapsed priests Kostelnyk, Melnyk and Pelwetsky. At the same time, the head of the newly reinstated Patriarchate of Moscow, Alexey, together with the new Orthodox Bishop Makary of Lviv-Ternopil, by their writings, urged the Ukrainian people to abjure their allegiance with Rome and join the "Orthodox Mother Church." Three hundred valiant priests affixed their signatures to a formal protest, wherein they condemned the activity of the "Pioneer-Group" as detrimental to the Church and State. They sent this document to Moscow, for which they were arrested and deported.

Then the NKVD secret police summoned all the priests to meetings and demanded that they participate in the schism. They were required to sign two documents indicating their consent to actively participate in the "Pioneer Group," and that they did so of their own free will and choice. Those who refused to bind themselves by signature were arrested, in 1946 for instance, 500-800 priests from the Archdiocese of Lviv were imprisoned; and from the district of Ternopil 150 priests were exiled to Siberia.

Working avidly day and night on "reunion," the secret police arranged a Council, which assembled at St. George's Cathedral



Metropolitan Yosip Slipy of Lviv

in Lviv on March 10, 1946. In spite of one year's "preparations" by NKVD agents, only 216 terrorized priests and laymen attended that "Council" under the watchful supervision of the NKVD, whose presence there was to guarantee slavish adherence to their plans. When one of the priests requested that they postpone any important decision in an assemblage so small in attendance, he was arrested on the floor and exiled to ten years of hard labor in Siberia.

It is needless to emphasize that the "Council" attained its desired decision, that "the Church Union with Rome in 1595 was concluded only for political reasons and that now the time had arrived to reunite the Ukrainian Church with its Mother Church, the Patriarchal Church in Moscow." Orthodox Metropolitan Ivan

of Kiev presided over the "Council" and personally delivered an address recommending the schism. Patriarch Alexey and Stalin's personal friend Mr. Karpov, who was in charge of the entire Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union, "kindly" accepted the "Ukrainian prodigal sons."

In September 1944 Stalin generously donated Ukrainian border territory, including the ancient city of Peremyshl, to Soviet Poland, with the command that all its inhabitants be sent to Soviet Ukraine. Following which Bishop Josaphat Kotsylowsky and his Auxiliary-Bishop Hryhor Lakota were first imprisoned and tortured by Polish secret police agents, and then taken to Kiev, where they were condemned. Bishop Josaphat soon died the death of a Confessor.

In Carpatho-Ukraine, Bishop Theodore Romzha of Mukach also refused to join the "Mother Church in Moscow," but his life and those of his flock were spared to live longer. He was blessed to die the death of a Martyr. On his homeward journey from the blessing of a church in Lavky village on October 27, 1947, a Soviet military truck laden with soldiers, purposely collided with the bishop's carriage. The horses were killed and his carriage was demolished. The Bishop was not mortally wounded, so the soldiers beat him unmercifully with iron bars. He departed this life on November 1, 1947, in Mukach hospital.

In February of 1949 when the Orthodox Bishop Makariy of Lviv, took charge of the Mukach diocese, he found only one "converted" priest. On the 22nd of February all Catholic churches in Carpatho-Ukraine were closed by Russian Communists and priests were forbidden to conduct services. Following the closure, a mass deportation to Siberia was ordered and the Catholic Church was outlawed.

The Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Pavlo (Paul) Goydich of Priashiv, and his Auxiliary-Bishop Wasyl Hopko were also arrested and condemned at the "peoples' trial," which was held in Bratislava on January 12-16, 1951. The main charge was that they had requested some of their clergy to go to West-Ukraine and serve parishes whose priests had been deported to Siberia. The second charge was that both Bishops had helped Ukrainian guerilla-fighters to cross Czechoslovakian territory on their way to Austria.

Prior to the aforementioned arrests and condemnation, Orthodox Bishop Eleutheriy convoked a "Council" of some lower clergy and laymen to Priashiv, where on April 28, 1950, the Church Union with Rome of 1649 was denounced. One month later, in spite of almost unanimous opposition of the faithful, the government recog-

nized the new Church which submitted itself to Patriarch Alexey of Moscow.

According to the official Rumanian census of 1937 there were more than 300,000 Ukrainians in Bukovina, of whom ten percent were Catholic. Since 1472 this branch of the Ukrainian Church had its own bishop in Radivtsi, who was a suffragan of the Metropolitan in Suchawa. This Church had very close ties with Kiev, until the 1873 establishment of a separate Bukovinian Metropolia in the city of Chernivtsi.

Ukrainian Catholics in Bukovina were represented by their own Protospresbytery in Chernivtsi, which was under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Lviv and had since 1885 belonged to the diocese of Stanyslaviv. During Rumanian occupation, Ukrainian Catholics of Bukovina were subject to the jurisdiction of the Rumanian Greek-Catholic Bishop in Blazh (1923). This state of affairs prevailed until 1940, when that little branch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was destroyed by the Bolsheviks.

At the time of the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa, some Ukrainian families from Carpatho-Ukraine moved to Yugoslavia (Kerestur and Kotsur districts) and adopted Yugoslavia as their own native land. Since that time many more immigrants from other parts of Ukraine have followed them. There they have built their own churches, while still cherishing their own national traditions.

In December of 1914 Pope St. Pius X appointed Bishop Dionisiy Nyaradi administrator, and in 1920 Pope Benedict XV named him Ordinary Bishop of the Kryzevac diocese, to which all Ukrainian Catholics of Yugoslavia belong. After his death in 1940, he was succeeded by Bishop Joseph Simrak, who was imprisoned where he died the death of a Confessor in 1946. After a six year vacancy Bishop Gabriel was designated by Pope Pius XII, to succeed Bishop Simrak. Exact data on the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Yugoslavia are unavailable, but it can be positively stressed that it was not destroyed by the Communists, and it continues to minister to its flock under the same circumstances as does the Church of the Latin Rite.

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It has been ascertained that in 1939 the Ukrainian Catholic Church consisted of 1 Archeparchy; 5 dioceses, 1 Apostolic Administrator and 1 Apostolic Visitor; 10 bishops; 2,950 secular and 520 monastic priests; 540 Seminarians; 3,040 parishes; 95 religious houses; 9,900 Catholic elementary schools; 380 secondary schools; 56 higher institutes; 38 Catholic papers and magazines; 35 printing houses; and 4,283,000 faithful.

The performance of these ecclesiastical functions was suppressed by the Russian Communists, even though they assert that Stalin's Constitution grants freedom of religion to every ecclesiastical body. At least six Ukrainian Catholic bishops suffered the death of Martyrs or Confessors, and unknown is the number of priests and faithful who followed the example of their spiritual shepherds.

A few years after Stalin's death, when Nikita Khrushchev came to power in the Soviet Union, some deported priests were returned home from Siberia with strict orders to desist from priestly functions. It has been reported that in the spring of 1959, Metropolitan Josip Slipy also was permitted to return to his native village of Zazdrist (in the Terebowla district) under the same harsh orders, but he refused to comply and was deported to Siberia to serve a sentence of seven more years of hard labor.

It is an established fact that the Catholic Church in Ukraine exists in catacombs and the Holy Sacraments are secretly administered to the faithful. This fact is verified by some recent events, e.g. Bishop Theodore Romzha secretly consecrated Alexander Chira for the Ukrainian Catholic Bishopric of Mukach. Bishop Chira was deported to Siberia, and shortly after his release in the spring of 1959 he was ruthlessly murdered in his home. Articles published in various Communist organs attacking the Catholic Church in Ukraine, bear testimony to its active existence. According to recent reports (1960) from Ukraine, special anti-religious films are shown in the towns and villages. Such films are designed to blacken the memory of the Servant of God, Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytsky, and stir up hatred against the Catholic Church. These verifications, as well as information from private letters clearly indicate that the Catholic Church in Ukraine still lives in the catacombs.



## CHAPTER IX

### UKRAINE — PRISONER OF COMMUNISM

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#### 1. Marxist philosophy of the classless society

The revolution of 1917 destroyed the czarist regime and its tyranny. Czar Nicholas II, the last representative of the much hated Romanov dynasty, was executed with members of his close family, and he was followed by thousands of magnates, officials as well as members of the Orthodox hierarchy, clergy and the prominent laymen, since they all depended too much on the despotic czarist regime. The last circumstance served the Bolsheviks an excuse in their most barbaric persecution of religion in the new state of the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

According to Marxist philosophy the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat is the highest form of democracy, and all opposition must be crushed by force and violence. In the working class democracy — they say — the state and government belong to the working people. There is only one party representing the most alert members of the class and it is its duty to train and rule the masses with an iron hand, especially in the transition period before the complete communist classless society can be reached.

There is no need to say that this socialist doctrine of Karl Marx contains many theses contrary to human nature and violates the rights and freedom of individuals, and no wonder that the introduction of this doctrine into real life met strong resistance, which was crushed by force and violence. This unheard of terror took the lives of millions of innocent people.

The urban workmen went along in the first place and they helped the Bolsheviks to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The peasants, however, pretended to support the communists so long as there were landlords' estates to be divided. But before they could fully satisfy their hunger for land, they themselves became the victims of the new tricky regime: the Bolsheviks ordered the collectivization of all farm-land. The peasants resisted and this circumstance brought about the economic collapse, which led to the terrible famine of 1921-22. Thus after a few years of "socialist experiments" Lenin was compelled to retreat and proclaimed the so-called "New Economic Policy" (NEP). By this temporary retreat Lenin succeeded in saving the Bolshevik revolution.

In 1929 his successor Stalin ordered the new "socialist offensive," together with the collectivization of farm-lands. This was followed by another severe famine in 1932-33, and especially in Ukraine, as has been stated. Finally, all private land was confiscated and the peasants were driven into the collective farm system, where they became hired laborers working under strict state control. In plain language it meant the conversion of the peasants into serfs. This circumstance became a constant threat of passive resistance and rebellion, e.g. the harvest in Ukraine in 1960 was so poor on account of this resistance that Nikita Khrushchev had to interfere personally and remove many dignitaries of the Party from office.

The Bolsheviks very soon came to realize that capital is needed for the building up and equipping of factories, for providing means of transportation and caring for all other forms of productive enterprise. This was the reason that, in spite of Marxist insistence on economic equality and abolishment of all differences between rich and poor, the Bolsheviks copied, capitalistic methods

concerning wages, rents, board and room. Thus very soon in the "fatherland of the dictatorship of the proletariat" a new aristocracy, unequalled in any capitalistic country — came into existence. Disparities of income and rations shock any equalitarian-minded man of the West. In the Soviet Union people of the higher ranks, e.g. dignitaries of the Party, army and police officers, actors, journalists, professors, etc., have supplementary rations and special stores. They live comfortably in large apartments, while the common people live in basements, kitchens and bedrooms of dilapi-



Any sort of decent burial was impossible for the millions of victims throughout Ukraine, who died as a result of the famine which Moscow had deliberately created and caused to continue for the two years of 1932 and 1933. The corpses were gathered from the homes, roads, and streets; then they were carted off to mass graves. Shown above is a snow-covered pile of famine corpses. They had to lie there until Spring, waiting burial.

dated buildings, oftentimes four families in one room. Thus the workers whom communism was to free from capitalistic oppression and tyranny are now more enslaved than the serfs of the czars. After forty years of experimentation the Marxist doctrine of equality failed to materialize in actual practice.

## **2. The Communist Party and its government**

The "classless society," which was the goal of the revolution, failed to materialize. As a matter of fact the Bolsheviks made things worse in Muscovy than they ever were before. In the regime

all rights are reserved only for members of the Communist Party, and they are called the "vanguard" of the working people thus forming the elite of the Soviet Union. The Communist Party controls everything, it nominates candidates for offices and an election is a mere formality, since no other candidate is admitted.

The supreme organ of the Communist Party is the "Politburo," which exercises the highest authority in the country, for instance, the President of the Soviet Union is only a puppet. The real ruler of the country is the Secretary General of the Party. The number of Party members varies, e.g., in 1918 there were 115,000 of them; in 1924 the number increased to 472,000; in 1934 to 2,809,786; in 1952 to 6,888,145; in 1956 to 7,215,505. At the present time their number is between 7-8 million, it is less than 3-4% of the total population of Soviet Union. They receive their orders from the "Politburo" and enforce them in the entire country. Any attempt at rebellion is severely suppressed by special divisions of secret police, who also obey the Party's orders, since they are very well provided for and have the most modern equipment. Those troops form the second army of the Soviet Union, designated to enforce, only internal order.

The Supreme Council (Soviet) consists: of the Council of the Union and of the Council of Nationalities (Republics). Each delegate to the former is elected by 300,000 votes and the number of delegates to the latter varies from 1-25. They are elected for the period of four years. The Supreme Council appoints judges of the Supreme Court for a term of five years. In the Soviet Union there is no separation of the legislative, judicial and executive authority, as is the case in western democracies. Any one can be a judge, for no knowledge of jurisprudence is required.

In spite of the existent constitution (Lenin's Constitution was replaced by Stalin's in 1936), which guarantees some rights to individual citizens, all these rights are violated by the despotic regime. The Soviet citizen cannot move freely inside his country and every one is under a constant obligation to carry his personal passport. Those who are not affiliated with the Party will not receive permits to go abroad. Each delegation that goes abroad is supervised and watched by secret police agents, and the same happens to foreign tourists inside the Soviet Union, since their contact with the population is not desirable. Working men of the Soviet Union are not permitted to quit their jobs and seek better ones. They cannot strike, since it is considered rebellion against the state. Every private citizen is closely watched by secret police, who can arrest him any time convenient for them, for in reality they also hold judicial authority. It is a general opinion that about

20 million men and women of the Soviet Union are deprived of all their rights. However, after Stalin's death and Khrushchev's accession to power this number declined considerably, but until the present day there are several slave-labor camps in existence in Siberia, where those unfortunate people are compelled to live behind barbed wire. They are considered "anti-revolutionists and traitors" of the dictatorship of the proletariat and are forced to do slave-labor. They suffer from malnutrition and physical exhaustion, and most of them become invalids after a few years and die from hunger. Catholic bishops, priests, monks, nuns and all freedom-loving people inhabit these slave-labor camps. There are separate camps for women.

### 3. The Ukrainian Soviet Republic

In December of 1922 the "Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics" was formed and it terminated the independence of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, which was proclaimed by the Bolsheviks in 1919 in the city of Kharkiv. This was a violation of the international treaty of Riga. The new constitution provided for the right of "free withdrawal" by any constituent Republic, subject to the consent of all other Republics, but also provided that any decree of an individual Republic could be annulled by the superior authority of a Union decree. Thus the "right of self-determination inclusively to secession" was proclaimed only for propaganda purposes, for all attempts to "secede" were put down by terror, including genocide of entire provinces or national groups.

How "national" the Ukrainian Republic was, is shown by Moscow appointing some of its trusted men to the Secretariat General of the Ukrainian Communist Party, e.g., Pyatakow 1919-20; Molotov 1920-21; Kwiring 1921-25; Kaganovich 1925-28, 1947; Khrushchev 1938-47, 1948-49; Melnikov 1950-53 and Kyrychenko 1953. It would be of interest to note that in 1918 the Communist Party of Ukraine numbered only 4,364 members and candidates; in 1924 this number increased to 105,000, but among them were only 33 per cent Ukrainians; in 1933 there were 468,793 with 60 per cent Ukrainians; in 1952 the number increased to 777,830 and in 1956 to 838,336 with 74 per cent Ukrainians. In plain language it means that after forty years of existence the Ukrainian Republic with its 42.5 million population was able to "convert to the Marxist doctrine" less than 2 per cent of its citizens, and the overwhelming majority did not "deserve the honor" of being true Marxists.

How "national and independent" the Ukrainian Soviet Repub-

lic is can be evidenced from the national anthem approved by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine in 1949. It reads:

*"Live, O Ukraine, beautiful and strong;  
In the Soviet Union you have found your happiness.  
Equal among equals, and free among the free,  
Under the sun of liberty, like a flower, you have blossomed.  
Always in the struggle for the people's lot.  
The Russian people have been our friends and our brothers,  
And Lenin has lighted our way to freedom,  
And Stalin is leading us to the topmost heights.  
We will crush all the attacks of the foe  
With the sacred sword of the people's fury.  
Under the Soviet flag we have become strong,  
And we are marching proudly into the world of communism.  
Glory to the Soviet Union, glory!  
Glory to the fatherland of the people-brothers!  
Long live Ukraine, a Soviet state,  
A united country for ever and ever!"*

Muscovy's impudence and the Ukrainian communists' subservience know no limits.

#### **4. Life of common people**

Revolution denounced family life as a "bourgeois institution." Church marriages were forbidden and they were replaced by civil marriages, reduced to a simple formality of the registering of two partners at the Office of Vital Statistics. Divorces also became a formality of the one partner notifying the other. Free love was encouraged and Soviet women became equal to men. They could be found in factories, steel mills and mines. However, after a few years of sad experience, when numerous homeless children roamed the public streets and became a real menace to society, the marriage laws were tightened and family life was reinstated.

We have already discussed the life of the urban population. The rural populace is deprived of the right to own land, except for a house and a yard. All land was taken away and the peasants, who are the former owners, are compelled to work in "Kolhosps" (collective farms). They work 12-14 hours a day and receive their wages for each "trudoden" (working day) in the form of grain, potatoes, etc., and additionally 50-150 rubles per year. They work under the constant supervision of "brigadiers," ordinarily Party-members, who enforce strict discipline and impose punishments, including expulsion from the Kolhosp. Every expelled laborer is

considered a "criminal," his passport is taken away and he is unable to obtain employment, for no Kolhosp is allowed to employ such "blacklisted" people. The prisoners, who have served their terms in slave-labor camps are considered "unreliable" after their return to their families and cannot receive jobs. They must return to Siberia.

## 5. Religious persecution

The Bolsheviks deny the existence of God and the immortality of the human soul. They consider religion the "opiate of the people" and persecute all religions, because they know that the basic principles of Marxist doctrine are not acceptable to any religion. Nowadays it is known that when the Bolsheviks assume power they: 1) discredit all religion in the eyes of the people; 2) break the resistance of the clergy by dissolving all religious organizations and nationalizing Church property; 3) impose tremendous taxes on local churches and forbid any relation with their mother-churches; 4) and establish the so-called National Churches, submitting them to civil authority, so that they become agencies of the godless regime, since the clergy are forced to co-operate with the state against their own religious convictions and obligation. One can readily see that after a few years of such "co-operation" with a godless regime the faithful lose their faith step by step and become religiously indifferent. Bolsheviks allow old and retired folks go to church, but they are ridiculed on every occasion as to how stupid and culturally backward they are. The government takes all measures to bring up the new generation in a "pure spirit of Marxist" godless doctrine. It is evident that in such circumstances the true Christian religion can only live in the catacombs.

## 6. Education and schools

The Ukrainian Democratic Republic (1917-1920) established a school system for the entire country and according to it the education of the new generation was divided into five periods: a) kindergarten, age 4-8; b) junior primary school, age 8-12; c) senior primary school, age 12-16; 5) college 4 years of studies; e) universities 5 and institutes 4-5 years of studies.

This system was changed by the Ukrainian Rada (Soviet) Republic aiming at the "re-education" of the population in the communist spirit." The new system was adopted in March 1920 and it is known as the "Hrynko System." This so-called "Unified

Labor School" had two elements: social upbringing and professional or technical education. Children from 4-8 belonged to the "Children's Communes" and from 8-15 were subjected to a "social upbringing." This was followed by a 3 year period of professional education and 2 years in the Academy. The striking feature of this system was the lack of higher education. This mistake was corrected later. The Muscovite central government, however, abolished the Ukrainian system of education and forced upon the Ukraine that unified system of the USSR, which prevails until present day.

Statistics show that in 1955 there were 30,063 schools with 5.5 million pupils and students, and 326,947 teachers in Ukraine. There were 175 secondary schools (with ten grades) in Ukrainian cities and towns with 250,000 graduates. In the 8-9th grades the teaching of science prevailed at the expense of liberal arts. Pupils of the two last grades had to join the Komsomol organization in order to receive communist indoctrination. In that period of only one year the Muscovite government sent 75,000 graduates from Ukraine to "cultivate the virgin lands" of Kazakhstan in Siberia.

According to the resolution of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party, the Soviet government in Ukraine established separate schools for children of communist parents only, and in 1956 there were 50 such segregated schools with 10,000 pupils, and more are in the process of organization. The children of these schools live on campuses with all expenses for board and tuition being paid by the government. After graduation these children are transferred almost automatically to higher schools, and the rest of the children have no such opportunity.

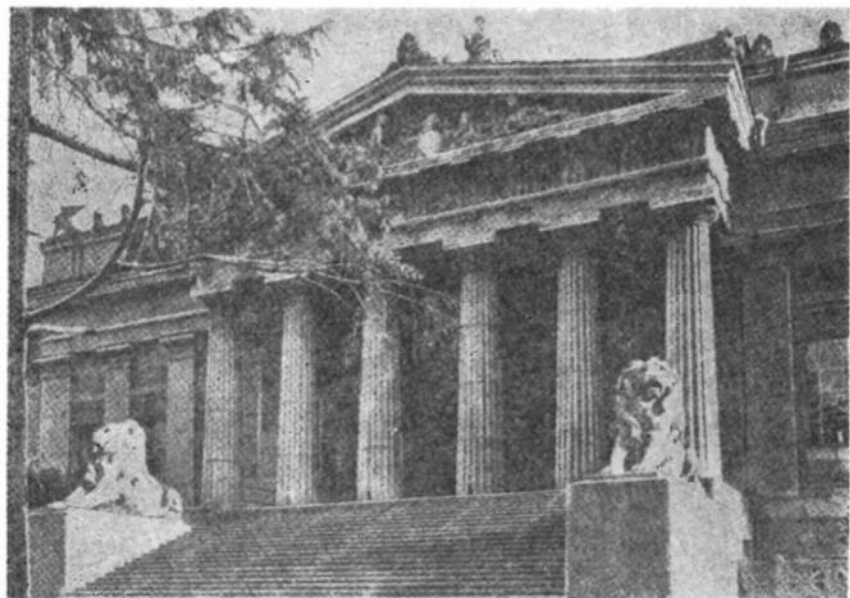
In 1940 there were 173 schools of higher learning with 196,755 students in Ukraine, and in 1955-56 that number decreased to 134 while the number of students increased to 325,851. There are seven universities in the following cities of Ukraine: 1) Kiev, 2) Dnepropetrovsk, 3) Kharkiv, 4) Odessa, 5) Lviv, 6) Uzhorod, 7) Chernivtsi. There are also 434 scientific institutions and 158 research centers with 21,762 scientists. It is noteworthy that the Ministry of Schools in Moscow appoints rectors of universities, directors of institutes and scientific councils, all of whom are under its orders.

To explain how Soviet science works it would be of interest to mention that the Vice Commissar of Education, M. N. Pokrowsky, was recognized as an "official Marxist historian" until his death in 1932. After his death, however, his work was condemned on account of his opinion that the "Great Russians" descended from the Finns and Finnish blood flows in their veins. Stalin ordered his writers to "rewrite" the history of Soviet Russia and



make St. Volodimir a hero of the Soviet Union. Czar Ivan the Terrible of the 15th century became the "beloved unifier of the Russian state" and Czar Peter I became the "first Bolshevik."

The Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of USSR was ordered to pass this "rewritten" history to the Academies of Sciences of the other Soviet Republics, which, of course, were not allowed to publish scientific works in their own native tongues. The Ukrainian historians, for instance, were ordered to write a history of Ukraine in accordance with the new official "theory." This "history" was published in 1953 in Russian. There it falsifies



Museum of Arts and History in Kiev

that the Ukrainian people were bound to Muscovy since time immemorial and were always defended by their "elderly brother." It was too much for some Russian historians, e.g., Y. Lavrinenko called that abortive book a "history without history," and another Russian historian, Vershyhora, expressed the opinion that the said "history" of Ukraine was a disgraceful attempt to write history without history. "How can one write the history of a nation without a description of its historical past?" — he asked. Finally, the Academy of Sciences in Moscow "condemned" that book and ordered a new one written based on Ukrainian classical works, but still excluded the works of the most outstanding historian Mykhaylo Hrushevsky on account of his "bourgeois nationalism."

It is true that in 1956 there were 35,077 libraries in Ukraine

and that c. 4,821 books were published in 1955 (circulation 86,268), but only 2,378 in Ukrainian (circulation 66,006). What is worse, in all Ukrainian libraries 80 per cent of the books were Russian. From 160 magazines (circulation 295,179) only 72 were published in Ukrainian (circulation 22,983). All the aforementioned facts and data show that there is no academic freedom in the Soviet Union. There is no freedom of speech, press or religion. All Ukrainian scientists and scholars work under the control of the Party, e.g., in 1929 one-third of the members of the Academy of Sciences were "purged" and their works removed from bookstores and libraries.

# CHAPTER X

## UKRAINIANS IN DIASPORA

### Sources and Literature

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### 1. LIFE AND ORGANIZATIONS

According to statisticians engaged in ethnological surveys dealing with the distribution of the Ukrainian population, it has been ascertained that an approximate one-fourth of the Ukrainians now reside outside the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. It has been further determined that the most considerable number of these expatriates has settled in sections of the free world.

During the second half of the 19th century, the increased agrarian population parameter of Ukraine made it imperative

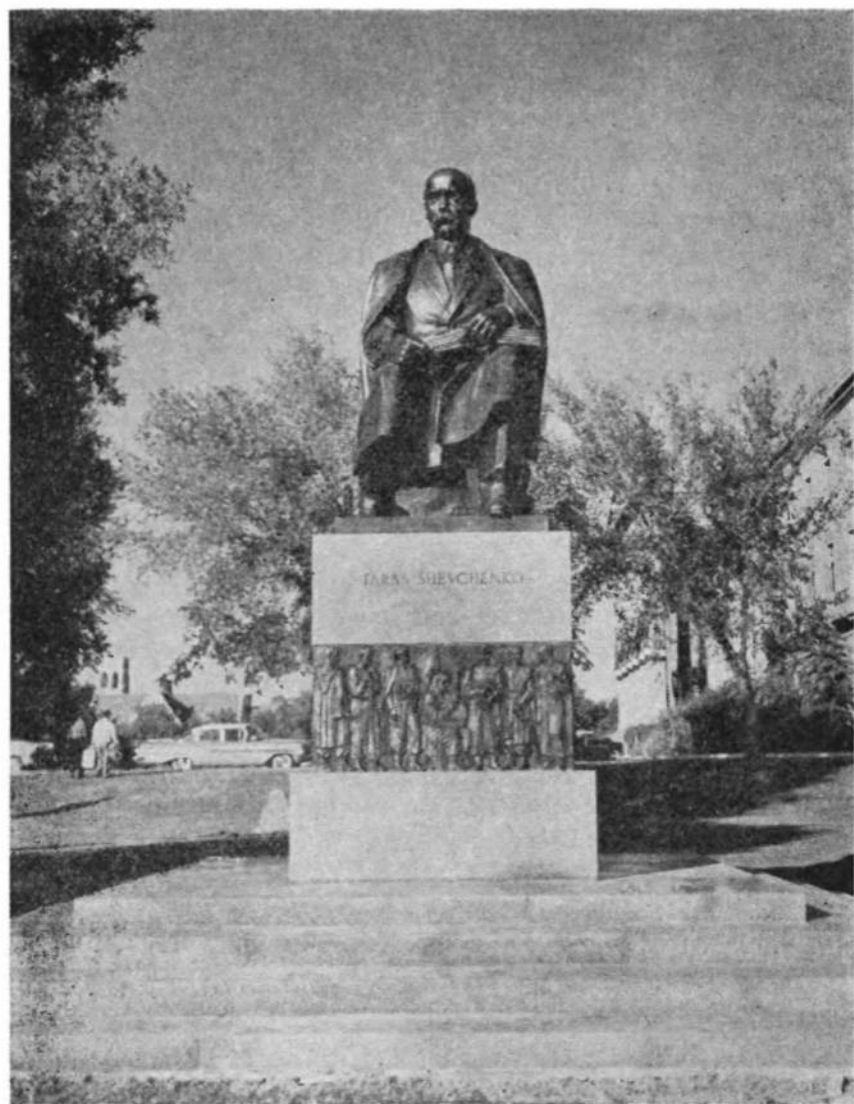
that a major portion of the agriculturists and those dependent on them move into the Asiatic part of Russia, where they colonized the black earth belt, e.g., Zelenyi Klyn (Green Wedge), Siryi Klyn, and Kazakhstan. Sizable groups of men and women from other Ukrainian provinces migrated to the New World. Most of the emigrants were small farmers, in quest of homesteads and farms which would permit them to improve their status. Compilations of 1914 list 2 million Ukrainians resident in Asia. Persons from Halichina, Bukovina, Carpatho-Ukraine and Eastern-Ukraine made their weary way to America, Canada, Brazil and Argentina. It is compiled that by 1914 there was an excess in numbers of 350,000 in the U.S.A., 100,000 in Canada, and 50,000 in the Latin American countries.

After World War I emigration to the New World increased so that between 1919 and 1939 the emigrants from Halichina alone to the U.S.A. numbered 150,000; to Canada 70,000, to Argentina 50,000; to Brazil 10,000; to Uruguay and Paraguay 10,000; and to France 70,000. The large-scale migration of political dissidents settled in various Western European capital cities, chiefly in France.

On the eve of World War II, 880,000 Ukrainians lived in the West. Added to this count, it is known by the 1926 governmental census released by the Soviet Ukrainian Republic that some 3 million Ukrainians lived in Soviet Asia. The sum total of these compilations show that 13.5 per cent of the Ukrainian people lived outside of Ukraine.

World War II was another cause in the internal development of the Ukrainians, many of whom left Ukraine of their own free will, while others were driven out. Approximately 200,000 Ukrainians, who refused to live under Soviet-Russian tyranny, formed a large-scale modern day emigration to the West. Operating at the same time was the Soviet policy of the "cultivation of virgin lands" in Asia, which forced many Ukrainians, in the flower of their youth, to go to the steppes of Central Asia. As a result, there are now 10-12 million Ukrainians living outside Ukraine, including the 500,000 who were evicted from their homes and denied their cultural hitching-posts in the districts "donated" to Soviet Poland by Stalin (Kholmschina and Lemkivschina).

After a few years sojourn in the miserable "Displaced Persons Camps" of Europe and after numerous screenings by Allied Authorities, which were made to allay the fears which Bolshevik accusations had caused in their anxiety to obstruct the large-scale politically-inspired passage of Ukrainians into the free world, Ukrainian "Displaced Persons" were licensed to go into other parts of the world.



**Taras Shevchenko Memorial which was created by Ukrainian sculptor Anton Daragan, was unveiled in front of the Parliament Building in Winnipeg, Canada, in 1961.**

By means of such authoritative certification more than 60,000 went to the U.S.A.; 30,000 to Canada; 20,000 to Australia; 6,000 to Argentina; 7,000 to Brazil and about 4,000 to other Latin American countries; 50,000 to France; 25,000 to Great Britain; 3,000 to Belgium; while in Western Germany there are still c. 15,00 and in Austria there are 5,000.

In a general estimative sense, of the 10-12 million Ukrainian dwelling outside of Ukraine, 7-8 million presently live dispersedly under Soviet tyranny while there are 140,000 in Western Europe; over 1 million in U.S.A.; 500,000 in Canada; 100,000 in Argentina; 100,000 in Brazil; several thousand in other Latin American countries; more than 20,000 in New Zealand and Australia.

An exceeding proportion of the recent emigrants were intellectuals, who refused to live under Bolshevik tyranny and voluntarily went into exile to act as advocates for their subjugated brethren, who had been denied the freedom and opportunity of cultivating their Ukrainian national heritage.

With the influx of the post-war newcomers to the New World, the old immigrants received a robust injection of new blood, which considerably reenforced their internal stamina, while all the recent arrivals quickly absorbed their new social environment. While disputes and press polemics are the order of the day among many of the new immigrants, who are representatives of former political parties as well as soldiers and underground fighters, they present a united front in their determination for the realization of the liberation of Ukraine. It is especially evident by the existence of such all-Ukrainian political Representations in the free world as the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, U.S.A.; Committee of Ukrainians in Canada; Central Representation of Ukrainians in Europe; Pan-American Ukrainian Conference, etc. The voluminous work done by the Ukrainian scholars and political organizers of post-war years in the field of information, to a certain extent, has melted the old "icebergs" of prejudice and has made the Ukrainian cause an international affair. The joint resolution of the Congress of the United States of America of July 17, 1959, on "Captive Nations Week," stating that ". . . the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led through direct and indirect aggression to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, Mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others . . ." — is a milestone in that direction. Nikita Khrushchev's vehement protest regarding this resolution proves that Congress hit the nail on



**Lesia Ukrainka Memorial** which was created by Ukrainian sculptor Michael Cheresniowsky, was unveiled in "Ukrainian Cultural Garden" in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1961

the head, while in this way the Ukrainian people know that free America meaningfully promotes and supports world-wide freedom.

## 2. THE UKRAINIAN CHURCH IN DIASPORA

The first Ukrainian immigrants in the New World established their parishes, built churches and brought their priests from Ukraine, so that within a few decades it became necessary to establish an ecclesiastical hierarchy. On March 4, 1907, Pope St. Pius X designated the Basilian monk Soter Ortynsky first bishop in America and sent him to Philadelphia. Following the Apostolic Visitation of Metropolitan Sheptytsky of Lviv in 1910, St. Pius X erected the Ukrainian Exarchate in Winnipeg, Canada, on July 12, 1912. Fr. Nikita Budka was consecrated and enthroned as the first Bishop of the Exarchate in Winnipeg.

The administration and growth of these two Exarchates was hampered by a shortage of priests, and by Russian Orthodox activity among some of the half-illiterate immigrants, who had come from different occupancies and had stubbornly held to their local traditions. The development of the Exarchates was also impeded due to a lack of understanding, on the part of a new, often-times Catholic environment, for the age-old church rites, customs and particularly national traditions. The Orthodox anti-Catholic action took advantage of these difficulties and thousands of Ukrainian Catholics broke from their Church and established Autocephalous Churches in Canada and in the U.S.A.

After the fall of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic (1918-1923) a planned action was set in motion against the Ukrainian Catholic Church. This action was schemed by people in some liberal circles, who used their kinsmen's disappointment and circulated false rumors that the Apostolic See of Rome, specifically Pope Benedict XV, had failed to support the Ukrainian cause. The debilitation effect of this action was that it perpetrated unwholesome and harmful quarrels among the misinformed members of church congregations and as a result many of them broke off completely while others split dually, and joined the Autocephalous Church, which was organized in Canada at the end of World War I. On Nov. 27, 1919, in the city of Saskatoon a Synod of some lower clergy and laymen convened, and they temporarily submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch. Shortly thereafter they contacted Autocephalous Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky of Kiev, who designated Archbishop Ivan Teodorovich of Kamianets-Vinnitsa to go to the U.S.A. In the winter of 1924 he arrived in America and in the summer of 1924 a Synod in Yorkton (Canada)



recognized his authority until his resignation in 1946 on account of internal difficulties.

He was succeeded in Canada by Archbishop Mstislav (Skrypnyk). He had held a bishopric in the renovated Ukrainian Orthodox Church during World War II, but had emigrated to Western Europe before the advancing Red Army. Very soon encountering the same difficulties that Ivan Teodorovich did, he resigned his office and joined the Orthodox Metropolia in the U.S.A.

Another emigrant from Europe, Archbishop Ilarion (Ivan Ohienko), the former bishop of Kholm, was invited to Winnipeg.



Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchy in the USA: (from left) Archbishop Henady, Metropolitan Ivan, Archbishop Mstyslav and Archbishop Volodimir

He himself elevated the Canadian Orthodox Church to Metropolitan rank.

According to the data from the Ukrainian Orthodox Calendar of Bound Brook, N. J., in 1959, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church has: in the U.S.A. 1 Metropolitan, 3 bishops, 90 priests and 15 deacons; in Canada 1 Metropolitan, 1 bishop. 84 priests; in West Germany 1 Metropolitan, 17 priests and 5 deacons; in Australia 3 bishops and 11 priests; in Argentina 5 priests; in Brazil 7 priests; in Great Britain 17 priests; in France 5 priests; in Belgium 1 priest; and in Venezuela 1 priest. The above quoted source does not include information on the "Synod-ruling Church" (Soborno-pravna), nor



St. Nicholas' Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.

does it make mention of Bohdan Shpylka or Bishop Cherniak, who are in communion with Constantinople.

In a broad sense, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Diaspora follows a democratic protestant-like principle, in that it includes the participation of laymen in its administrative bodies. The laymen, being active members of the consistories, influence the election of their bishops. This inevitably causes confusion and hampers progress in the direction of unity. The bishops themselves are not

generally united, some of them have valid Apostolic ordination and others do not.

Although the Ukrainian Catholic Church in U.S.A. and Canada suffered a hard blow by the said desertions, it progressed rapidly. After the death of Bishop Ortynsky in 1916, Father Petro Poniatshyn administered in the U.S.A. until Pope Pius XI nominated Bishop Constantine Bohachevsky in 1924. At the same time the Holy See instituted a new Exarchate in Pittsburgh-Homestead, for



Metropolitan Constantine Bohachevsky of Philadelphia († 1961)



Metropolitan Ambrose Senyshyn of Philadelphia

the faithful from Carpatho-Ukraine. Their first Bishop was Vasyl Takach.

In Canada, after the resignation of Bishop Nikita Budka and a short administrative period by Father Petro Oleksiw, Pope Pius XI nominated the Basilian monk, Bishop Vasyl Ladyka, to succeed Bishop Budka.

After World War II the Ukrainian Church in the new world was strengthened by newcomers from Europe, among whom were hundreds of priests. The growth and intense stability of the Church did not escape the watchful eyes of one of the greatest popes in the history of the Church, Pope Pius XII. He sent the S. Oriental Congregation Secretary Eugene Cardinal Tisserant to the new world in 1947 on a visit to the Ukrainian Church. Following this Visitation on March 3, 1948, Pius XII created two more Canadian

Exarchies: one in Toronto and one in Edmonton. In 1951 one was instituted in Saskatoon. Such labors laid a solid foundation for the hoped-for Ukrainian Metropolia in Canada with the chief pastor in Winnipeg. The fruition of their labors was realized, when on November 3, 1956, a Redemptorist monk, Archbishop Maxime Hermaniuk, became the first Metropolitan of the new Province. At that very time, Pius XII elevated all the Canadian Exarchies to the rank of dioceses ordinary.

In the same year Pius XII established a new Exarchate in Stamford, Conn., U.S.A., and on July 10, 1958, he instituted a second Ukrainian Catholic Province: the Ukrainian American Metropolia. Archbishop Constantine Bohachevsky, who labored for 35 years in that Province, was its first Metropolitan. This Province, too, was given the ordinary jurisdiction. In October of 1959, the Archeparchial Synod which reorganized that Church convened in Philadelphia. The faithful of the Pittsburgh Exarchy were not included in the new Province, due probably to a variance of the said local traditions.

During this same period of time, Pius XII created the Ukrainian Exarchate of Australia and New Zealand, with its first Bishop Ivan Prashko. He appointed Bishop Joseph Martynets for the Ukrainian Catholics in Brazil. The Ukrainian Church in Great Britain was elevated to the position of an Apostolic Exarchate, and that in France received its General Vicar. In 1959 Pope John XXIII instituted the Ukrainian Catholic Exarchy in West Germany, a native of Bukovina, Bishop Platon Kornylak, is its first chief pastor. In 1961 the Exarchy of France was established with its first Bishop being Volodimir Malanchuk, a Redemptorist monk.

A new Code of Canon Law for the entire Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite was promulgated by Pope Pius XII in 1957. It regulated and unified all matters of its internal jurisdiction as well as its relations with Catholics of the Latin Rite. The new Code of Law recognizes all the ancient traditions of the Eastern Church, including the ordination of married men to the priesthood.

Pope Pius XII also ordered that all Liturgical books of the Slavic Rite, used by all Ukrainians, be corrected in accordance with the most ancient texts of manuscripts and editions, and a new revised edition was printed in Rome. It is prescribed for general use in all Ukrainian churches throughout the world. Thus the uniformity of laws and rites of the Ukrainian Catholic Church became a reality and a solid foundation for its growth was laid by the Holy See of Rome.

## **A. Hierarchy, Eparchies and Clergy**

In 1962 the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Diaspora has: 1) Apostolic Visitor of Western Europe: Archbishop Ivan Buchko residing in Rome, and there also are General Motherhouses of Religious Communities of Men and Women as well as the one Major and the one Minor Seminaries of St. Josaphat. There are 24 priests residing in Rome. 2) Archeparchy of Philadelphia (U.S.A.): after the death of its first Metropolitan Constantine Bohachevsky (January 6, 1961) Archbishop Ambrose Senyshyn, OSBM, was ap-



**Archbishop Ivan Buchko**  
Apostolic Visitor of Western Europe

pointed his successor on August 14, 1961, and his installation took place on October 26, 1961. This Archdiocese has 140 priests. 3) Archeparchy of Winnipeg (Canada): Archbishop Maxime Hermaniuk, CSSR, and this Archeparchy has 67 priests. 4) Eparchy of Stamford (U.S.A.): Bishop Joseph Schmondiuk (August 14, 1961), with 107 priests. 5) Eparchy of Chicago: Bishop Yaroslav Gabro (August 14, 1961) with 42 priests. 6) Eparchy of Edmonton (Canada: Bishop Neil Savaryn, OSBM, and 59 priests. 7) Eparchy of Toronto: Bishop Isidore Boretsky and 96 priests. 8) Eparchy of Saskatoon (Canada): Bishop Andrew Roboretsky and 44 priests. 9) Exarchy of West-Germany: Bishop Platon Kornylak and 19 priests. 10) Exarchy of France: Bishop Volodimir Malan-

chuk, CSSR, and 15 priests. 11) Exarchy of England and Wales: His Eminence William Cardinal Godfrey Archbishop of Westminster and Apostolic Exarch for Ukrainian Catholics, and his Auxiliary Bishop Augustine Horniak, OSBM (August 28, 1961) and 14 priests. 12) Exarchy of Australia and New Zealand: Bishop Ivan Prashko and 13 priests. 13) General Vicariat of Brazil: Bishop Joseph Martynets, OSBM, and 18 priests. 14) Apostolic Visitor of Ukrainian Catholics of Argentina: Bishop Andrew Sapelak, SBD, and 19 priests. 15) General Vicar of the Apostolic Visitor in Belgium and Holland: Msgr. J. Perridon and 11 priests. 16)

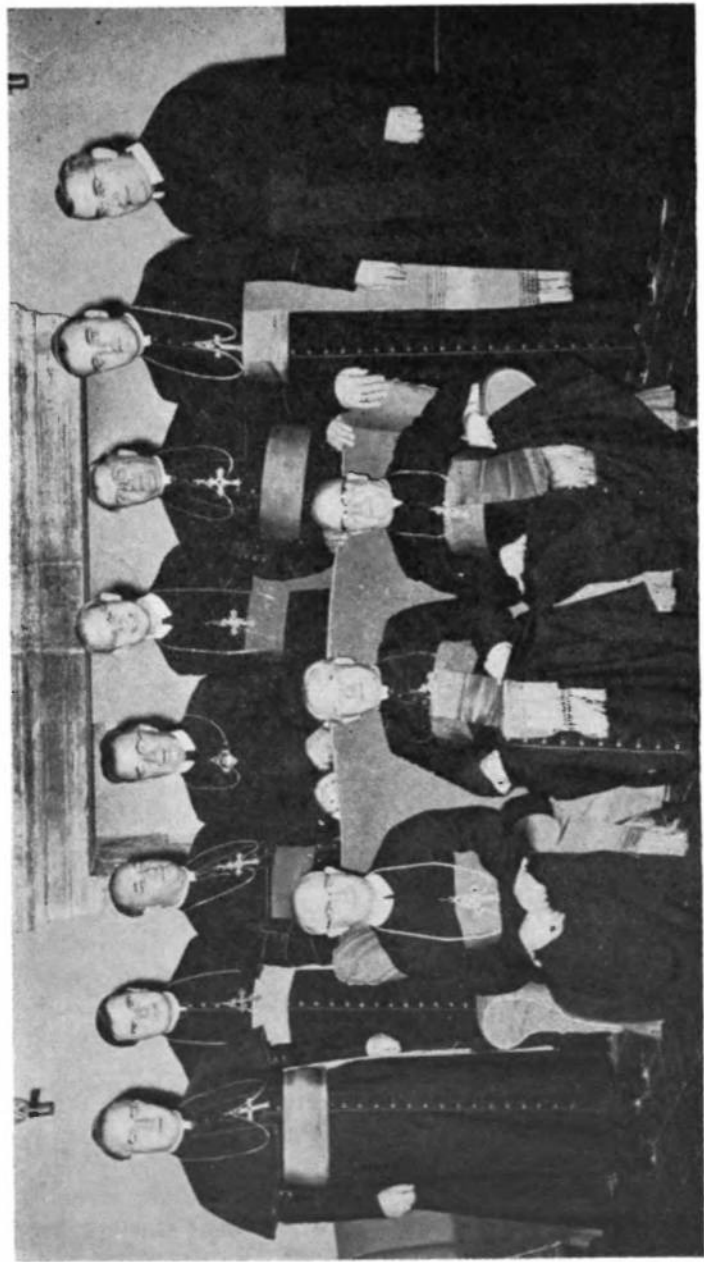


Metropolitan Maxime of Winnipeg

Ukrainian Missions in Austria with 7 priests. 17) Exarchy for Carpatho-Ruthenians (Ukrainians) in Pittsburgh (U.S.A.): Bishop Nicholas Elko and his Auxiliary Bishop Stephen Kocisko with 198 priests (1958).

### **B. Religious Communities of Men**

The Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy is wholeheartedly supported in its Apostolic labors by the following Religious Communities of men: 1) The most ancient Order of St. Basil the Great (OSBM) with its General Motherhouse in Rome. The monks labor under the energetic direction of Protoarchimandrite Paul Myskiw. The Fathers of this Order conduct missions, supervise schools and also take



Conference of the Ukrainian Catholic Episcopate in Rome (1959)

First row (sitting from left to right): Metr. Maxime of Winnipeg; Metr. C. Bohachevsky of Philadelphia; Archbishop Ivan Buchko; second row (from left to right): Bishop Platon of West Germany; Bishop Ivan of Australia; Bishop Isidore of Toronto; Bishop Ambrose of Stamford; Bishop Neil of Edmonton; Bishop Andriy of Saskatoon; Bishop Joseph of Philadelphia; Archimandrite Paulo Myskiw, OSBM

pastoral care in parishes where their houses are located. They have Novitiates in Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y. (U.S.A.) and Mundare (Canada). 2) Redemptorist Fathers (CSSR) have their Province in Winnipeg (Canada), and Fr. Volodimir Krayewsky is Vice-Provincial. They have a Novitiate in Meadowvale (Canada). Fathers of this Order conduct missions, teach in schools and take pastoral care in the parishes, where their houses are located. 3) Studite Fathers have their Monastery and Novitiate in Woodstock (Canada). This Order is of a contemplative nature and the monks are occupied with physical work. 4) Franciscan Fathers (OFM) have their Monastery and Novitiate at Sybertsville (U.S.A.), and they conduct missions. 5) Salesian Fathers (SBD) conduct the Minor Seminary of St. Josaphat in Rome.

### **C. Religious Communities of Women**

1) Basilian Sisters (OSBM) have their General Motherhouse in Rome, and Mother Zenobia, OSBM, is General Superior. Basilian Sisters have their Novitiates in Philadelphia-Fox Chase and Uniontown (U.S.A.). They supervise and teach in the College and Academy for Girls, High School, and they have two orphanages. They supervise and teach in parochial schools. They publish "The Missionary" and religious books and pamphlets. 2) Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate (SSMI) have their Motherhouse in Rome and Mother Jerome, SSMI, is their General Superior. Their Novitiate is in Ancaster (Canada) and they also staff Academies as well as parochial schools and homes for retired and infirm women. 3) Missionary Sisters of the Mother of God (MSMG) have their Motherhouse in Stamford (U.S.A.) with its Novitiate and Academy for Girls. They print religious pamphlets and holy pictures of Ukrainian style. 4) Sisters of the Sacred Heart (PP.OO.SS.CC.) have their Motherhouse in Rome, and houses in Washington, D. C. and Philadelphia (U.S.A.). 5) Missionary Sisters of Christian Charity have their Motherhouse in Grimsby and convent in Sudbury (Canada).

### **D. Ukrainian Catholic Press in Diaspora**

These days the Christian religion is attacked in many ways, its morality is undermined by its enemies. Hence it is necessary to repel all these attacks by spreading the truth. Ukrainians live on three continents. Oftentimes, their parishes are located hundreds and even thousands of miles far from their eparchies. What is more unfortunate, members of one parish are often compelled to live at





Ukrainian Orthodox Church-Memorial  
in South Bound Brook, N. J., USA.

great distances from each other, distributed over a large area. Such being the case, hardship is placed upon the areas of social interaction being serviced by the pastors, churches and cultural centers. It is, therefore, of paramount importance to develop a strong and vigorous press, which could at least partially overcome the long distances.\*

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\* At the present time the Ukrainian Catholics have the following religious publications: 1) *Analecta S. Basilii Magni* (Theological-scientific quarterly) — Rome; 2) *"Logos"* (Theological quarterly) Yorkton (Canada); 3) *"The Missionary"* (monthly), Philadelphia (U.S.A.); 4) *"The Voice of the Good Shepherd"* (monthly), Bronx (U.S.A.); 5) *"Missionario Ucraina no Brazil"* (monthly), Prudentopolis (Brazil); 6) *"The Redeemer's Voice"* (monthly), Yorkton (Canada); 7) *"The Way"* (weekly), Philadelphia (U.S.A.); 8) *"Progress"* (weekly), Winnipeg, (Canada); 9) *"Obnovan"* (periodical), Winnipeg (Canada); 10) *"Ukrainian News"* (weekly), Edmonton (Canada); 11) *"Our Aim"* (weekly), Toronto (Canada); 12) *"The*

Ukrainian Catholic journalists organized the "Association of the Ukrainian Catholic Press," which has 72 members residing on three continents. This Association is a member in affiliation with the International Union of Catholic Journalists.

In the fall of 1960 during the International Eucharistic Congress in Munich, West Germany, the Ukrainian Catholic bishops and clergy, gathered there from all Diaspora, reorganized the "Ukrainian Theological Scientific Society" of Lviv, which was destroyed by the Bolsheviks. The membership of this society consists of priests who are interested in promoting research in all fields of Theology and the disciplines connected with it. It has its seat in Rome and labors under the high protection of Archbishop Ivan Buchko.

At the most tragic hour, when the Catholic Church in Ukraine proper is deprived of all its Divine and human rights, and is compelled to hide in the catacombs, God has arranged that the same Church reached its high form of development as well as juridical organization in the free world. Thanks to the unceasing care and constant watchfulness of the Holy See of Rome it has received the best opportunity for still greater achievements in the future. Now it is up to Ukrainians themselves that their Church become a nucleus of spiritual power so that in due time they will be able to return the great debt to their persecuted and suffering kinsmen in Ukraine proper.

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Light" (monthly), Toronto (Canada); 13) "My Friend" (monthly), Winnipeg (Canada); 14) "The Ukrainian Record" (periodical), Edmonton (Canada); 15) "America" (daily), Philadelphia (USA); 16) "The Keryx" (semi-annually) Stamford (U.S.A.); 17) "Voice of Mt. St. Macrina" (monthly), Uniontown (U.S.A.); 18) "The Work" (weekly), Prudentopolis (Brazil); 19) "The Life" (monthly), Buenos Aires (Argentina); 20) "Christian Voice" (weekly), Munich (West-Germany); 21) "Les Nouvelles" (monthly), Bruxelles (Belgium); 22) "La Voix du Christ Ami des Hommes" (monthly), Louvain (Belgium); 23) "Our Church" (quarterly), London (England); 24) "Church and Life" (monthly), Lidcombe (Australia).

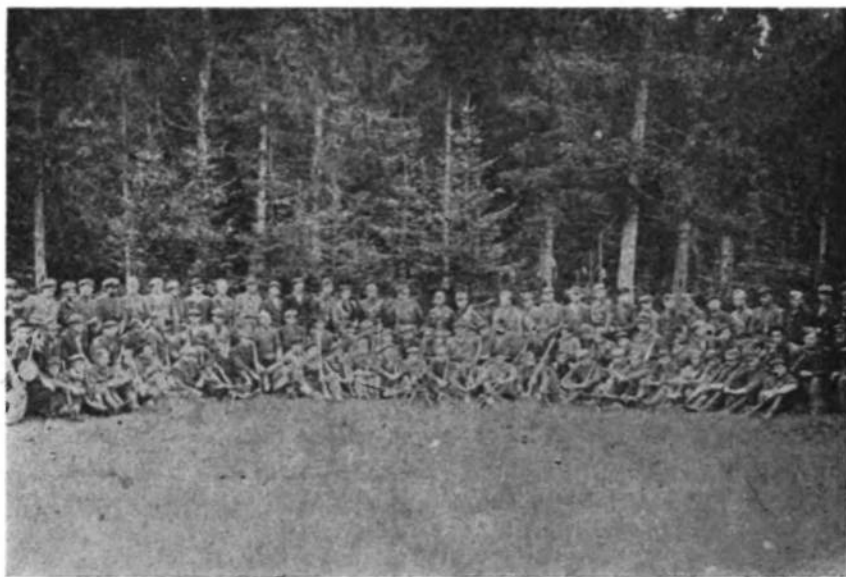
## EPILOGUE

In July 1944 the "Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council" was formed in Ukraine. It proclaimed a "Manifesto," by virtue of which the Grand Assembly of the S.U.L.C. is the highest political authority of the liberation movement. At the same time the following general program was worked out: a) to make people sole masters of their soil; b) to establish a just social order without oppression and exploitation; c) to remove every form of Communist serfdom; and 4) to reinstate full freedom to the Ukrainian people.

The S.U.L.C. named General Roman Shukhevich (better known as Taras Chuprinka) Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which carried on the struggle for independence, since at that time there was a general belief that the alliance of Western democracies with godless Communism would be of very short duration and Ukrainians should remain alert.

In their struggle on two fronts, German and Russian, the UPA forces won important victories. e.g., in May 1943 the Commander-in-Chief of Nazi S.A. troops, Victor Lutze, with members of his Staff were killed by UPA forces near the city of Brest Litowsk; on March 20, 1944, UPA detachments ambushed the Soviet Marshal and Commander-in-chief of the First Ukrainian front, Vatutin, who died of wounds in Kiev on April 15th; on March 29, 1947. Red Polish General Walter Swierszczewski, Vice-Minister of War, was killed in ambush near the town of Balihorod in West-Ukraine.

The large proportions of the struggle in 1945-46 caused the concentration of secret police troops in wooded and mountainous areas of West-Ukraine. The Bolshevik generals Ryasny and Moskalenko, having under their orders c. 15 divisions of NKVD troops, were ordered to wage a fierce war against the UPA detachments scattered in that area. On May 3, 1946, General Moskalenko was killed in battle and thus the Liberation Army won its first round. In 1947 the Russian-Polish-Czech alliance was formed in order to wipe out the Ukrainian Insurgent Army operating in the Carpathian Mountains. In the meantime the S.U.L.C. ordered a general boycott of the Bolshevik election in 1946, and in 1947 it took



The second group of U.P.A. officers after taking their oath of commission

measures against the Communist indoctrination of Ukrainian children in the schools. Following this action the courses in Ukrainian literature, history and geography were taught in schools, often-times secretly.

Aiming at informing the West about the plight of Ukraine the S.U.L.C. in 1947 ordered a UPA batallion (c. 400 men) to cross Czechoslovakia and Austria into the American Zone in Germany. They fought their way through, bringing with them samples of the free Ukrainian press and other valuable information. Other smaller groups arrived the same way in 1948-1949.

On March 5, 1950, General Shukhevich (Taras Chuprynka), who led the UPA troops since 1943, was killed in a battle near his Headquarters in the village of Bilohorscha, overrun by the Bolshevik MGB (secret police) troops.

In post-war years two governments simultaneously existed on Ukrainian territories: much-hated occupational Muscovite, backed up by the NKVD detachments — and the Ukrainian democratic, upheld by the people, who supported the UPA detachments and obeyed their orders.

The Bolsheviks did not succeed in suppressing the spirit of freedom even in the slave-labor camps of Siberia. It is an established fact that after Stalin's death in 1954 the Ukrainian and other prisoners rebelled, e.g., in the camp of Kingir secret police detachments mutilated or killed 500 heroic Ukrainian women who de-

manded freedom. However, Nikita Khrushchev proved himself to be a "worthy disciple" of Stalin no matter how many times he denounced and condemned him.

During the Hungarian revolution in 1956 the UPA detachments again became active helping the revolutionists by destroying bridges and holding back trains carrying Soviet troops on their way to Hungary. In 1958, on the Twentieth Anniversary of the independence of Carpatho-Ukraine the UPA-fighters appeared in towns and villagers encouraging the population to resist the op-



General Roman Shukhewych  
— Taras Chuprynka  
Commander-in-Chief of the  
Ukrainian Insurgent Army

pressors. And again in 1959 the UPA detachments were active in West-Ukrainian provinces so that the secret police troops were ordered to make "maneuvers," as the West European press reported. In 1960 news pierced the "iron curtain" that some of the Ukrainian revolutionists were caught in hide-outs and condemned by the "people's court."

Nowadays it is known everywhere how ruthlessly the Bolsheviks exterminate all the opponents of their regime. Therefore, it would have been highly imprudent and self-destructive to continue the guerilla war on a large scale in existent circumstances. Hence at the present time the Ukrainian Underground endeavors: 1) to keep the people's morale high; 2) to spread revolutionary ideas



Northern U.P.A. Detachment on a military mission in Ukraine

among all enslaved peoples of the Soviet Union; 3) to disavow the Communist regime and its propaganda in order to protect the young generation from complete brainwashing; 4) to resist mass deportations to Siberia; and 5) to keep secret police in check. In spite of all inhuman and ruthless methods, ranging from artificial and forced famine and mass deportations to imprisonment and murder, including assassinations of Ukrainian national leaders in the free world, such as Simon Petlura (Paris — 1926), Ewgen Konowalets (Rotterdam — 1938) and Stepan Bandera (Munich — 1959), — Moscow did not succeed in destroying the burning spirit of liberty and staunch will of Ukrainian people to restore their national independence. This is the “Achilles’ heel” of the Bolshevik regime. Bolshevik leaders realize that in the case of any major conflict with western democracies, the history of 1941 — when fully equipped Ukrainian divisions went over to the enemy — will repeat itself but this time it will be on a much larger scale.

It is unnecessary to emphasize that as long as this “boiling state” of affairs prevails in Ukraine and other enslaved countries of the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik leaders will hardly embark upon any military adventure. This is the chief reason that Khrushchev talks “of peaceful coexistence,” but at the same time tries to disrupt unity and mutual confidence among the Western Allies. Abusing the freedom of the western democracies, the Bolsheviks organize and support Communist parties in those countries, order

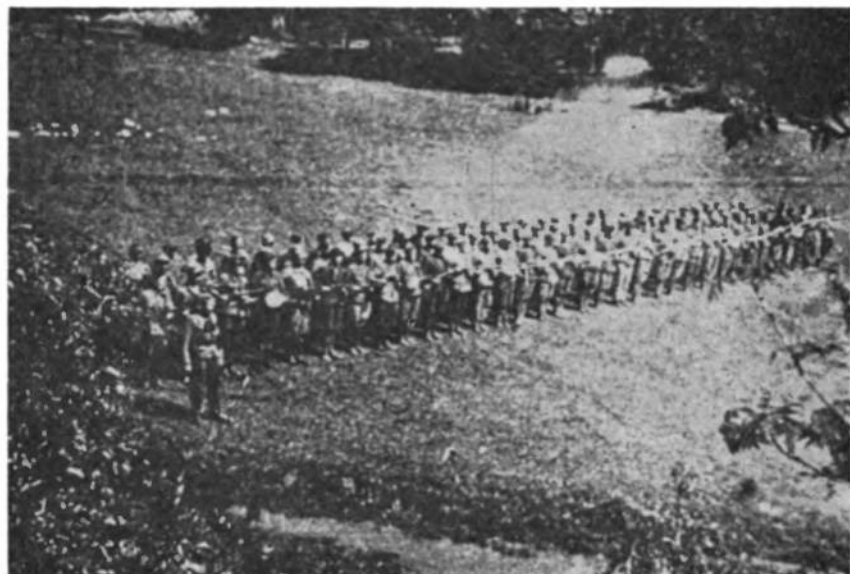


U.P.A. Company — Easter celebration in the Carpathian Mountains

them to incite the working people against their own governments, and stir up bigger or smaller revolutions, e.g., Laos, Congo, Cuba, South Vietnam, etc.

This is a very convenient position, since the Bolshevik leaders are of the opinion that they can escape punishment, because the West desires peace and would hardly wage a preventive war against them. Anyone who watched Nikita Khrushchev pounding his shoe at the United Nations Assembly in the fall of 1960 arrived at a better understanding of Bolshevik tactics. This unheard of and uncivilized behavior of a statesman opened the eyes of the most liberal-minded people. This was the best proof that a godless regime, which recognizes no moral principles and disrespects its international commitments, is a menace to mankind and should be treated accordingly, otherwise, sooner or later, it may destroy western Christian civilization and dominate the world.

These days Bolshevik representatives, at all international meetings, pretend to be the promoters of freedom and they sponsor new independent nations on the "black continent"; but when Premier Diefenbaker of Canada in his speech during the session of the U. N. General Assembly in 1960 made an allusion concerning Soviet Russian colonial practices toward the enslaved nations of Eastern Europe he hit the right nail on the head and Khrushchev protested vehemently against his "meddling into the domestic problems of the Soviet Union."



U.P.A. Company of Ostrih

The time is nearing when western democracies in general, and the English-speaking nations in the first place, must wholeheartedly support the just cause of all enslaved nations, no matter in what part of the globe they are located. In the spring of 1961 the following Ukrainian political groups in the free world sent a joint "Memorandum" to the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization with a request that the problem of the liberation of Ukraine from the Russian yoke of colonialism be put on the agenda of the spring session: The Nationalists and Hetman Movements, the Peasant' Party, the Democratic Union, the Revolutionary Democratic Organization and the Christian Movement.

Freedom is the most precious gift of God and it must be defended by free men on every corner of the earth, if they desire to enjoy it themselves.



## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- 8-7th century B.C. Greek colonists arrived at the Black Sea shores.  
 7-6th century B.C. Scythians appeared in South-Ukraine.  
 5th century B.C. Herodotus describes some Slavic tribes of Ukraine.  
 3-2nd century B.C. Sarmatians destroyed the Scythians.  
 1st century A.D. Claudios Ptolomaïos describes Slavic tribes of Ukraine.  
 2nd century Goths arrived in South-Ukraine.  
 2-4th century The Antae, Ukrainian Slavic ancestors organize their State.  
 375 Antae and the Huns destroyed the Gothic Empire.  
 4-7th century Antic State in Ukraine.  
 c. 550 Avars arrived in South Ukraine.  
 c. 650 Khazars appeared in South-Ukraine.  
 8th century The beginning of Rus' principality.  
 839 Envoys of Kievan Prince appeared in Constantinople.  
 843—862 "Khazaric Mission" of SS. Cyril and Methodius.  
 860 Kievan Prince Askold attacked Constantinople. Very soon he and his warriors were baptized.  
 867 Pope Hadrian II established Slavonic Rite.  
 c 870 First Archbishop sent to Kiev.  
 879 Princes Askold and Dir killed by Oleh and Ihor.  
 879—912 Prince Oleh's reign in Kiev.  
 907 His attack on Constantinople.  
 911 His treaty with the Greeks.  
 913—945 Prince Ihor of Kiev.  
 944 His attack on Constantinople, and signing of the treaty.  
 945—960 Princess Olha of Kiev.  
 955 Her baptism, very probably in Kiev.  
 957 Her journey to Constantinople.  
 959—962 Roman-Catholic Bishop Adalbertus in Kiev.  
 960—972 Grand-prince Sviatoslav of Kiev.  
 972 His death in battle with Pechenihs.  
 972—980 Grand-prince Yaropolk of Kiev.  
 980—1015 Grand-prince Volodimir of Kiev.  
 988—989 His baptism and marriage to the Greek Princess Anna, and Christianity proclaimed the State religion of Kievan Rus-Ukraine.  
 999—1003 Pope Sylvester II.  
 1000—1001 King Stephen I of Hungary receives royal crown from Pope Sylvester II.  
 1015 St. Volodimir died.  
 1015—1019 Grand-prince Sviatopolk.  
 1015 Princes Boris and Hlib killed.  
 1019—1054 Grand-prince Yaroslav The Wise.  
 1037 St. Sophia's church in Kiev blessed by Metropolitan Theopemptos.  
 1043 Yaroslav's attack on Constantinople, followed by Vsevolod's marriage to the Greek Princess.  
 1051 Metropolitan Ilarion elected by the Synod of Ukrainian bishops.  
 1054 Yaroslav the Wise died. Patriarch Michael Cerularios broke unity with the Apostolic See of Rome.  
 1054—1078 King Iziaslav I. His reign was twice interrupted.

- 1072 Pope Gregory VII takes the Kievan Kingdom under the protection of St. Peter's Chair.
- 1078 Iziaslav I killed in battle.
- 1078—1094 Grand-prince Vsevolod of Kiev.
- 1087 Rostislavichi regained Halich.
- 1094—1113 Grand-prince Sviatopolk II of Kiev.
- 1097 Conference of the Ukrainian princes at Lubech.
- 1113—1125 Grand-prince Volodimir II Monomakh of Kiev.
- 1124—1152 Prince Volodimirko of Halich.
- 1125—1132 Grand-prince Mstislav of Kiev.
- 1132—1139 Grand-prince Yaropolk II of Kiev.
- 1139—1146 Grand-prince Vsevolod II of Kiev.
- 1146—1154 Grand-prince Iziaslav II of Kiev.
- 1147 Synod of the Ukrainian bishops elected Metropolitan Clement Smoliatych.
- 1152—1187 Yaroslav Osmomysl of Halich.
- 1154—1157 Grand-prince Yuriy of Kiev.
- 1169 Kiev ruined by Andriy, prince of Suzdal.
- 1187—1199 Prince Volodimir II of Halich.
- 1199—1205 Prince Roman Mstislavich of Halich-Volynia.
- 1205 Roman killed in battle near Zawikhost.
- 1214 Coloman becomes King of Halich-Volynia.
- 1223 Mongols appeared in Ukraine.
- 1219—1227 Prince Mstislav of Halich.
- 1214—1264 King Danylo Romanovich of Halich-Volynia.
- 1240 Mongols ruined Kiev.
- 1245 Archbishop of Kiev Peter Akerovich recognized primacy of Rome at the Oecumenical Council of Lyons.
- 1253 King Danylo received royal crown from Pope Innocent IV.
- 1264 King Danylo died and was buried in Kholm.
- 1265—1301 King Lev I of Halich-Volynia.
- 1303 Metropolitan See of Halich established.
- 1303—1305 Metropolitan Niphont of Halich.
- 1301—1315 King Yuriy I of Halich-Volynia.
- 1315—1323 Kings Andriy and Yuriy II of Halich-Volynia.
- 1323 They were killed in battle.
- 1325—1340 King Yuriy II Troydenovich of Halich-Volynia.
- 1338 Alliance of King Casimir of Poland with the Hungarians.
- 1340 King Yuriy II poisoned by his boyars. Casimir attacked the city of Lviv and occupied the province of Sanor. Dmytro-Lubart recognized as King of Halich-Volynia. Prince Dmytro Dedko in charge of Halich.
- 1350 Renewal of the Polish-Hungarian alliance.
- 1352 King Casimir occupied Halich.
- 1366 He occupied part of Volynia.
- 1370 Casimir died, and King Louis of Hungary succeeded him.
- 1370—1378 (1382—1387) Prince Volodislav of Halich.
- 1386 Grand-duke of Lithuania, Jagello, married Louis' daughter Jadwiga.
- 1382 Prince Dmytro-Lubart died.
- 1387 Halich retaken by Jadwiga.
- 1401 Conference at Radom and the beginning of Polish-Lithuanian-Ukrainian Commonwealth.
- 1413 Its corroboration by Charter of Horodlo. Grand-duke Svytryhaylo, Jagello's brother, recognized as ruler of Volynia.
- 1429 Conference of European rulers in the city of Lutsk, Svytryhaylo's capital.
- 1439 The Church Union of Florence. Kievan Metropolitan Cardinal Isidore sent by Pope Eugene IV to proclaim the Union.
- 1452 Prince Svytryhaylo died.
- 1453 Turks took Constantinople.
- 1470 Prince Michael Olelkovich removed from Kiev.
- 1481 His conspiracy against King Casimir II.
- 1507—1508 Prince Michael Hlynsky's war against Poland and the unsuccessful attempt to create an independent state of Ukrainian principalities.

- 1529 Lithuanian Statute proclaimed.  
 1534 Prince Hlynsky died in Moscow's prison.  
 1539 Episcopal See founded in Lviv.  
 1550's Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky built "Sich" below the Dnieper rapids.  
 1569 Union of Lublin, which terminated Lithuanian independence.  
 1595 Ukrainian bishops concluded Church Union with Rome.  
 1596 Union proclaimed at Synod of Brest.  
 1620 Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem consecrated new parallel hierarchy for all Ukrainian episcopal sees.  
 1622 Hetman Petro Sahaydachny with his 40,000 Kozaks decide the victory over the Turks near the city of Khotyn.  
 1623 Archbishop Josaphat of Polotsk killed by Orthodox mob.  
 1627 Ukrainian dioceses divided under Orthodox pressure.  
 1638 Kozaks lost rights after the battle of Kurukiw.  
 1648 Revolution of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. His victories at Zhovti Vody and Pilawtsi. King Wladyslav IV died.  
 1649 Khmelnytsky's victory and treaty of Zboriw. King Casimir recognizes the independence of Ukraine.  
 1650 Khan's treason and Khmelnytsky's defeat near Berestechko. The treaty of Bila Tserkva.  
 1654 Khmelnytsky's treaty with Muscovy in Pereyaslav.  
 1657 His treaty with Sweden, war against Poland and death.  
 1657—1659 Hetman Ivan Vyhowsky.  
 1658 Union of Hadiach and Grand-duchy of Rus'.  
 1659 Vyhowsky's victory over Muscovy near Konotop.  
 1659—1663 Hetman Yuras' Khmelnychenko.  
 1663—1665 Hetman Pavlo Teterya on Right-Bank Ukraine.  
 1663—1668 Hetman Ivan Brukhovetsky on Left-Bank Ukraine.  
 1667 Polish-Muscovite alliance in Andrusowo. Partition of Ukraine.  
 1667—1681 Hetman Yuras' Ghmelnynchenko's second term.  
 1668—1672 Hetman Damian Mnohohrshny on Left-Bank Ukraine.  
 1668 Muscovy's encroachments and unfavorable treaty of Hlukhiw.  
 1672—1687 Hetman Ivan Samoylovich.  
 1683 Turks defeated near Vienna.  
 1685 Hetman Andriy Mohyla on the Right-Bank Ukraine.  
 1687—1709 Hetman Ivan Mazepa.  
 1708 His treaty with Sweden.  
 1709 King Charles XII of Sweden defeated near Poltava. Hetman Mazepa died.  
 1710 Hetman Philip Orlik and Kozak Constitution.  
 1708—1722 Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky on Left-Bank Ukraine.  
 1713 Czar Peter I embraced the name "Rossia" for his Empire.  
 1720 Synod of Ukrainian Catholic bishops in Zamistia.  
 1722—1724 Hetman Pavlo Polubotok.  
 1722 Czar Peter I established "Little Russian Board."  
 1727—1734 Hetman Danylo Apostol.  
 1733 New Sich established on Pidpolna River.  
 1741—1762 Empress Elizabeth reinstated Hetmancy.  
 1750—1764 Hetman Kyrylo Rozumowsky.  
 1750—1768 Haydamak uprisings against Poland.  
 1768 Maxim Zalizniak elected hetman.  
 1775 Catherine II ruined "Sich."  
 1783 She reinstated serfdom in Ukraine.  
 1772—1795 Partitions and final destruction of Poland.  
 1772 Halich-Volynian lands taken by Austria.  
 1784 University of Lviv established.  
 1798 Kotlarewsky's Aeneid printed in vernacular language.  
 1807 Halich Metropolia with the seat in Lviv renewed.  
 1839 Czar Nicholas I destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church.  
 1848 Holovna Rada founded in Lviv. Serfdom abolished in Austria.  
 1861 Serfdom abolished in Russia.  
 1875 The Ukrainian Catholic Church destroyed in Kholmschyna.  
 1845 Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius founded in Kiev.  
 1868 "Prosvita" founded in Lviv.  
 1873 "Shevchenko Society" founded in Lviv.

- 1891 Provincial Synod in Lviv.  
 1899 "The Ukrainian National Democratic Party" founded in Lviv.  
 1914 World War I broke out.  
 1917 Revolution in Russia.  
 1917 Ukrainian Democratic Republic proclaimed.  
 1918 Peace Treaty in Brest. Ukraine recognized as an independent State (Eastern Ukraine proclaimed January 22 and Western November 1st). Beginning of the Polish-Ukrainian war.  
 1919 Bolsheviks proclaimed the "Ukrainian Socialist Republic" in Kharkiv.  
 1920 It was recognized by the Peace Treaty of Riga.  
 1923 Ambassadors' Council in Paris gave Halich-Volynian lands to Poland for 25 years trusteeship. The Ukrainian Military Organization begins its action.  
 1926 President Simon Petlura murdered by Bolshevik agent in Paris.  
 1929 The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists founded.  
 1930 Ukrainians in Halich-Volynia "pacified" by the Polish Army.  
 1932—1933 Artificial famine in Ukraine organized by Stalin.  
 1938 Independence of Carpatho-Ukraine. Msgr. A. Voloshin its President.  
 1938 Evhen Konovalets, Head of O.U.N., assassinated by Bolshevik agent in Rotterdam.  
 1939 World War II broke out. Annexation of Halich-Volynia by the Bolsheviks.  
 1941 German-Bolshevik war, declaration of independence of Ukraine, and suppression by Hitler.  
 1941 Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence in Lviv.  
 1942 Formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.  
 1943 Formation of division "Halychyna".  
 1944 Formation of the "Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council."  
 1944 Metropolitan Andrew died.  
 1945 Yalta Agreement. Capitulation of Germany, and persecution of Ukrainian Catholic Church by Stalin. Pope Pius XII protests by Encyclical Letter.  
 1946 Condemnation and deportation of Ukrainian bishops to Siberia.  
 1947 Cardinal Tisserant visits Ukrainian Church in New World.  
 1950 General Roman Shukhewych killed by the Bolshevik MGB troops, in battle near Bilohorscha.  
 1956 Pope Pius XII erected the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolia in Canada.  
 1958 Pope Pius XII creates the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolia in USA. Pope Pius XII died and Pope John XXIII elected.  
 1959 Congress of the United States of America passed the Bill on "Captive Nations Week," which was signed by President D. D. Eisenhower and proclaimed law. It guaranteed the right of the Ukrainian and other "captive peoples" to establish their independent states.  
 1959 Stepan Bandera, Head of O.U.N., assassinated by Soviet agent in Munich, Germany.

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