



Stephan Jarmus

# SPIRITUALITY OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

## A BRIEF ORIENTATIONAL SURVEY

Preface by George Mulyk-Lutzyk

Translated by Orysia Ferbey



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## TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

I wish to thank the Author — the Very Reverend Dr. Stephan Jarmus — and the Millennium Central Committee of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada for asking me to translate this very penetrating book. This was an especially worthwhile task for me, because the book explains to our youth, firstly, where we come from spiritually; it gives us a spiritual “root” identity and an insight into our very nature. Secondly, further to the teachings of the late Metropolitan Ilarion, it helps to clarify the concept of pre-Christian spirituality versus our notion of paganism. Thirdly, it gives us an insight to the Christian love and charity, and therefore the high cultural level of our ancestors, through the humaneness of Volodymyr Velyky and, particularly, through the evangelic nature of the “Instructions” of Volodymyr Monomakh. Fourthly, it helps our youth to understand the importance our forefathers placed on learning and spirituality; it helps to connect those spiritual ideals and passions to that of the Ukrainian churches and community halls (narodni domy) here in Canada as well as the institutes, as the Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon, and St. Andrew’s College in Winnipeg. (Ukrainians laid the same spiritual bridges in other parts of the world as well.)

Fifthly, this work touches upon the most interesting topic of Ukrainian Messianism. Very Rev. Dr. S. Jarmus makes an interesting connection between the Crusades and the Rus’ campaigns against the pagan nomads as reflected in our literary masterpiece of the twelfth century — “Slovo o polku Ihorevi” (“The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign”). The Author also underscores the mission of the Cossacks in this regard. This subject of Ukrainian Messianism should be expanded in a further study, for it is a most important aspect in the history of the world.

Finally, Very Rev. Dr. S. Jarmus provokes us to reflect upon our present spiritual condition and makes us to ponder hereby upon the future state of our spiritual affairs. As one who was born in Canada and one who has firmly upheld the preservation and maintenance of our Ukrainian identity, I fully appreciate Father Jarmus’ concerns about the spiritual casualties that have resulted from our prime focus on nationality. I strongly agree with the Author that a thorough review of our spirituality and religiousness has become crucial. If we do not meet this challenge today, we may lose a proportion of our youth to other Christian faiths, or they may fall out of the Christian sphere

altogether. In our ever-growing plurastic society and with the ever-increasing abuse of privileges and freedoms our challenge in this regard is perhaps even greater than was that of our forefathers.

The Translator — Orysia Ferbey

## MY GRATITUDE

The publication of a book gives not just any kind of moral satisfaction to its author and, in the given case, to me and I am indebted to a number of good people for this satisfaction. The very idea of dealing with spirituality in general was given to me by Dr. A. M. Watts, Dean of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Winnipeg, by his proposition to offer a course on Eastern Orthodox spirituality at their Faculty (this was not realized, however).

When in the spring of 1982 Father P. Shadursky, the Head of the Jubilee Committee of the Missionary District Montreal-Ottawa, asked me to give a talk at the opening of their celebrations of the 1000th anniversary of the Baptism of Ukraine, I chose a theme on the ideas that I had already adapted on the spirituality of the Ukrainian people. In October, 1982, I developed this theme at similar celebrations at St. Paul-Minneapolis, USA, and then I developed it further for a talk at the conference of church choir directors at St. Andrew's College, in March 1983. (This conference was included in the program of the Year of Church Music — one of the stages of preparation to the Jubilee of the 1000th Anniversary of the Baptism of Ukraine). Then, finally, I completed my work on this theme in separate articles.

To everyone who provided a stimulus for this work I express my sincere thanks. An especially great service was done to me by the Very Reverend Father A. Teterenko, the former librarian of St. Andrew's College, who recommended the necessary literary sources. This not only simplified my work, it helped to complete it sooner. Thus I am indebted to his erudition in regard to source materials.

Theodora Hawryshyn helped with the typing of all of the articles of this book and with the first proofreading. This is a major task and I hereby acknowledge her work.

Dr. George Mulyk-Lutzyk did me a great service by honoring my work with his Foreword. Also, Father Andrew Teterenko, George and Valentyna Mulyk-Lutzyk, Theodora Hawryshyn, Volodymyr Basarab, who reviewed my original work and encouraged me to publish it, deserve the most sincere expression of gratitude. Anne Figus-Ralko deserves equal gratitude for her administrative arrangements concerning this publication. Moreover, my special thanks go to Dr. Orysia Ferbey for her arduous

efforts in translating my work from its original Ukrainian to English.

Furthermore, I express our deep gratitude to the members of the Committee of The Nativity of the Theotokos Ukrainian Orthodox Congregation in Oshawa, Ontario and the Very Reverend Father Fedir Leheniuk for the Congregation's most generous donation towards the publication of this book in the sum of \$25,000.00. (List of other donations is given at the end of the book.)

I also express my sincere thanks to Maria and her son Mykola Stogryn, in Sioux Lookout, Ontario, for the opportunity to work on some parts of this work in their cabin near the lake. Finally, I also thank the honorable reader for his or her readiness to read my thoughts.

Stephan Jarmus

## FOREWORD

(About the Author and his Work)

The Very Reverend Stephan Jarmus (born in Volynya), after the completion of pastoral courses in London, England (1956) was ordained as priest by Metropolitan Nikanor (Abramovych) in September of that year. (He was 31 years of age at the time.) In the autumn of 1956 Father Jarmus was designated to serve the St. Nicholas Ukrainian Orthodox Church in London. He was relieved of this position in 1960 upon his wishes to continue theological studies at St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg. Here he completed his studies (1962) with a degree of Licentiate in Theology.

From 1963-1967 Father Jarmus was Assistant to the Editor-in-Chief of "Visnyk" ("The Herald") — the press organ of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Canada. Following this (until 1969) he was the overseer of the Ukrainian Orthodox parish in Sheho, Saskatchewan. In that same year (1969) he assumed the post of Chief Editor of "Visnyk" where he remained until 1975. During this time (from 1969-1975) Father Jarmus was also a part-time lecturer at St. Andrew's College. From 1976-1978 he was the spiritual advisor to the students of St. Andrew's College and the Orthodox students of Ukrainian descent at the University of Manitoba.

In 1975 Father Jarmus was invited to the position of lecturer at St. Andrew's College and in 1981 he received the rank of Associate Professor. He works at this post presently.

During his time as Editor-in-Chief and lecturer at St. Andrew's College (and serving a few parishes of the Winnipeg Church District) Father Jarmus completed his studies (with a Bachelor of Arts degree) at the University of Manitoba.

A Bachelor's degree was one of the requirements for the completion of theological studies at St. Andrew's College, that is, Bachelor of Divinity. This degree was conferred on Father Jarmus at St. Andrew's College in 1974 on the basis of his completion of theological studies with the degree of licentiate, attainment of the Bachelor's degree at the university and the writing of an academic theological work. This work (of 1974) was his "Perezhyvannya Bozhestvennoyi Liturhiyi," ("Divine Liturgy: An Existential Experience").

During his studies at the University of Manitoba, Father Jarmus dedicated a great deal of time to subjects of religious

studies, which was then initiated by the Department of Sociology (Faculty of Humanities).

Father Jarmus' research in its very beginning revealed his religious-philosophical tendency. But his religious-philosophical approach to the problems he raises are based not on speculation and abstract categories of thought, but on living reality alone. Psychological criteria constitute the basic elements in Father Jarmus' religious-philosophical approach to the human being and human society and their life and spiritual interests.

Contrary to the traditional philosophy of religion, which is of an abstract-speculative nature, the philosophical thought of Father S. Jarmus in relation to religion is based, by-in-large, on facts that can be briefly described as "religious life and experiences." Father Jarmus' interest in this aspect of religion clearly manifested itself in his first academic work "Divine Liturgy: An Existential Experience." The theme of this tractate is not the aspect of theology known as "Liturgics," but, rather, it is the process of the spiritual experience of the Christian believer who is in the church during the celebration of the Divine Liturgy.

Father Jarmus' Master's thesis "The Problem of Pastoral Calling — A Study of Religious Attitudes and Vocational Responses" (he obtained the degree Master of Sacred Theology from the Faculty of Theology<sup>1</sup> at the University of Winnipeg in 1977) is also of a religious-philosophical nature and based on psychological criteria as is his doctoral dissertation "Fate of the Individual and Pastoral Care in Eastern Orthodox Theological Education — Some Steps towards the Percepts of Pastoral Anthropology." (The degree Doctor of Ministry in the field of Pastorology was acquired at the San Francisco Theological Seminary in San Anselmo, California, 1981.)

This "encyclopaedic" information about the process of the development of Father Jarmus' philosophical research was necessary, because only in that light can one realize that the appearance of his study, "Spirituality of the Ukrainian People" (his twelfth publication) is a normal phenomenon.

The author's interest in the essence of the religious spirit had to bring him, sooner or later, to the interest of spirituality in our own people. He approaches this theme from the religious-

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<sup>1</sup>At the University of Winnipeg "Theology" was not identified with "Divinity," therefore this is the official name of the faculty.

philosophical standpoint which, in this case, is by-in-large, based on psychological criteria. Because the author classifies this work as “A Brief Orientational Survey,” one can conclude that he does not regard its contents as a “theory” of the essence of the spirituality of the Ukrainian people, but only as illustrative examples, which, in his view, are testimony that one must approach the nature of the spirituality of our people from the religious-philosophical standpoint with a particular consideration of ethno-psychological criteria in the methodology.

The denotation “spirituality of the people” is not a *flatus vocis*.<sup>2</sup> This denotation has a base in the phenomenon that Wilhelm Wundt (the father of experimental psychology) called “Volksgeist” (“the spirit of the people”). The “spirit of the people” is studied by the branch of psychology that Wundt founded and called “Volkerpsychologie” (“folk psychology”). The roots of “the spirit of the people,” says Wundt, must be found in the religious beliefs of the nation, its traditional customs and in its language.

This “small detail” from the history of psychological research is in relation to the fact that, in the viewpoint of Father Jarmus, the work of every important Ukrainian thinker is, in essence, a manifestation of the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation. In this viewpoint lies his implicit expression of his critical stand of those scholars who tend to show the spirituality of our leading thinkers through the prism of influences. As an example, some of our scholars view the spirituality of Hryhoriy Skovoroda as a product of the influence of German mystics, mainly Johannes Eckhart and Jakob Boehme. Similarly, some view the religious aspect of the spirituality of Taras Shevchenko as influenced by “Imitatio Christi” by Thomas Kempis.

Father S. Jarmus finds that the Ukrainian ethnic spirituality has remained stable throughout the history of the Ukrainian nation despite the changing conditions of its life. He attributes this to the Ukrainian nature itself. But he regards the ethnic nature to be only a potential, which may not be actualized, or may not manifest itself, if it finds itself in circumstances of absolute oppression and that it may not even play a role in the formation of an ethnic spirituality, if the nation is in a state of complete subjugation. In this case, instead of a natural “ethnic” spirituality a secondary spirituality may come to the fore, one which is a

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<sup>2</sup>Not a sound without meaning.

product of enslavement. Father Jarmus illustrates this by the so-called “homo sovieticus,” that is, the Soviet man in whom the potential (or ethnic nature) has ceased its actualization because of the great oppression; in its place a secondary spirituality has appeared, i.e., the Soviet spirituality. Naturally, the author is very much disturbed by the appearance of such a phenomenon as the “homo sovieticus” among the Ukrainian people in Ukraine.

One of the novel ideas that Father Jarmus presents in the “Spirituality of the Ukrainian People” is the viewpoint that the ascriptions given to Byzantium for instilling the Christian culture in the Ukrainian nation is highly exaggerated. It is a self-evident fact that the understanding of the Christian spirit and the way of practicing it depends on the spirituality of the nation that accepts this religion. In this regard Father Jarmus shows that in regard to the level of their Christian life, our forefathers surpassed the Greeks (from whom they accepted the Orthodox Faith), because the Rus’ people (the ancestors of the Ukrainian nation), as concerns the ethical aspect of their religious beliefs, surpassed Christian Greece even before the Rus’ had become Christian, that is, in the pre-Christian era.

Another novel idea brought forward by Father Jarmus is the theoretical separation of the two subjects surveyed that can be defined as the two basic aspects of the perception of religion and the concept of its nature. The criteria of the former lie in an ethical-fideistic pragmatism *per se*, while the criteria of the latter lie in the church-denominational normative.

According to the criteria of ethical-fideistic pragmatism, the aspect of the perception of religion and the concept regarding its nature lies in religious life and experiences, that is, in the life that is lived in accordance with evangelical ethical imperatives and in the experience of the Christian as concerns his sense of a spiritual relationship with God.<sup>3</sup> Whereas in the criteria of the church-denominational normative, the aspect of the perception of the nature of religion and the concept regarding its nature lies in the requirements of the knowledge and practice of various norms (dogmas, canons, church orders, orders of prayer, and so on) as the conditions of the true religion and practice of the Faith of Christ.

Keeping in mind those two phenomena which were called “the

<sup>3</sup>Lactantius (one of the Church fathers) defined religion as the direct relationship of the believer’s soul with God.

two aspects of the perception of religion and the concept regarding its nature,” Father Jarmus, on the ethnic base of his research materials, asserts the fact that the Ukrainian national masses, not knowing the basic church-denominational norms, are determined on the strength of this fact alone to limit themselves to the aspect of the perception of their faith and the concept concerning it (based on ethical-fideistic pragmatism). Nevertheless, they are convinced that they are true believers of their Faith and true members of their Church.

In connection with the above, Father Jarmus also mentions the religious-psychological motivations of the apologists of the Church called the “Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church” founded (under the leadership of Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky) in 1921 by the establishment of its episcopate by the “Alexandrian method,” that is through the ordination of bishops by priests and laity rather than bishops (as is required by the canons of the Orthodox Church).<sup>4</sup>

From the formal-structural aspect, this study is comprised of a series of articles. This theme gives the content of the book its unity.

As concerns the objective of this study, it must be noted that its dominant attribute is the methodological intention of the author. In light of the content of this work, it is clear that the task set by Father Jarmus lies not in the postulating of solutions to the problems of the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation, but in his intentions of bringing forth his suggestions as concerns the methodology of research of the ethnic “psyche” of the Ukrainian nation.

This study, as all of Father Jarmus’ works, is characterized by Spinoza’s principle that the task of the researcher is “nec ridere, nec oddise, sed intellegere.”<sup>5</sup>

One must keep in mind that there are many essential problems that are traditionally treated as “taboo” and that when someone takes the courage to violate this “taboo” and to bring these problems to the fore, he becomes an object of ridicule, or, even more often, the object of hatred. The author of this study “Spirituality of the Ukrainian People” has already experienced the consequences of breaking the seal of a “taboo” in connection

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<sup>4</sup>This occurred because the hierarchy in Ukraine at the time was in the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate which refused to install bishops for the Ukrainian Church.

<sup>5</sup>“Not to poke fun at, not to hate, but only to explore.”

with his endeavor to analyze the psychological nature of “charismatism.” (See his brochure “Charismatism,” Winnipeg, 1975).

One of the fundamental reasons of the tragedy of philosophy and education is the naive conviction that often someone dares to deal with a given issue (which is considered as “taboo”) in order to recognize the nature of the subject, he is erroneously regarded as a “supporter” or “propagator” of that issue.

One must hope (“contra spem spero”) that the readers, at least most of them, will understand the reason that Father Jarmus raises and analyzes some of the problems which are considered as “taboo” in some circles of our society.

George Mulyk-Lutzyk  
Winnipeg, 3.X.1983

## ARTICLE ONE

# THE POSITIVE ELEMENTS OF PRE-CHRISTIAN UKRAINIAN SPIRITUALITY\*

### *Introduction*

Since the subject of spirituality is the basic and dominating theme of this work, we should first explain our definition of the concept "spirituality," for different people understand and explain the concept in different ways. Insofar as our spirituality is developed in the boundaries of the Orthodox Faith and the Orthodox religious education we must understand and explain this subject in Orthodox terms. In light of this, then, it must be said that the basic element of spirituality is the living consciousness of the human being; that is, one's truly active consciousness in regard to one's own Faith, its boundaries, and its demands. This is the principle, or the foundation, of spirituality upon which a peculiar style or way of human life is based and developed. Moreover, it is a way of life which helps the human being to strive toward a prescribed goal, toward the highest Good, which, in our case, is our life in Jesus Christ.

The living spiritual consciousness serves the human being, also, in finding certain ways to help one in his or her constant striving and aspiration in the attainment of this highest goal. Therefore, the concept of spirituality encompasses that which is positive and active, that which is noble and essential — that which is divine. This sometimes leads to the conclusion that the domain of spirituality is far removed from the human being; it is rendered in abstract terms and, as a consequence, spirituality is regarded as if it exists beyond ourselves, far beyond the boundaries of our daily lives. But this is not so. For spirituality, as a constant consciousness, is a part of our existence and the most active part of our being; it is active and dominating at all times, and in every step of our way of living.

Spirituality is usually considered in the context of religiousness, for spirituality is essentially both the product and the expression of a religion and the religiousness of a human being. This is why it is said that the nature of a given religion forms its

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\*The main ideas of this article constituted a speech given by the author in the celebration of the 1000th Jubilee of the Christianizing of Ukraine organized by the Missionary District of Montreal-Ottawa, September 15th, 1982.

respective spirituality. And this is why our aim here is to focus our attention on the positive elements of pre-Christian Ukrainian spirituality, that is, on the positive elements of the pre-Christian Ukrainian religion. It is important to note that some elements of the primeval religion of the Ukrainian people were eventually Christianized and make up a part of our spirituality to this very day. It is on this phenomenon that we must focus our attention on the occasion of celebrating the 1000th anniversary of the official adoption of Christianity in Ukraine.

## THE PRE-CHRISTIAN RELIGION

Christian nations, including our own people inherited the imposed belief that the primary, or ancient, or (more accurately) the pre-Christian religion, in general, including the religion of the Ukrainian nation, was pagan. In accordance with this belief the concept of “paganism” is viewed in a very negative light with a dominantly critical and derogative attitude. This belief was inherited from the ancient Romans for whom all things beyond the boundaries of the privileged classes were considered pagan and from Byzantium (Greece) as well where it was considered that all things beyond its borders were necessarily barbaric. In ancient times it was believed that there was nothing of any worth anywhere beyond the borders of the Roman and the Greek world; thus the faith and culture of all the so-called “barbaric” nations were considered as “paganism.” This belief was transmitted to our people as well and remains with us to the present day.

Nevertheless, there have been endeavors to change this belief. Metropolitan Ilarion regards the pre-Christian religion of our nation as the “ancient Ukrainian faith” and demonstrates that this faith was later ill-named as paganism. Metropolitan Ilarion discusses this in his brochure “The Baptism of the Ukrainian Nation,” published in Warsaw in 1925.<sup>1</sup> In 1946, in Lausanne, Switzerland, Metropolitan Ilarion wrote a large work on this ancient religion entitled “The Pre-Christian Beliefs of the Ukrainian Nation,” which was published in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1965. The author considered his work as an introduction to the course — the History of the Ukrainian Church.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. also his work “The Ukrainian Church,” The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, Millennium Central Committee, Winnipeg, 1986, pp. 29–31.

<sup>2</sup>Metropolitan Ilarion, “Dokhrystyyans’ki viruvannya ukrayins’koho narodu,” Institut Doslidiv Volyni, Winnipeg, 1965, p. 10.

“The Pre-Christian Beliefs of the Ukrainian Nation” is a widely known work but, unfortunately, is misunderstood in some circles today. Firstly, because people are seemingly led by improper or hidden motives and secondly, they, perhaps, lack the good will and simple objectivity to place the old faith of the Ukrainian nation into the context of the normal spiritual development of a human being and of mankind in general. We are referring here, of course, to the strange phenomenon of the followings and preachings of the so-called “Runvira” (Ridna Ukrayins’ka Natsional’na Vira) (The Native Ukrainian National Faith). The return of this stage after such lengthy Christian experience, can truly be acknowledged as paganism in the fullest and deepest sense of the word.

Metropolitan Ilarion was the first hierarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to take an accurate position on the phenomenon of the pre-Christian religion of the Ukrainian nation. His position is understandably objective. He came to a proper conclusion when he took the stand against the bitter criticism of our ancestors and their “paganism.” He writes: “judging by the very high standard of the ethical culture that our ancient ancestors, as the Polyany, had reached (in their mutual relations, their respect for strangers, their mode of marriage, and so on), one must say that the old Ukrainian faith was not as ‘pagan’ as it is usually depicted.”<sup>3</sup> This same view is now taken by Christian missiologists and cultural anthropologists. The former no longer continue their inconsiderate battle against non-Christian religions. They first learn about them and endeavor to understand them. They recognize those elements in them that are in agreement with the principles of Gospel teachings and try, in their dialogues, to utilize them in their goals of the Christian mission.

### “PAGANISM” — THE FIRST STAGE OF THE SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN NATURE

Taking a positive attitude toward non-Christian and pre-Christian religions does not mean the acknowledging of these religions as being true religions. Not at all. Taking a positive attitude toward non-Christian religions simply means approaching the confessors of such religions with the understanding that these people are still maintaining religions that are of a primeval

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<sup>3</sup>Metropolitan Ilarion, “The Ukrainian Church,” p. 29.

human creation and that the religion of divine origin and revelation (which denotes the highest level of spiritual development of a human nature) has not yet reached them. In light of this, then, it must be noted that the aforementioned high ethical standard of the old Ukrainian religion is a phenomenon worthy of admiration, even though that particular religion was only the product of the human spirit, the spirit of our ancestors, and not a religion of direct divine origin, or revelation. It was the product of the natural spiritual aspirations and pursuits of a human being, a natural human instinct for God, and nothing more. Nevertheless, it is a wonder that, in the Ukrainian case, the achievements of those primeval religious pursuits were so noble, so righteous, and so worthy of emulation that some of them have remained as an integral part of our consciousness and of our Christian spirituality.

Nonetheless, the Ukrainian case is not an exception. For one can mention, for example, the Biblical phenomenon of the priesthood of the mysterious Melchizedek (Genesis 14:18:19), a king-priest of truth, of a calling or mission unknown to us. But as such, that priesthood, in the expression of Apostle Paul, became the image of the Priesthood of Jesus Christ Himself (Hebrews 5:6, 7:11, 17, 21). Thus, this phenomenon is evidence that not all things beyond Christianity and beyond Judaism should be regarded as paganism, because the very original religious pursuits of human nature are in themselves good, for those particular pursuits are of a divine origin. Because of this, the early Holy Fathers of the Church did not perpetrate a categorical criticism of all things "pagan."<sup>4</sup> Even Apostle Paul, upon seeing Athens full of idols, said in his speech to the Athenians: "Men of Athens! From all things I see, you are very religious" (Acts 17:22). This means that in all their "paganism" Paul saw an extraordinary religiousness, although he had a few things to say to them about this as well.

When Christianity came into the Ukrainian lands officially, it found a meticulously developed religious system there. It must be assumed that it took the spiritual entity of the nation a very long time toward its development and instillation. Moreover, it would seem that the naturally inspired religious system of our ancestors was self-fulfilling. Besides, one must remember that

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<sup>4</sup>S. Jarmus, "Relihiyi svitu, kul'tura i khrystyyans'ke pravoslaviye," Misiyny Viddil pry Konsistoriyi UHPTserkvy v Kanadi, 1981, pp. 24–26.

they had no other choice. The accomplishment of the fulfillment of the spiritual needs of our nation is described by the well-known Ukrainian sociologist N. Y. Hryhoriyiv:

Ukrainians were mystics and poets and trustful and reverent to the authorities from long ago. Their religiousness is simple, sincere, and straightforward. It stems from their conditions of life and its basic needs. Their entire primeval way of life is imbued with a religious outlook. Their whole primeval social order is structured on their prescriptions of religion. Their religious feelings are deep and inviolable and their world outlook almost unchanging.<sup>5</sup>

This means that the pre-Christian human being found his/her faith and culture satisfying and his/her perception of the world unchanging. One knew of nothing else and, thus, to regard him as a pagan, in the negative sense of the word, is unfair. For he was in the same situation as the Biblical Melchizedek, who knew not of the Mosaic Law, because it was not yet in existence. In this same way, the Ukrainian pre-Christian being knew not of Christianity, for Christianity had not reached him as yet. Besides, one may not have yet been ready, psychologically or spiritually, to adopt it. The change of a religion and the acceptance of a new one requires a solid and lengthy preparation, for this entails matters of the human spirit which are most complex. Thus, the Law of Moses had prepared Judaism for the acceptance of Christ for over a thousand years. Yet this preparation was unsuccessful, for when Christ came and revealed Himself the Israelites were not ready to accept Him. It was the Law which was to play this preparatory and educational role (Galatians 3:24), for it in itself was only the shadow of that which was to come with the coming of Jesus Christ (Hebrews 10:1).

The same can be said about the Ukrainian nation in relation to Christ. For as far as the old Ukrainian religion is concerned and its role in the preparation of our nation toward the acceptance of Christianity, the old Ukrainian religion fulfilled this educational role successfully. Indeed there are many elements of pre-Christian Ukrainian spirituality which were Christianized and remain a part of our spiritual entity unto this very day. We understand this and accept it as being fully authentic.

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<sup>5</sup>N. Y. Hryhoriyiv, "Ukrayins'ka natsional'na vdacha," *Ukrayins'ka Vydavnycha Spilka v Kanadi*, Winnipeg, 1941, p. 42.

When we view the purely theological aspect of the pre-Christian beliefs of our nation, we acknowledge that our ancestors did not have a true concept of God and the divine world. They had a clear natural aspiration toward God and reacted to this in their own peculiar way. But, they could not attain the knowledge of God on their own and thus did not know the True God. That God, as revealed by Jesus Christ, was known and preached only by Christianity and there He was confessed as the God of Revelation, the God of all Truth, the God of Salvation. For whoever believed in Him and turned to Him, eventually found the answers to all his spiritual aspirations and pursuits, and most of all — salvation and spiritual peace. The Apostle says: “Whoever calls the name of the Lord shall be saved.” And further he understandably adds: “How then shall they call on Him, in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher?” (Romans 10:13-14).

## THE NATURE OF THE OLD UKRAINIAN FAITH

The above cited quote is a very important expression of Apostle Paul and he, in our opinion, exempts our ancestors entirely from the criticism in regard to their paganism. For they had heard nothing about Jesus Christ and knew nothing about Him. It is true, however, that we do have ancient legends about the preaching of Apostle Andrew on Ukrainian Land. We also have documented data about the so-called first Baptism of Rus'-Ukraine in the times of Askold and Patriarch Photius.<sup>6</sup> We know about a part of princely Ukraine that was officially acknowledged and named “Christian Rus’.” We know, too, about the puzzling existence of a Christian Church in Kiev in pre-Christian times and that, for some reason, it was called the church of the Prophet St. Elias.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, old Rus'-Ukraine had heard and had known of Christianity long before its official acceptance by the State in 988 during the reign of Volodymyr

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<sup>6</sup>Metropolitan Ilarion, “The Ukrainian Church,” pp. 16–18. Here we find interesting documentation about the Baptism of Rus'-Ukraine in 860: Letter of Patriarch Photius and the work of Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

<sup>7</sup>The existence of the church of the Prophet of St. Elias in Kiev could be regarded as a tactical motive of its founders, because the Prophet Elias, as a ruler of thunder and lightning, served best to uproot the nation's worship of Perun, who was thought to have been the god of thunder and other heavenly phenomena.

Velyky. Why then did Princely Rus' not retreat from its old faith and Christianize itself at an earlier date?

An objective answer to this question must be that our ancestors saw no need to change their faith to another at the time since, in their view, their own faith answered to their needs and satisfied them fully. Besides, it must be noted that the pre-Christian religion and the beliefs of the Ukrainian nation were a direct result of the Ukrainian spirit itself. This spirit, as the prevailing Ethos of a nation (or Muse of a nation which is discussed further), evolved of itself and formed into a religious system all that which was close to the people, that which was most comprehensible and native to them, and that, in particular, which best suited the spirit and the needs of the people.

And so on the basis and the conditions of the life of our nation its old religion was founded and developed. Thus our nation's pre-Christian spirituality was created and formed: its customs, its traditions, its mutual relations, its relations with the forces of nature and with the forces of the spiritual world. Our nation believed in the existence of forces of the spiritual world just as it believed that the spiritual world influences the life of a human being. Yet, the spiritual world and its forces could not be understood by the primordial people, so it perceived and explained these phenomena in its own way. Nevertheless, it can be said that those people did have profound and genuine feelings about the divine force in the world and even about the True God. It is sufficient to consider their understanding of divinity in the personages of Svaroh (god of Heaven) and his son Dazhboh (Sun-god) in order to understand how close they came to the concept of the characteristics of God as later revealed by Jesus Christ. It is no wonder, then, that the Greeks regarded our ancestors as being monotheistic.<sup>8</sup> But because God is incomprehensible to the human mind, the Genius of the time — the nation's Ethos, or the Muse — perceived God in a manner peculiar to itself and placed the divine and the spiritual into its own peculiar perspective. The point beyond simply could not be reached. Thus, on the basis of its own particular perceptions the nation's Genius devised a system of its own beliefs and devised various methods and means which were to set the norms for its spiritual life; even though none of this, of course, was either complete or perfect.

Yet one must believe that the Lord God loved those people

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<sup>8</sup>Metropolitan Ilarion, "The Ukrainian Church," p. 30.

with the same blessed love that He loves us. He understood them fully and He, most likely, did not place undue demands upon them. As, for example, in the Old Testament when the Lord allowed the primordial Israelites to appease their spiritual needs with sacrificial offerings, even though the Lord God did not require those offerings and, naturally, did not delight in them. He tolerated those sacrificial offerings because the primitive man knew no better. Nonetheless, when the human being of the Old Testament was better capable of understanding God, He clearly said to him: “For I desire mercy and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings” (Hosea 6:6).

It were such spiritual qualities that the Lord awaited from our ancestors as well and, it seems, they met this first requirement. We know that our ancestors were people of a high level of ethical culture: they were kind, hospitable and good-natured. This is what encompasses the concept of “love” which the Lord, first of all, expected from His people. We have the evidence that our pre-Christian ancestors knew this virtue well and truly lived by it. This evidence is found in various sources — in scientific research, in folklore, in songs, in carols, and others. Primarily, however, we find evidence of this in the governing codex of Old Rus’, in “Rus’ka Pravda” (“The Law of Rus’”).

As concerns the second divine requirement — the knowledge of the True God — one must realize that the confessor of the old religion had only an innate percept of that God. Then one had only a feeling for Him and although he or she searched Him constantly, he or she could not find Him by one’s own efforts, for God is simply unattainable. Furthermore, there was still no prophet of the True God at the time; there was no apostle or preacher from Him as yet. And even if he had existed somewhere, one must understand that the changing of one’s religious beliefs, one’s faith, is a very difficult and serious matter.

## THE PROBLEM OF THE CHANGE OF RELIGION

Moreover, one must realize that God never stopped loving the human nature even when it fell into disobedience and sin. He waited for a long time for man to mature spiritually, when He could enter his fate in the person and role of his Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ. God himself was preparing the Israelite nation for this, through especially and directly chosen patriarchs and prophets, for more than a thousand years. Yet how difficult it

was for the nation to accept its Savior, Jesus Christ, when He finally came. How difficult it was for the people to cross over from the Old Testament to the New and to change from Law to Grace. The Israelites were not an exception; the change of religion for them as for other nations, including our own, was not an easy matter.

Nevertheless, when our ancestors had spiritually matured to the level that the Gospel could be proposed to them and to the level that they could be Christianized they had only to acknowledge and to believe in the True God — in the Trinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; that is, they had only to change and choose the true object of their new faith and to accept the true, Christian religion. Their way of life, their attitude toward the divine and spiritual world, that is, their spirituality, in many instances underwent no change and required no change. It remained as it was. Therefore, Ukrainian feasts, the seasonal and ritual customs and traditions, which are imbued with a living spirit, became Christianized even though they are of pre-Christian origin. They are such strong expressions of the Ukrainian spirit, such intimate bearers of Ukrainian spirituality that even the modern individual does not abandon them without feeling pain.

The phenomenon of the lost individual is evidence of this. For although an individual can become lost spiritually, he or she does not perish completely; from time to time he or she reawakens and regains new life. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Ukrainian churches are overfilled during the Great Holidays. Even the spiritually neglected and lost go to Church at that time. What brings them back? Their inner reawakened spiritual force which can be neglected, but which often reawakens and gives the individual much spiritual uneasiness, a sense of unrest, etc.

## A BROADER CONCEPT OF SPIRITUALITY AND ITS MANIFESTATIONS

At the outset of this chapter we endeavored to explain that spirituality consists of the entire conscious activity of the human spirit which directs and elevates the human being to the ideal of God — to that which ennobles the human being immensely. This consists of that which orientates and directs the human being in the real sphere of life, in its horizontal aspect; particularly that which helps the human being to standardize and satisfy his or her

inborn aspirations and striving toward the higher ideal, or the divine world — the striving which normalizes one's life in the vertical order. In other words, the spirituality of a human being consists of the activity of his or her reason, heart and spirit — all the manifestations of one's life that are inspired by the ideal of the Highest Good, by the Grace of the Divine Spirit. Furthermore, human spirituality consists of the activity that emerges from the stimuli of Faith, Hope, and Love.

Having said this we will now endeavor to devise a schematic and demonstrative classification of some aspects of Ukrainian spirituality. In the category of *Faith* we include such activities of the human spirit as religious consciousness, religiousness, knowledge, knowledge of God, fear of God, piety, prayer, virtuosity, ethics, self-perfection, spiritual sense and orientation, and others.

In the category of *Hope* are included the following aspects of spiritual activity: self-assurance, trustfulness, lightheartedness, joy, gratitude, devotion, creativity, industriousness, valor, and others.

In the category of *Love* are included: kindness, humaneness, benevolence, friendship, loyalty, steadfastness, sympathy, service to others, hospitality, grace, charity, dedication, and many others.

These categories of human spirituality, as manifestations of spiritual activity, are normal expressions of human nature. But in the pre-Christian Ukrainian being these were developed to a very high standard. (We need only to mention the high standard of humaneness in the old codex "Rus'ka Pravda.") This activity, this psychic process, influences the entire creativity of a human being and his or her appropriation of such absolute values as truth, goodness, ethics, morality, aesthetics, and others. Because of this activity the human being is elevated beyond the primitive spiritual process and level, which consists simply of egotistical goals and by which the human being strives toward relative values only.<sup>9</sup>

The aspiration of human nature toward altruistic and absolute values inspires one and leads him or her toward God Himself. The pre-Christian Ukrainian being, on the other hand, strove toward these values and objectives by intuition and conjecture

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<sup>9</sup>N. O. Losskiy, "Obshchedostupnoye vvedeniye v filosofiyu," Posen, Frankfurt, 1956, p. 212.

alone, that is, by a natural force of gravitation toward truth and good. Christ — the highest objective of this gravitation — was not known to our ancestors; they were not conscious of His advent. It is this that differentiated their faith from the faith of the Old Testament: the Israelites consciously awaited the Messiah. But when He came, they would not receive Him (John 1:10-11).

## THE PRE-CHRISTIAN SPIRITUALITY OF OUR ANCESTORS

Having said this we can now raise the question as to the data which form our basis in regard to the pre-Christian Ukrainian being and its spirituality. The answer to this question must be found in historical sources — in the characterizations of our ancestors as described in the early historical Chronicles. The Ukrainian scholar Hryhoriy Vashchenko in his article “Tradytsiyny ukrayins’ky ideal lyudyny” (“The Traditional Ukrainian Ideal of Man”) draws his depiction of the *polyany* from the Chronicle: among them reigned “the customs of their fathers: they are kind and peaceful.” Besides this he notes historical sources that mention the hospitality of the Slavs, their happy nature, their love of song, music and dance. He notes Arabian testimony of the Rus’ parents’ instilling of valor in their children. He mentions the knightly virtue of honor in their relations (even in relations with their enemies), and finally, their peculiar spiritual aristocracy, which includes a gamut of high levels of human dignity.<sup>10</sup>

Further in his discussion of the basic characteristics of the Ukrainian ideal of man, Vashchenko indicates such spiritual manifestations as a strong faith in God, devotion to the will of God, the belief in Providence, humility, active love toward one’s fellow man, honesty, truthfulness, loyalty to an oath, love of country, valor, and love of work and knowledge. Since he affirms that this ideal was formed as early as the Princely Era of Rus’, one must believe that much of this was the natural manifestation of a peculiar aristocratic nature of the Ukrainian being which formed and developed under the influence of the elements of the Ukrainian land, and its climate far before the acceptance

<sup>10</sup>Hryhoriy Vashchenko, “Tradytsiyny ukrayins’ky ideal lyudyny,” *Naukovy zbirnyk UVU, Jubilee edition, V, Munich, 1948, pp. 19–21.*

of Christianity. Vashchenko acknowledges this when he asserts that, with the coming of Christianity, missionary activities were met with success because of “the very disposition of our forefathers who, by nature, were humane and peace loving. Besides, one must add the natural esthetism of the Slavs that opened up the foundation for the spiritual influence of beautiful church singing, solemn Divine Service, grandiose cathedrals and church painting.”<sup>11</sup>

## THE NATURE OF HUMAN SPIRITUALITY

Therefore, having formed a classification and definition of the concept of spirituality (including the characteristics of the pre-Christian Ukrainian being and Ukrainian concept of the ideal man) we can now endeavor to show some specific conclusions. We would like to ascertain and illustrate the positive elements of the pre-Christian Ukrainian spirituality which remained as live components even when this spirituality became fully Christianized or fulfilled by the Spirit and Truth of Jesus Christ.

In accordance with our concept of spirituality and with our identification of its categories we see that these categories are normal and natural characteristics and needs of the human spirit just as all negative correspondents are in contradiction to this spirit and, thus, are detrimental, or sinful. If faith is a positive and inspiring peculiarity of the human spirit, then faithlessness is a mortal, or sinful one. If hope is a highly noble spiritual virtue, then hopelessness is its negative correspondent, the worth of which we all know. Or how abundant is the virtue of love! Its negative correspondent is hate, the consequences of which we also well know. And so on.

Although these basic spiritual qualities of the pre-Christian Ukrainian being lacked a true, or divine context, they existed in him or her nonetheless. As Vashchenko states, these qualities were highly developed in the form of a high consciousness as regards the internal dignity of the human being. This is that spiritual aristocracy of the nation which manifests itself in the ordinary simplicity of the way of life and the mode of behavior of a nation. As Vashchenko acknowledges, this is one of those spiritual elements which later produced “brilliant results in the field of material culture as well as spiritual culture.”<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

## CONCLUSIONS

In discussing the positive elements of the pre-Christian Ukrainian spirituality we are disclosing no new material but stressing, rather, the obvious and understandable. Because there are tendencies toward extremes — on the one hand referring to the old religion as paganism and, on the other, revering it as in “Runvira” we expound our own reflections in the context of the celebrations of the official Millennium of Baptism of the Ukrainian nation. This is necessary also, in order to pay the spirit of our ancestors its due respect. There are others as well who have stressed that the “paganism” of our forefathers was not such a paganism as some would imagine.<sup>13</sup> Actually, it was the product and manifestation of the local spiritual Genius of the nation. It was termed barbarian and pagan by foreigners — the Greeks — who saw the creators and bearers of their ancient Greek culture as the forerunners of Christianity.

Therefore we assert that our primordial culture and spirituality were the product of the normal spiritual development of man who with his innate forces of divine gifts gravitated toward the truth and the good. His spiritual aspirations were pure and naturally sacred. He was led by sacred feelings even though he was moved, nurtured and nourished by the forces of his Land, its elements and its mysterious nature.

It is in this process that the character of the Ukrainian being, its behavior, and its outlook on life was formed. This is the process which created and crystallized our spirituality and spiritual culture in general. Through this process one learned to perceive the earth and bread as something sacred. All this has penetrated our national entity so deeply that even today the average Ukrainian is reverent to the bread that accidentally falls to the ground.

The spirit of the Ukrainian nation always strove toward the good and always endeavored to create only the good. For the normalization of its life it created various rituals, customs and traditions which live among us and inspire us to the present time. It expressed and sang its feelings in carols, shchedrivky (carols on the eve of the Epiphany), in spring (Easter) songs which we sing today. Obviously this was all localized. It developed under the influence of the lakes, rivers, groves, the muses of the night-

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<sup>13</sup>Metropolitan Ilarion, “The Ukrainian Church,” new edition, p. 30.

ingale and swallow, the flight of the eagle and crane and narrowed into the context of the Ukrainian Land and its nature. And if not all things corresponded to God's Truth it is understandable, for nowhere on earth did the human spirit capture the Divine Spirit independently or comprehend it fully. Thus when Christianity arrived in Ukraine some of the local products of the pre-Christian Genius withdrew into the sphere of folklore or vanished completely from the living consciousness of the nation.

Nevertheless, as one philosopher says, though "oriental in its origins, universal in its message, Christianity was incorporated into each nation by undergoing a kind of adaptation to, or investment of the pre-Christian legacies which hide in the subconscious of the national soul."<sup>14</sup> Thus whatever is that the nation's Genius created the nation held it as positive. And even if, for example, the Greeks were surprised and offended at our nation's reverent attitude toward bread and even if they struggled for centuries against our custom of the blessing of the paska at Easter, we still preserve this custom and will not allow it to be viewed as a pagan custom.

It is not the purpose of this work to go into a detailed list of all positive elements of the pre-Christian Ukrainian spirituality that have remained alive and continue to inspire us. We simply want to stress that not all things in our pre-Christian spirituality were pagan. There were things, that were not positive, were wrong or fantastic in character. But many of the pre-Christian beliefs of our nation were Christianized. Even some peculiarities of mythological gods were Christianized and carried over into Christian feasts. Some of these were: Svaroh (the god of heaven, sun and fire) was replaced by the Saints Kuz'ma and Demyan; Perun (the god of thunder and lightning) by the Prophet St. Elias and St. Nicholas; Veles (the god of animals) by St. Vlasiy; Mokosha (the goddess of fertility) by St. Paraskeva; Kupalo (feastday or god of wealth, happiness and love) by St. John the Baptist and the Feastday honoring him on June 24th (old calendar), and others.<sup>15</sup>

We must recognize that all changes brought something from the old spirituality into the realm of Christianity because Christianity absorbed the elements of the old spirituality. Thus, one

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<sup>14</sup>G. P. Fedotov, "The Russian Religious Mind," (Kievan Christianity: the 10th to the 13th Centuries), Harper and Row Publishers, New York, 1960, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup>Metropolitan Ilarion, "Dokhrystyyans'ki viruvannya ukrayins'koho narodu," Institut Doslidiv Volyni, Winnipeg, 1965, pp. 95-119.

can assume that the spiritual needs, feelings and expectations of our ancestors, for the most part, were genuine and positive even though the old Genius was not always capable of finding the right answer for all things. Thus in the time of our celebrations of the 1000th year of official Christendom in Ukraine we give praise and thanks to our Lord God for the gift and the Grace of the Orthodox Faith and also for having endowed us with this Genius. We should also give due respect to the great Genius of our ancestors for their pre-Christian culture, for their spiritual heritage in its entire content, context and forms. We must not forget that this primordial spiritual Genius is an everlasting gift of God to our nation given to us for our living, for a healthy orientation, our development, and our happiness here on earth as well as for eternal joy.

August, 1982.

**THE AXIS OF THE UKRAINIAN SPIRITUAL  
ORIENTATION**  
**The Christianization of Ukraine from Byzantium**

*Introduction*

The question as to why Ukraine chose Christianity from Byzantium is not a common one, but a pertinent one nevertheless. Discussing it on the background of the celebration of the millennium of the Baptism of Rus'-Ukraine is both desirable and necessary. We shall endeavor to shed some light on the contentious issue: why did Ukraine become Christianized from Byzantium and what Faith is it that Ukraine accepted — an undetermined Christian Faith, the Orthodox Faith, or the Catholic Faith? There are viewpoints defending each of these assumptions; they depend, of course, on one's religious beliefs or political orientations. Notwithstanding, one must acknowledge the existing historical data that supports one of these assumptions.

Rather than entering into polemics on the theme as to why Ukraine became Christianized from Byzantium, we wish to clarify this problem from the standpoint of the psychological and spiritual orientation of the Ukrainian. This orientation is not only pertinent; it is, probably, the most important factor to consider in light of this discussion.

Spiritual orientation refers to the person's innate tendencies or the tendencies which are formed because of certain events and natural phenomena and developments that influence a person's inclinations, his or her goals and aspirations. Under the influence of these psychological forces (or even under their pressure) a person becomes convinced that this particular orientation, and no other, will lead to positive consequences, thus, one's entire development and the direction his or her life takes is dependent on this orientation.

In the Ukrainian case, this orientation pivots on a north-south axis. Orientation on an east-west axis brought Ukraine nothing but failure, defeat, and various types of misfortunes.<sup>1</sup> We believe

<sup>1</sup>Yuriy Lypa, *Pryznachennya Ukrayiny*, 2nd ed. (New York: "Hoverlya," 1953), pp. 285–289. In his studies on the psychological and the spiritual orientation of the Ukrainian being, Lypa deals with the concept of the axis of orientation as an obvious fact without analyzing its nature. Therefore, we wish to make at least an elementary explanation of this concept.

that the Ukrainian psychological orientation upon a north-south axis was a decisive factor in the Christianization of Rus'-Ukraine from Byzantium and in the selection of Orthodoxy. The explanation to this follows later; first, let us focus our attention on the very possibility of an axis of a psychological and spiritual orientation.

### DOES AN AXIS OF A PSYCHOLOGICAL AND A SPIRITUAL ORIENTATION EXIST?

Before delving into this question let us first differentiate between the psychological and the spiritual orientations. Psychological orientation refers to the orientation of a human being which is more natural, unconscious and spontaneous in character. Spiritual orientation refers to the conscious, goal-directed and, therefore, the concrete activity of all the spiritual forces of a human being. This activity demands reflection, conscious effort and energy. Thus, the psychological orientation of a human being, as a spontaneous activity, emerges first, while the spiritual arises consciously from the psychological one as a voluntary, goal-directed and, therefore, creative act.

The existence of an axis of both the psychological and the spiritual orientations is established from folkloric evidence, cultural monuments and past history. These bear witness to the fact that the Ukrainian orientation from time immemorial has pivoted on a north-south axis. Reasons for this direction include the geographic location of Ukraine, her political and cultural fate, her climate, economy, and other factors. For example, such concepts as "Chorne more" ("Black Sea"), "Dunay", and "Vyriy" that had a special meaning in the Ukrainian consciousness eventually assumed a psychological reality which subconsciously formed a psychological orientation, followed by a spiritual orientation of the entire nation. This orientation took the line of these concepts, that is, the line in north to south direction.

Furthermore, the movement of other, conscious interests developed upon this same line as well: as trade relations along the path "from Varangians to the Greeks," political relations and inclinations, military campaigns, cultural influences, and other interests. All these were very important events in the development of the world outlook and the psychological orientation of the Ukrainian. Thus, these events deserve our closer attention.

## GEOGRAPHIC-PSYCHOLOGICAL BASES OF THE SPIRITUAL ORIENTATION

It seems that the existence of an axis of a spiritual orientation is so obvious that it is not necessary to establish further evidence in its support. For the axis of the psychological and the spiritual orientation of the Ukrainian exists independently, whether we are conscious of it or not. Its existence is conditioned by many natural and spiritual forces, some of which are:

### 1. *The slope of the earth and the flow of rivers:*

It is a well-known fact that the geographic location of a country and its geographic surroundings have a great and determining influence on the development of a national character and on the development of one's world outlook. As the French philosopher Cousin had said: "Give me a map of the country, its features, its waters, its winds, and its entire physical geography; give me its natural resources, its flora, its geology, and so on, and I will tell you a priori what kind of human being lives in this country and his role in history."<sup>2</sup>

A few scholars have made such categorical statements. And this refers to us as well. We with our Ukrainian nature, our character, our world outlook, as well as our axis of psychological orientation are also a product of our native land and its elements.

Looking at the map of Ukraine we see that the earth slopes from north to south and that the flow of the rivers are in the southerly direction. This geographic inclination is the geographic direction of our land which had a tremendous influence on the development of our psychological direction, that is, our psychological orientation.

This is our natural and spiritual direction. It is reinforced by an axis of the balance of winter and summer, the particular flow of the cold northern and warmer southern air masses, the movement of migratory birds, and even such a phenomenon of nature as the great body of water in the Black Sea. All these natural phenomena greatly reflect on the imagination of a human being. They slowly accustomed it to themselves and inclined it toward the formation of a permanent world outlook. That axis of the psychological, and especially the spiritual orientation, became an organic part of our world outlook.

<sup>2</sup>In N. Y. Hryhoriyiv, *Ukrayins'ka natsional'na vdacha*, (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka Vydavnycha Spilka v Kanadi, 1941), p. 6.

## 2. The concepts “dunay” and “vyriy”.

In general terms “dunay” refers to a body of water, either lake or river. But it, also, refers to a specific body of water in the south — the Danube — along which the Slavic tribes lived in the days of antiquity. Thus, the Danube had an important significance for our ancestors. As Pavlo Krat writes, historical sources show that our ancestors held an age-old interest in the river Danube from the standpoint of trade and politics.<sup>3</sup> The very adaptation of this name to refer generally to any given body of water is interesting in the context of the psychological axis of orientation of the Ukrainian. Obviously this adaptation is not incidental in character, for it has an actual base.

The same can be said about the concept “vyriy.” It refers to a warm and peaceful region, a fantasy land, and a place where migratory birds fly for winter. “Vyriy” refers, also, to a southern region enveloped in rapturous bliss and a fairy tale luxuriousness. The concept has a strong psychological force and, therefore, plays an important role in the development of a psychological orientation. It entered folklore and from folklore it entered the consciousness of a nation and its world outlook.

Just as the concept “dunay” is connected with an actual river — the Danube — so the concept “vyriy,” as a fantasy land can be compared to an actual country — Byzantium — with which our ancestors established trade, and political and military relations. Pavlo Krat describes these relations in his work “Ukrayins’ka starodavnist’” (“Ukrainian Antiquity”).<sup>4</sup> Some of Krat’s conclusions seem like fairy tales, but they are now reaffirmed by Dr. Stepan Mishko in his work “Narysy rann’oyi istoriyi Rusy-Ukrayiny” (“Essays of the Early History of Rus’-Ukraine”), published by the Ukrainian Historical Society in 1981.<sup>5</sup> Mishko’s historical studies are treated with great respect.

Some of the old Ukrainian carols, besides extolling trade and political relations with the rich Byzantium, express how young Ukrainian men went to seek military service in Byzantium.<sup>6</sup> Krat

<sup>3</sup>Pavlo Krat, *Ukrayins’ka starodavnist’*, (Toronto-Buenos Aires: 1958).

<sup>4</sup>Pavlo Krat, *Ukrayins’ka starodavnist’*, (Toronto-Buenos Aires: 1958), pp. 170–178 and others.

<sup>5</sup>Stepan Mishko, *Narysy rann’oyi istoriyi Rusy-Ukrayiny*, (New York-Toronto-Munich: Ukrayins’ke Istorychne Tovarystvo, 1981).

<sup>6</sup>*Kolyadky ta shchedrivky* (Zymova obryadova poeziya trudovoho roku), (Kiev: “Naukova dumka,” 1965), pp. 176–177. Cf. the original of this work *Dukhovist’ Ukrayins’koho narodu* where two versions of such a carol are incorporated into the text, pp. 43–44.

makes the assumption that these carols describe the existing conditions in the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian (527-565), because in later times such adventures were impossible. Thus, as is evident, Byzantium, as a rich southern land, was well-known to our ancestors long before the formation of the Kievan-Rus' State. The Rus' nation is a very old one; it is a nation with a memory of a long historical past. Mishko states that the nation of Rus', Ros, or Rosh (hrus, hros) is first mentioned in a Syrian Chronicle of Pseudo-Zacharius in the second half of the sixth century.<sup>7</sup> Krat mentions this as well<sup>8</sup> in citing Yuriy Vernatsky in regard to the name "Rosh." Vernatsky states that "Rosh" is indeed "Rus'." Data on this is given also by Sergey Lesnoy in his work "Rus', otkuda ty?" ("Rus', From Where Art Thou?")<sup>9</sup> But the nation Ros or Rosh was known to prophet Ezekiel in the fourth century B.C. Ezekiel mentions that nation twice — in chapters 38:2 and 39:1.

Therefore, it is very possible that in the subconsciousness of the descendants of this nation there were many concepts which remained and took on the coloring of a fairy tale. Nevertheless, these concepts, in reality, are based upon facts. It is very possible that the Ukrainian concepts "dunay" and "vyriy" originated from the actual river Danube and the actual historical land, Byzantium, respectively. Undoubtedly, both concepts had an important influence on the development of the Ukrainian psychological and spiritual orientation on a north-south axis. This orientation has not lost its force today and we believe that it played a very decisive role in the Christianization of Ukraine from the south, from Byzantium to which the Ukrainian nation had, for many centuries, an already developed psychological inclination.

## THE ROLE OF TRADE, CULTURAL AND MILITARY RELATIONS

Besides the above mentioned psychological and subconscious relations between the Ukrainian nation and the south there was regular intercourse in trade, culture and politics (even in ancient

<sup>7</sup>Mishko, op. cit., p. 33.

<sup>8</sup>Krat, *Ukrayins'ka starodavnist'*, p. 173. About the Slavs and the name "Ros," "Rosh" see very interesting article by Yaroslav Pasternak in *Ranni slovyany v istorychnykh, arkhеолоhichnykh ta lingvistychnykh doslidzhennyakh*, (New York-Toronto-Paris-Munich: Ukrayins'ke Istorychne Tovarystvo, Zapysky NTSH, 1976).

<sup>9</sup>Sergey Lesnoy, *Rus' otkuda ty?* (Winnipeg: 1964), pp. 86–88.

times) between the Ukrainian Land and the southern world. These connected the interests of the people of Ukraine with that world in real terms as well as subconsciously and psychologically.

The main reason for these relations was the trade of local products, leather, furs, honey, wax. In exchange Byzantium and other countries brought woven goods, fibers, products of metal, clay and glass, various spices, and other goods.<sup>10</sup> Kiev was the northern centre for this trade, while Constantinople was the southern. The basic route connecting the two was the Dnieper River known as the "Great Waterway from the Varangians to the Greeks."

One can imagine how many stories were developed about the various trade journeys, about the adventures, the riches, about other peoples and other worlds. All this must have had a great influence on the imagination of the people, on their outlook, and on the development of their psychological consciousness. Eventually, much of this entered into the realm of the "collective unconscious" of our ancestors and their folklore. Later it nourished the imagination of the people about far-off lands, an imaginary fantasy world existing somewhere beyond the "blue dunay" and in the distant azure "vyriy."

The knowledge of a distant land came to our ancestors also from the Greek colonies, which began to appear on the northern shores of the Black Sea in the seventh century B.C.<sup>11</sup> The Greek colonists brought their culture with them, particularly in the form of a well developed architecture, literature, and some forms of agriculture.

Again, it is difficult to imagine that this direct contact that our ancestors had with the southern lands would not have influenced and enriched their outlook, their thinking, and therefore, their psychological orientation.

Moreover, it is known that our ancestors with some traits of their spirituality as, for example, the virtuousness of women and belief in one God, captured the amazement of their southern neighbors, including Procopius of Caesarea, the Byzantine historian of the sixth century.<sup>12</sup>

Researchers now are coming to believe more and more that

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<sup>10</sup>*Istoriya Ukrayins'koyi Kul'tury*, I, Ivan Tyktor edition (Winnipeg: 1964), pp. 48-49.

<sup>11</sup>Mishko, *Narys rann'oyi istoriyi* . . . , p. 36.

<sup>12</sup>Mishko, *Narys rann'oyi istoriyi* . . . , pp. 119-120.

Byzantium knew about the people "Ros" or "Rosh" as early as the third century and that a Rus' prince was even known in the circles of Emperor Constantine (306-377).<sup>13</sup> There is mention of these people in various Chronicles regarding attacks of northern peoples on Byzantium.

Mishko states that attacks by Slavs on Byzantium began in the fifth century. The first attack took place in the time of Emperor Anastasius (491-518). Further attacks occurred in the time of Emperor Justinian (527-565), in 548, 550, 551, 559. Later attacks were in the reign of Emperor Tiberius II (578-582), and a few in the reign of Emperor Maurice (582-602).<sup>14</sup> Particularly heavy attacks on Byzantium took place in the time of Maurice; they continued in the days of Heraclius in 622 and again in 626.<sup>15</sup>

All these relations of the early Slavs, the Rus' and Byzantium, indicate that the memory of our ancestors of a rich southern land was not imagined, that it is based on real facts, on oral reports of bygone days, which were of a great significance to our forefathers.

Besides all this there were Greek colonies on the northern shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, that is, on Ukrainian Land. The bigger ones were: Tyras by the Dniester River, Olbia by the Boh River, Chersones, Theodosia, Panticapaeum, Phanagoria, Taman, Tanais, and many others.<sup>16</sup> These colonies and their colonists must have had an influence on the memory, imagination, and the outlook of Ukrainians. This in turn, influenced the development of their everlasting psychological axis and eventually their spiritual orientation as well. There is increasingly more historical folkloric evidence found in this regard.

## PREPONDERANT ORIENTATION — THE NORTH TO SOUTH AXIS

The development of a psychological orientation of a nation takes a long time, even centuries. In Ukraine this orientation began to develop with the movement of the Antes to the south

<sup>13</sup>Lesnoy, *Rus' otkuda ty?*, pp. 86–88.

<sup>14</sup>Mishko, *Narys rann'oyi istoriyi . . .*, pp. 122–146.

<sup>15</sup>Lesnoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–94.

<sup>16</sup>Volodymyr Sichynsky, *Ukrayins'ka kul'tura*, ed. D. Antonovych (Regensburg-Berchtesgaden: UTHI, 1947), p. 188.

long before the Princely Era of Rus', about the fifth or sixth century.<sup>17</sup> Its development was on the north to south axis. If there was any influence in Ukraine from the Roman culture<sup>18</sup> it also came from the south, not the west. It came in along the flow of the Danube which divided the European world into the "barbaric" north and the cultural world of the Mediterranean. (In days of antiquity our ancestors had no reason to orientate themselves on the west.)

The psychological and political orientation of Ukrainians on the east-west axis always resulted in defeat,<sup>19</sup> or tragedy. The first signs of this defeat was in the clash of the forces between the Asian Huns and the Western Goths in the early centuries of our era. The same is true in the latter westward movement of Asian hordes, particularly the Tatàrs, or when Ukraine was caught between the forces of Muscovy and Poland. Each event on the east-west axis led to defeat of the Ukrainian nation, which remains a victim of this orientation to this very day.

Entirely different was the outcome of events that occurred on the north-south axis. This orientation began in the successful movement of the Antes (ancestors of Rus'-Ukrainians) toward the Black Sea, in the adventuresome movement of the daring Ukrainian mercenaries into the Byzantine Emperor's army, in the role of the northern Varangians in the development of Rus'-Ukraine, in trade relations with the southern countries, particularly with Byzantium and in diplomatic relations with Byzantium. All these had a decisive influence on the orientation of Ukrainian interests in the south, for the orientation on the east-west axis never brought our ancestors anything positive, on the contrary, it brought only defeat and slavery.

#### *Orientation but not subjugation*

Our research on the psychological orientation of Ukrainians on the north-south axis shows that this orientation was always voluntary, never of a submissive, involuntary character. It was an orientation which was active, which pursued certain advantages, as, for example, Volodymyr Velyky's relations with Byzantium. His relations were based on his own conditions and not on those of the Emperor.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup>Mishko, *Narys rann'oyi istoriyi* . . . , pp. 102–105.

<sup>18</sup>S. Kylymnyk, *Ukrayin'sky rik u narodnikh zvychayakh*, vol. I (Winnipeg: Instytut Doslidiv Volyni, 1955), pp. 12–13.

<sup>19</sup>Yuriy Lypa, *Pryznachennya Ukrayiny*, p. 295.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, vol. I, (The University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), pp. 320–324.

Even later when better relations existed between Rus'-Ukraine and Byzantium, the Ukrainian princes were not to be intimidated by the emperors. For example, Yaroslav Mudry sent his son Volodymyr on a campaign against Byzantium over the killing of one of his trade merchants in Constantinople in 1043, although the Greeks warded him off with little effort.<sup>21</sup>

In earlier times, Prince Oleh's attitude toward Byzantium was similar: Oleh forced Leo VI to sign treaties, in 907 and 911, which gave Rus' certain advantages. Prince Ihor acquired the same kind of treaty in 944.<sup>22</sup> As a result of these treaties Princess Ol'ha was able to enjoy friendly relations with the Byzantine emperors and in 957 (or 955) she experienced a grandiose and hospitable welcome in the Byzantine court.

Furthermore, there are assumptions as well as documented data showing that the Slavs had a significant influence in Greece in Medieval Times and that some areas of Greece were even Slavicized.<sup>23</sup>

In regard to a psychological and spiritual orientation of Ukrainians on Byzantium with the preservation, at the same time, of their own traditions and convictions, Volodymyr Velyky is a prime example. After the official christening of Rus'-Ukraine in the Orthodox Faith, Volodymyr accepted the ecclesiastical Nomocanon from Byzantium. It included the death penalty which had not existed in Rus'-Ukraine. Since the death penalty was contrary to the Ukrainian spirituality, Volodymyr immediately substituted this law with a monetary penalty.<sup>24</sup>

The endeavor to preserve the spiritual independence of Kiev from Constantinople led Yaroslav Mudry (Volodymyr's son) even further. By installing Ilarion, the overseer of the Cathedral of St. Sophia, as Metropolitan of Kiev, Yaroslav Mudry acquired the independence of the Kievan Rus' Church from Byzantium. Unfortunately, the independence lasted only from 1051 to 1054. Following Yaroslav's death, Constantinople reigned over the Church again; although not completely, for the Greeks were unsuccessful in uprooting the ancient spiritual traditions of the Ukrainian nation, which defended its traditions to this very day.

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 232.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 322.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 178–179. Cf. also Krat, *Ukrayins'ka starodavnist'*, pp. 207–214.

<sup>24</sup>Yaroslav Padokh, "Ideyi humannosty i demokratyzmu v karnomu pravi Knyazhoyi Ukrayiny," *Naukovy zbirnyk UVU*, vol. V (Munich: 1948), p. 115.

### *Psychological conflict of the East-West orientation*

The axis of a psychological orientation of a nation is a reality and, as shown above, there are many reasons and bases for it. Some endeavors were made to establish relations on the east-west axis as, for example, the ordaining of two Germans as the first bishops in Kiev during the reign of Princess Ol'ha, 960 and 961; the coronation of the Kievan prince Yaropolk Izyaslavych by a pope in 1075; the endeavor of a pope to crown Prince Danylo Halycky in 1254; and the Union of Berest in 1596. But these attempts brought nothing enduring to the Ukrainian nation, for, as Yuriy Lypa states, an orientation on an east-west axis is a dilemma for the Ukrainian nation.<sup>25</sup> Such an orientation is psychologically unnatural and spiritually disharmonious, because the entire Ukrainian constitution (the psychologically subconscious and the spiritually goal-directed attitudes) developed on the north-south axis.

This element of dilemma, as noted by Lypa, is of a "schizophrenic" nature. Often it becomes an obstacle in the development of an independent orientation because it favors a connection to certain authorities and centres. For the Orthodox Ukrainians, for example, besides the authority of Kiev, was the authority of Constantinople. In the spiritual orientation of the Ukrainian Catholics, besides the authorities of Kiev and Rome, is the authority of Byzantium (since the Byzantine rite is maintained).

It is, therefore, suggested that the Ukrainian return to the legend of Apostle Andrew and an orientation toward him and his prophetic words announced on the Kievan hills: "On these hills the Grace of God will shine" and toward the words of Ilarion, the first Ukrainian Metropolitan, who, on the dawn of the official baptism of Ukraine said that, as Rome has Peter and Paul, Ephesus and Patmos have John, India has Thomas, Egypt has Mark, so Rus'-Ukraine has Volodymyr.<sup>26</sup> Further on this Lypa wrote:

Much is said about the span and advance of Ukrainians. But with what kind of soul and in what name should this span be? Unless in the name that Ukrainians have something better and loftier in comparison with foreigners. In the name of that which is closer to God. Anyway, how can one success-

<sup>25</sup>Lypa, *Pryznachennya Ukrayiny*, p. 289.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 295. Metropolitan Ilarion, *The Ukrainian Church*, p. 357.

fully fight against a foreign and one's own chaos without harmony in one's own soul, a harmony that is found in a direct prayer?

It is in the name of this direct prayer of the Ukrainian character that one must consider the future of the embodiment of the apostleship of St. Andrew in Ukraine.<sup>27</sup>

Such is the discussion about the spiritual orientation of the Ukrainian nation for the future. It should unfold around the apostleship of St. Andrew and his blessed words on the Kievan hills, around the apostleship of St. Volodymyr, around Kiev. For even if the spiritual orientation of Ukrainians had a great positive significance on the north-south axis in the past, it is discordant today. A revision or a full reorientation is required.

### *Freedom and authoritarianism*

Our survey of the axis of the psychological and spiritual orientation of the Ukrainian shows that despite the obvious interest of our ancestors in the economic and cultural conditions of Byzantium and the southern world in general, they never lost their awareness of the significance of their own spirituality and culture.

Because of north-south and east-west trade routes, Kiev, from the times of antiquity, was well acquainted with the governments and the peoples of the world of the time, with their culture, their character, government structure, and so on. Kiev was also aware of its own significance in the system of the surrounding world, therefore, its relations with other nations were carefully weighed and selective, never involuntary, and under no circumstances servile.

The Byzantine Emperor Mauricius (582-602) gave an objective description of our ancestors (who were then called Sclavinus and Ante). He describes them as a freedom loving people, courageous, unbending to servility or subjugation by foreign rule, very humane in their relations toward their captives and foreigners.<sup>28</sup> In addition to this description by Mauricius, Procopius states that our ancestors were steadfast in honoring the treaties they signed with their neighbors.<sup>29</sup>

Obviously a nation with these characteristics was conscious of its inclinations, it protected these inclinations in its relations with

<sup>27</sup>Lypa, *Przyznachennya Ukrayiny*, p. 296.

<sup>28</sup>Mishko, *Narys rann'oyi istoriyi . . .*, pp. 118–119.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 120.

others and, when necessary, defended them by force. As, for example, the above mentioned death of just one Kievan merchant in Constantinople that evoked a military campaign against Byzantium during the reign of Yaroslav Mudry. Or as in the case of Prince Ihor, in facing defeat by the Polovtsi, he announced that he and his retinue would rather be killed than enbondaged.

Although Kiev protected its interests in all other relations, the situation was somewhat different in the face of the acceptance of Christianity; from the very beginning of its official Christianization, Kiev was forced to enter into a dependency on either Constantinople, or Rome. For these two ecclesiastical centres were the most influential at the time and both were in open competition for influence on other nations. Nevertheless Volodymyr Velyky sought "a form of Christianity that would not have the threat of political dependency," writes Mykhaylo Voznyak.<sup>30</sup>

Kiev was fully aware of the events which developed in surrounding areas in the eighth and ninth centuries and of how Constantinople and Rome endeavored to subjugate the Bulgars; this particular struggle led both centres to a mutual anathema. Thus, it would be naive to assume that Kiev did not know of this situation. One can easily assume that the aspirations of the key players, Patriarch Photius (820-898) and the Popes Nicholas I and Adrian II were known to political and Christian rulers and to the people in Kiev as well. There indeed were Christians in Kiev in the ninth century, for this was the time of the so-called First Baptism of Rus'-Ukraine, the aftermath of which a bishop from Constantinople arrived in Kiev.<sup>31</sup>

Furthermore, the princes of Kiev of the ninth and tenth centuries were aware of the type of relations that existed between Byzantium and the West, particularly in the case of the crowning of Charlemagne by the pope as "Emperor of Rome." Byzantium regarded him as a common usurper. Where Kievan sympathies were at the time can be judged by the relations of the princes Askold and Dyr with Constantinople (the first Baptism of Rus'-Ukraine took place during the time of Prince Askold, in 862). Similarly, in the case of Princess Ol'ha, a Christian, who about one hundred years later (either 955 or 957) was in Constantinople on a grandiose and hospitable visitation. A certain

<sup>30</sup>Mykhaylo Voznyak, *Istoriya Ukrayins'koyi Literatury*, vol. I, ("Prosvita," 1920), p. 37.

<sup>31</sup>Cf. Metropolitan Ilarion, *The Ukrainian Church*, pp. 15-25, and Voznyak, *Istoriya Ukrayins'koyi Literatury*, pp. 36-37 and 292.

tradition is apparent in these relations and it was known in the West. Attempts were made to turn Kiev away from Constantinople toward the West (as the ordaining of two German bishops during Ol'ha's reign, in 960 and 961); but these attempts were unsuccessful.

Thus we can conclude that, in the tenth century, the spiritual orientation of Kievan Rus' was developed on the basis of the primary psychological orientation, and that the obvious sympathies of Kievan Rus' continued on the axis of the beaten paths from north to south which existed long before the formation of the Kievan State. There are many facts to prove this in our study as well as in those of other scholars, including those who were discredited by our contemporary academicians, as the book cited here by Pavlo Krat, the work of Dr. S. Y. Paramoniv,<sup>32</sup> and others.

The most important fact here is that our ancestors of the tenth century were well aware of the autocratism of both the papal west and ceaseropapal south, of which they were cautious as far back as Prince Askold. In the event of the need of baptism, for what other reason would Askold (in 862) lead a military campaign against Byzantium if not so that the baptism would be on his conditions? In 988 Volodymyr did the same. He achieved his aims by the siege of Chersones and the threat that he would attack Constantinople if the matter did not proceed according to his terms. The idea that Volodymyr's motives in acting this way was for his enrichment with the brilliant Byzantine culture is most likely false. Why then gather facts that our ancestors, even before the times of Kievan Rus', took so much pride in their lofty ethical culture, love of freedom, their humaneness, and so forth. It is Byzantiism, that went against our old culture, which attributes such motives to Volodymyr.

## UKRAINIAN SPIRITUAL ORIENTATION AND CHRISTIANITY

The basic objective of this particular chapter was to examine why Ukraine was Christianized from Byzantium, rather than Rome. We believe that this was done consciously. There is much

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<sup>32</sup>S. Y. Paramoniv wrote two basic works on the Ukrainian past: *Zvidky my, chyiy my dity?* (*From Where are We, and Whose Children?*) (Winnipeg: 1963), and under the pseudonym Sergey Lesnoy, *Rus', otkuda ty?* (*Rus' - From Where Art Thou?*) (Winnipeg: 1964).

evidence of psychological, documentary and historical character to illustrate this. This evidence, as discussed above, reveals that well-established trade, political, military and social relations existed between our ancestors and the southern nations, particularly Byzantium, even before the formation of Kievan Rus' (before the turn of the eighth century<sup>33</sup>).

It is true that our ancestors also led some campaigns in Western Europe, as, for example, the attack of the mysterious leader Odoakra (or Odovakhara) on Yuvava (now Salzburg) in 477. Bohdan Khmelnytsky and his cossacks regarded this leader as a "drevniy ruskiy Odinatser," that is, as their ancient predecessor.<sup>34</sup> But these Western adventures left no particular imprint in the consciousness of the Ukrainian nation. They are not glorified in its folklore as are the southern adventures, because they did not enter the psychological or spiritual sphere of its orientation.

The relations our ancestors had with the south were altogether different. As shown earlier, they knew these nations well. This is particularly true of those ancestors who took trade journeys south, or served in the Byzantine army and, thus, frequented all the regions of the Byzantine Empire. They got to know the nations and the life of the nations of this empire well. Since Byzantium is the centre of Eastern Christianity, or the Orthodox world, one must assume that Kiev, too, was very well aware of this. So the question arises: who needed the legend about Volodymyr's diplomatic legation to the countries of the world and to Byzantium with the goal of inquiring about their faith?

Metropolitan Ilarion makes an accurate conclusion that the preparation of Ukraine to Christianize from Byzantium took many generations of time and that Ukraine did not need the legend about the preparation of baptism. He concludes that the author who recorded the legend in the Chronicle could only have been a Greek. Who else would so bountifully praise all things Greek and criticize all else?<sup>35</sup>

The opportunity of a thorough acquaintance of Rus'-Ukraine with Byzantium and its Church was there from the very beginnings of the official Christianization of Byzantium in the reign of

<sup>33</sup>Metropolitan Ilarion, *The Ukrainian Church*, p. 16.

<sup>34</sup>Lesnoy, *Rus' otkuda ty?* pp. 89–91. Cf. also Krat, *Ukrayins'ka starodavnist'*, pp. 160–169. Under Odoakra's command St. Maksym and his 50 men were killed in Salzburg.

<sup>35</sup>In *The Ukrainian Church*, pp. 40–43.

Constantine in the fourth century. Slavs frequented the very centre of this empire often and even held leading posts there,<sup>36</sup> thus, they must have been well aware of events there. Furthermore, since the capital of the Byzantine Empire and tales of the “good lord” of Byzantium became subjects of old Ukrainian carols, it is obvious that not only did the leading ranks of Kiev know about Byzantium, but the common folk as well. And if they knew about Byzantium, they knew about its faith, its people, and about the Orthodox Church, for this church was the mouthpiece of the state religion of Byzantium.

Incidentally, the above mentioned carol depicts the time when our ancestors had direct contacts with Byzantium when only the Danube separated them, about the fifth to the seventh centuries.<sup>37</sup> When the Avars (Turkic Asiatic hordes) ruled central-eastern Europe, those contacts were either halted or made significantly more difficult. With the rise of Kievan-Rus’ these contacts were revived (the Kievan Rus’ State followed the Ante State)<sup>38</sup> in the form of trade relations and military campaigns, but these relations were now of a different character. Nevertheless they, too, played an important role in the preservation of the psychological-spiritual ties with the Greeks and in this in the preparation of the Christianization of Ukraine from Byzantium.

## THE CONSCIOUS SELECTION OF ORTHODOXY

The question from where Ukraine was Christianized and, particularly, which faith did Ukraine accept — the Eastern Orthodox, the Western Catholic, or simply a Christian faith — is a contentious question and comes to the fore more and more in the process of the preparation of the celebration of the millennium of official Christianity in Ukraine. Some believe that Kievan Rus’-Ukraine accepted the Orthodox Faith, others take the stand that it accepted the Catholic Faith, and still others argue that, in 988, Ukraine accepted the Christian Faith, because the division of the Christian East and the Christian West had not come about until 1054. So instead of a peaceful celebration, a polemic has emerged. The nature of this question is such that we deemed it necessary to incorporate it in the given discussion of the axis of

<sup>36</sup>Cf. Krat, *Ukrayins'ka starodavnist'*, pp. 207–214.

<sup>37</sup>Mishko, *Narys rann'oyi istoriyi*, pp. 122–123, 179–184, 191.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 185–196.

the spiritual orientation of the Ukrainian and of the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation in general.

In spite of the fact that the legend about Volodymyr's intention of finding out about the religious faiths of his neighbors can have an important psychological and spiritual meaning, that legend was not necessary. Given data show that the legend is as superfluous in our discussion as it was for Volodymyr. In our opinion Volodymyr Velyky is given too much credit for the baptism of his nation as well as for the selection of the Orthodox faith, because both the former and the latter were conditioned by the axis of the psychological and spiritual orientation, or the consciousness, of the Rus'-Ukrainian nation. This orientation or consciousness took centuries to develop.

As for the question from where Kievan Rus'-Ukraine was Christianized, no one doubts that it was from Byzantium, even the Ukrainian Catholics acknowledge this fact by maintaining the Byzantine rite to this day. Some conflict and doubt remains, however, as to the form and content of the faith accepted in 988. Two questions are postulated in this regard, answers to which help resolve the conflict and doubt.

Firstly, was there a unity in Faith between the Byzantine East and Latin West in 988, when Ukraine officially adopted Christianity? No, there was not: the dogmatic unity between East and West had been violated by the change in the Niceo-Constantinople Symbol of Faith. This change was made at the Toledo Council in 589 or 653 by the addition to the Nicene Creed of the so-called "Filioque" which states that the Holy Spirit proceeds not only from the Father, but from the Son as well. In accordance with the Orthodox belief, the addition "and from the Son" is contrary to the words of Jesus Christ Himself that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father (John 15:26) and is only sent to humanity by the Son.

The "Filioque" was first introduced in Spain and was ratified by the Council of Achen in 809. It was not until 1014 that it was introduced in Rome, when the Greeks opposed this introduction.<sup>39</sup> Greek reaction against it led to the formal split between the East and West which actually took place in 1014 and finally culminated in a mutual anathema in 1054.

This is in regard to the dogmatic split between East and West.

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<sup>39</sup>Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, vol. I, (Harper and Row, 1975), pp. 303–304.

As to the rite, and particularly to the psychological and spiritual split, this began to emerge in the ninth century.<sup>40</sup> (According to Latourette, however, this split emerged as far back as the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 692.)<sup>41</sup> It is difficult to imagine that Kiev would not have known about this, or that Kiev would not have paid due attention to these East-West relations.

Secondly, the question arises as to whether, in the time of the official baptism of Ukraine, the concept of Orthodoxy, the Orthodox Faith, or the Orthodox Church existed and whether our ancestors were conscious of their baptism in the Orthodox Faith. The concept of Orthodoxy existed long before the formal division of Christianity into Orthodox and Catholic. And from the time of the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 692 the division became more and more evident.<sup>42</sup> Eventually, in the first half of the eighth century (about fifty years after the Sixth Ecumenical Council, St. John of Damascus deemed it necessary to write "A Complete Exposition of the Orthodox Faith." He based this work on the teachings of the Holy Fathers of the Church and on the principles of the Ecumenical Councils.<sup>43</sup> One hundred years later, in 843, a day was set aside for the Feast of Orthodoxy which is celebrated on the first Sunday of Lent.

The Western Church does not acknowledge this feast. But it is not by accident that the East views the ideal of the Orthodox Faith and the concept of "Orthodoxy" very highly, for both these concepts were introduced into the consciousness of the Church as far back as the seventh and eighth centuries. Later, even the very element of the solemnity of Orthodoxy was incorporated into the legend regarding Volodymyr's legation at the Divine Liturgy in the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Constantinople, that is, the emissaries marveled at the beauty "and knew not whether they were in heaven, or on earth."

It is obvious that all this was well-known to the Kievans, who, before the time of the official State baptism, were able to "Grecize" the Varangians. The Varangians had their own Church in Constantinople known as the Church of St. Elias,

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., pp. 301–306.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 286.

<sup>42</sup>Lecture notes from Metropolitan Ilarion, 1961. Further on this see Yaroslav Turkalo, *Narys Istoriyi Vselens'kykh Soboriv*, (New Haven-Brussels: Literaturno-Naukove Vydavnytstvo, 1974), pp. 214–235. Cf. also Metropolitan Ilarion, "Kanonichne pravo" in regard to the antiquity of the name "Orthodox Church."

<sup>43</sup>Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, vol. I, pp. 291–292.

which, furthermore, existed in Kiev as well before the official baptism of Rus'-Ukraine. Thus, Volodymyr Velyky, the Kievans, and the entire nation consciously accepted the Orthodox faith from Byzantium, the Orthodox Faith, which in Volodymyr's understanding was "true and pure."<sup>44</sup> Thus, it is unnecessary to search for diplomatic reasons in their choice of Orthodoxy and the Orthodox Faith.

One other fact must be mentioned here. If Volodymyr was born some time in the 960s, then in the time of the baptism of the empire he was still quite young; he was not quite thirty years old yet. Thus, it is most likely that he baptized his nation not as a result of his own decision or choice, or as a result of some political or cultural events, but because he was under the pressure of the needs of his nation, needs which had been emerging in Rus'-Ukraine for centuries. Otherwise why would this baptism have taken place quietly and obediently, without reaction from the people. This does not suit a freedom loving nation, which would not tolerate force and slavery. Therefore, we should consider whether we are not prescribing too much merit to Volodymyr in the baptism of the Ukrainian nation. We never mention the role and will of the people itself in this matter and this is important.

## THE AXIS OF THE SPIRITUAL ORIENTATION OF UKRAINIANS AND THE PRESENT

In conclusion, the axis of the psychological and spiritual orientation of the Ukrainian is a reality which had a great significance in the development of the fate of the Ukrainian nation in its far gone and recent past. But this reality is of the past. Today it serves to help us better understand the nature and development of historical events and the very development of the Ukrainian being, his or her likes, outlook, beliefs, and role in the movement of historical events that developed on the stage of Eastern Europe. This role was a very important one; it was a great and far-reaching role not only for Ukraine, but for Europe as well.

Furthermore, the axis of the psychological (subconscious) and mainly the spiritual (the real, goal-directed and active) orientation of the Ukrainian had a decisive meaning in his or her forma-

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<sup>44</sup>Ivan Vlasovs'ky, *Narys Istoriyi Ukrayins'koyi Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy*, vol. I. (New York: Ukrains'ka Pravoslavna Tserkva v Z.D.A., 1955), p. 26.

tion and in development of self-awareness, of his/her ethnic, cultural and spiritual peculiarities — his/her national identity, dignity and honor. It was in the atmosphere of this orientation that the phenomenon of the Ukrainian being developed and matured into a distinct Ukrainian entity. This process was culminated with the moment of his Christianization in the nation's historical church — the Orthodox Church.

But now this entity can and perhaps should transfer itself onto a stage of a different orientation. The axis of the psychological orientation has now fulfilled its role and the time is ripe for an active and goal-directed spiritual orientation, an altruistic, objective, national individualism,<sup>45</sup> which would orientate the Ukrainian being toward new climes — not Constantinople, not Rome or Moscow, but Golden-domed Kiev.

For our earthly salvation a spiritual orientation toward Kiev is our only alternative. It belongs in the process of our maturation which is evident in our culturalism in Diaspora. This culturalism can become our blessing or our curse.

As for the development of an exclusive spiritual orientation toward holy Kiev, the beginnings and signs of this are seen as early as 1051 in the bold endeavors of Yaroslav Mudry, who tried to bring about the independence of Kiev from Constantinople by installing a Ukrainian Metropolitan, Ilarion, in Kiev. This was followed by the installing of Klym Smolyatych in 1147. Further came the endeavors of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla (1632-1647). There were desperate attempts of the All-Ukrainian Church Sobor in 1921 and its installment of Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky; in the renewal of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in Ukraine in 1942; and in the formation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches (later Metropolitanates) in Canada and the United States in 1918.

This process has been psychologically and spiritually mature long ago but has not yet reached its full formed culmination because of the unfavorable political conditions in Ukraine. Nevertheless, the process of the establishment of a spiritual orientation toward Kiev appears also in the ideas of the establishment of the so-called Ukrainian Christian Church, and even in the strange "Runvism," if it is genuine and honest.

<sup>45</sup>Cf. S. Jarmus, *Fate of the Individual and Pastoral Care in Eastern Orthodox Theological Education* (D. Min. dissertation, San Francisco Theological Seminary, 1981), pp. 4–5.

So much about the spiritual orientation of the Ukrainian. Now we will turn our discussion on the religious awareness of the Ukrainian in the time of “Slovo o polku Ihorevi” (“The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign”).

July-August, 1983.

## RELIGIOUS AWARENESS IN THE TIME OF “THE TALE OF IHOR’S CAMPAIGN”

### *Introduction*

“The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign” (“Slovo o polku Ihorevi”) is an epic of the twelfth century which describes the unsuccessful campaign of Ihor Svyatoslavych, the Prince of Novhorod Siversky, against the Polovtsi (Cumans) in 1185. Although the basic theme in this literary work is patriotism and the lamenting of the fate of Princely Rus’, it contains much material that illustrates the spirituality of the Ukrainian people in the twelfth century. Some scholars conclude that the literary work illustrates that the existing spirituality was pagan; as a result many serious works have been written on this subject. Some researchers use “The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign” in an attempt to study ancient Ukrainian mythology and pre-Christian religion. In general, the pagan elements of this poem constitute a very popular theme in courses of the history of Ukrainian literature, in literary articles, and so on. It is this very popularity of the spiritual world of “The Tale” that has inspired us to include a chapter in this regard in our general survey of the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation.

Spirituality in “The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign” is only the secondary, the incidental element of the poem. The dominating motive for writing the work was a statehood-political one. Although its spiritual element must be recognized, an uncritical treatment of it leads researchers to an erroneous assumption that the dominating element of the poem is a pagan one. We intend to demonstrate that this is not so.

Moreover, incorporation of a short analysis of the spirituality of “The Tale” is necessary in order to illustrate the real state of the spirituality and religious outlook of the people of Princely Rus’-Ukraine in the twelfth century. Our position is that the dominating spiritual element in this poem is a Christian one and that the so-called “pagan” element, in the religious sense, does not exist in the work, inasmuch as whenever it appears it does so in order to perform a poetical function alone.

The author of “The Tale” was indifferent to the spiritual element of his work; his objective was a political one. Nevertheless, the reader, or the researchers, may be amazed at the author’s

reference to pre-Christian gods and his personifications of the forces of nature. This is what led researchers to believe that the dominating religious and spiritual element in "The Tale" is a pre-Christian, pagan one.

One must keep in mind that the author of "The Tale" is a poet. He is acknowledged as such by both reader and scholar; he was not writing a textbook about the study of spirituality of his times. In this regard the Soviet scholar D. Likhachev states: "all that personification, those elements of animism and paganism in 'The Tale' are phenomena of the artistic order,"<sup>1</sup> and one must agree with him.

As a poetic device for expressing an idea the "pagan" element in "The Tale" is truly strong and used very consistently by the author. If we were to approach "The Tale" with artistic consideration alone, we would not even be able to speak of a Christian spiritual element, because it does not fulfill a poetic function. It emerges only in a few places and this for the affirmation of a given fact. An example of this is when Ihor, having escaped the Polovtsian captivity, rushes to the Church of the Blessed Virgin, obviously to give praise to God for his successful escape and the author's praise of glory to the princes and retinue who have fought for the Christians.

Thus, both the Christian and the "pagan" spiritual elements in "The Tale" must be treated on the basis of their real function. No other relationship is to be found between them. Whereas the "pagan" element, which is used as a poet's device, dominates the work from beginning to end, the Christian element, which serves no artistic function, appears only from time to time thus illustrating the actual religion or the spiritual reality in Rus'.

Approaching "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" from the spiritual point of view, can lead one to another problem — the assumption that there were two religious elements or a dual faith, in Princely Rus'. Such an assumption has been made even by great scholars, as Metropolitan Ilarion.<sup>2</sup> Yet all scholars acknowledge that the author of "The Tale" is a Christian. If one assumes that the author or Prince Ihor was of a dual faith, then it would be difficult to explain how Ihor could have ignored the ill omens of the forces of nature had he truly believed in them.

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<sup>1</sup>D. Likhachev, "Slovo o polku Igorevi — geroicheskiy prolog russkoy literatury," (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Khudozhestvennaya Literatura," 1967), p. 80.

<sup>2</sup>Metropolitan Ilarion, "Slovo pro Ihoriv pokhid," (Winnipeg: "Volyn'," 1967), pp. 21–23.

If, on the other hand, one treats those ill omens as poetical images, as important poetical devices used by the author to create a desired effect, then those ill omens beg no such question. Examples of this are numerous throughout "The Tale."

### THE "PAGAN" ELEMENT OF "THE TALE"

On our analysis of the spirituality of Ukrainians in the Princely Era on the basis of "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign," we will focus mainly on the material in "The Tale." Other sources are used only for additional information. We will examine the "pagan" elements in "The Tale" first; they appear in the description of the predictions of the forces of nature, in the references to pre-Christian gods, in the animistic elements and in the attitudes toward these phenomena by the personages in "The Tale."

#### *Predictions of the forces of nature*

Pre-Christian religious elements appear at the very outset of the poem in the description of the departure of the princes on their campaign. First, predictions of the forces of nature caution Ihor that his campaign against the Polovtsi will not be a successful one. The most important role in these predictions is played by the Sun that threateningly covers the Rus' army with a fog and obscures its path with darkness. The author of the poem imparts a supernatural meaning to these predictions by Ihor's reaction, who understood these signs well, but because his "passion consumed his mind" he daringly ignores them and leads his army to the predicted destruction.

Since the Sun emerges as the most important soothsayer and since its foreboding functions are usually given religious meaning, one must determine what role the author gives to this foreboding — a supernatural (religious) role or a poetic role? If the author gives a supernatural role to the foreboding function of the Sun, then, indeed, it is a "pagan" element. If not, then it is not a "pagan" one. In other words, is the "pagan" element real, or poetic? To understand this we must first recognize the author, whether he is a pagan, or a Christian.

#### *The Author of "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign"*

Everyone acknowledges the fact that "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" is the most genial and the most important work in the history of Ukrainian literature of the twelfth century. On the

basis of this knowledge the following judgments are made of the author: he was a highly educated person; he was well versed in Byzantine and Scandinavian literature; he was very knowledgeable about nature; he was a great patriot and knew politics well; he was a poetic genius and, as everyone agrees, he was a Christian.

Can one assume, then, that a person of these qualities was a primitive dual believer? So primitive that he even believed in the transformation of human beings into animals? Although such hints exist there are those who voice contrary views, as Svyatoslav Hordynsky:

The mixture of both elements, the Christian and the pre-Christian, within one work gave many scholars the opportunity to write about the author's dual faith. But there is no proof in the text of "The Tale" that the mention of pagan gods has anything in common with the religious outlook of the author. It is more probable to assume that the entire ancient pagan entourage is nothing but a purely poetical element of mythical character . . .<sup>3</sup>

Thus, according to Hordynsky, the "pagan" element of "The Tale" is an entourage of a mythical and not a religious character. Yet Bohdan Kravciv, a co-author in this same collection of works, in his article "The Mythological World of Slovo o polku Ihorevi" attributes the author with "very strong and living elements of the pre-Christian religious outlook."<sup>4</sup> Notwithstanding, other scholars argue against the ascribing of a dual belief to the author of "The Tale." We agree on the grounds of an assumption that a person as intelligent as the author of "The Tale" could not be a dual believer. Furthermore, there are scholars who say that a Christian-pagan dual faith never existed in Ukraine at all in the twelfth to seventeenth centuries and that if the Church still had to struggle against any kind of paganism, it would not have been against a belief in pagan gods, but the performance of certain pagan rites.<sup>5</sup>

Such a statement is probably excessive, because much has been said about a dual faith among the people of the time. Nevertheless, there would be an obvious difference between some of the

<sup>3</sup>In "Slovo o polku Ihorevi (Heroyichny epos XII viku), Svyatoslav Hordynsky, ed. ("Kyiv", 1950), p. 47.

<sup>4</sup>Bohdan Kravciv, "Mitolohichny svit Slova o polku Ihorovi," *ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>5</sup>Likhachev, "Slovo . . .," p. 78.

beliefs of the simple popular masses and a person of the intellectual and spiritual dimensions of the author of "The Tale."

The author of "The Tale" is a Christian, therefore, the use of pagan elements in his work are of a poetic significance alone and not of a dual faith; as Oleksander Biletsky states, the author's turning to "images of pagan mythology could be an artistic device. The author himself belongs to a culture that has been developed by a Christian outlook."<sup>6</sup>

Thus, scholars have no doubt that the author of "The Tale" is of a Christian culture and that his religious outlook is Christian. Although there are many mythological elements in his work they have nothing to do with his Christian religious conviction and, therefore, the mythological element of "The Tale" should not be brought under the category of a "pagan" element in the religious sense. In addition to this, there is much of an animistic element, which appears in the personification of forces of nature; but this element, too, performs a poetic function. This is not surprising, for the animistic element is plentiful in the poetry of our time as well; yet, no one calls this "pagan" and no one attributes "paganism" to its authors.

The author of "The Tale" is a great master of poetic art and poet's devices; he utilizes these devices for the artistic expression of his idea, for creating a certain effect and not for the expression of a pre-Christian outlook. To think of the author as having a pre-Christian outlook would be to think of him as having a primitive outlook. Such treatment of the author brought some researchers, as Sergey Lesnoy, to extremely primitive and strange conclusions.<sup>7</sup>

There seem to be obvious illustrations in "The Tale" that the author treated the predictions of the forces of nature as if they were real; as, for example, his expression that "passion consumed the prince's mind and his thirst to taste the great Don obscured the omen." But this is a purely poetic expression just as Ihor's encouraging outcry: "Brethren and retinue! It would be better to be slain than to be enslaved!" Since there had been a recent successful campaign against the Polovtsians, led by the Great Prince Svyatoslav in 1184, this expression is not very fitting; for the defeated Polovtsians could not have been such a

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<sup>6</sup>Oleksander Biletsky, "Davnya Ukrayins'ka i davnya Rosiys'ka Literaturny," vol. I, (Kiev: 1965), p. 210.

<sup>7</sup>Sergey Lesnoy, "Slovo o polku Igorevi," (Paris: 1951).

great threat as regards captivity. Poetically speaking, however, this expression did perform its function.

### *Pre-Christian gods in "The Tale"*

Besides the animation of the forces of nature and personification, a few pagan gods are mentioned in the poem, as Dazhdboh, Veles, Stryboh, Khors, the not too well-known Troyan, and others. This "mythological world" or pantheon has become a real subject for many scholars as Bohdan Kravciv, who wrote an article entitled "The Mythological World of 'The Tale of Ihor's Campaign'."<sup>8</sup> The "mythological world" of "The Tale" led scholars to various conclusions in regard to the religious outlook of the author. Thus, Metropolitan Ilarion, in his literary monograph, concluded:

The author of "The Tale," undoubtedly, was not a pagan. He was a Christian whose soul very peacefully incorporated ancient beliefs with the new, that is, he held the so-called dual faith. . . . A pre-Christian outlook is very noticeable in the author of "The Tale," and what is more, that outlook is organic, vital in the entire poem; it cannot be taken away from the work, for this is the author's soul. This "pagan" coloring imparts still more poeticity and beauty to the work and these give it its qualities.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, the author's so-called "pagan" outlook, taken out of his reference to pagan gods, caused difficulties for scholars who did not know how, as Mykhaylo Hrushevsky explains, to reconcile it with the fundamental Christianization of the higher ranks of society in the time of "The Tale."<sup>10</sup>

But what actually is the significance of the pagan gods mentioned by the author? What is their function in the poem? Firstly, we maintain that the author does not attribute any religious functions to his pagan gods; he refers to them only for the purpose of artistic expression. "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" is a political and epic work; the author utilizes pagan elements only from the methodological standpoint in order to obtain a finer expression of his idea. Dmytro Chyzhevsky explains it in this way: "Strangely enough we do encounter pagan gods in 'The Tale,' even though it is not a work of a new Christian epoch. However,

<sup>8</sup>Kravciv, in "Mitohichny svit Slova . . .", ("Kyiv," 1950), pp. 63-73.

<sup>9</sup>Metropolitan Ilarion, "Slovo . . .," p. 21.

<sup>10</sup>Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, *Istoriya ukrayins'koyi literatury*, vol. 2, p. 220.

the use of mythological embellishment belongs to the general principles of epos. And there is no doubt that the pagan gods of 'The Tale' are just such embellishments."<sup>11</sup>

There are other scholars of the same opinion, as Likhachev, who says:

One cannot doubt that the pagan gods mentioned in "The Tale" are artistic images that are used by the author as a forceful poetic adornment and not as real cult concepts. The author of "The Tale" is a Christian, not a pagan. He believes in pagan gods no more than he believes in the reality of Ihor's conversation with the Donets river.<sup>12</sup>

Likhachev states that the author of "The Tale" used the concepts of the pagan gods in the same way as he animated nature — the wind, the trees, the rivers, the sun. This animation is purely artistic; it has nothing to do with a cult, or religion. As mentioned earlier, the poetic animation of nature is found in our contemporary authors as well, yet no one attributes paganism to these authors. Sapanov, who wrote an article on "Yaroslavna's Lament" in "The Tale" states: "We know very well that writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries widely used images of the pagan gods of Hellas, but no one says that, on this basis, they truly believed in these gods. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries this was only an artistic device."<sup>13</sup> The same must be said about the author of "The Tale."

We should turn our attention to one other detail: for whom was "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" written; for what type of readers? In the twelfth century a literary work was not written for the popular masses. "The Tale" was written for the educated, who, as Hrushevsky writes, were fundamentally Christianized. Furthermore, it is acknowledged that the Church at that time had a dominatory force in the State, in general. Therefore, the church had a decisive voice in religious matters. Besides, the "fundamentally Christianized" social rank, and the clergy, in particular, would have immediately criticized this work if it was full of pagan elements and would have stopped its circulation. Under these conditions, then, would the author have risked the mixture of "pagan" elements in his work? This is the first

<sup>11</sup>Dmytro Chyzhevs'ky, *Istoriya ukrayins'koyi literatury*, (New York: 1956), p. 180.

<sup>12</sup>Likhachev, *Slovo . . .*, p. 81.

<sup>13</sup>B. V. Sapanov, "Yaroslavna i drevnerusskoye yazychestvo," *Slovo o polku Igorevi — pamyatnik XII veka*, (Moscow-Leningrad: 1960), p. 323.

important fact to keep in mind in the discussion of the spiritual content of "The Tale." The second is that poets and literary writers have always used symbolism from nature, with additional fantasies as well, just as they do today. Thus we conclude that the author of "The Tale" did not introduce the pagan religious elements in his work, for he did not require it. The real religious consciousness, the real spiritual content of "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" is Christian only.

### THE CHRISTIAN ELEMENT OF "THE TALE"

Unlike the pagan element, the Christian element in "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" is real and not adorned in poetical dress. It entails references that are brief, but if carefully analyzed, they are obvious and very forceful just the same. The Christian element includes references to the concept of justice, to God, to Ihor's visit to the Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin and to the Polovtsians. The battle was waged in the defense of Christianity, in the name of the Christian Messianism of Kievan Rus', as the author of "The Tale" himself reveals.

But before a review of each of these elements we must again stress that the most important factor of the Christian element in "The Tale" is the author himself; that he is a Christian is acknowledged by both believers and atheists.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, it is acknowledged that he is no average Christian. In the accomplishment of his work he underscores that the ideal of the struggle between Kievan Rus' and the Polovtsians is the Christian ideal. Ending his poem, he exclaims:

Hail princes and retinue, fighting  
for Christians against infidel hosts! . . .

This is an awareness of Christian Messianism, an interesting and very important phenomenon. It became a tradition for Ukrainians; it prevailed in their consciousness during the Cossack Era of Ukrainian history and which, later, reappeared in the subconscious of the soldiers of the Liberating Struggle (1918-1921) who stood in defense of their own land and, simultaneously halted the Bolshevik offensive onto Christian Europe.

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<sup>14</sup>It is interesting to note that, on the basis of the material accessible to us, the pagan element and pagan religious outlook of the author is mostly denied by scholars of the USSR.

### *The references to justice*

The religious element of "The Tale" appears very clearly in the author's reference to justice, that is, justice in God's judgment which, indeed, is a Christian concept that gives the notion of justice an obvious religious-moral coloring. The first comment on justice appears in the observation of how a wrong done to Oleh had brought Borys "to Judgment, and laid him a pall on the green grass. . . ." The second reference is in Boyan's refrain: "Neither the clever, nor the nimble, nor the talkative bird can escape God's judgment."

Although it is not clear whether the justice that is referred to here belongs to the Christian God, it is nonetheless a clear reflection of the Judaeo-Christian concept of God's judgment. In the twelfth century the "ingenious Boyan" had already sung about this judgment, as indicated in "The Tale." In general, the concept of God's judgment (particularly in Kievan Rus' in the twelfth century) is clearly a Christian concept. At that time, under the influence of "Rus'ka Pravda" ("The Rus' Law") justice was understood as Law of God,<sup>15</sup> and not as a demand of revenge from the motives of a bloody or chivalrous righteousness. Thus, the author's introduction of the notion of justice as a religious element is in the Christian understanding of this notion, as Divine righteousness and not a righteousness that is pagan or chivalrous.

### *The reference to "God"*

In "The Tale" an opportunity arises for the captive, prince Ihor to escape from the Polovtsian Land to the Land of Rus'. This opportunity and the way to Rus' is indicated to Ihor by God Himself. In the view of almost all the scholars of "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" known to us, this is the only place where the word "God" is used in a Christian context.<sup>16</sup> From this point the entire development of the poetic imagery must be viewed in the light of a Christian consciousness and spirituality — the metaphorical likenesses of Ihor to an ermine, a white duck, a grey wolf, a flying falcon, and so on — for all of this is a poetic way of expression, as the poetic conversation that Ihor has with the Donets river, and so on.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Metropolitan Ilarion, *Dokhrystyyans'ki viruvannya ukrayins'koho narodu*, (Winnipeg: Instytut Doslidiv Volyni, 1965), p. 408.

<sup>16</sup>This one reference to "God" led many scholars of "The Tale" to the conclusion that the author's religious outlook is pagan and that "The Tale" is full of pagan religious elements.

The reference to God illustrates that the Christian element in “The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign” is obvious and as far as the Christian and pagan elements are concerned — the Christian emerges as real, while the pagan emerges only as a poetic device. These observations lead to the conclusions that there are no bases to search for the presence of a “pagan” element in “The Tale” or to attribute a pagan outlook or dual faith to the author of this work.

The Christian consciousness, outlook and spirituality dominate “The Tale.” The author utilized pagan themes as a poetic device for the purpose of expressing this idea and in this way accomplished his political and ideological plan and objective. He led Ihor and his retinue out into a campaign against the Polovtsi, he illustrated the reality of the battle and its consequences, he led Prince Ihor out of Polovtsian captivity and returned him to Kiev and here he brought him into the Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin. Ihor obviously enters the Cathedral to give praise and thanks to God for his freedom and the successful return to his Fatherland, the Land of Rus’, “the paternal golden throne.”

The author of “The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign” accomplished a great work: he gave his countrymen a profound political lesson for all time and he laid down an ideology of Christian Messianism for us. The rest of his subject is culminated in a quiet tempo affirming single facts: God’s collaboration in Ihor’s escape, Ihor’s visit to the church to pray and, most important, the author reveals the main ideal of the struggle of Kievan Rus’ against the Polovtsians and the Asian hordes which was waged in the name of Christianity, as stated in the ending of the poem:

Hail princes and retinue, fighting  
for Christians against the infidel hosts!  
Glory to the princes and to the retinue honor!  
Amen.

This particular moment is so obvious and so strong that even Karl Marx in writing about “The Tale” said that “The entire song bears a Christian heroic character, even though pagan elements still emerge quite noticeably.”<sup>17</sup> While a Russian encyclopaedia gives the following explanation: In regard to the subject of spirituality, the author of “The Tale” clearly reveals that he

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<sup>17</sup>*Istoriya Russkoy Literatury*, Vol. I, (Moscow-Leningrad: Akademiya Nauk SSSR, 1941), p. 287.

himself and Prince Ihor were conscious Christians; they believed in God's help, in His protection and in the role of Christian cathedrals in the life of Christians. Upon his return from Polovtsian captivity, Ihor first goes to the Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin in Kiev.<sup>18</sup>

Further it continues: The Chronicle also mentions Prince Ihor's stay in Polovtsian captivity. The Chronicle, by the way, refers to Ihor as the righteous one, for it is said that God does not leave the righteous one in the hands of a sinner.<sup>19</sup> The author of "The Tale" expresses that same Christian idea when he says: "God shows Prince Ihor the way from the Polovtsian Land to the Land of Rus'." But this is not a poetic device for an expression; it is a real belief based on the Divine promise. This same faith in Divine protection and the real escape from captivity leads Ihor to the Cathedral in Kiev for thankful prayer.

### *The land of events in "The Tale"*

Besides all that has been said so far, it must be noted that a very important component of the Christian element of "The Tale," and therefore witness to the spirituality of the time, is the nation and the country in which the events of "The Tale" develop. The facts of history themselves bear evidence that the work is Christian. In the work itself there is mention about church bells, announcing an early morning service, the churches of St. Sophia and the Blessed Virgin, the Divine collaboration in Ihor's escape and the element of Divine justice.

The Christian churches mentioned in "The Tale" and the church bells that announced the church service bear witness to the dominating Christian character in Kievan Rus' and thus the dominating spirituality of its nation. Nothing similar appears in regard to a "cult" or pagan element in "The Tale" because it was long antiquated. Upon analyzing the references to pagan gods one can readily recognize that they are introduced from the poetic standpoint as stylistic devices. These references, then, belong to the antiquated, or unreal category.

What can be said about the personification of nature and the absence of the Christian element in "Yaroslavna's Lament?" Does this not pose a problem in the given analysis? No, it does not, for "Yaroslavna's Lament" does not constitute a pantheon

<sup>18</sup>*Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar*, Yefron i Brokhaus, no. 59, "Slovo o polku Igorevi," pp. 416-417.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 416.

of mythological phenomena of the pre-Christian outlook; pagan gods are not mentioned in this part of the work at all. "Yaroslavna's Lament" is a deep psychological and poetical refrain of a woman's tender feelings. There is nothing religious in this part of the work. "Yaroslavna turns to the elemental forces of nature with passionate words of appeal, inherited from primeval magic transformed into poetical lyrics."<sup>20</sup>

Thus, this part of "The Tale" is poetic lyricism and one can hardly assume that the author's intellect was such that he would believe that the princess can really talk to personified elements and that they can answer to her needs. Poetically people speak with nature even now, as for example, the maiden sings "Oh, Moon Shine For No One Else . . .," (title of a Ukrainian song) but nobody believes that the moon can answer to these pleas. Nevertheless, such a respectable scholar of "The Tale" as Bohdan Kravciv, for example, in writing about the pre-Christian and Christian element of the author's religious outlook, states: "... the elements of ancient Ukrainian pre-Christian beliefs should not be diminished and reduced only to 'historical reminiscences' or literary 'rhetorical embellishments' as so many researchers of 'The Tale' have done. Those elements were still strong in the customs of the time."<sup>21</sup>

This could be true in regard to the peasant masses, but this can hardly be ascribed to "the fundamentally Christianized higher ranks of society," as Hrushevsky says, the ranks to which the author of "The Tale" and Princess Yaroslavna, undoubtedly, belonged. Similar elements appear in today's poetry as well, even in the poetry of authors who definitely are known to be Christians.

At the time that "The Tale" was written Kievan Rus'-Ukraine had been an officially Christianized country for about two hundred years. Notwithstanding the level of the Christianization of the lower masses, the Christianization of the main personage and the author of "The Tale" should raise no doubts. A very striking example of this is the author's leading of the hero of "The Tale," Prince Ihor to church in order to thank God for "showing him the way from the Polovtsian Land to the Land of Rus'." Apparently this Christian devotion and, therefore,

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<sup>20</sup>Istoriya Russkoy Literatury, p. 386.

<sup>21</sup>Kravciv, "Mitolohichny svit Slova . . .," p. 63. For criticism on this view cf. Dmytro Chyzhevsky.

spirituality was a generally accepted religious practice. Nothing of the “pre-Christian custom” is mentioned here, because the need for poetical devices had already been exhausted.

In regard to Yaroslavna’s appeals to nature, the author notes no reaction from its sources but, rather, speaks of the Divine co-operation in Ihor’s escape and, in so doing, accomplishes his task as a Christian would — by the giving of thanks to God in church. Therefore, there is no basis for attributing a dual faith to “The Tale” or a pagan outlook to its author.

### *Christian Messianism in “The Tale”*

In analyzing a work such as “The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign,” one should keep in mind that the obvious, which is generally known at a given time, is very rarely mentioned in literary works. The authors either deem it unnecessary to write about the obvious or treat it in an incidental manner.<sup>22</sup> Consequently, such obvious facts can later take on a totally different perspective. Something of the sort could have happened and, most likely, did happen in regard to “The Tale” with the author’s assertion of the Christian Messianism of Kievan Rus’:

Hail princes and retinue, fighting  
for Christians against infidel hosts! . . .

It was a well-known fact to everyone at the time that Kievan Rus’ stood in defense and struggled against the constant approaching forces of Asian nomads that emerged as a real threat to the Christian world. As long as Rus’ stood strong, Christian Europe was protected by “the brave Rus’.” At that time Europe began to take up the ideal of the Crusades against the Saracens and the ideal of liberating the Holy Land.

The Crusade campaigns started in 1095, almost one hundred years before Ihor’s campaign against the Polovtsi. But Orthodox Byzantium fought under the banner of this ideal long before. Thus, the idea of the Christian struggle against the infidel in Kievan Rus’ was widely known, because news about the Crusades came from both Byzantium and the West. Furthermore, Kievan Rus’ had stood alone in this struggle for a long time. Obviously, the author of “The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign” knew about this ideal and, therefore, it is no wonder that he so often uses expressions as: “infidel Polovtsian hosts,” the

<sup>22</sup>There are many examples of this in the works of the Holy Fathers of the Church, in the history of the development of theological thought, and so on.

Polovtsi are “the devil’s children,” and others. “The brave Rus’,” obviously, are placed in contrast to “the devil’s children,” for they are the “children of God.”

Such a contrast in “The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign” is not accidental and one must not assume that the denotation of the Polovtsi as *pohani* is an artistic epithet.<sup>23</sup> In our opinion, this is the language of a conscious Christian Messianism in Kievan Rus’ that was generally known at that time. Even though that Messianism was soon shattered by Baty’s hordes, it eventually underwent a rebirth in the Cossack Era. Thus, when we speak about the Christian Messianism of Ukraine of our times we must remember that the tradition stems from Kievan Rus’. The evident document of this is “The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign.”

Perhaps the congratulations to the princes and retinue for their struggle in the name of Christianity should be viewed as a gift to the official religion in Kievan Rus’, as some people believe? Not in our opinion, for the main objective of the work is political. It is an appeal to the princes to unite the Rus’ forces; the text of the poem speaks of this very clearly. Although there is no direct appeal in “The Tale” for the struggle for the Christian Land, the author, nevertheless, often bids the princes to unite against the “pohani” polovtsi, that is against the unbaptized. This is a definite Christian Messianism, be it accepted from Byzantium, from the Crusaders, or from the Christian spirituality of Kievan Rus’.

The most powerful element of the Christian Messianism in Kiev is the praise bestowed on the princes and retinue as announced in “The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign.” Seemingly it was so obvious in those times that the author did not deem it necessary to underscore it with an especial emphasis; he only asserted it as a fact and sealed it with the word “Amen!”.

## CONCLUSIONS

“The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign” is a work treasured by all Eastern Slavs. It is a profound work, full of life, with a very powerful influence on the reader of our time. To a mindful reader the events of “The Tale” from over eight hundred years ago seem much alive and very real today. They simply lead the

<sup>23</sup>The meaning of *pohani* is “bad.” It is from this word that *pohany* (pagans, infidel) is derived.

reader into the whole reality that it embraces of the world of Kievan Rus' in the twelfth century.

From the very beginnings of the discovery of the text of "The Tale," at the end of the eighteenth century, it was very powerful in attracting the lovers and the researchers of antiquity — historians, literary scholars, and scientists. Many have done research in "The Tale" and very often scholars have presented contradictory conclusions, including a denial of its authenticity.

"The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" captivates both the ordinary reader and the lover of literature with its content and its poetic beauty. It interests the historian, the political scientist and the ethnographer and "The Tale" is a primary source for various kinds of research — even theological. And thus we too were able to become acquainted with its religious element, and to discuss its so-called "pagan" and Christian content. It truly was worth the effort. An acquaintance with the text of "The Tale" in its original and translated forms as well as the acquaintance with accessible studies on the work and recognizing its religious elements in its sporadically acknowledged pagan and Christian aspects proved that this subject really does need explanation. This study came into being as a result of this conclusion.

When studying any literary work it is very important to recognize the author himself and to recognize the theme of his work before analyzing the work itself from a given viewpoint. This approach and method were used in our instance.

In the process of our analysis it has been asserted (and significant reservations have not been found against this) that the author of "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" was a highly educated person for his time, that he was an expert in world literature and that he was a man who very well knew the political conditions of Kievan Rus' in the twelfth century. Kievan Rus' was in the state of decline at the time and, besides, it was threatened by nomadic Asian hordes, the Polovtsi. The anonymous author understood this well and thus proposed Rus' a solution — the uniting of all its political forces. He did this in such poetic form as to speak to all the elements of the human spirit — the mind, the heart, and the feelings of patriotism.

This is how this epic work "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" came into being. It is based on the tragically unsuccessful campaign against the Polovtsi by a small alliance of princes under the leadership of Prince Ihor. Taking this as a clear example, the author of "The Tale" spoke to the entire Rus' Land about its

tragic facts and asserted that the existing internal strife — “the clamor among the princes” will irrevocably bring this Land to destruction.

This is the primary motive and objective of the work. All its artistic dress, which scholars have called mythology and pagan and Christian elements of “The Tale” comprises the method the author used to lay out his basic ideas. It is the medium by which he wishes to speak, with as much vitality as possible, to the hearts of “the brave” but politically adventurous Rus’.

The religious element in this work is completely accidental and where it appears it is Christian. There is absolutely no pagan religious element in “The Tale,” as illustrated above, and many objective and scientific arguments have been written in this regard. To see pagan elements in such fantasies, as the so-called “transformation” of a human being into an animal and assume that a highly educated author believed in this is improbable. Expressing similarity of the political or military dexterity of a given prince or other personage of “The Tale” to a wolf’s leap or a falcon’s flight is the same as expressing the similarities of someone’s swiftness or flight today. If someone runs “like an arrow” it does not mean that he becomes an arrow. Such a poetic device in literature is known as a simile.

The same must be said about the author’s references to pagan gods, the widely commented upon personification of the phenomena of nature, the poetic descriptions in “Yaroslavna’s Lament,” and so on. All these, as illustrated above, are poetic devices used to express a given idea. The pagan gods, nature’s assistance to people, personification of the elements — all are methodological devices which help the author to express himself better and to speak more eloquently to the reader’s feelings. An authoritative scholar, Dmytro Chyzhevsky writes the following in this regard:

Only with Stryboh is the matter more complex, because the father of winds is most likely a mythological figure. But did you imagine him as a “god” or as exactly the same fantastical figure as “Diva Obyda” (hostility), or Dyva? They are all beautiful poetic images that, undoubtedly, grew out of some former figures of “lower mythology.” The “mythology” of “The Tale” is simply a beautiful poetic decoration, which belongs to the same veil in which the author so ably swaddles all the past and the contemporary.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup>Chyzhevsky, p. 187.

In regard to the Christian religious element of “The Tale of Ihor’s Campaign” it is concluded that this element is real. Therefore, the real religious consciousness of the characters illustrated in the world of “The Tale” and the actual spirituality of the people of that time is only Christian. Other speculations concerning this subject are superfluous and, besides the rational speculation in itself, are of little value.

Winter, 1973.

## ARTICLE FOUR

# THE SPIRITUALITY OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE DURING THE PRINCELY ERA AND IN LATER TIMES\*

### *Introduction*

A wonderfully joyous moment is dawning — the beginning of the grand celebrations of the great anniversary of the Ukrainian nation — the 1000th anniversary of its official Baptism in the Holy Orthodox Faith. It is a time for joyful celebrating and for the giving of thanks to the Lord God for our enlightenment in the Holy Gospel and for the gift of Orthodoxy. It is an opportune moment for a spiritual and patriotic awakening. It is a time for reflecting on our self-awareness, for a keener orientation and education about ourselves. As all of our feasts contain an educational content and theme particular to themselves, so with this millennium of the Baptism of Rus'-Ukraine.

The 1000th anniversary of the Baptism of Ukraine unfolds a tremendous opportunity to us and bids us to turn particular attention to many themes that require deeper reflection and study, a more objective clarification, and practical evaluation. The present world situation, the universal spiritual unrest, the moment of our historical time and the position of the Ukrainians on the stage of these events are problems that bid our attention on this our millennium of official Christianity in Ukraine. In this regard I turn my attention to the spirituality of the Ukrainian people from the phenomenal (actual) point of view. For our historical entirety and thus the monolithic quality of the Ukrainian spirituality demands such an approach and analysis. This approach will illustrate the historical reality and the Ukrainian nation's birthright to its ancient spiritual heritage. We relinquish this right (our ancestral roots) when we maintain (as some people do) that the emergence and the development of the Ukrainian entity belongs to the Cossack Period of our history alone. This position does not bear the historical truth and, therefore, inflicts still one more injustice upon the Ukrainians. It does not enrich but, rather, impoverishes us spiritually by denying our antiquity. The Ukrainian nation has already experienced enough political and moral injustice. We should reject this position decisively

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\*This survey is based on an address delivered by the author in the USA, on October 17th, 1982 in a two-day program commemorating the 1000th anniversary of the Baptism of Ukraine by Orthodox Ukrainians in St. Paul-Minneapolis.

through a better understanding of our historical past and its truth. We have suffered enough injustices, enough untruths.

Thus, for this millennium celebration we offer our small contribution, that is, our reflections on “The Spirituality of the Ukrainian People during the Princely Era and in Later Times.” Despite the negative motive that gave rise to these reflections, the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation in its historical illumination has its own positive significance.

## THE PRE-CHRISTIAN SPIRITUALITY OF UKRAINE AND ITS CHRISTIANIZATION

In the popular sense, the concept of spirituality is connected exclusively with Christianity and even with the limits of one's own faith. But such a view of spirituality is incomplete, although it did dominate our earlier and later Christian consciousness. The eleventh century Kievan Metropolitan, Ilarion, for example, described the pre-Christian religious practices of our nation as nothing less than “devil worship,” or “the devil's deception,” and such.<sup>1</sup> Ivan Vyshensky did the same at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> But how far this negative onesidedness departed from St. Paul, the Apostle of pagans (Romans 11:13; Galatians 1:16), who so understandably related to the Gentiles that he called their spiritual aspirations and pursuits — religiousness (Acts 17:22) and not something other than religion. He did not take the liberty to blame the people for their “paganism,” if they had heard nothing and knew nothing about the Saviour of Mankind, our Lord Jesus Christ (Romans 10:13-14). On the contrary, Paul regarded their spiritual pursuits and feelings as a true seeking of God and the seeking itself — a phenomenon of Divine origin (Acts 17:22-30).

Such treatment of the pre-Christian man and his spiritual aspirations and pursuits are correct and true, for one must not accuse the other of wrongdoing if the other knows not of the truth. Thus, for example, the power of sin is recognized only in the knowledge of the Law (Romans 3:20); without the recognition of truth and without the knowledge of Law and the under-

<sup>1</sup>Cf. his “Sermon on Law and Grace” in Addendum to *The Ukrainian Church* by Metropolitan Ilarion, (Winnipeg: The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada Millennium Central Committee, 1986), pp. 273–295.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. his “Apolohiya chernetstva,” *Khrystomatiya davn'oyi ukrayins'koyi literatury*. (Kiev: “Radyans'ka shkola,” 1967), p. 139.

standing of it the power of sin is not felt and man does not understand it (Romans 7:7-8).

The pre-Christian man felt his innate yearning and attraction toward God, he sought for Him and as a result of his seeking he invented his own religion. He deliberated his religion carefully to the end; although it was a primitive religion, it was regarded as a good religion and it served to the needs of the human spirit up to a certain time.

Therefore, the pre-Christian religion of our nation was far from devil worship, or the devil's deception, as it was so lightly called. It was only in the light of Christianity and the knowledge of the Gospel that it was possible to understand that the primeval or primitive religion of the Ukrainian nation, as with all other nations, was not the true religion. Notwithstanding, in the light of Christianity it was also revealed how close that primitive religion approached the Divine Truth. Let us not forget that the aim of every primitive religion was to seek for the True God and that the potential force necessary for this was placed into the nature of man by the Lord God Himself. This, indeed, was the special gift of God to man so that man would seek God and that he might experience Him and find Him, as the Apostle states (Acts 17:27).

Upon taking a clearer look at the pre-Christian spirituality of the Ukrainian nation, one is astonished at the nobility and purity of this spirituality. Let us remember that spirituality is the means by which the human spirit strives for the true divinity, for the good, for the truth and righteousness, for high ideals in general and in particular when this striving is in the Name of the Lord, in the name of universal principles of Truth and Good. As concerns the faith of our forefathers, the Greek historian, Procopius, as far back as the sixth century, regarded the Ukrainians as monotheistic.<sup>3</sup>

In the sphere of social ethics our ancestors were known to possess their own peculiar spiritual aristocratism that embraced "a simplicity of custom and manner" with "a high awareness of internal dignity."<sup>4</sup> This social ethic surpassed the ethic of other nations. In old Rus'-Ukraine, for example, foreigners were regarded as guests and had the advantage of privileged positions

<sup>3</sup>Metropolitan Ilarion, *The Ukrainian Church*, (Winnipeg: The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada Millennium Central Committee, 1986), p. 50.

<sup>4</sup>Hryhoriy Vashchenko, "Tradytsiyny ukrayins'ky ideal lyudyny," *Naukovy Zbirnyk UVU*, (Munich: 1948), p. 20.

at the time that foreigners in the West were under the threat of servility.<sup>5</sup>

Our eternal humaneness stood up against falsehood and deceit even in our relations with our enemies, an example of which is the chivalrous warning that Prince Svyatoslav gave to his enemies: "I am coming against you." There was no room for deceit even here. Our old and widely acclaimed kindness, peaceful nature and our hospitality (which in the personage of a guest perceived God) — all these constitute the spirituality of our nation, a spirituality which was practiced in antiquity and eventually became Christianized with the Christianization of old Rus'-Ukraine.

The external signs of this spirituality remain unto this day — our traditional good-heartedness, humane nature, our Christmas, Epiphany and Easter traditions, ceremonies, songs, food, and so on. Our major celebrations — Christmas, Epiphany and Easter would seem impoverished if they lost their traditional dress, which is of pre-Christian origin and, therefore, the invention of the pre-Christian Ukrainian spirit.

The pre-Christian Ukrainian culture and primordial (or primitive) spirituality formed the soul of the nation and its outlook for centuries. This has remained alive and prevails unto the present day. Christianity has sanctified all this by adapting that cultural dress, perfected and appropriated by the nation.<sup>6</sup> This is a normal process. Examples are readily seen: a Japanese person who turned Orthodox would rather pray sitting on the floor in church; he envisages Jesus Christ with the physical features of his own race, or as in African spirituality, the Saviour is envisaged in the appearance of the black race, and so on. There is nothing strange in this. The Abyssinian Church has liturgical dances, an element of the Abyssinian spirit which is regarded as very important to their worship.

The above facts are evident examples of the Christianization of naturally developed forms of spirituality and the spiritual manifestations of a given nation. The Christianization of the pre-Christian spirituality of the Ukrainian nation is no exception. And there is no doubt that it enriches our lives. We know how Ukrainian Christmas in its pre-Christian Ukrainian traditional

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<sup>5</sup>Yaroslav Padokh, "Ideyi humannosty i demokratyzmu v karnomu pravi Knyazhoyi Ukrayiny." *Naukovy Zbirnyk UVU*, (Munich: 1948), pp. 118–119.

<sup>6</sup>G. P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind* (Kievan Christianity: the 10th to the 13th Centuries), (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 3.

dress fascinates not only us, but our non-Ukrainian neighbors as well.

Thus the negative views mentioned earlier of the Kievan Metropolitan Ilarion and Ivan Vyshensky must be considered in closer historical perspective of these men to our pre-Christian past and their understandable concern that the purity of Orthodoxy be maintained, with no admixture of improper beliefs and practices. From the perspective of our times, on the other hand, the pre-Christian spiritual heritage of our nation is viewed and evaluated with less suspicion and more understanding and even with awe and grateful acknowledgement.

There is no need to go any further into this subject. The positive elements of the pre-Christian Ukrainian spirituality is discussed more broadly in the first chapter. It suffices here to reaffirm the fact that much of the pre-Christian Ukrainian spirituality was such a noble invention of the ancestral spirit that Christianity approved and accepted it and, therefore, Christianized it for eternity.

## ECCLESIASTIC AND LAY SPIRITUALITIES

One of the main tribes of ancient Rus'-Ukraine was known as the Polyany. Historical sources claim that they were kind, peaceful and reverent<sup>7</sup> and that they were hospitable and charitable to their own kind as well as to foreigners. Our ancestors, in general, had a highly developed sense of truth, righteousness and charity which was distinguishable in the laws of old Rus'-Ukraine, particularly in criminal law, and had a universal meaning.

“Peculiar to the Ukrainian and to the state is humaneness . . . — an organic and total psychological-moral national characteristic that was unable, and regarded it impossible, to limit itself only to its own population applying one set of rules to its own citizens and another to foreigners.”<sup>8</sup> This was written by Yaroslav Padokh, a scholar of “The Rus’ Law,” which is a collection of laws of old Rus'-Ukraine. These laws were the expression and the embodiment of the higher spiritual feelings of the Ukrainian people and their state. This spirituality and general nature of the people had developed to such a level that it had greatly reduced

<sup>7</sup>Vashchenko, “Tradytsiyny ukrayins'ky ideal . . .,” p. 19.

<sup>8</sup>Padokh, “Ideyi humannosty . . .,” p. 119.

the occurrence of blood revenge and the death penalty was permitted only in the case of murder. "The oldest edition of 'The Rus' Law,' which acknowledged revenge, shows some signs of mitigation. In the first place, under the 'Rus' Law,' revenge is not obligatory. If the injured parties do not want to execute it, they may accept a fine."<sup>9</sup>

"The Rus' Law" is known in its three editions. It is a product of the Princely Rus' of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But it constitutes the collection of long existing laws of ancient Rus' which, by and large, were the product of the philosophy of the pre-Christian Ukrainian and his spirituality. Padokh states that the death penalty is not even mentioned in any one of the editions of "The Rus' Law."<sup>10</sup> He has found the same to be true in regard to bodily torture and mutilations. In the pre-Tatar era there was no such punishment in Ukraine.<sup>11</sup> The death penalty was admitted by Volodymyr Velyky, first in ecclesiastical courts and then in civil courts, but this was done under the influence of Byzantine law and its ecclesiastical Nomocanon and as a requirement of the Greek Metropolitan and his circle.<sup>12</sup>

Professor George P. Fedotov, a scholar on spirituality in Princely Rus', writes that the Byzantine ecclesiastical court was bound to the civil court and, thus, with the Christianization of Rus'-Ukraine, this Byzantine form of law came to Kiev. Fedotov describes how an ecclesiastical court punished Theodore, the Bishop of Rostov, by mutilation. The trial by the Greek Metropolitan in Kiev had Theodore's tongue cut out, his right hand hewn and his eyes gouged.<sup>13</sup> (This occurred in 1169 when the Kievan Metropolitanate was occupied by the Greeks.) In Christian Byzantium such cruelty was common practice: the Byzantine Emperor Vasyl, the Bulgar Fighter (957-1025), blinded fifteen thousand Bulgar captives and mutilated one out of every hundred.<sup>14</sup>

Although, as Fedotov writes, the mutilation of the Bishop of Rostov found the "enthusiastic approval" of the chronicler who recorded the event, the general opinion of the nation was quite

<sup>9</sup>Padokh, "Ideyi humannosty . . .," p. 113.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, p. 256.

<sup>14</sup>*Enciklopedicheskiy Slovar*, ed. Brokhaus and Efron, vol. IV, No. 7, (St. Petersburg: 1894), p. 263.

different. Despite the practice of the neighboring nations and states "bodily punishment, as alien to the spirituality of Ukrainians, did not enter the system of the penal law of princely Ukraine."<sup>15</sup> This deserves special attention, for it throws light on the moral maturity of our ancestors, even of the pre-Christian ancestors. In regard to their humaneness, their morals and their spirituality, in general, one can say that even in the pre-Christian era they were close to the Truth, or, as the expression used by Jesus Christ, they were "not far from the Kingdom of God" (Mark 12:34).

Volodymyr Velyky must have found himself in a difficult situation: his conscience, nurtured in the old Ukrainian environment, must have restrained him for the extreme measures in his neighbors because of the Ukrainian customary law. The representatives of the Byzantine courts, who came with Christianity to Ukraine, used the canonical and theological arguments of the Nomocanon until Volodymyr admitted the death penalty of his State. But this new law was shortlived for the Volodar soon substituted the death penalty with a monetary fine.<sup>16</sup>

"The Rus' Law" that was brought under a legal codex during the reign of Prince Yaroslav Mudry (who died in 1054) was still admitting the death penalty for murder, but Yaroslav's sons abolished this exception as well.<sup>17</sup> Abolishment then entered the princely tradition, despite the contradictory position held by the Greek hierarchy. Volodymyr Monomakh, who reigned from 1113 to 1125 strictly forbade his sons to put anyone to death, including those guilty of murder.<sup>18</sup> However, official ecclesiastical practice, as mentioned earlier, was different: in 1169 the Kievan Metropolitan, who was Greek, punished the Bishop of Rostov with bodily mutilation, a punishment which was unheard of in Rus'-Ukraine.

Louis Bouyer, the French scholar, speaking of the spirituality of Rus'-Ukraine, admits that Christianity found a highly developed spirituality in Ukraine.<sup>19</sup> A Lutheran turned Catholic, Bouyer makes a very interesting observation: there are strange

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<sup>15</sup>Padokh, "Ideyi humannosty . . .," p. 116.

<sup>16</sup>Padokh, "Ideyi humannosty . . .," p. 115.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>18</sup>Polnoye sobraniye russkikh Letopisey "'Poucheniye' (Monomakha)," (Moskva: 1962), column 245.

<sup>19</sup>Louis Bouyer, *Orthodox Spirituality and Protestant and Anglican Spirituality*, (New York: The Seabury Press, 1969), pp. 3 and 4.

similarities between the human soul of old Rus' (Ukraine) and the Holy Scriptures and that human soul accepted Christianity specifically in its own way.<sup>20</sup>

It is particularly of interest that Bouyer, who is a foreigner, also notes the two different forms of spirituality in old Rus'-Ukraine: the official ecclesiastic spirituality and the spirituality of the laity.<sup>21</sup> This is evidence that the pre-Christian Ukrainian spiritual element was understood neither by the Byzantine nor the Latin geniuses, therefore, the Ukrainian people found both the Byzantine caesaropapism and Latin papocaesarism totally alien.

It is important to note that our old lay spirituality was the spokesman of a culture which saw, first of all, a practical value in the Gospel. The Gospel, with its emphasis on the commandment of Love, answered to the very nature and disposition of the Ukrainian. His/her described characteristic, in which kindness, reverence, and hospitality predominate, answers best to the Biblical commandment of Love and, besides a faith in Jesus Christ, is the basic prerequisite of practical Christianization of the human nature and the world. This traditionally civil and eventually evangelized spirituality was so natural and understandable for the Ukrainian that charity, love and social justice morally obligated not only the average people, but the princes and the monks as well. Ukrainian monasteries were centres for charity from the very beginnings of their establishment.<sup>22</sup>

This is how the people of old Rus'-Ukraine understood the Bible — in their own national way. How far removed is the proposition of the Byzantine spiritual culture, which, together with Christianity, brought us not only the Biblical humanity, Christian charity and love, but included the cruel justice of the Byzantines as well.

## THE ROLE OF "INSTRUCTIONS" IN UKRAINIAN SPIRITUALITY

In the literary heritage of the Princely Era which has been preserved until our times, are a few examples of Instructions which are very important in illustrating the Ukrainian spirituality of that

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 13–14.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 14–16.

<sup>22</sup>Louis Bouyer, *Orthodox Spirituality and Protestant and Anglican Spirituality*, p. 13. Cf. also Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, p. 396.

era. Authors of these Instructions were usually churchmen although laymen wrote them as well. Out of six instructions discussed by Fedotov in his work,<sup>23</sup> two are written by laymen, by Volodymyr Monomakh and Danylo Skytalets. For our purposes it will be enough to limit ourselves to a brief acquaintance with the problematics of the Instruction of Volodymyr Monomakh.

Volodymyr Monomakh was the Great Prince of Kievan Rus' from 1113 to 1125. As he was growing older he decided to address to his sons his instructions in the form of a testament.<sup>24</sup> In this way he attempted to awaken in them the best virtues — Christian, governmental, military, citizenship, and social virtues. He beckoned his sons to a conscious and active attitude toward all Church services, constant prayer, meditation, knowledge, honest work, universal justice, mercy and charity, manly courage, chivalrous readiness and, generally, to a continued attention to God, to the Church, to Truth and to all people without exception.

Volodymyr Monomakh, despite the official line held by the ecclesiastical Greek hierarchy, admonished his sons that they should not allow the death penalty even in the case of the guilty. The following are some expressions from Monomakh:

“First of all, for the sake of God and for your soul, have the fear of God.” “Children, having no fear of death, or battle, or animal, do manly deeds as God wills it unto you.” “When you are on a journey, do not weave vain thoughts, but say some prayer in your heart, if not other than the shortest and most beautiful prayer: ‘God have mercy on us!’” “Neither fasting, nor the life of a hermit, or a monk shall save you, but charity alone.” “Be humble and kind . . . for in the heart of the proud the devil dwells.” “Honor the elderly as your own parents and love the young as your own brothers . . . Honor your guests, from wherever they may have come, whether simple, or good, or bad.” “Let not the sun find you in bed . . . Take care of your own household and do not rely on [government] officials.” “Take an active part in war, serve your officers in an exemplary manner . . . Do not lay aside your weapons where there is danger, and saddle your horse on time.”<sup>25</sup> “Above all else, do

<sup>23</sup>Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, pp. 228–264.

<sup>24</sup>For full text of the Instruction see “Polnoe sobranie russkikh Letopisey.” columns 240–256.

<sup>25</sup>The translation of these expressions into the contemporary Ukrainian language was done by Hryhoriy Vashchenko, “Tradytsiyny ideal lyudyny.”

not forget the poor, nourish whom you can as much as you can . . . defend the orphan and the widow, and do not allow the mightier to kill a human being; do not kill the innocent, nor guilty and do not command to kill anyone, even if he is deserving of death.’’<sup>26</sup>

All that was said by Volodymyr Monomakh expresses the feelings and the language of the primordial Ukrainian soul. However, in all this the spirit of the Gospel resounds from beginning to end. The sum total of this is the spirituality upon which we are focussing our attention in this survey. This element, or this spirituality is fully Christianized but in our case it is also fully naturalized, for it does not neglect any aspect of human life.

Thus, let us not bypass the fact that, although our spirituality was fully Christianized during the Princely Era, it remained Ukrainian and retained all the features of its Ukrainian spiritual characteristic to the very end. This explains why our Ukrainian monastics never fled from the people, or hid in the forests, but established their monasteries in the more important cities where they could be engaged in charitable work and even in the spiritualization of the political life of their land.

It is a well-known fact that the Ukrainian princes had very close and constant ties with the monasteries that brought only positive results. This was the blessed symphony of life in a State where the secular and ecclesiastical ruling bodies worked hand in hand and merged into one on the basis of the living substance of the nation, rather than submitting it to the Byzantine caesaropapism.

With the acceptance of Christianity caesaropapism was indeed entering Ukraine, but it never took root, because Ukrainian spirituality rejected it (as the attempts to introduce Byzantine penal law). It is true, however, that the cruel caesaropapism did take root in the Moscovite Princedom and revealed itself very clearly in the reign of Ivan the Terrible (1530-1584) and in his followers. But cruelty is an acknowledged characteristic of the Russian nation, thus, Ivan the Terrible was not an exception. Tsar Peter I had his son Alexis flogged to death.<sup>27</sup>

Monomakh's Instruction is a very important document for the illustration of the spirituality of the Ukrainian in Princely Rus'. Furthermore, Monomakh illustrates and idealizes those same human spiritual qualities for which our ancestors were known in

<sup>26</sup>“Polnoe sobranie russkikh Letopisey,” column 245.

pre-Christian antiquity. If in the pre-Christian era our ancestors were known for their high qualities of humaneness (because it was recorded that they were kind, peaceful, friendly and hospitable), then later, in the context of a Christian education, these qualities were placed in the all-embracing concept of the Commandment about Love to one's neighbor. It is this love — accepted and explained by our people as loving kindness towards others and charity — that appears to be the dominant theme of all the Instructions, particularly of Volodymyr Monomakh's. The above excerpts from Monomakh clearly demonstrate that this is so.

The highly humane qualities of our ancestors that served as the main component and mouthpiece of their pre-Christian spirituality were later idealized, because they were completely absorbed into the concept of the Biblical commandment about love. And thus, if in antiquity, the Ukrainian spirituality was viewed from the perspective of common humaneness, then from the moment of Christianization of our nation this spirituality was raised to the Gospel realm and, therefore, to the Divine.

Monomakh's Instructions reveal one human quality that seems strange for Medieval times. This is the very close spiritual relations between the prince and the very nerve of life of his people. Of course, we do see this characteristic in the princes who came before, as in Volodymyr Velyky's father — Prince Svyatoslav Zavoyovnyk (died in 972) — who was very friendly toward his men. Although he was a prince "he dressed, ate and slept as an ordinary soldier of his [the prince's] retinue."<sup>28</sup> This chivalrous closeness of a prince with his military brotherhood became a

<sup>27</sup>About the Russian custom of the educational flogging of children speaks Russian philosopher N. O. Lossky in "Kharakter russkogo naroda," (Frankfurt: "Posev," 1957), pp. 76–84. He describes the "flogging" of the Russian writer Chekhov (a deeply religious and gifted young man) to the point of his denial of the existence of God as a result of it. Later Chekhov wrote: "I cannot forgive my father for flogging me" (p. 78). This is the difference between Russians and Ukrainians in the education of children. It is no wonder, then, that this philosopher complains that, "the Ukrainian-separatists should understand that the division of the two Rus' tribes into two states would result in the diminution of meaning and value of the Russian nation in the historical process" (p. 146). The well-known "Domostroy" also speaks of cruelty as a means of education in the life of Russians. The "Domostroy" is a Russian rule book of the sixteenth century where it states about the need of a whip in a man's relations with his wife and about the breaking of children's ribs as a method of rearing children. Cf. "Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar" (Brokhaus and Efron) No. 58, p. 890. It also describes the custom of the bridegroom's wearing of a whip in his belt as a symbol of his dominion over his wife and children.

<sup>28</sup>Vashchenko, "Tradytsiyny ukrayins'ky ideal . . .," p. 19.

tradition which Monomakh idealized and placed on the level of a spiritual virtue, as a high ideal that he suggests his children practise.

A coming together of the prince and his nation is also seen in assemblies called vitcha. These were called in order that the prince could hear the opinions of his subjects and their advice. They were an endeavor to search for the truth and to strive toward the common good through a united effort. This was a very noble quality in both the ruler and the subject. How unfortunate that an alien force broke this tradition for us. Yet how spontaneously it reemerged in the Cossack Period! During this time it even spread into the lower ranks of society and eventually became renowned as the Cossack virtue of “pobratymstvo” (brotherhood). Actually Cossackdom renewed two old traditions — the assembly and the brotherhood. The end result of both of these ideals was the good of the nation and of the fellow-man — a superior quality of a universal spirituality. And this spirituality is of a Biblical category which, as Louis Bouyer states, attained a high level of development as far back as the pre-Christian era. Of course, it attained full maturity only in its sanctification by the spirit of the Gospel.

### BOOK LEARNING AS A SIGN OF THE NATION'S SPIRITUALITY

In Princely Rus'-Ukraine book learning existed, most likely, before the official acceptance of Christianity. There is a very strong suggestion of this in Metropolitan Ilarion's “Sermon on Law and Grace” (written between 1037 and 1050) in his reference to those “who have been filled with bookish pleasure. . . .”<sup>29</sup> It seems, therefore, that in the days of Ilarion, reading books was a normal pastime in the higher circles of society. Books were valued very highly at the time, as is apparent in the foreword to “Zbirnyk Svyatoslava” (Svyatoslav's Collection) of 1076. The following is an excerpt from the foreword:

Book reading is a good thing, brethren, even more so for the Christian, for happy are those who desire its testimony — with all their heart they will find it. What is it that they say who desire its testimony? When you read a book,

<sup>29</sup>In Appendix to Metropolitan Ilarion, *The Ukrainian Church*, p. 346.

do not hurry to the next chapter, but understand what these books and words say; return to a chapter three times. Say: I have concealed your words in my heart so that I would not sin against thee. Do not say: I uttered them only with my lips. But I concealed them in my heart so that I would not sin against thee; and understanding the written word I am led by it. And I say: the halter leads the horse and restrains him and so books — with the righteous. For the ship is not built without nails, nor the righteous — without book reading. And as a captive always thinks of his parents, so the righteous about book reading. Beauty for a soldier is weapons, for a ship — sails, for the righteous — book reading. Say: open my eyes that I may understand the wonders of your law. . . .<sup>30</sup>

It is difficult to believe that such an attitude and understanding of the book spirituality and its enlightenment could have developed in forty to fifty years, or even eighty years, after the official acceptance of Christianity in Ukraine. Ilarion was still a priest-monk when he addressed his sermon to people who were obviously educated at the time. We know that the Chronicle bestows the greatest acknowledgement to Yaroslav Mudry for his promotion of books. Yaroslav Mudry was a contemporary to Ilarion and is regarded as the founder of the first library in Kiev, at the Cathedral of St. Sophia.<sup>31</sup> Thus, during the Princely Era of Rus'-Ukraine, book learning was regarded very highly. The book had a very exclusive spiritual meaning at the time — it was the mark of the spirituality of a person, as indicated in the foreword to Svyatoslav's Collection of 1076.

It is understandable that Christianity gave a strong stimulus for the promotion of book learning, particularly the liturgical order of the Orthodox Church Services; all the forms of the Church Services and Sacramentals have a prescribed structural character. The external structure of each Service requires an established (canonical) text. This demand alone impelled Prince Yaroslav to devote much time and energy in the supplying of translated books, copied books and original books.<sup>32</sup> Proof that such work did exist at the time is found in the preserved texts of

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<sup>30</sup>From Mykhaylo Voznyak, *Istoriya ukrayins'koyi literatury*, I, (Lviv: 1920), p. 76.

<sup>31</sup>Metropolitan Ilarion, *The Ukrainian Church*, pp. 59–60.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 60.

various sermons, instructions, collections, chronicles, and the like.

## CHURCH BROTHERHOODS AND BOOK SPIRITUALITY

The written word became a very important means of expression for Ukrainian spirituality and was considered sacred from times of early antiquity. After the decline of Princely Rus'-Ukraine in the 1240s, the written (and eventually the printed) word and book spirituality in general, reemerged with spontaneous force as a result of the activation of the almost exclusively Ukrainian phenomenon — the church brotherhood. Although the Church brotherhoods were known in the times of Princely Rus'-Ukraine (the Chronicle calls them “bratchyny”<sup>33</sup>) they experienced a rebirth and began their registration in the governments of the first half of the fifteenth century. These registers show that, amongst the many charitable activities, a very important work of the brotherhoods was the moral education of the youth, the organization of brotherhood schools and, later, printing establishments,<sup>34</sup> obviously for the development of book learning and spirituality as well as culture and education in general.

The church brotherhoods spent so much energy in the spiritual enlightenment of the nation that they drew the attention of other peoples. The German scholar, Petzoldt, wrote about this in the nineteenth century.<sup>35</sup> In the middle of the seventeenth century, another foreigner, Paul of Alepa, in writing about his journey through Ukraine wrote that Ukrainian people were educated, that they enjoy learning and righteousness, that they are well versed in rhetoric, logic and all kinds of philosophy. Further he wrote:

In the entire Cossack land we observed a strange and beautiful thing: all of them, with little exception, are literate, even most of their wives and daughters know how to read and know the order of the church services and church singing. The priests teach orphans and do not allow them to wander, illiterate, on the streets.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid, pp. 136–137.

<sup>35</sup>Al. Petzoldt, *Reise in westlichen und suedlichen Europaeischen Russland in Jahre 1856*, (Leipzig: 1864).

<sup>36</sup>Professor Ivan Ohiyenko, *Ukrayins'ka kul'tura*, (Winnipeg: “Volyn,” 1970), pp. 32–33. Also see his book *The Ukrainian Church*, p. 228.

As is evident, the ideal of the spiritual enlightenment of the nation which was so highly held in the Princely era, developed to a new high level in the educational activities of the church brotherhoods that brought book learning even to the lowest ranks of the population. This shows that, in the educational and highly spiritual activities of the brotherhoods, the aristocratism of the Princely Era rose spontaneously and revealed itself in a great and vital force. And when one takes a closer look at the accomplishments of these brotherhoods, one can say that they, in a way, responded for the children of Volodymyr Mohomakh and followed his Instructions.

This is how an old tradition was revered. In the Middle Ages the Ukrainian nation demonstrated that it is of the same ethnic essence, of the very same spirit and have the same aspirations that did its ancestors throughout pre-Christian and Christian times. There was never any substantial change in this regard. The Ukrainians have always been nurtured and are still vitalized by the same spiritual elements that nurtured the nation from the days of antiquity. This is revealed by the history of our people and the history of our culture.

## FRIENDLY ASSOCIATIONS

Another positive feature in the life of the Ukrainian nation which is similar to the concept of brotherhood is the “association.” In the previous chapter we discussed the friendly relations maintained by the prince with his subjects in the so-called “assembly” (vitche) of old Rus'-Ukraine. We also mentioned that this tradition reappeared during the Cossack era. It is generally accepted that this concept of the “assembly” was the springboard for our contemporary “association.” Yet it, most likely, stems from even an older tradition — from the concept of the prince’s “retinue.” In Ukrainian the word “retinue” is “druzhyna,” which stems from the word “druh” (companion, friend). A retainer or member of the prince’s retinue was known as a “druzhynnyk,” that is, a “companion (at arms).” The word “association” (“tovarystvo”), which means companionship, friendship, partnership, fellowship, and so on, is of the same concept, a concept based on love of one’s fellowman and on goodwill. It embraces the virtues of trust, loyalty and of sincere mutual understanding and is devoid of all the negative qualities

so often held as: the will of the leader, fear before him, obedience to him, and so on.

## THE SPIRITUAL MESSIANISM OF RUS'-UKRAINE

The nature of the Ukrainian nation conceals one other elemental peculiarity which is usually viewed from the historical perspective — the Ukrainian spiritual Messianism — which, as a mystic force, has several times beckoned the nation to defend itself and the entire Christian world. This Messianism emerged in the centuries-long campaigns of the Ukrainians against the inroads of Asian hordes (the Polovtsi) into Europe. Finally, in 1240, under the attacks of new Asian forces, the Tatars, the Princely State of Rus'-Ukraine fell into a deep silence. Before its decline, however, old Rus' had announced, through the author of "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" that it had fought against the infidel for all of Christendom.<sup>37</sup> Europe was saved then, although it showed its gratitude by repeated efforts to Europeanize our nation either in the propositions of Protestantism, or Catholicism.

But the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought another critical moment for Europe and Ukraine was forced to rise again. Its historical Messianism emerged once more; this time in the strength of the Cossacks, who joined forces under the call "For the Orthodox Faith!" Again the Ukrainians fought the Asian hordes, which were now coming in the name of Islam. But this time an awareness of Ukrainian Messianism was proclaimed in the slogan "For the Orthodox Faith!" This time the Ukrainian Messianism could have been triumphant had it not been betrayed by those very forces which rested peacefully behind its back for centuries. Ukraine again weakened and lost its independence. Nevertheless, its soldiers — the Cossacks — did defend the honor of their Fatherland when in 1683 Islam knocked on Europe's door for the last time in Turkish force. This last European crusade, now with the Ukrainian Cossacks, under the chief command of the Polish King Jan Sobieski (King John III), rose against the menace. And although it were the Cossack regiments who broke the Turkish forces near Vienna, Sobieski is the one who received the glory for this victory over the Turks.

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<sup>37</sup>Cf. Metropolitan Ilarion, *Slovo pro Ihoriv pokhid*, (Winnipeg: "Volyn," 1967), p. 171.

The Asian and Islam threats in Europe, however, were not the last ones. Toward the end of the First World War a new force threatened Europe and the entire Western civilization. This force appeared in the soulless form of the Western European invention of Marxism which was embodied in Bolshevik Communism. At that time, under the ideological leadership of Lenin, Bolshevism started its campaign westward; but the very young Ukrainian National Republic, under the ideological leadership of Symon Petlyura, stood on its way. Again the Ukrainians fought against inhuman forces as the old Rus' men with Ihor near Kayala. "They fought one day, they fought the second, and the third day . . . Ihor's banners fell. . . ." <sup>38</sup> And so again: the Ukrainian Army fought the Marxist hordes one year, it fought two years, and the third year it was compelled to carry its flag — the symbol of freedom and eternal Messianism of Ukraine — outside the borders of Ukraine onto foreign soil. Nevertheless, the Ukrainians would not allow the enemy of mankind to destroy their flag; it still waves throughout the world. Ukrainian Messianism was not quenched with this onslaught; it remains an inseparable part of the Ukrainian spiritual entity and its subconscious, although today it appears only in the form of protests, dissidence, spiritual movements, and so on.

Besides taking up arms, the eternal Messianism of the Ukrainian nation eloquently voiced its ideology throughout the entire Slavic World in the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood of the 1840s; even a program for this effect was formulated in "Knyhy Bytiya Ukrayins'koho Narodu" ("The Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian Nation") by Mykola Kostomarov. <sup>39</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

This ends our brief survey on the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation during the period of Princely Rus' and in later times. However, this survey is not from an ontological point of view, but rather from the phenomenal, which analyzes spirituality as a life process. Attention was focussed on certain periods, the birth of Ukrainian spirituality, its development and its embodiment in the Ukrainian national tradition. This tradition played an important role in the transformation of the ancient tribes into an ethni-

<sup>38</sup>Metropolitan Ilarion, *Slovo . . .*, p. 156.

<sup>39</sup>Mykola Kostomarov, *Knyhy Bytiya Ukrayins'koho Narodu*, (Augsburg: UVAN, Ukrayins'ky Muzeh-Arkhiv, 1947). There are other editions or versions of this book.

cal entity that gradually became aware of its specific identity and acknowledged itself as a separate people. At the outset this people called itself Rus', eventually it called itself the Ukrainian nation and its land — Ukraine.

There is nothing abnormal in this name change of people and of country. Modern France was once called Gaul, Russia was Muscovy, Czekhia was Bohemia, Greece was Hellas, but the nations of these countries constitute the very same ethno-spiritual entity that did their forefathers who were once known under their former names. So it was with the Ukrainians. First they were the Rus' nation and their country was known as the Rus' Land or Rus'. Eventually they called themselves Ukrainians and their historical land — Ukraine. This is self-evident and incontestable to the people.

Our survey attempted to show that the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation is an eternal life process, an eternal phenomenon. This is an unchangeable or constant phenomenon just as is any national entity in the past, in the present and in the future: it is constant and unchangeable.

Originally, Ukrainian spirituality was conditioned by the natural forces of the land and was nurtured by its philosophy. This spirituality satisfied the needs of the people up to a certain time, until its maturation and level of readiness to fulfill itself with the spirit of the Gospel and the Name of our Lord, Jesus Christ. When this occurred, with the acceptance of Christianity our forefathers began to speak the language of the Gospel, they were baptized in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost — in the Name of the Divine Trinity. However, their spirituality, their aspirations, and their ways of reaching beyond themselves into the realm of the Spirit — the ways of quenching their spiritual aspirations, in many cases, remained without change.

As their peculiar mode of life, they remained the same, although this spirituality now finds its fulfillment in Jesus Christ. For Christ Himself had said that He came into the world not to destroy the existing order, law, or way of life, but to fulfill it (Matthew 5:7) — to fulfill it with Truth, and a righteous content. This is the same that happened with the Ukrainian pre-Christian spirituality. It is no wonder, therefore, that the nation preserves its old traditions so faithfully and that these traditions continue to remain so important and precious. This is simply because there is a long history and a wealth of experience behind them.

It is worth noting how outsiders, who have visited Ukraine (let us recall the observations of Louis Bouyer) assert the fact that when Christianity made its inroads into Ukraine it found the local spirituality developed to such a level that it was ready to be united with the spirit of the teachings of Jesus Christ. On the basis of this, therefore, the people were Christianized quickly and easily and began nourishing its needs with the true Divine content.

The present modest survey attempts to indicate how the basic peculiarities of the Ukrainian pre-Christian spirituality emerged from the terms of an ordinary humaneness and began to be evaluated in the terms of the Gospel — in charity and Christian love. It is understandable, therefore, why the nation's humane and hospitable attitude toward others began to be viewed from the standpoint of Christian charity, from the standpoint of service to the needs of others. That very ideal became the basis for the nation at large as well as for the ideologies of the monasteries in Ukraine and Ukrainian monasticism in general: they were philanthropic.

The spirituality of the Ukrainian nation blossomed into a humane social mutual understanding. This mutual understanding stems from the concept of companionship that united the Ukrainian prince with his retinue, that awakened in the prince a fatherly attitude toward the less privileged and his respect of the opinion of his subjects. This concept of mutual understanding led to the ideal of brotherly love as seen in Ukrainian church brotherhoods and associations. This ancient spirituality brought Ukrainians praise from other nations; praise of which they were well aware. It is not by accident that the Great Ilarion, who was the symbol of the spirit of old Rus'-Ukraine, in speaking about the princes before Yaroslav, stated: "... it is not in an impoverished and unknown land that they had reigned, but in the Rus' Land. . . ."<sup>40</sup>

On this our 1000th year of the acceptance of official Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine we must realize that, over the centuries, the spirituality of our nation experienced no breaking point, or breaking away from its roots. And although it was violated by the political forces of the Asian hordes in the thirteenth century, the Ukrainian spirituality was concealed in the very nature of the Ukrainian being. It soon reappeared in church brotherhoods with

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<sup>40</sup>Cf. Appendix to Metropolitan Ilarion's *The Ukrainian Church*, p. 287.

their charitable church and cultural ideology and in the spontaneous Cossack movement with its chivalrous and democratic government. We know that the spiritual foundation of this government was the deeply ingrained principle of fellowship (tovarystvo), a Christian consciousness and patriotism.

Finally, let us consider how intensely our feelings are tied with those of our forefathers of the Middle Ages and of antiquity. How strongly our pre-Christian antiquity reverberates in our feelings. How very close is the glory of princely Rus', the heroism and the tragedy of the Rus' people, as glorified in "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign." How deeply we feel the author's sad refrain: "Oh, Land of Rus'! Thou art beyond the hills now!" We feel as if we were familiar with this experience, for it is our own historical experience. And whether pleasant, or unpleasant, that experience imparts feelings of heroism to us, even to those of us who were not born in the geographic and climatic environment known as Ukraine.

It seems clear that we are concerned about the illustration of the organically historical oneness of the Ukrainian nation from the standpoint of its ethnicity and its psychologically spiritual self-awareness, its philosophical qualities, its feelings and its spirituality. For only a Ukrainian is the autochton (the aborigine, the eternal inhabitant) of his Rus' Land. Only the Ukrainian is the true successor and heir of his and her nation's eternal spiritual heritage which became the Genius of the Ukrainian people even in the pre-Christian Era and in the Princely Rus' Era. It, later, inspired the Cossack element and continues to inspire us today.

Thus, the spirituality of the Ukrainian is specifically his and her own spirituality. Such is his or her nature as well, and tradition, and culture, while the other Slavic nations have their own peculiar spiritualities, their own peculiar countenances. Although the Russians lay claims to the pre-Mongolian antiquity and the cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people, their spirituality and their culture is totally different. Some of these differences were discussed earlier, but we end with another example:

Scholars say that "The Rus' Law" was reflected in many instances in "The Lithuanian Statute" (the legal codex in Ukraine in the sixteenth century); its elements were preserved in our customary law, whereas the Russians themselves state that

there was no trace of “The Rus’ Law” in Russia.<sup>41</sup> Life there took a different course and developed from totally different, northern elements. This is why the Russian nation is different from the Ukrainian. It has its own specific Russian culture, its own spirituality and its own national countenance.

October, 1982.

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<sup>41</sup>Professor Leontovych states this in his work “Rus’ka Pravda i Lytovs’ky Statut,” also Professor V. Budanov in “Obzori istoriyi russkago prava.” Cf. Yevhen Onatsky, *Ukrayins’ka mala entsyklopediya*, vol. XII, (Buenos Aires: 1963), p. 1469.

**THE MUSE AS A CATEGORY OF SPIRITUALITY<sup>1</sup>**  
**(The Nation's Muse as a Psychological-Theological**  
**Phenomenon)**

*Introduction*

Although I am not a musicologist and although my knowledge of music is limited only to a practical acquaintance with church music, I have been interested in and fascinated with the Muse for a very long time. In my understanding, the Muse of the human being is the musical gift of human nature. I have been intrigued by the mystery as to why, given a certain mood and emotional feelings, one's musical nature suggests (and even dictates) a particular type of melody and no other. Or why our passion (strasnyj) liturgical chant incorporates such an abundance of impressionable elements, of both a positive and negative valence. My interest obviously requires further explanation, therefore I cite the following example as an illustration of my first question.

As a stipendiary at the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in England, during the summer vacation of 1961, I was taken seriously ill. As a result of this and of my loneliness in the vacated College I fell into a state of depression. My main consolation at this time was the Old Church Slavonic "Akafist to the Almighty God in the time of depression." This akafist (or prayer) was most appropriate for my condition. I read it often, but I did not know the melody of its "ikos" refrains. Gradually, however, I made up my own melody for these refrains as suggested by my mood and my soul. Later that summer the Very Reverend Borys Yakovkevych (later, Archbishop Borys) visited me. Because he was knowledgeable in Church music and was once a choir director, I asked him about the melody of the akafist. And much to my surprise the melody was the same that I had invented. I had never heard this akafist before and I cannot even imagine where I could possibly have heard it in order to be able to fall upon this melody at this time. This melody is the one that is most suitable to the

<sup>1</sup>The basic theses of this study comprised an address delivered at the First Conference of Church Choir Directors of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada, March 27-29, 1983, at St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg. The conference was included into the program of The Year of Church Music (one of the stages in the preparation of the 1000th Anniversary of the Baptism of Ukraine).

spiritual structure of this akafist, to its content and to the mood of a person in depression.

There was another incident connected with a remarkable adventure of my early life. In our family orchard there were giant oak trees which made a beautiful shelter for shepherds on wet days. I remember how I loved to listen to the rustle of the oaks, particularly when it was very windy. In the protectiveness of my most beloved oak, I would listen to the rustle with some sort of pietism and would lose myself within the sound and blend with it in the aria of its mysterious muse. I would hum the aria suggested to me and thus recorded it within me for life. How surprised I was when I heard this very same aria on CBC in the musical composition of A. Borodin's "Polovets'ky marsh" ("The Polovtsian March") performed by the Belgian Philharmonic Choir. I cannot imagine where I possibly could have heard this composition in my childhood so as to remember some fragment of its aria for the remainder of my life. Yet, when I think of this melody, it is apparent that it responds to the rustling muse of the trees and one's mood, which somehow naturally blends with that muse.

I have given this much consideration and I have searched for an explanation from musicians, because I have the impression that a nation has some inner force, some element of melodiousness, or a natural ability to sing its feelings in its own way in its own time and only in situations peculiar to it.<sup>2</sup> For one even awaits an appropriate reaction to it. Even Jesus Christ Himself once had to use this law in a saying (Matthew 11:17). My interest and thoughts on this subject led me to the conclusion that the mysterious force, which makes one sing a particular mood in his own way, can be called the Muse.

Originally the term "Muse" comes from Greek mythology and refers to the goddesses of songs and the arts. In the Ukrainian understanding, particularly from the time of Shevchenko, "the 'Muse' became a symbol of poetic inspiration, the stimulus for creativity and the image of the poet's belief in the supernatural forces of his creativity, the source of which is a higher power, the innate gift of God. . . . This is why the Muse becomes that creative force that flows from the eternal source of God."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Oleksander Koshyts speaks briefly to this in his work *Pro ukrayins'ku pisnyu i muzyku*, (New York: Nasha Bat'kivshchyna, 1970), pp. 12–13, 25–26, et al.

<sup>3</sup>Leonid Bilets'ky, in his explanations to the *Kobzar* of Taras Shevchenko, vol. IV, (Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1954), p. 201.

The Ukrainian dictionary defines the "Muse" as figuratively meaning "a creative inspiration" and "the creativity of a poet, his art."<sup>4</sup> In the context of my thinking the "Muse" approaches the Greek concept of "Ethos."

Thus, my definition of "Muse" is the melodiousness of human nature, its natural creative gift, a peculiar natural creative feeling, one of God's gifts to mankind (I Corinthians 12:1-11), which is different and peculiar for each nation (Acts 17:26-27; Deuteronomy 32:8). This gift is given to mankind to sing God "a song" that is particular, peculiar and new (Psalm 33:3; 96:1-2). And if the Muse in general is a universal gift to mankind, then its expression is exclusively ethnic; then it is the Muse that denotes and expresses the spiritual feelings of a given nation in the most sincere, most profound and most beautiful way.

This study attempts to analyze the mystery of the Muse as a category of the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation in the understanding that the Muse is that which is commonly known as "The soul of the people." The Russian philosopher N. O. Lossky regards this force as "the personality of the highest order" and L. P. Karsavin as "a symphonic personality."<sup>5</sup> These scholars however, did not focus on the functionalism of this "personality of the highest order." However, it is this functionalism that receives attention in this study.

## THE MUSE AS A DIVINELY ANTHROPOLOGICAL CATEGORY

The human nature is created by God. Therefore, all the spiritual gifts of a human being are of divine origin. We inherit them in birth, but we have no other dominion over them except that we can either develop them as our innate talents, or neglect them (Matthew 25:14-27). We cannot change them and it is impossible to free ourselves from them, just as it is impossible for us to add one cubit to our stature (Matthew 6:27); because our stature is determined by the force of our nature over which we have no dominion. Such is our natural melodiousness, our musicalness, or — our Muse: it is a part of our being, therefore it is

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<sup>4</sup>The Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language, vol. IV, (Kiev: 1973), p. 822. Cf. also Warren D. Anderson, *Ethos and Education in Greek Music*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 31-33.

<sup>5</sup>N. O. Lossky, *Kharakter russkago naroda*, (Posev: 1957), p. 7.

from God, as we are each and every one from God. And that which is from God must not be treated with disregard.

Because the human nature is created by God and is in the image of God (Genesis 1:26-27), the Ukrainian consciousness has developed an understanding that the Muse is God's gift to the human being; it is of divine origin. Following the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, later Greek scholars, and among them Michael Constantine Psellus (1018-1080) also maintained this view.<sup>6</sup> From this it is concluded that the Muse is a divinely anthropological category. The following are additional explanations in this regard:

1. *The Muse — the natural talent of the human nature.*

There are many misunderstandings about the concept of the Muse. This, most likely, is as a consequence of such processes as the emergence of humanism, the liberalization of the human being and its final secularization. For in the development of these processes, the human being became a sacrifice to the tremendous overevaluation of its own self and to the lack of understanding of the essence of things. In these processes God was either placed in the abstract, or forgotten altogether; and all the divine gifts to mankind were acknowledged as folklore, or ethnic creativity. It could not have been otherwise, for when the universal God Creator is removed from man's vision, then, in this position another creator — the people — is placed. And all the divine gifts in the human being are then acknowledged as national creativity, national wisdom, or folklore. In Ukraine this occurred with the development of narodnytstvo (Populism), in the acknowledgment that the nation is the bearer of all truth, in superficial ethnocentricity, in anticlericalism, in secularism. The consequences of this are evident to this day. There were still other assumptions that were responsible for placing the human being above all else.

It seems to me that it is closer to the truth to assume that the artists of the so-called national creativity are individual creators with God-given talents. The nation accepts their creativity, lives by it and transforms it into tradition. The nation itself, in its totality, creates nothing, but it is capable of taking over the creative ideas of geniuses as if these ideas were its own. Shevchenko, for example, who always spoke with the feelings of the people was one such genius whose ideas were adopted by the people.

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<sup>6</sup>Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, Second revised and enlarged edition, (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 60-61.

It is important to understand that the significant element here is the “capability” of the people to take over creative ideas that are consonant with their own spiritual feelings, with their own spiritual mood, or with the spiritual melodies of their own Muse — their own Muse and no one else’s. However, the fact that the nation loves the fruits of its geniuses and acknowledges them and accepts them as its own does not yet constitute national creativity. Here the “genius” of the nation is its God-given spiritual Muse, the peculiar spiritual capability and structure of its ethnic individuality that gives it inspiration for all things. This Muse is from God alone. Phenomenally, it is expressed in the creativity of talented individuals.

## *2. The nature of the Muse is not universal.*

The concept “Muse” as a phenomenon is concrete and not metaphysically abstract. It is the potential gift of the Muse to mankind that is universal; there is no abstract being, or abstract or universal language. There are concrete races, concrete nations and concrete languages. (It must be kept in mind that nationality, a certain language and ethnic gifts are concrete gifts from God Himself (Acts 17:26-27)). These gifts are phenomenally conditioned by various geographic, climatic, historical and even political factors. (Therefore, those who hate people different from themselves, or different in their likes and dislikes do not act wisely). The Muse, phenomenally, is different for every nation, it is peculiar to one nation alone and native and precious to this one nation only. Nothing fascinates a human being with as much power as does his native Muse. Because of this one cannot neglect its influence. Is there any wonder, then, that a nation so deeply loves all that which is its own?

The Muse of a people is present in all the mouthpieces of its culture and spirituality, in its traditions. The individual thus holds dear all things belonging to his nation above all else. Our own Muse has only a certain esthetic value for others; but to ourselves it has a spiritual value and therefore is of an essential significance. This is why a healthy human being will never take a stand against his own Muse; for it would be a revolt against oneself.

The Muse of our Christmas and paschal traditions is so powerful that it moves spiritually neglected individuals, even those who are led by the principles of atheism. It stirs them so deeply that sometimes it draws them to church, or moves them to tears.

The jokes about people who are seen in church only at Christmas and Easter say much about a human being. Whoever rebels against his own Muse and betrays it, he or she rebels against all things that are his or her own, often becomes an unappeasable fanatic.

Furthermore, since the Muse is of divine origin it is always alive and vigorously new, and therefore, absolutely necessary for mankind. It is because of this that for the Ukrainians, for example, no event takes place without a song and this is why the human being yearns for constant revivification and nurture by its own Muse. This applies to each nation and its native Muse.

### 3. *The Structure of the Muse.*

The Muse is free in form and natural in structure. It is no wonder, then, that certain moods of the human soul are sung only within the boundaries of one's own musical movement (as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter), within the boundaries of one's own Muse and one's own musical form. An example of this structurally ethnic immanence and freedom of the Muse is the Ukrainian monophonic "duma" (a unique type of epos). The "duma" is performed as a melodious recitative. Its "musical root," writes Oleksander Koshyts', "is contained in the lament ... of the pre-historic past."<sup>8</sup> Therefore, in music, the real Muse is that which is sung spontaneously from the depths of one's spiritual feelings and not necessarily that which is composed theoretically. Composition does not always express the Muse; it often only presents "a theatre,"<sup>9</sup> even vocal acrobatics that have nothing in common with the Muse of the nation. Only that which is natural is pleasant and no professional musical drill can amend or supersede this truth.

In the nineteenth century the Populist Movement in Ukraine ("narodovtsi") made an appeal that one must go into the nation, that is, mingle with the populace and learn from its wisdom. Although the Populists were sincere in their endeavors, in my opinion — their assessment was inaccurate, for their concept revolved around national creativity, the ethnic song, that is, around folklore in general, without the realization that the nation, as a conscious sociological collective, was not responsible for this "national" creativeness, that this creativeness was simply a free expression of the natural gifts, the natural talents

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<sup>8</sup>Oleksander Koshyts', *Pro ukrayins'ku pisnyu* . . . , p. 21.

<sup>9</sup>M. Shlemkevych, "Dusha i pisnya," p. 50.

of the Ukrainian being, talents that were expressed by selected geniuses — the “prophets” of the people.

Again, it must be stressed that this talent and this natural gift is from God alone. And individuals, even geniuses, are the obedient (although creative) expressors and rulers of this talent. They are the prophets, who express, form or interpret this talent for the good and the service of all society often not even being aware of this themselves; as Nicolai Gogol (Hohol’), when he wrote the famous comedy “Revisor” (“The Government Inspector”). At the premiere performance, the scene “A Portrait from Life” sent the audience into hysterical laughter and the tsar, in the audience, into an angry rage. Gogol himself could not understand what brought people to such a contradictory reaction. It seems, then, that the general intuition of the artist, the mysterious insight of the prophet can create and express something that the mind of the author-prophet can not even grasp.

It seems to me that even the truly great and famous experts of Ukrainian music, the musicologists and the composers, were often captured by and dealt only with the product of the Muse of the Ukrainian nation, with its professional elaboration, but did not discern the essence of the Muse. Only a thinker is discerning, for the essence of things is his trade. As far as it is known, one such Ukrainian spiritual giant of our time was the modern philosopher, Dr. Mykola Shlemkevych (1894-1966).<sup>10</sup> Shlemkevych does not use the concept “Muse,” but in speaking about the meaning of mood in song, he touches the very essence of the Muse. He states, that “the music of moods is afraid of a rigid, clear form. Form kills mood,” or, in other words, the Muse. He also notes that our temperament “does not like to bind mood to the requirements of great composition.” In regard to the works of the great Lysenko, Shlemkevych somewhat timidly remarked: “maybe this is heresy, but sometimes it seems as if Lysenko became a victim to his fascination with a song,”<sup>11</sup> which means that even Lysenko himself went no deeper than form.

Shlemkevych was not against “musical education” but demanded a balance between “the pathos of the steppe” and “the pathos of the intellect.” He used Shevchenko to illustrate “the birth of a Ukrainian spiritual primal matter — natural musi-

<sup>10</sup>Cf. his article in *Ukrayins'ka dusha*, pp. 44–54 (and his other works).

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 52.

cal forces are merged and expressed in the creative elements of a knowledgeable artist-plastic."<sup>12</sup>

In addition to what was stressed earlier, it must be noted that that which I incorporate into the concept "Muse" applies to that "spiritual primal matter" or "the national memory" of our people. Some composers of Ukrainian church music have paid due attention to this aspect.<sup>13</sup> In my considerations of the structure of the Ukrainian Muse, I am mainly concerned about its naturalness, its simplicity and its closeness to the soul of the nation. Because what is usually regarded as "church music" does not always include the "spiritual" part of the music. And it is this that is important for the revitalization of every believing soul. Every individual needs to be filled with the spirit when singing spiritual songs. Therefore, "spiritual" music must be accessible to every individual; it must be in the boundaries of the structure of one's natal Muse. This is the reason why church music should be truly "ethnic," in other words, accessible to everyone, natal for everyone, and truly spiritual.

#### THE MUSE AS A BIOLOGICAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL- SPIRITUAL "SUBSTANCE" OF HUMAN NATURE

The Muse of a human being is a part of the vital force of his or her nature, his or her peculiar "substance." When Shlemkevych searched for the meaning of "the soul of the nation," or the Ukrainian soul, he came to the conclusion that it is our musical lyricism.<sup>14</sup> This is the Muse upon which we have focussed our attention in this study. This Muse, as God's gift to human nature and as a dynamic mouthpiece of the human being attributes its phenomenality (its manifestation) to the wholistic totality of this being whose nature consists of biological, psychological and spiritual elements. The Muse, or the melodiousness of a human nature, is not possible without the concrete human being because it emerges as the substantial expression of the vital force of this being. Thus, the Muse occupies the central position in the spirituality of a human being, or of a nation. Let us consider this in the following manner:

1. *The mystery of the "collective unconscious" of the people.*  
The so-called "collective unconscious" is a concept that was

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>13</sup>Koshyts', *Pro ukrayins'ku pisnyu . . .*, p. 40.

<sup>14</sup>Shlemkevych, "Dusha i pisnya," p. 49.

formulated by the Swiss psychologist Carl Jung. According to Jung, the “unconscious” is one’s inheritance from former ancestors (by birth) of certain tendencies, (as one’s reactions toward things, like the fear of snakes for example), of the way one deals with various feelings, inclinations, and so on.<sup>15</sup> This profound inheritance spreads throughout the entire family, nation and race by the force of the substance of human nature and its bio-psycho-spiritual construction. Thus, although all people sing, the Ukrainian melodiousness, or Muse, develops and formulates exclusively in its peculiar manner. All people possess certain tendencies in regard to given values, but by the force of our own peculiar inclinations these tendencies are typically Ukrainian.<sup>16</sup>

This is the “collective unconscious” of a nation — the nation’s unwritten laws of existence and the vital force of the expression of its being. This can also be defined as the bio-psycho-spiritual force of a human being, or its Muse. In any case, we must remember that this is God’s gift, placed within our being by the Lord God Himself. This gift is the talent of the highest spiritual significance and it places a great responsibility on us, both of a spontaneous and of a conscious nature. Because the Muse is alive, every healthy human being loves it from birth, must hold it dear and live by it.

## 2. *The Muse as a component of the spirituality of a nation.*

On the basis of what has been said so far, one can make the assumption that the Muse assumes the central position in the existence of a human being. One must also make the assertion that the Muse, as the basic expression of the vital force of a human being is central in the spirituality of the human being. The content of the Muse varies in nations. But, as a mouthpiece of profound awakenings, feelings, sufferings and aspirations of an individual, the Muse is inseparable from the completion of the human entity; even though it can be abused as the very spiritual nature of the individual can be neglected, or become neutralized.

The reading of the Holy Scripture during the Divine Service has a great educational (intellectual) and spiritual meaning, but

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<sup>15</sup>Calvin S. Hall and Vernon J. Nordby, *A Primer of Jungian Psychology*, A Mentor Book, (New American Library, 1973), pp. 38–41.

<sup>16</sup>The Very Reverend Stephan Jarmus, *Relihiyi svitu, kul'tura i khrystyians'ke pravoslaviye*, (Missiyny Viddil pry Konsystoriyi Ukrayins' koyi Hreko-Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy v Kanadi, 1981), p. 20. In regard to ethnocentricity of expressions of profound spiritual feelings, see Abraham H. Maslow, *Religions, Values and Peak-Experiences*, Penguin Books, 1976.

it can be read without any meaning. Our Scriptural reading has its own specific “Muse” of reading, its own melodiousness. When it is performed properly, it instructs and moves us spiritually, that is, vitalizes and builds our personal being. What spiritual advantage is there from just an artistic reading of the “Apostle,” from a grammatically and psychologically illiterate reading of the Gospel, or from an artistic or “acrobatic” singing of the Divine Liturgy?

The power of the pure Muse is very strong. Its influential power as regards the Ukrainian festal traditions has already been mentioned. That power is not only emotional, it is deeply spiritual as well. And how deeply a human being is moved by the Muse of a native song! It awakens not only the emotional powers of a human being, but spiritual and even physical ones. And how deeply we are moved by the Muse of our national dances, our artistic culture, or our Princely and Cossack epos! It is no wonder that it is said that without a song, that is, without our native Muse, no events takes place.

Thus the power of our spirit is in both the anthropological and the divine sense making the native Muse an extremely important fact of our spirituality. This makes it evident as to what is meant by the expression: “Come on, let us sing a song!” (even in a hopeless situation). Thus, we sing in all life situations. Such is our nation; such is our spiritual nature; and such is our Muse. And we must not forget that all of this is from God.

### *3. The ethnicity of the Muse.*

The Muse is a purely ethnic phenomenon. Only the individual’s gift of the Muse is universal. Just as there is no naturally universal language, there is no universal Muse, because the Muse, in its expressed (phenomenal) form is ethnic. Thus the Ukrainian Muse, as a manifestation of the purely Ukrainian spiritual mood and feelings, is an ethnic phenomenon. Even though it may have cultural value for other people, it nevertheless (as a spiritual category) remains dear only to us, Ukrainians, thus, it may be totally incomprehensible to other people and this is to be expected.

We maintain that the Muse is a gift from God and for the believer this is an obvious truth. Phenomenally, the Ukrainian Muse emerged and developed in the process of the development of the Ukrainian being or, entity. Therefore, it emerged and matured in the geographic and historical situation of this being.

The sociologist, N. Hryhoriyiv says, in this regard, that the Ukrainian nation took full advantage of its situation, its spiritual abilities (its talent) and its profoundly esthetical taste.<sup>17</sup> Our people manifested the ethnic peculiarity of its Muse in language, in rituals and traditional customs, in music, in dance, in dress, in running a household, in its nature, in its relations with other people and with the world, even in its religious philosophy. For us it is this philosophy that is more natural, obvious, genuine, and practical. The Muse of Ukrainian folklore is, of course, naturally developed in the Ukrainian language, which also has its own peculiarities — philological as well as psychological.

The power of one's ethnic Muse is very strong, thus our contemporary culturalism,<sup>18</sup> which is prevalent among Ukrainian Diaspora youth, is the response of this youth to the live awakening of its native Muse. This Muse is the basis of patriotism, love toward native things and all noble feelings. There is nothing nationalistic or political in this. It is primarily an ethnic-psychological phenomenon and a religious-spiritual one as well.

Pedagogically, the Church would deal best with this phenomenon, because of its uniquely privileged situation. Furthermore, the Church has the Divine and human mandate in this regard. Whoever thinks that ethno-culturalism does not belong to the Church's mission, does not understand neither the nature of the Church, nor the natural needs of its membership — the human beings. As concerns secularized culturalism, it can very easily be turned into that with which we are already familiar — “Runvira,” paganism.

In speaking about the ethnicity of the Muse, it must be noted that the concept of the Muse includes all things that are natural and spontaneous to a given nation. The Muse does not accept any superficiality, hence the Muse will not embrace theoretical superficiality. (The ancient Greek philosophers, including Plato, first gave their attention to this.)<sup>19</sup> This is why our thoughtful composers of church music tried to construct their compositions on the basis of our “ethnic musical creativity.”<sup>20</sup> Since this was

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<sup>17</sup>N. Y. Hryhoriyiv, *Ukrayins'ka natsional'na vdacha*, (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ka Vydavnycha Spilka v Kanadi, 1941), p. 41.

<sup>18</sup>I use this term to mean the natural phenomenon in Ukrainian Diaspora. It is discussed more fully later.

<sup>19</sup>Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnology*, (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 50, 52. “Theatrical” music was prohibited by the Laodicaca Church Council. *Ibid.*, pp. 83–84.

<sup>20</sup>Koshyts', *Pro ukrayins'ku pisnyu . . .*, p. 40.

the closest to the heart, it served to touch the nation most profoundly and to best satisfy its spiritual needs. In regard to this, however, one must be aware of the psychological process, known as the association of concepts. Therefore, the church Muse and the spiritual Muse, in general, must not be saturated with a “national” component, for this would lead to the secularization of the spiritual Muse; secularization suffocates the living Muse. It is obvious that the native Muse can not be replaced and therein lies the power of our contemporary culturalism.

#### 4. *Esthetics, ethics and the cosmic quality of the Muse*

On the basis of what has been said so far, it is obvious that there is no other conclusion except that the nature of the Muse belongs to the most important part of the human being. For an inspired Muse highly elevates the dignity and worth of a human being and a Christianized Muse deifies it. This tremendous power of the Muse was known to the ancient Greeks, thus its virtues were placed in the basis of their education, in other words, into the basis of human development. Music was then regarded as the best method of teaching, because its rhythm and harmony pour into the very depths of a human soul, “endowing it with nobleness and making the soul, of those who are truly educated, ‘ennobled’,” as taught by Plato in his “Republic.”<sup>21</sup> In Plato’s time it was believed that the soul can respond in the same harmony imparted to it by the cosmos, that parts of the human soul can respond to all the movements in the universe. This resulted in the Greek teaching that the human being is a microcosmos.

In later times, the great Christian mystic, pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (fifth-sixth centuries) expounded similar teachings of a divine harmony and beauty in the universe and in the human being.<sup>22</sup> It is he who brought this conviction into the Orthodox spirituality and into the Orthodox theological thinking. Somewhat of a reverberation of him in our times is the French philosopher and theologian, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the educational ennobling influence on a human being, the Muse has a moral and esthetic significance — virtues with which all nations have been familiar.<sup>24</sup> The very idea of

<sup>21</sup>Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music* . . . , p. 49.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 57, 60.

<sup>23</sup>Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *Hymn of the Universe; The Prayer of the Universe; Le Milieu Divin*, (All Fontana Books).

<sup>24</sup>Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music* . . . , pp. 46, 47.

beauty was very important in Greek philosophy and later in Orthodox mystical theology.<sup>25</sup> Both disciplines are based on the ideals of harmony, beauty and the cosmos, in general.<sup>26</sup> Since these virtues belong to the Muse, the Muse became the basic element in Greek education.<sup>27</sup>

The esthetic and ethical content of the Muse includes also the particular virtue which awakens a certain cosmic quality within the human being and brings the human being into the system of the universe. It is because the nature of the Muse is cosmic that a human being, while gazing at the heavens in the dark depths of night, can somehow “mystically” fall silent, or while awakened by the elements of one’s surroundings — the trees, rivers, the wind, mountains — he or she appears lost within the elements and hums a tune. Mykola Shlemkevych pondered on this “losing of oneself” in the melodies of the world as well as in his own songs.<sup>28</sup> This state usually comes about when the human being feels inner peace brought on by waves of esthetic, ethical, or spiritual feelings and the cosmic mood of the soul. The Muse, itself, is extremely powerful and mystically profound. It is not surprising, then, that the Greeks regarded the human being as a microcosmos.

## THE FUNCTIONS OF THE MUSE AND ITS HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

The individual’s Muse — as the quality of his or her life and the entire function of the Muse — is a movement, the expression of this quality in the individual’s various experiences, in his or her feelings and in the full realization of one’s own being. Thus the Muse of the human being is a process of his/her feelings, a process of his/her development and constant unfolding. This concerns all the aspects and dimensions of a human life. Because the Muse, as an active function in life and multifaceted creation, is growth, or a fully productive life activity.

Thus, the Muse — as an all-national functional element — has a certain historical evolution; not within itself, but rather, in the

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 56, 58.

<sup>26</sup>Harmony, order, accord, beauty, purpose, and others, are included in the concept of the cosmos.

<sup>27</sup>Warren D. Anderson, *Ethos and Education in Greek Music*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), particularly pp. 91–110 and the conclusions of the book.

<sup>28</sup>Shlemkevych, “*Dusha i pisnya*,” p. 51.

movement and the qualities of its living expression. For it appears in various forms of activities and creativities of the human spirit, as in song, dance, poetry, the arts, in the style of the home, dress, in the manner of accomplishing and experiencing traditional customs; also in the formation of a philosophy of life, in the active realization of this ideal, and so on. It is, therefore, normal to speak of an evolution of expression of the Muse. For in these processes is our ever active Muse (or Ethos, as known by the Greeks), that is, our natural spiritual composition, our inclinations, or specifically our spiritual adaptations and tendencies. This is the divine talent given to us as a gift. Thus we can analyze the functionality of our Muse as follows:

1. *The Muse as an expression of the nation's character*

Nothing speaks as much and as truthfully of the individual as does his or her behavior and deeds; in the context of this analysis this is the expression of one's Muse. Thus, to know a nation's folklore and all its other cultural acquisitions and expressions, is to know the content of that nation's soul and its real value. This, incidentally, is the first task of contemporary missionaries, who endeavor to bring Christianity into the culture of a given nation. They cannot present the Gospel in the context of their own culture (that is, the culture of the missionaries). They must keep in mind the culture of a given people, for the cultural and folkloric expressions of a people is the most genuine evidence of its gifts and its creative force. This is of utmost importance.

This is the reason why some nations that do not have great cultural acquisitions, as the Russians, for example, who claim the acquisitions of others. As a nation, the Russians emerged much later than Ukrainians. It was the historical crisis of 1654 that brought Ukraine (the older and more developed nation) under the rule of younger and underdeveloped Muscovy. From this time on, the Russians took not only the great treasures and monuments of Ukrainian material culture;<sup>29</sup> they gradually adopted the Ukrainian history of the Princely Era and developed the pretext that Princely Rus' was the common fatherland of the Ukrainians, Russians and Belorussians as well.

However, this is only a political pretext, because the spirituality of Ancient Rus' was preserved in the traditions, the folklore and in the way of life of the Ukrainian nation alone and not at

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<sup>29</sup>Cf. Metropolitan Ilarion, *The Ukrainian Church*. (Winnipeg: The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada Millennium Central Committee, 1986), pp. 227–270.

all in the culture of the Russians. The Russians have nothing in common with Princely Rus'. The Russians, anthropologically, ethnologically and spiritually are completely a different nation, a much later historical product that developed from various Ugro-Finnish tribes<sup>30</sup> at the time when Kievan Rus' underwent its decline. It is very important to note that Muscovy, for which tsar Peter I adopted the Greek form Rossiya (Russia), acquired nothing from the spiritual heritage of Rus'-Ukraine and inherited nothing from its spirituality, or its Muse. It is a historic and cultural fact.

The spirituality of ancient Rus'-Ukraine (her ancient ethos) was preserved by the Ukrainian nation in the entire composition of the nation's character and its life.<sup>31</sup> It is enough to acquaint oneself with the content, the spirit and the thematics of the pre-Christian Ukrainian folklore, expressed in the old traditions — the shchedrivky (carols of the Eve of the Epiphany) and other ritual songs — in order to recognize that the whole force and content of that ancient folklore (of our eternal Muse) is preserved to this very day in the Ukrainian nation and not in the Russian and Belorussian nations.

Therefore, there is no need for us to share our Princely past with our northern neighbors, because they have adapted nothing, or very little, into their national entity from this period. Only a "great" Russian pretentiousness desires these acquisitions. The very character of the Russian nation manifests a different Muse, other spiritual processes. Thus, the "Great Russian" theory about the development of three "brotherly" nations from Kievan Rus' — the Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian — is groundless. Because the historical and spiritual processes of these nations differ, they reject the superficial "Great Russian" theory.<sup>32</sup>

The Muse of the nation, besides conditioning the nation's external character and its specific external cultural and spiritual

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<sup>30</sup>About the ethical composition of the Russian (Muscovite) nation see: Koshyts', *Pro ukrayins'ku pisnyu . . .*, p. 17; Yevhen Onats'ky, *Ukrayins'ka mala entsyklopediya* (Me-Mo), (Buenos Aires: 1961), pp. 1041–1043; N. O. Losskiy, *Kharakter russkogo naroda*, (Posev: 1957), p. 146; G. P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, Kievan Christianity: the 10th to the 13th Centuries, (Harper Torchbooks, 1960), pp. 4–5.

<sup>31</sup>Koshyts', *Pro ukrayins'ku pisnyu . . .*, p. 17; see also our previous chapter, pp. 70–74.

<sup>32</sup>Cf. Lossky, *Kharakter russkogo naroda*, p. 146, where Lossky discusses the necessity of the Russians in adding the noble Ukrainian element to their ethnic impoverishment.

attributes, manifests the mystery of the nation's "soul," and its "collective unconscious" (this was discussed earlier). It is from the reservoir of the "unconscious" that the national personality of a given nation — its collective "I" — emerges and develops. It takes root in the very element of the land of a given nation, in its climatic sphere, in its historical fate, in its ethnological, psychological, philosophical and in its religious-spiritual inclinations.

This is what conditions the ethnological and therefore, the national difference of each nation: its "collective unconscious," the "soul of the nation," its Muse or its Ethos. This Divine gift of each nation and its national fate, its personality, must not be neglected. On the contrary, all of the impulses, the entire impetus and creative flight of a Muse of each nation requires altruistic attention, that is, a humane and Christian attitude toward it. Since the Muse, or the Ethos, is not some whim, but God's gift to the nation, the nation's talent.

## *2. The Muse as the silent language of the soul*

The Muse is, also, a pure language of the human soul. This attribute of the soul is widely lauded in poetry, in lyrical and romantic songs, but its power for the Ukrainians was probably best expressed by Taras Shevchenko in his prelude to the poem "Kavkaz" ("The Caucasus"), where he stated that this human power could not be constrained or bound. How powerful, the influence of the Muse is over the human soul is shown also by Borys Hrinchenko in his drama "Yasni zori" ("Bright Stars"), where the playwright illustrates the sufferings of Amina, the captive Ukrainian girl who turned Turkish and was tormented by the captive Cossack's song that once in a while reached her ears.

In regard to the musical language of the soul, there is much that the human being cannot comprehend, or express in words, but which moves one so deeply that he or she sings a melody, a melody of any song. This fact has been known for a very long time. The problem is that the expression of the Muse mainly gains attention when it affects an objective onlooker. Rarely has anyone considered what it means to the subjective singer — the interpreter of its excitation; or what it is that makes a person reveal his or her deep spiritual feelings by externalizing them in a song.

It is true that not all that we hear is to our liking, or is always comprehensible. The Muse of another nation does not always

sound musical to our ears, nor can we fully understand it. The European, Asian and African Muses, and those of other nations are different, not only in the form of their expression, but also in their philosophical outlooks and in other various aspects. The Muse of every nation has its own peculiar attributes, its own peculiar ethnic function and, therefore, is of particular value to the given nation. This respect of the Muse of different nations is understandably altruistic and most worthy of further continuance.

Earlier we showed the connection between the Muse and the individual's world of moods and feelings. Maintaining the principles of altruism, people should develop a keener sensitivity and better understanding not only of the ethnocultural tendencies of others, but a keener sensitivity to the language of their souls, that is, to their Muse, to their spiritual feelings, because they may be harboring and internalizing extremely important feelings.

One should understand that an individual suffers deeply when his or her feelings elicit no response from others, or when others are insensitive, or indifferent, to one's feelings. Attention to the feelings of others brings out such forces of the human spirit as compassion, understanding, support, acknowledgment, encouragement, and so on. This is necessitated by the law of the oneness of the essence of human nature. "Beloved . . . test the spirits" (I John 4:1), in other words, recognize them, said the Apostle, for this is required for a healthy religious orientation.

In the same way, the ability of recognizing the language of the Muse of another, would add much to the balancing of human life, to its understanding and its enrichment. Thus, no matter from which viewpoint one looks at it, the Muse of a human being has an extremely important meaning in life. All this is in regard to the phenomenal Muse; but there is a Muse of a mystical character as well.

### *3. The phenomenon of the Muse of glossolaly*

We could have omitted the mention of the Muse of glossolaly,<sup>33</sup> because it is apparent mostly in the context of Pente-

<sup>33</sup>From the Greek "glossolalia" meaning to speak in tongues or the speaking in an incomprehensible "language." Glossolaly, as one of God's gifts to human nature (gift of tongues) was taken up by Apostle Paul (I Corinthians 12:10) but he himself was not really recommending the use of this gift (I Corinthians 14:2-28). Some think that glossolaly is a "foreign" language, but this interpretation is incorrect. Glossolaly, in my view, can hardly be regarded as a language in the ordinary sense.

costal spirituality, that is, in some forms of Protestantism, as is stigmatism<sup>34</sup> for the Catholics or the perception by human heart of the Divine uncreated light in Eastern Orthodoxy. Moreover, the Muse of glossolaly could not be left without notice in the context of this study, for under the influence of the so-called “charismatism” it became known within our midst as singing in an “incomprehensible language.” What is of particular interest here is not the “incomprehensible language” of the singing but rather, the melody of it, in other words, its Muse.

Mention of this should not surprise or disturb anyone, because the possibility of glossolalistic singing is a fact, especially in cases of unusually high spiritual arousal. The Ukrainian philosopher, H. S. Skovoroda, is known to have experienced this particular spiritual arousal as well.<sup>35</sup> Just as, in the context of Orthodox spirituality perceiving of spiritual light, and in Catholicism — the suffering of the wounds of Jesus Christ are incidents and the experiences of individuals, so also an entire group of people can burst out in glossolalistic singing, i.e., singing in tongues.

This singing begins unexpectedly, spontaneously. It does not belong to any theoretical frame of music, but is distinguished by an extraordinary beauty and influence on the souls of the people. Because of the effect of glossolalistic singing and because of its issuance within the context of prayer or Bible reading, believers explain it as one of God’s gifts to people. This phenomenon, however, is not to be explained either theologically, or scientifically. Actually, theology does not even deal with it, although psychologists and other scholars do, such as William James, Abraham H. Maslow, R. E. L. Masters and Jean Houston, Rudolf Otto, and others. I mention glossolaly briefly in my brochure “Kharyzmatyzm” (“Charismatism”).<sup>36</sup>

By dealing with instances of similar spiritual experiences, scholars are confirming that they are treating such experiences

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<sup>34</sup>From stigma or stigmata — marks or wounds resembling the five wounds on the crucified body of Christ believed to appear supernaturally on the bodies of certain persons.

<sup>35</sup>Hryhorii Skovoroda, *Tvory*, vol. II, (Kiev: Akademiya Nauk, 1961), p. 518.

<sup>36</sup>The titles of the books of the mentioned authors are: William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (Study in Human Nature), (Crowell-Collier, 1961); Abraham H. Maslow, *Religions, Values and Peak Experiences*, (Penguin Books, 1976); R. E. L. Masters and Jean Houston, *The Varieties of Psychedelic Experience*, (Dell Publishing, 1966); Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, (London-Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Very Reverend S. Jarmus, *Kharyzmatyzm*, (Winnipeg: Biblioteka BNTMI, no. 2, 1975).

seriously, even though a definite judgment about these can not be given. The authors of the book "The Varieties of Psychedelic Experience," R. E. L. Masters and Jean Houston, found it necessary to affirm, in the epilogue to their book, that "in the boundaries of the acknowledged limits of our phenomenological approach we have to declare that some of those experiences are 'authentic'."

I am inclined to place these experiences, along with glossolalic singing, within the category of the Muse as the Divine "unconscious" in the human nature which has a great significance for spiritual life, but which we are not capable of explaining. This is perhaps because we are still simply incapable of understanding everything, as Christ had said to His Apostles (John 16:12). Of course, when there is something that we do not understand, it does not mean that it does not exist at all, or that it should not be treated seriously.

## OUTLOOK AND ITS EXPRESSION IN CREATIVE MOODS (FEELINGS)

The attentive reader has obviously noticed that in these considerations of the Muse the principles of spontaneity and inspiration are upheld in regard to the human being's feelings of the power of his or her Muse as well as in its phenomenological expression and development. I do not find it at all necessary to connect the Ukrainian Muse to the Greek rhapsodies, for example, which the prevailing, but naive, contemporary academicians are assuming. How could anyone find it possible, or even likely, that the primitive "duliby" or even "polyany" (names of tribes) had such smooth relations with the Greeks that they would have yielded to the influences of Greek culture, or learn something from the "Iliad" and "Odyssey"? This is my position notwithstanding the presence of Greek colonies in southern Ukraine.

However, even such work as "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" from the twelfth century, is being connected to foreign influences, notwithstanding the fact that the genius of the author of "The Tale" is generally acknowledged. There is obviously some misunderstanding in this regard. It seems that we really need some reorientation in regards to influenciology and an acknowledgment of a more independent development of our Ukrainian entity, otherwise (as also in the case of our musical muse and its specific form) its independent character and its uniqueness can-

not be upheld. Oleksander Koshyts has done this in his lessons on Ukrainian music as far back as 1918.<sup>37</sup>

These same academicians in like manner approach the symbolism in such expressions of Ukrainian culture as Easter eggs, ceramics, and so on. According to their explanations, the artists of the traditional ancient art objects adhered to philosophical ideas that are well-refined and their art objects are supposed to be an embodiment of these sophisticated ideas.

Again, it is difficult to believe that our primitive ancestors were involved in such a highly developed intellectualism that their ideas were embodied in the various forms and objects of abstract art. It seems to me that the culture of the Ukrainian people and their spirituality developed in a different — more simple, more natural and spontaneous way. Let us examine this more carefully:

### 1. *The expression of the Muse in art*

A very rich symbolism is found in the fine art of the Ukrainian people starting as far back as the Trypilian culture (4000 to 2000 B.C.) and in the culture of later times. In this symbolism — in the lines, in the colors and in various images — modern critics see an ideal pursuit of our ancestors for their well-being, their harmonious and orderly life in relation to their encountered forces of nature, the continuation of their clans and their eternity. And, truly, only a provisory look at the spiral movement of the lines of the Trypilian ceramics and other ornaments tempts one to recognize cosmic ideas in these lines, because the movement of these lines are very similar to the spiral rotations of galaxies, or cosmic movements in general.

Nevertheless, is such an academic interpretation of this symbolism probable? Is it justifiable today to perceive irrevocably the ideas of boundlessness and eternity in the symbol of a circle drawn by the hand of a primitive ancestor? Or to perceive cosmic ideas in various spiral lines? These ideas are of a scientific outlook and not of the outlook of a primitive being.

It seems to me that our ancient forefathers manifested a great creativity, but not under the pressure of philosophical ideas, but rather, under the pressure of spiritual inspiration, of a profound internal awakening; they created spontaneously and intuitively. In their artistic creations our ancestors simply manifested their

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<sup>37</sup>Cf. his "Prohramma lektsiy i materiyaly k ney," (Kiev: 1918), (from the archives of Dr. P. Matsenko).

natural talent — their God-given gift. They imitated patterns from nature, but in their art they revealed and expressed profound awakenings and feelings, in other words, their own spiritual Muse. This is how their primitive outlook was formed, how their traditions were developed, how their coexistence with the forces of nature was maintained and how their folklore was created.

All of this occurred not under the pressure of philosophical deliberation, or philosophical ideas, but under the pressure of the profound, creative requirements of human nature. This nature was created by the Lord, thus, He Himself placed within that nature the means of satisfying its needs, its pursuits and a safeguard for its well-being. Moreover, this natural Muse of the nation compelled the people to strive for the beautiful, the supreme, the perfect.

While in that pursuit, in the movement towards creativity and the aspiration for harmony, beauty and good, our ancestors came intuitively and spontaneously upon the ideals of the highest Good, Harmony and Eternity. They came upon this, perhaps, in the same way that Moses had, when he related the story of the creation of the earth exactly as modern science relates it. Moses' account, however, was out of inspiration and not out of scientific knowledge.<sup>38</sup>

This is the way the pre-Christian spirituality of the Ukrainian nation was formed. This is the way all the celebrated, all the harmonious, all the beautiful, all the poetic and all the melodious in our culture were created. To perceive great ideas in this is an intellectual "invention" of modern man, and sometimes truly the conclusions of naive academicians. For all the art of a human being is the satiation of the profound psychological and spiritual needs of human nature and furthermore, it is the manifestation of man's likening unto God.

Therefore, it is not a slavish imitation of the cultural patterns of other nations, or the imitation of ideas of which the primitive being had no concept. It is imperative to repeat: let us not forget the power of the Muse, the mysterious power of everything native, including the specific creative talent of every nation. The nation does not tolerate idle peace; it operates even without the imitation of patterns, or ideals, of other people.

<sup>38</sup>Compare the first and second chapters of "The Books of Genesis" with any modern scientific data about the origin of the earth, life on it, and finally, man.

## *2. The mystery of the various forms of the Muse*

The Muse, as an organic part of the human being, is expressed externally in various ways; it becomes embodied in poetry and other artistic forms as a result of the human being's creative awakening, or intensity of feelings. One can assume that for the inception, development and perfection of such expressions and forms of the Ukrainian Muse (as the artistic adornment of ceramics, houses, embroidery, wood carving, ritual poetry, dances) the nation would have had to experience sufficient natural and political peace, economic well-being and, in general, a heightened creative mood, creative intensity and creative atmosphere.

While the very nature of the human being and its creative potentiality served as the reservoir for creative energy, one's surrounding nature served to inspire his/her style of form and color. It is enough to hear the Muse of the Ukrainian seasonal and ritual songs to concede that they were conceived and had developed in this type of spiritual atmosphere and within the bosom of nature. They are filled with the energy of life as also are the Ukrainian games and dances. On the other hand, the festal traditions created in antiquity portray a calm and peaceful atmosphere of family and home. Their Muse is serene and yet the creative imagination, although very simple, is deeply emotional and spiritual. And somehow, over the centuries, it has remained constant and unchanging as the song, now in its modern version, "De zhoda v rodyni" ("Where there is Harmony in the Family"), extols the same family theme, the same spiritual atmosphere, the same noble family mood, the same Ethos.

There is yet another Ukrainian Muse we can express in singing. The one with the emotional tone and spiritual content of "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" of the twelfth century, followed by the decisive tone of the "duma" and with the Cossack and the modern "man-at-arms" epos. Thus, in modern time, the epic Muse was expressed in the same way as in antiquity. Presently, in a different historical context, particularly, in the Ukrainian Diaspora, the same creative potential, the same creative intensity is emerging as in the former Muse, but in a typical form of pure culturalism, which, as was mentioned earlier, deserves special attention. It is evident, then, that the creative Muse will never be silent, unless the nation exists no more.

## THE MYSTERY OF THE NATION'S SPIRITUAL MONOLITHIC QUALITY

The significance of the Muse is far greater than it seems. The Muse is not just an emotionally entertaining superstructure of the human being and human nature, in general, nor is it a one time expression of one's deepest feelings, sufferings, and aspirations. For as a true "collective unconscious" of a nation, the Muse — as an ontological sum of the unconscious and the phenomenal, which makes its appearance in various ways: in instinctive reactions, in moods, in sufferings, in spiritual aspirations, in goals, or only in natural and voluntary tendencies — has a basic and decisive significance in the uniting of a people and in the formation of racial, ethnic and national entities.

We sometimes assume that this social unity takes place out of blood relationships, but this encompasses only the biological principle in regard to the formation of a racial or ethnic community which is conditioned by the necessity of safety, defence, common action, and so forth. Therefore, not only are biological principles operative in the laws of the Muse, but ontological ones as well, that is, principles of a spiritual and in that altruistic nature.

In contemporary learning an assumption prevails that man is a "political" being. The biological principle, indeed, confirms this "politicalness" of the human being. But such a view is pragmatically egoistic and rationalistic. It strips the human being of more lofty motives for community life — the motives and ideals of a spiritual nature. This is most likely why our contemporary, Dr. George Mulyk-Lutzyk, so decisively rejects that popular assumption that the human being is "a political animal." Instead he asserts that the human being is a social being, that is, a being which conducts itself by social motives; not biological-egoistic motives, but ontological spiritual ones, and therefore, by altruistic principles and motives.

In my opinion, this ontological-altruistic principle of the formation of a social, or ethnic entity is the principle of the Muse which brings people together into one single unit based on their natural similarities, their spiritual consonance and, one may say, their psychological consubstantiation.<sup>39</sup> In my opinion, the prin-

<sup>39</sup>As "the personality of the highest order" of N. O. Lossky and "a symphonic personality" of L. P. Karsavin.

principle of the “collective unconscious” of the nation’s Muse is a stronger factor of social unity than blood relationship, because blood relationship admits extreme antagonism as well.

The principle of the native Muse (the common psychological-spiritual relationship and similarity between people) is stronger, because it conquers the various antagonisms. This suggests that it is not the egoistic interests of people, not some social “contract” among them that becomes the principle of the formation of a social and ethnic entity, but their common Muse, their emotional-spiritual consonance — a harmony, their common relationship as regards feelings, convictions, moods, similarities, actions, and so on.

The life of a human being which is founded and regulated on the basis of the common interests of a “contractual” character is a life founded on the basis of earthly considerations. The life which is based on the stimulus of the Muse is far more abundant for it is enriched by those dimensions which extend to the sphere of spirit, where the human being is nurtured by the fruits of “another world,” where one becomes enchanted, or “loses oneself,” as Mykola Shlemkevych writes, in a place where one can escape only on the wings of his native Muse.

The Muse is a sphere of feelings, sufferings and mood. No common goal, no “social contract” can create that social-ethnic monolith as can the native Muse. Specific philosophies, and more so political convictions, calculations and tastes often destroy the spiritual monolithic quality of a nation. The Muse does no such thing; it is the principle and the fact that brings people together into a spiritual oneness. It can appease them, harmonize their lives and unite them in a spiritual whole. Perceptive people may see this everywhere. The very nature of the Muse is such that it brings people together and unites them. It can not be otherwise; for it comes from God.

## CONCLUSIONS

Such is my perception of the mystery of the Muse. Firstly and most importantly is the assertion that the Muse is a spiritual category, a divine category — the greatest divine gift to man, the base and deposit of the divine assimilation of it. The Muse of the human being bears the potential and the real source of man’s likeness to God; it bears the entire substance, the entire value of

human nature — all the dimensions of the noble life of a human being and the entire flavor of that life.

Secondly, I strongly stress the importance of understanding the Muse and accepting it as a divine gift. It not only deserves our conscious attention; it requires constant creative stimulation from every human being, because the Muse is dynamic and substantially active only in the consciousness and in the movements of individual human being. It is, therefore, understandable that the Muse is not only one's opportune gift, but that the gift entails a great individual responsibility as well.

The Muse is a spiritual category. It is the vital force of a human being, its creativity and the profound drive, desire and aspiration of human nature to all things supreme and holy. Sensitively and qualitatively the Muse is irrevocably ethnic, or national, because it emerges and expresses itself subjectively and locally and, therefore, ethnically.

Only in such form is it phenomenally possible and real; otherwise, as a philosophical concept, the Muse is only an abstract. In the Ukrainian consciousness as demonstrated in the introduction the Muse is a real creative power of a human being and that it is of divine origin.

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All that has been deliberated in this study belongs to the very realization, to the conceptualization of the mystery of the Muse. But a conceptualization alone of something does not have any real significance if it is not brought into practical dimensions. The Muse is alive and it is a spiritual category. It is acknowledged as an organic part of the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation and, as such, it is placed in the very centre of our attention in regard to the preparations of the celebration of the 1000th anniversary of the Baptism of Rus'-Ukraine. A special time has been set aside for the Muse in the program "The Year of Ukrainian Church Music." This allows us to examine the Muse closer and to make some practical conclusions.

My study acknowledges that the Muse is a part of our life and our entity, that it is a spiritual category and that we express it only in our own ethnic form, that is, in our own way. One should not forget that it is given to us by the Lord God Himself for our practical use, so that by it and because of it we would seek God as the Apostle taught (Acts 17:27).

Such is the nature, the goal and the destination of the Muse. Having recognized its true being, we see that the Muse has a vital function. This is a comprehensive function, always constructive, always leading to hope. The Muse serves to ennoble the human being. It helps the human being in his or her search for God and leads the human being to Him. If we recognize the loftiness of the Muse, then we will do everything that we are capable of doing in our given time and in our given situation. To recognize the power of the Muse we must listen to ourselves intensively, for it speaks to us from the depths of our being.

## THE SPIRITUALITY OF THE UKRAINIAN NATION IN MODERN TIMES

### *Introduction*

In the beginning of our work we noted that the concept of spirituality is understood differently by different people and that the various definitions and explanations can lead to confusion as is evident in authors who are regarded as authorities on the subject. Perhaps this is because spirituality, as an academic discipline, is still relatively new and not as yet sufficiently developed. The subject is also very broad. In this particular study we take a practical approach in dealing with spirituality for, as explained earlier, spirituality embraces the living or active consciousness of a human being. It embraces one's Faith, its content and its requirements. It is upon this foundation that both the style and method of a truly spiritual life of a human being is based and developed and the highest goal attained, that means life in Jesus Christ.

My interest in spirituality and my given work is practical and, therefore, it is simple. It deals with the spirituality of the Ukrainian people and its real life. Therefore, academically theological, moral and ascetic illustrations of spirituality are omitted. I emerge here, not as an educator or teacher, but firstly, as an observer of the existing state of things in regard to the spirituality of the Ukrainian people.

Because this work is, most likely, the first endeavor to deal with the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation,\* a statement should first be made pertaining to universal spirituality. For notwithstanding the fact that such scholars as Louis Bouyer, Urban T. Holmes, and others,<sup>1</sup> have dealt with the subject of Christian

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\*Ivan Boykevich dealt with Ukrainian spirituality in his work "Heneral'ni ideyi ukrayins'koyi dukhovosty y kharakteru narodu" ("The General Ideas of Ukrainian Spirituality and the Nation's Character") in *Z vysot shchodennosti*, (Chicago: 1982), but nothing of particular significance is given there.

<sup>1</sup>The main works on Christian spirituality are: Louis Bouyer, *A History of Christian Spirituality* vols. I, II and III, (New York: Seabury Press, 1963, 1968, 1969); Urban T. Holmes, *A History of Christian Spirituality, An Analytical Introduction*, (New York: The Seabury Press, 1981); A Monk of the Eastern Orthodox Church, *Orthodox Spirituality*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1945); Father Thomas Hopko, *The Orthodox Faith*, vol. IV *Spirituality*, (Department of Religious Education, OCA, 1976); *Spiritual Pilgrims — Carl Jung and Teresa of Avila*, by John Welch, (New York-Ramsey: O. CARM., Paulist Press, 1982).

spirituality, studies on this theme have not yet been definitively accomplished and, thus, it has not yet been defined neither in substance, nor in scale.

Furthermore, theological thought about Orthodox spirituality has not been systematized despite two existing works by Orthodox authors. They lack a definitive, therefore, essential statement about Orthodox spirituality. One author, an anonymous monk, limits his work to the spirituality of ascetic mysticism, while the other, an American author, Father T. Hopko, limits himself to an abstract theological position dictated by doctrine. He does not touch upon real life, or real spirituality. People tend to forget that such a phenomenon as spirituality is not an abstract but a real valence, therefore, it is not something that is potential or only a desired ideal. Spirituality must be explained not as abstract idealism, but as concrete life and it must be considered and popularized in its real life situation.

## THE PROBLEM OF THE CONCEPT OF SPIRITUALITY

Four basic works on Christian spirituality are used for this study. On the basis of these it can be said that the concept of spirituality in Christian thinkers has not yet received a definitive study. This is evident even in the most prominent contemporary Catholic thinker, Louis Bouyer,<sup>2</sup> who deals with the theology of spirituality, that is, with its base, with its content and not with its manifestation in the actual life of believers. Nevertheless, Bouyer accurately concludes that a true spirituality is the practical application of the Gospel in life,<sup>3</sup> and, therefore, not just a theological speculation about it.

### *Intellectualism and spirituality*

It is needless to say that deeds are the essence of Christian spirituality and not abstract reflection, not even theological reflection. Jesus Christ indicated this at the very beginning of his sermon, when he said: "Not everyone who says to Me, 'Lord, Lord' shall enter the Kingdom of Heaven, but he who does the will of My Father, who is in heaven" (Matthew 7:21). In other words, if one prays, but does not act as a Christian, he is not spiritual and does not understand spirituality.

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<sup>2</sup>See his forward to the first volume of his above cited work, *The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers*.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. xi.

Spirituality is straightforward and essentially a simple thing in the life of a Christian, as is the Gospel. The Gospel is straightforward and self-understood even though it is sometimes abstracted. Moreover, it may appear to be unapproachable when it is given dry philosophical or theological interpretations.

The same is true about spirituality. One need only to look at the content of the important works on the theme of Christian spirituality, including Orthodox spirituality, to see that they usually deal with the great specialists on the subject and their abstract ideas and conclusions. Practical spirituality does not even enter the intellectualism of these specialists.

Yet all this is acknowledged as Christian spirituality, Byzantine spirituality, and so on, although even in the best of times it is hard to comprehend as to what is being said. In Bouyer, however, this changes somewhat when he turns to a discussion on the spirituality of Kievan Rus' and recognizes that the soul of the Slav is very closely related to the spirit of the Holy Scripture and when he states that here he encounters a real "lay spirituality."<sup>4</sup>

This is an exception. Most of the works of Bouyer, Holmes, and others, concentrate on the official line of the church that stresses only the fundamental base upon which human spirituality should develop (the work of Father Hopko is also limited to this). These authors dwell only upon the teachings of some of the Orthodox Church Fathers, Christian ascetics and later philosophers of the East and West. They do not deal with the real spirituality of the concrete human being or nation. Therefore, it must be stressed that the contemporary thinking of Christian theologians on the theme of spirituality is incomplete. It dwells only upon the historical aspect of the official teachings of the Church and of individual representatives of these teachings. Thus they deal with the theological definition of Christian spirituality, but do not touch upon its very essence.

I dare to say that theological intellectualism and academism is not concrete spirituality, but only a subsidiary part of it. When Bouyer truly encountered the real spirituality of the Kievan Slav and the various teachings, he had to call this lay spirituality and place it parallel to the official spirituality of the Church and perhaps even opposite to it.

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<sup>4</sup>Louis Bouyer, *Orthodox Spirituality and Protestant and Anglican Spirituality*, (New York: Seabury Press, 1969), pp. 12–16.

### *Spirituality and simplicity*

The basic objective of this work is an acquaintance with the spirituality of the Ukrainian people. But I am becoming convinced that this spirituality goes hand in hand with the simplicity of the human being, with the simplicity which Jesus Christ saw in a little child and proclaimed as a condition of salvation (Mark 10:15). This simplicity is difficult to find in the intellectual treatment of this subject. On the contrary, there is, in fact, often a tendency to delve into mysticism and abstract thought which are accessible and meaningful only to the highly educated and gifted people.

The nature of the Gospel and thus Biblical spirituality is different. The Gospel is accessible to all people, without exception, even to the simple folk that are lifted to the category of blessedness by Jesus Christ Himself (Matthew 5:3). Here we encounter an interesting phenomenon — the people of Kievan Rus' were distinguished by this category even before their Christianization. This was acknowledged by the Russian thinker G. P. Fedotov. N. O. Lossky, L. Bouyer, and others, agree with them.<sup>5</sup>

This demonstrates that there is such a phenomenon as lay spirituality and not only the abstract spirituality of mystics and intellectuals. Lay spirituality is vital, practical and accessible to every human being. It is simple spirituality. It may sometimes seem to be totally irrational, but it, nevertheless, is alive and real and is the spirituality of those who gain their salvation.

We will deal with this phenomenon later, but here let us conclude with the assertion that besides the abstract, mystical and intellectual spirituality is the primitive and simple spirituality. However, scholars have not yet dealt with it. This simple spirituality is concrete, it is real and, above all else, it brings salvation. Furthermore, simple spirituality is of a magnanimous nature or quality.

A simple spirituality touches people deeply. For example, when Professor Dmytro Doroshenko, an ethnographer, visited the villages of Volyn', he was surprised by the fact that he heard no swearing among those villagers, particularly in reference to "mother," a habit that came into Ukraine with the culture of the north (Russia).

In simple purity lies simple spirituality. It is a wonder, why

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<sup>5</sup>Cf. their works: N. O. Lossky, *Kharakter russkogo naroda*, (Posev: 1957), p. 12; Louis Bouyer, *Orthodox Spirituality . . .*, p. 12.

philosophers and theologians have not given any attention to this? Only ethnographers have accidentally noted this quality. Yet this is precisely what all enthusiasts of Christian spirituality should be taking into consideration.

### *The spirit and the letter in spirituality*

Truth of the Holy Scriptures tells us that the Lord made the human being sufficient to be servant to the New Testament, “not of the letter, but of the Spirit; for the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life” (2 Corinthians 3:6). Nowhere is this truth more legitimate than in the realm of Christian spirituality. The most authoritative example of the fact that, in times of need, “the letter of the law” may be violated because of a clear spiritual value was our Lord, Jesus Christ Himself. For He had numerous conflicts with the Israelite Pharisees in regard to the need of the violation of the letter of the law in order to serve man in the spirit of the New Testament. Therefore, service to the needs of a human being, in Christ, was placed in first position. Consequently, Church law admits the principle of the so-called “Church Economy” which allows the governing body, in case of need, to withdraw from the given rule of law in order to arrive at some spiritual good.

This occurs in the official structure and system of church life because here, too, there is sometimes a need to violate the letter of the law in order to spiritualize the life of a Christian. In human life and its broad sphere the need for such freedom from the letter of the law occurs very often.

In general, freedom of the spirit gives the human being much freedom, particularly in the realm of one’s spirituality, for this, indeed, is the spirituality of the New Testament. But the existing literature on Christian spirituality maintains a different position. It still consists of and stresses regimentation, rubrics, the authority of designated people, even the authority of the Church, and so on. Therefore, this literature does not reflect the spiritual freedom of the New Testament. It still occupies itself with intellectual knowledge or with the letter of renowned people and not necessarily with the spirituality of the people.

This is the contemporary background in regard to education about spirituality. But there are other examples and models relating to Christian spirituality and this is in the Ukrainian people (as was touched upon briefly in Chapter Four). Our ancestors stood faithfully in the tradition of their own free and spontaneous

spirituality which, in the time of Christianization, was fulfilled by the Gospel spirituality. Our forefathers were critical of Byzantine spirituality and even rejected some elements of it, as, for example, Byzantine arrogance and pride and cruelty.

The Orthodox Church, in actuality, gives its believers the freedom to practice in their own individual spirituality as it best suits them. Even liturgical texts — the Canons, the Akafists — admit expressions which do not correspond with “the letter” of the official teachings, but have only a “poetical,” or spiritual meaning.

In regard to the practice of prayer, people have the freedom to pray as their spiritual nature, their specific needs and their life situation requires them to pray. Orthodox Christians may pray spontaneously. The officially established prayers found in prayer books are given only as illustrations of how one should pray. The same was done by our Lord, Jesus Christ, when the Apostles asked Him how to pray and He said the Lord’s Prayer to them as an example (Luke 11:1-4). What is important is that the individuals’ prayer answer his or her true feelings, his or her needs and the truth of Christ’s Teaching. Thus, people should be allowed to establish their own practice of prayer appropriate for their own spiritual gratification. The following is an example from the novel “Pid krylamy tserkov” (“Under the Wings of the Churches”) by Y. Stryzhavsky:

... The old man got out of bed, looked at the dawning window, crossed himself, and said: ‘Praise the Lord, Who has showed us the light’ and he went to his bee-garden ... Then ... standing before that beehive church, in the middle of his bee-garden, under a peaceful wild-berry tree, he began his morning prayer: ‘Praise be to You, Father, Praise be to You, Son, Praise be to You, Holy Spirit, always and forever and ever! ...’

As is evident, this is a personal manner and frame of private prayer. This is the way the Ukrainian villagers prayed with every step of their life: rising in the morning, going to work, at work — particularly during the spring sowing. They prayed always and sometimes in a strange order of prayer. The following illustration is the prayer of my old, deeply faithful, but illiterate parishioner. At my request he said his prayer for me out loud:

In the name of the Father and the Holy Son and the Holy Heavenly Spirit, forever and ever. Amen. In the Name of the

Father and the Holy Son and the Holy Heavenly Spirit, forever and ever. Amen. In the name of the Father and the Holy Son and the Holy Heavenly Spirit!

To our Lord, the Heavenly Father, Jesus Christ, Son of God, to the Holy Spirit of the Heavenly God. For the prayers of our Saint Fathers, the sinners(!), Jesus, our beloved Christ, and You Holy God, Bright Son! Have mercy on us, Merciful Lord!

Glory to Thee, our Father. Glory to Thee, Heavenly King and Redeemer and the Spirit of Truth (not clear here — S.J.) that is everywhere and always, fulfilling and enriching the blessed, Giver of Life. . . .<sup>6</sup>

He prayed this way for about twenty minutes. It is apparent that his prayer departs from the letter of the order of prayer. Yet an observer can bear witness as to how this pious old man is engulfed with the fire of faith, how his soul rises to God, how he is enriched in spirit, notwithstanding the fact that his prayer includes even some obvious nonsensical phrases. Formal theology and doctrinal intellectualism do not know what to do with such pious people, except to criticize them. A true Christian love, human understanding, and even a calm psychologism accepts them. For such people have the Lord's expression on their side: "If you do not become, like children . . ." (Mark 10:15). Children, of course, do not understand the letter of the law.

Academic thinkers dwell on the theology and the spirituality of intellectuals and simply forget about the spirituality of the simple and the neglected. But one should consider as well what chances the "theology" of my humble, but magnanimous Mykola has. There are many people like him, even in the academic environment. According to Jesus Christ, it seems it is these people, like Mykola, that have the greatest chances.

## TRADITIONAL UKRAINIAN SPIRITUALITY AND FORMAL BYZANTIISM

Ukrainians have many sources to demonstrate that the Ukrainian is a noble person and that his or her nature and spirituality

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<sup>6</sup>This prayer of Mykola, who is 78 years old and illiterate (at the time of tape recording) was recorded in his home in Kenora, Ontario, on Sunday, October 26th, 1975. The full text of his prayer is found in the addendum to this work.

have always been so. Objective onlookers have made similar observations, as the French scholar and theologian Louis Bouyer. It is Bouyer who states that the spirituality of the Ukrainian in Kievan Rus' was very similar to Biblical spirituality.<sup>7</sup> The living examples of this were the Ukrainian princes: Volodymyr Velyky who decided against the introduction of the death penalty in his State; Yaroslav Mudry with his "Rus' Law," which was brought under a codex in his reign; and Volodymyr Monomakh with his "Instructions" to his children which brilliantly reflect both the traditional Ukrainian personality and the spirit of the Gospel.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, from the very beginnings of the official adoption of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine, Byzantine influences did become visible there. But Byzantiism carried a spirituality into Ukraine that was far from the Biblical spirituality. To the Ukrainian, with his or her gentle nature, it appeared to be completely foreign.

I am aware that Ukrainians usually glorify the great cultural Byzantine influences on Ukraine;<sup>9</sup> but it seems to me that such a dependence of Ukrainian culture and spirituality on Byzantine culture is excessive, if not superfluous. The Ukrainian people developed its own spiritual culture for centuries; a spiritual culture, which even foreigners, compare to the Biblical culture. Therefore, Ukraine did not really need Byzantine culture, and often, even avoided it.

With the official baptism Ukraine accepted the Orthodox Faith from Byzantium and the Byzantine Church rite. But as far as Byzantine ideology is concerned, it is Moscow that later accepted it and transformed it into the ideology of the "Third Rome."<sup>10</sup> The tradition and ideology of Byzantium did not suit Ukraine psychologically. Nevertheless, a peculiar type of Byzantiism sometimes appeared in Ukraine; the following are some examples.

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<sup>7</sup>Op. cit.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Chapter Four, "The Spirituality of the Ukrainian People during the Princely Era and in Later Times."

<sup>9</sup>Metropolitan Ilarion wrote much about this. His book on the subject is *Vizantiya i Ukrayina* (Byzantium and Ukraine), (Winnipeg: Ukrayins'ke Naukove Pravoslavne Bohoslovs'ke Tovarystvo, 1954).

<sup>10</sup>The Muscovite ideology of the "Third Rome," a tradition transmitted from Byzantium, appeared in Moscow in the sixteenth century during the reign of the Great Prince Vasiliy III. The monk Filofey was its author. Ivan IV (Vasiliy's successor), even adopted the Byzantine imperial title "tsar" (short form for "caesar").

### 1. *Metropolitan Ilarion I*

Ilarion was the first Ukrainian on the throne of the Kievan Metropolitanate. He was a very interesting figure in many ways, but he deserves mention as well in regard to the spirituality of the Ukrainian people. We have no biographical data about Ilarion. We know that he was a priest in the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev and that he became a Metropolitan, even though he was in this position for only a very short time, from 1051-1054, and that as a Hierarch, he was not particularly outstanding. Nevertheless, he is known for his work "Sermon on Law and Grace"<sup>11</sup> as well as his appearance and disappearance from the Church arena in about 1054. He reminds us of Saint Gregory Theologus (of Nazianzus). Gregory did not agree with what happened at the Second Ecumenical Council (381) of which he was chairman. (At the time Gregory served as Primate of the Church of Constantinople). He, therefore, called the Fathers of the Council loud rooks and stinging wasps, then dropped everything, and withdrew from the world to his village in Arianzus, in Asia Minor.<sup>12</sup>

Ilarion also went to extremes. There was the Old Testament with its Law, but Grace appeared in the New Testament. According to Ilarion, the Old Law was to pass, like a shadow; there was the pre-Christian religion with its spirituality, but Christianity appeared. Therefore, the old "devil's deception" and all "devil's worship" had to pass.

The position held by Byzantium and the Byzantine Church was that all things beyond the borders of Byzantium were barbaric and in accordance with the official Christianity it was "devil's deception," "devil's worship," therefore, it had to pass. Ilarion was loyal to this direction, but this very Byzantiism later forced him off the Kievan Metropolitanate throne.

Ilarion vanished; perhaps to a monastery and his post was occupied by the "cultured" Greeks for a long time after. From this post they constantly struggled against the Ukrainian "barbarianism" — our culture and spirituality. They did not understand its true nature; but neither did the Ukrainians.

Obviously the old idol worship, "Satan's pagan temples" and

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<sup>11</sup>Cf. Ilarion's "Sermon on Law and Grace" in the Addendum to the work of Metropolitan Ilarion II, *The Ukrainian Church*, (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada Millennium Central Committee, 1986).

<sup>12</sup>Robert Payne, *The Holy Fire*, (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980), p. 192.

sacrifices had to pass. Ilarion, himself, speaks of them in the past tense.<sup>13</sup> But that which I consider to be Byzantiism continued for a long time in Ukraine and according to G. Fedotov, the Church's struggle against paganism did not stop until the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, "paganism" could be concealed even in our contemporary culturism, but we will return to this later in our study. For now we turn to our second example of the struggle of Byzantiism against Ukrainian spirituality.

## 2. *The monk Ivan Vyshensky*

Ivan Vyshensky (1545?-1620) was born in Vyshnya in the province of Halychyna and is known as a great church polemicist. He is a spokesman of the Byzantine monastic tradition. His loftiest spiritual ideal was the preservation of the simplicity of Orthodoxy, yet his temperament sometimes led him to deny this altogether. The following is a statement he made to the Orthodox people under Poland at the time: "It is better to go to church without bishops and priests installed by the devil and preserve Orthodoxy (is this not one's own peculiar spirituality? — S.J.), than to be in church in the presence of bishops and priests that were not called by God and to thus mock the church and violate Orthodoxy."<sup>15</sup>

Vyshensky occupies a renowned position among the Ukrainian people as does Metropolitan Ilarion I, Hryhory Skovoroda and Taras Shevchenko. He, indeed, did make contributions to Ukrainian literature. However, he was of a monastical Byzantine spirituality. He simply did not understand the nature of his people and their spiritual needs. It is enough to read his statements against the Ukrainian Christmas and paschal traditions,<sup>16</sup> against all rituals,<sup>17</sup> to recognize the great distance he stood from the spirituality of his nation. Vyshensky even influenced the Lviv Brotherhood to question their bishop to the necessity of blessing the food at Eastertime, saying that "witchcraft is born" of such.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>In his "Sermon on Law and Grace" in Metropolitan Ilarion's *The Ukrainian Church*, p. 283.

<sup>14</sup>G. P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind, Kievan Christianity: 10th to 13th Centuries*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 8.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, *Z istoriyi relihiynoyi dumky na Ukrayini*, (Winnipeg-Munich-Detroit: 1962), p. 76.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. his "Apolohiya chernetstva," *Khrestomatiya davn'oyi ukrayins'koyi literatury*, (Kiev: Radyans'ka shkola, 1967), p. 139.

<sup>17</sup>Hrushevsky, op. cit., p. 85.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

The struggle between the local spirituality and the spokesmen of Byzantiism continued, but the ancient Ukrainian spirituality triumphed and the blessing of food at Eastertime remains at the heights of the Ukrainian paschal celebrations and spirituality. It could not have been otherwise, for bread has always been dearly revered by Ukrainians.

Despite the above mentioned struggle, Byzantium and Byzantine culture is highly elevated by Ukrainians to this very day, because Byzantium, supposedly, has given us our "illustrious culture." In my opinion, however, our ancestors already had an illustrious culture before their relations with Byzantium. Although they accepted the Orthodox Faith from Byzantium, they dressed that Faith in their own local culture attire. Otherwise, the Orthodox Faith may not have taken root, but it did so and without major difficulties, because the nature of the Ukrainian and his own particular spirituality provided the favorable conditions for this.

### *3. The spiritual ideals of Cossackdom and the Mohyla Academy*

The Ukrainians are an autochthonous nation on their own land and the movements and currents that emerged at a given time and dominated the life of the people had evolved and developed in the nation long before. It is in this way that events, particularly spiritual processes that appeared in Ukraine during the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries evolved in the spiritual restlessness of the nation as far back as the Princely era. The inner anxiety of the twelfth century, which was so poetically expressed by the author of "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" (1185) was harbored in the nation's feelings for over two hundred years when it began to issue forth in the "dumas" and eventually led the nation to act through the Cossack movement, the church brotherhoods, and so on.

In both instances — "Ihor's Campaign" and the Cossack movement — the leading motives were valor, patriotism and idealism. In Princely Times the expression "It is better to be slain than to be taken captive!" now received a new motto "Whosoever is ready, for the Cossack freedom, to sit on the wooden spike let him join the Cossacks!" (Placing people on wooden spikes was the Turkish way of torture.) While the Rus' warriors faced their enemies searching honor for themselves and for their Prince glory, the Cossacks rose with the cry "Our glory will not perish!" The former fought "for Christians against the

infidel hosts!” while the latter clearly fought “For the Orthodox Faith!”

Thus the pressure of political situations changed the originally tender and saintly type of spirituality of our primitive ancestors and their princes to an energetic, a sacrificial and warring spirituality. Such is the power of the spirit and the power of the love of one’s own people. This is quite normal, for does the Gospel not say that there is no greater love than the one which lays down its life for its friends (John 15:13)?

Great meaning was given to book learning in the days of antiquity.<sup>19</sup> During the Cossack period this was revived in the ideology of the church brotherhoods, in the brotherhood schools; in the Academy of Ostrih and, mainly, in the Kievan Mohyla Academy. In all these schools education and spiritual instruction were placed very highly. But above all else stood the printing of books which led to the publication of the first complete Bible of the Slavic world. It was first published in Ostrih in 1581 and was followed by many other publications.

The spiritual centre at Ostrih was short-lived, however. But the Kievan Mohyla Academy, which was founded in 1632, as a result of the union of the Kiev Brotherhood and the Kievan Cave Monastery Schools, stayed open until 1817. The objective of this school of the highest education in Eastern Europe was that “the youth was educated in good habits and in free education,”<sup>20</sup> as was explained by the founder of the school, Petro Mohyla. Its objective, therefore, was to raise the spiritual level of Ukrainian youth.

The Kievan Mohyla Academy did indeed fulfill its mission. The period of the Kievan Mohyla Academy and the entire Cossack era, in general, was a very special period in the history of spirituality of the Ukrainian nation. The Academy itself gave two spiritual giants who became great teachers of religious spirituality — St. Dymytriy Tuptalo (1651-1709) and the Venerable Payisiy Velychkovsky (1722-1794), who was canonized at Mount Athos in 1982. St. Dymytriy gave us his instruction about the prayer of the heart,<sup>21</sup> while the Venerable Payisiy became known as the one who revived the ancient teaching of the Holy

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<sup>19</sup>Discussed earlier in Chapter four of this book.

<sup>20</sup>Z. I. Khyzhnyak, *Kyyevo-Mohylyans'ka Akademiya*, (Kiev: Vyscha Shkola, 1981), p. 48.

<sup>21</sup>“The Inner Closet of the Heart” in *The Art of Prayer (An Orthodox Anthology)*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), pp. 43–50.

Fathers about the so-called “Umna molytva,” that is, about the spiritual prayer.<sup>22</sup>

The teachings of both of these giants had a tremendous influence on monastic spirituality and on the educated ranks of society. However, they only systematized the teachings that were felt and practiced in the spirituality of the people in ancient times. One example of this is the Instruction of Volodymyr Monomakh of the early twelfth century. Monomakh at his time taught his sons to keep repeating the short prayer “God have mercy.”

The following is a list of names of the people of the Cossack-Mohyla period that were later canonized: Venerable Afanasiy Beresteysky (d.1648), Venerable Iov Pochayivsky (d.1651), Venerable Makariy Ovruts’ko-Kanivsky (d.1678), St. and martyr Havryyil Sluts’ky (d.1690), St. Feodosiy Uhlyts’ky (d.1690), St. Dymytriy Tuptalo, Rostovsky (d.1709), St. Ivan Maksymovych, Tobols’ky, (d.1715), St. Ivan Prozorlyvets’ (d.1730), St. Inokentiy Irkuts’ky (d.1771), Venerable Payisiy Velychkovs’ky (d.1794).

These saints are the ones that were canonized only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; there are many more awaiting church canonization.<sup>23</sup> They all were products of the spirit and spirituality of the Cossack era, the organized mouthpiece of which was the Kievan Mohyla Academy. In addition to this the Academy did much other educational work and circulated a wealth of publications.

Those who studied at the Academy learned the Christian principles of life. They were instilled with humane virtues “the feelings of deep patriotism, moral purity, modesty, honesty, dignity and respect for parents and elders,” as stated by Z. I. Khyzhnyak. He adds: “In the formation of the educational ideals of the Academy a great influence was the Zaporozhian Cossackdom. A passionate love of the Zaporozhian Cossacks for their native land, their courage, manhood, the willingness to die for their country, their honor and fellowship influenced the academic youth to follow these noble examples.”<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Metropolitan Ilarion, “Umnaya molytva,” *Starets’ Payisiy Velychkovs’ky*, (Winnipeg: Instytut Doslidiv Volyni, 1975), pp. 75–80.

<sup>23</sup>Metropolitan Ilarion, *Ukrayins’ka Patrolohiya*, (Winnipeg: Nasha Kul’tura, 1965), pp. 127–128.

<sup>24</sup>Khyzhnyak, *Kyyevo-Mohylyans’ka Akademiya*, p. 151. The author writes much about the great cultural and spiritual significance of the Kievan Mohyla Academy and its educators even though this work was written in the USSR. See also Alexander Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century*, (University of Ottawa, 1977).

The statement of Khyzhnyak is most important. If we add the magnanimous Cossack ideal: "For the Orthodox Faith!," we can comprehend the level of the spirituality of the Cossacks and why they commanded such profound respect and were such an influence on Ukrainian society, including its students.

As far as the educators of the Kievan Mohyla Academy are concerned, they dominated the entire life in Ukraine and eventually even in Russia for almost two centuries (the seventeenth and eighteenth). They were the leaders in education, in politics, in the military, in diplomatic missions and usually in the leadership of the monasteries, in the church hierarchies, and obviously, they were also among the parish clergy. It is no wonder then that the educators and the saints of the Ukrainian nation were mainly from the Academy. This Academy was acclaimed in Ukraine, in Russia, in Moldavia and other countries of the Orthodox East and even on Mount Athos.

## THE SPIRITUAL IDEALS OF THE CYRIL-METHODIUS BROTHERHOOD

The Cossack period of the history of the Ukrainian people and the period of the great educational and spiritual accomplishments of the Kievan Mohyla Academy is the period of a tremendous rise of our nation from the decline that our forefathers experienced as a result of the Tatar attacks of the thirteenth century. The glorious Kievan Rus'-Ukraine, the empire of an illustrious spiritual culture, had fallen under those attacks. Striving a century under the watchful eye of the Tatars, the Ukrainian nation lived by the spiritual acquisitions of the former free times, nevertheless, it did not lose its spiritual strength completely.

New conquerors — the Lithuanians — came in the middle of the fourteenth century. There is a repetition of the same that occurred four centuries earlier with the Varangians: the Ukrainians conquered them culturally. They brought them into the fold of their own Orthodox Faith and almost Ukrainized them, because spiritually the Ukrainians stood far higher than the Lithuanians.<sup>25</sup> When two centuries later, in 1654, Ukraine was subjected by Moscow as a result of the political situation, the old tradition repeated itself once more: the Ukrainians surpassed the

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<sup>25</sup>Dmytro Doroshenko, *History of the Ukraine*, (Edmonton: The Institute Press, 1939), pp. 95–98.

Muscovites with their education, culture and spirituality and gave them much assistance in all spheres of life — ecclesiastical, educational, and cultural. In general, it is the Ukrainians that helped the Muscovites to become Europeanized.<sup>26</sup>

This process continued throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. However, at this time Moscow subjugated Ukraine entirely. Following the Revolt of the Haydamaky in 1768 and the destruction of the Zaporozhian Cossacks by Catherine II in 1775, the entire cultural life of Ukraine was suppressed by the Muscovites completely. Nevertheless, in three-quarters of a century Ukrainian culture reawakened and rose again, particularly in the movement of the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood which had a highly humanitarian political and spiritual character. Let us get acquainted with some of its founders:

#### *Mykola Kostomariv*

In the founding of the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood in 1845, not only was the old Ukrainian tradition of brotherhoods renewed, but the highly altruistic ideology of serving mankind beyond the borders of one's own nation had its birth. Such an ideology required a well deliberated plan and, of course, much secretive work. A small group of brotherhood members, who were Christian idealists, took to this task: Mykola Kostomariv, Panteleymon Kulish, Mykola Hulak, Vasyl Bilozersky, Opanas Markovych and Taras Shevchenko (although Shevchenko, most likely, was not a formal member of the Brotherhood).<sup>27</sup>

Despite the serious oppression of the Ukrainian spirit, the program of the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood is an illustration of a conscious renewal of far-reaching altruistic ideals. Whereas the Varangian adoption of the Rus' language and culture (in the dawn of the formation of Princely Rus') happened by chance as did the later Ukrainization of Lithuanians and the cultural enlightenment of the Muscovites by Ukrainians, the Messianism of the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood spoke so eloquently that it became the basis for its program.

In the ideological statute of the Brotherhood, "Knyhy bytiya ukrayins'koho narodu" ("The Books of the Genesis of the

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<sup>26</sup>Khyzhnyak, op.cit., pp. 162–188 and particularly Metropolitan Ilarion, *The Ukrainian Church*, (Winnipeg: 1986), pp. 245–270.

<sup>27</sup>*Ukrayins'ka mala Entsyklopedia*, under "K," (Buenos Aires: Nakladom Administraty UAPT's v Argentyni, 1959), pp. 636–637.

Ukrainian People'') in article 103, it is proclaimed that "the voice of Ukraine is not silent!"<sup>28</sup> In other words, the altruism of the Brotherhood was an echo of the old tradition, the voice of the eternal Ukrainian spirituality, which lives in the being of the Ukrainian nation and has remained its life-giving force from times immemorial.

"The voice of Ukraine is not silent."<sup>28</sup> This is a very important expression of Ukrainian consciousness which emerged at a very critical period. And if it is said that the pre-Christian Ukrainian spirituality was close to the Biblical spirit, then this statute of the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood — "The Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People" — went even further. In its content and in its form it took on the character of the Holy Scriptures.

The planning of this statute required an individual of pure vision and high spiritual attributes. Although the leading inspirer of the Brotherhood was the eldest member Taras Shevchenko,<sup>29</sup> it was Mykola Kostomariv who wrote "The Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People." Kostomariv was an individual of a truly prophetic vision and courage. His spirituality was deeply rooted in the spirituality of the Holy Scripture and Ukrainian antiquity. The following are some of the articles that he drew up for the statute:

I. God created the world: the heaven and the earth, and populated it with every kind of animals, and placed man above all the animals, and told him to be fruitful and multiply, and resolved that the human race be divided into generations and tribes, and to every generation and tribe He gave a land in which to live so that every generation and every tribe would seek God, Who was not far from man, and all people would worship Him, and believe in Him, and love Him, and all would rejoice . . .

57. The Slavic tribe, even before the acceptance of faith, had neither tsars, nor lords — everyone was equal; and they had no idols, the Slavs worshiped one God Almighty, not even yet knowing Him . . .

72. And Ukraine liked neither tsar, nor lord, but established her own Cossackdom, which is a true brotherhood that anyone can join, whether he was a brother of another,

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<sup>28</sup>Mykola Kostomariv, *Knyhy bytiya ukrayins'koho narodu*, (Augsburg: Ukrayins'ky Muzey-Arkhiv pry UVAN, 1947), p. 24.

<sup>29</sup>Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, *Z istoriyi relihiynoyi dumky na Ukrayini*, p. 123.

whether he was a lord before, or a slave, as long as he was Christian. And all the Cossacks were equal among themselves, and their elders were elected by a council, and were to serve all people according to the word of Christ, and there was no lordly pompousness and title among the Cossacks.

73. And they resolved to maintain Christian purity, thus an old chronicler writes about the Cossacks: “Stealing and straying is never their way.”

74. And the Cossacks resolved to defend their Holy Faith and to liberate their fellow man from captivity. Thus the hetman Svyrhovsky campaigned to defend Wallochia, and the Cossacks did not take the plates of gold coins that were offered them for their services, because they had shed their blood for the Faith, and for their fellow man, and they had served God, and not a golden idol.

And Sahaydachny attacked Kaffa and liberated a few thousand captives from the eternal dungeon.

75. And many a brave hero did things that were not even recorded in the books of this world, but were recorded in heaven, for prayers came to God from those whom they had liberated from captivity . . .

77. For Ukraine did not want to follow the pagans, but held to the law of God, and every foreigner that sojourned in Ukraine marvelled that, in no corner of the earth, did people pray to God with such sincerity, nowhere did the husband love his wife so, and the children their parents.

And in the last point of the Proclamation of the Brotherhood to Ukrainians the following is written:

7. In addition, that the Holy Faith of Christ be the base of the law and the social affairs of the entire Union (reference to an All Slavic Union of nations — S. J.) and in every Republic.

This is for you, brother Ukrainians of both sides of the Dnieper . . . If you think upon this now, then when the time comes to discuss this, the Lord God will grant you wisdom.<sup>30</sup>

This is the spiritual attire in which the political thought of the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood was dressed. This is a definite acknowledgement of the significance of spirituality in the history

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<sup>30</sup>Kostomariv, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 15, 18–19, and 26.

and the historical fate of the Ukrainian nation. When this spiritual Messianism and political altruism of the Ukrainian spirit was stifled by the brutal force of the Russian tsarist regime and later by the Communists, it changed its vision and finally yielded to the contemporary . . . apocalypticism, which will be discussed later in this work.

### *Panteleymon Kulish*

The second leading spirit in the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood was Panteleymon Kulish (1817-1897). Kulish is a Ukrainian idealist (a utopian) and a prominent writer. He is perhaps best known for his translation of the Bible (with his co-worker Ivan Pulyuy) into the Ukrainian language of the time. As a member of the Brotherhood, he defended the idea of a union of Ukraine with all of mankind on the basis of culture. For, as Hrushevsky wrote about Kulish: "To him the highest good was world culture, the leading ideal and measure of all values, our own values and foreign values. . . ." <sup>31</sup>

Hrushevsky further explains that whereas for Kostomariv the fundamental base consisted of historical Ukrainian traditions, for Kulish "the fundamental stones of the universal temple" would be the Bible, Homer and Shakespeare, which occupied Kulish's entire life. <sup>32</sup>

The theme that is dominating in both Kostomariv and Kulish is a Biblical spirituality, cultural aristocracy and any inclination toward a social "black council" was rejected by Kulish.

Kulish was about thirty years old when he was active in the Brotherhood. But he treasured the ideals and the spirituality of the brothers his entire life and, later, in his memoirs he characterized them in the following manner:

It must be understood that the Kievan youth, about which I am writing here, was deeply enlightened by the Holy Scriptures, that this youth was of a high spiritual purity and that their apostleship of love toward one's fellow man gained enthusiasm. Inspired by the miracles of the Christian sermon in the decadent Roman Empire the new commandment of the Blessed Teacher "Love thy neighbor as thyself," influenced first of all, as it should, those who have the foremost right to call themselves our neighbors. These were good children

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<sup>31</sup>Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.

of their mothers and fathers, good brothers of their brothers and sisters, good genuine friends of their friends, forgiving and patient towards their enemies and most benevolent friends of the ignorant. Carrying in their hearts the glory of love and charity, they passionately longed to pour out these divine gifts everywhere they went and thus they spoke publicly. And from this forever-blessed inclination emerged their idea to preach among enlightened Ukrainian landlords about the liberation of the people from serfdom through education, both Christian education and scientific. Like tsars in their estates, the Ukrainian landlords had the freedom and the power to mistreat the peasant; and so they had even more freedom and power to find, among the peasants, people who were clever, capable and gifted and, through education, raise these people to their own moral and social levels; and leave the masses . . . for the future. First of all, therefore, these honorable Kievan youths wanted to inspire, with their love and charity, the better people in the landlords' families; the people that shared with them the lofty interests of science and poetry; and together with these people to bring new light on those who truly sat 'in the fog and the shadow of death.' This was a great task, . . . the group that was joined by such a plan, was made up of only a few genuine souls, who did not want to depart their separate ways from those who had no place to rest their head at night. . . . The teacher of the Kievan group of followers of the one who preached the words of life was only he alone — for they were all equal among themselves and only one was first among them — the one who was their servant. The Brotherhood, with no other ties except companionship, looked up only at Shevchenko as upon some heavenly light, and this was the right way. In hindsight we can say . . . 'He was a light that burned and shone.' Shevchenko appeared among us like a visible justification of our inspiration from above.<sup>33</sup>

This account is a good description of the spokesmen of the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation in the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood. We must remember, however, that this was a time when the nihilistic Populist movement began to develop in the Tsarist Empire. Populism eventually branched out into radical-

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<sup>33</sup>Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–123.

ism and anticlericalism, particularly in Halychyna.<sup>34</sup> This anticlericalism was later brought to North America and its influence on the spirituality of the Ukrainians in Canada and the United States is felt to this very day.

### *Taras Shevchenko*

Kostomariv and Kulish manifest their own particular “evangelistic Christianity” and “free evangelism.” Some critics see the same type of religious radicalism in Shevchenko as well. Soviet writers, in fact, see a definite atheism in Shevchenko. But if we take a look at his publicist activities (as in the Brotherhood) and his poetic works and, particularly, at Shevchenko himself and his personal feelings, we will find that this speaks louder about him than any later interpretations, surmises and analytical conclusions.

“Shevchenko the believer,” “The religiousness of Shevchenko,” “Shevchenko the radical,” “Shevchenko the atheist” are some of the themes that have produced many articles and bigger works as well. But it seems to me that any argument about Shevchenko as a believer, about his faith, about his religiousness should be made in view of his own testimony, in his diary and his personal letters to people with whom he was very open. Shevchenko’s diary was written by him in the heights of his experiences and sufferings, in the quiet of his own living quarters. It is certain that we need no other testimony than his own that Shevchenko was a person of deep faith, an individual of a profound, rich and comprehensive spirituality. The following is one such excerpt:

A strange feeling came over me (“Come to Me all weary of toil and burden, and I will give you peace.”) Before the church bell announced the early morning Service I recalled the words of the One crucified for us and it was as if I regained a new life. I went to the Service and prayed so joyfully, so purely, as perhaps never before. I am going through the process of recollections now and today I received Holy Communion. I would like my whole life to be as pure and as beautiful as this day.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>This is discussed more fully in my unpublished work: *Fate of the Individual and Pastoral Care in Eastern Orthodox Theological Education*, (Doctoral Dissertation, San Francisco Theological Seminary, 1981), pp. 20–30.

<sup>35</sup>Shevchenko’s letter to princess Repnina, February 28, 1848.

The above is from Shevchenko's letter to Princess Varvara Repnina of February 28th, 1848. Shevchenko's friend, Kosachivsky (at whose place Shevchenko lived), states that at that time (Shevchenko was twenty-six) he read the Bible "marking the places which particularly impressed him with the sublimity of thought."<sup>36</sup>

In a letter to Princess Repnina of January 1st, 1850, Shevchenko wrote "My one comfort now is the Gospel. I read it, without studying it, every day, every hour. I once thought about analyzing a mother's heart based on the life of Saint Mary the Virgin Mother of Christ, — but now even this will be calculated against me as a crime." Somewhat later, on March 7th, 1850, Shevchenko wrote her: "I am reading the New Testament with religious fervor." On January 9th, 1857, in a letter to the Princess he wrote:

Now and only now do I completely believe in the words: love, I tell you. Now I only pray and thank God for His infinite love for me, for the trial sent to me. It has purified me and strengthened my poor, weak heart. It took away the prism from my eyes through which I looked at others and myself. It taught me how to love my enemies and those who hate us. For this cannot be taught in any school, except the difficult school of tribulation and a lengthy conversation with oneself. I now feel myself to be, if not entirely, then at least an irreproachable Christian, like gold out of the fire, like a child out of the bath, I come out of a dark purgatory in order to start a new, more noble way of life. And I call this a real and genuine happiness.

On July 14th, 1857, Shevchenko wrote in his dairy that only "Merciful God is my imperishable hope!" This is how Shevchenko speaks of himself. These are the words of a religious person. This indicates the source of power of Shevchenko's poetic spirit and makes it clear why the brothers of Cyril-Methodius thought of him, as Kulish had said, as a true light that burned and shone continuously. But was Shevchenko the final light of Ukrainian religious spirituality?

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<sup>36</sup>Hrushevsky, *Z istoriyi relihiynoyi dumky* . . . , p. 124.

## THE SPIRITUAL IDEALS OF UKRAINIAN PHILOSOPHERS

The philosophy of Ukrainian thinkers is cordocentric, or anthropocentric.<sup>37</sup> It focuses on the feelings and experiences of the human heart. Indeed, these experiences are of particular significance, for without them a true philosophy, or even theology, would be impossible; they would be lacking a real base.

Essentially theology and philosophy engage in the elaboration of that which the individual receives through his or her spiritual feelings, through his or her experiences.<sup>38</sup> Thus, Hryhoriy Skovoroda, in the need to make his philosophy understandable to the average person, expounded his thought in verses such as “Oy, ty ptychko zhovtoboka” (“Oh, yellow-breasted bird”). Whereas Pamphil Yurkevych, on the other hand, wrote short tractates as “Sertse” (“The Heart”) and “Myr z blyzhnimy” (“Peace with our Fellow Man”).

Philosophical cordocentricity binds the Ukrainian philosopher to that which is practical. This was also the case in antiquity: “The eastern Slav did not look passionately at the night sky, like the Semite in the desert, nor was he particularly struck by the might of the sun. . . . His attention was more attracted by the mysteries beneath, by what happened on earth where his personal and tribal life took place.”<sup>39</sup> But this closeness to the earth of the Ukrainian and the Ukrainian philosopher and his obvious practicality did not deprive him of insight and the pursuit and the development of values that are of a purely spiritual character. Here are some of the Ukrainian philosophers:

### *Hryhoriy Skovoroda (1722-1794)*

Hryhoriy Savych Skovoroda has not yet been fully studied and his philosophy has not been definitely developed by scholars. Although he combined erudition, philosophical enlightenment and a simplicity of life, it is his way of life that brought a practical value for others, rather than his philosophy. Mykhaylo Hrushevsky makes the following evaluation in regard to Skovoroda:

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<sup>37</sup>V. Ern, *Hryhoriy Savych Skovoroda — zhyzn' i ucheniye*, (Moscow: Tovarichestvo Tipografii A. J. Mamontova, 1912), p. 214.

<sup>38</sup>Nikolay Berdyayev, *Filosofiya svobodnoho dukha*, (Paris: YMCA, n.d.), p. 14; taken from Pamfil D. Yurkevych “Sertse . . .” in *Tvory*, (Winnipeg: St. Andrew's College, 1979), p. 109.

<sup>39</sup>G. P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, p. 11.

“The crystal purity and beauty of his life is as clear to everyone today as it was to his contemporaries, who were incited and drawn by it during his lifetime. It is as simple and accessible as his religious philosophy is often dark and complicated.”<sup>40</sup>

Hrushevsky’s comment is not without grounds. Taras Shevchenko’s equilibrium was, also, shaken by Skovoroda’s writing. Shevchenko, in fact, called him an “idiot” and his writings “senseless”; even though we know that in his earlier years, Shevchenko enjoyed “copying Skovoroda.”<sup>41</sup>

Skovoroda’s works have not yet been translated into contemporary Ukrainian, so this, also, makes it difficult to understand or study them. But when Skovoroda lectured, he was very much enjoyed and liked. He was particularly liked for his moral purity, for his practical truth, and for his simplicity. Skovoroda was a true embodiment of those moral ideals for which the Ukrainian Cossacks were acclaimed. In other words, Skovoroda was both the embodiment and the mouthpiece of traditional Ukrainian spirituality.

Furthermore, in his works, especially in his textbooks on ethics, Skovoroda gives much practical knowledge, particularly in regard to the content and aim of man’s life on earth. He wrote a friend the following about himself: “I am learning gratitude — this is my concern! I am learning to be content in everything which by God’s Providence was given to me in life.” He wanted to teach this to others as well and, therefore, he wrote the following in his textbook on ethics:

If you want to be happy, do not seek your happiness across the seas, do not wander about palaces, do not journey to Jerusalems! You can buy a village for money, but happiness is given everywhere and always it is free. This is God, and everything else is a creature, a body. He is our happiness — God’s Kingdom within us. Happiness is in the heart, the heart is in love, and love is in the eternal law. Thank the blessed Lord that he made the necessary things easy and the difficult things unnecessary!<sup>42</sup>

This excerpt is from Skovoroda’s ethics, in which spiritual ideals are pursued. But Skovoroda also understood philosophy to

<sup>40</sup>Hrushevsky, *Z istoriyi relihiynoyi dumky* . . . , p. 109.

<sup>41</sup>Taras Shevchenko, *Povna zbirka tvoriv v tr'okh tomakh*, tom II, *Povisti*, “Bliznetsy,” (Kiev: 1949), p. 340.

<sup>42</sup>Hryhorii Skovoroda, *Tvory*, vol. I, pp. 14–15.

favour spirituality. This is evident in the following excerpt:

Philosophy, or the love of wisdom, directs the entire circle of its concerns towards the giving of life to our spirit, nobility to our heart, and light to our thoughts as the perfection of all things. For when the spirit is happy in the human being, when the thoughts are peaceful, when the heart is appeased, then all becomes clear, happy and blissful. This is philosophy.<sup>43</sup>

In other words, this is the objective of our spirituality. Therefore, although it may be difficult to understand Skovoroda's philosophical system, there is much instructional element in his works. Particularly important is the fact that his philosophy entails not only love toward wisdom in its speculative sense; philosophy has the function of serving spirituality. Thus Skovoroda's philosophy has a real life significance. In him is preserved the essential unity with the spiritual tradition of the Ukrainian of all ages: the Cossack ethical practice and the spiritual principles of our ancestors from times immemorial.

#### *Pamphil Yurkevych (1826-1874)*

That which has been said about Skovoroda can be said also, and even more, about the philosophical thought of Pamphil Yurkevych. Unfortunately, Yurkevych's philosophy is not studied and is not evaluated adequately. His works are generally unknown because their first collection was not published until 1979.<sup>44</sup> The first to comprehend the profound essence of Yurkevych's philosophy was his pupil, V. Solovyev (or Soloviev), who later became the famous Russian thinker. Solovyev was the first to recognize a typically Ukrainian character of thinking in Yurkevych.<sup>45</sup>

As in Skovoroda, Yurkevych's thought concerning "Ukrainism" is manifested in his practicality, in the adaptation of his philosophical conclusions in real life. In this regard we have Skovoroda's textbook on ethics especially written for the teaching of young people<sup>46</sup> and two large works on the theme of education by Yurkevych.<sup>47</sup> The objective of those educational

<sup>43</sup>"Zhyttyepys Skovorody," *Tvory*, vol. II, p. 521.

<sup>44</sup>Cf., Pamphil D. Yurkevych, *Tvory*, (Winnipeg: St. Andrew's College, 1979).

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>46</sup>Skovoroda, *Tvory*, vol. I, pp. 14-26. Cf., also my work *Prychynky do mysl'i pro suchasne dushpastyrstvo*, "Ponyattya pro shchastya na osnovi filosofiyyi Skovorody," (Winnipeg: Biblioteka BNTMI, 1975), p. 35.

<sup>47</sup>Mentioned in my collection, Pamphil D. Yurkevych, *Tvory*, p. 15.

pursuits are, of course, the facilitation of the development of the higher categories of spirituality in the human being.

Among Yurkevych's works are two tractates which he could have designated for a more comprehensive practical utilization. One is on the meaning of "The Heart" ("Sertse") and the other shorter one, is on the theme of "Peace with One's Fellow Man" ("Myr z blyzhnimy"). Whereas in "The Heart," Yurkevych endeavors to help the individual to better understand oneself, the tractate "Peace with One's Fellow Man" is an endeavor to better orientate the individual in the process of his/her life and in his/her continual relations with others. Yurkevych considered human relations to be of absolute importance in life. The following is one of his sad recollections in this regard:

Long ago, when people revealed their most pressing needs openly and genuinely, the usual greeting to one another was the wishing of peace. "Peace be unto you" (Myr tobi, myr vam) was what the traveler said upon meeting someone, instead of our . . . "Good health" (dobroho zdorovya). With this greeting it is as if they said one to another: "I come to you, not as a foe, not with bad intentions; be calm, I will not do wrong unto you, do not be anxious."<sup>48</sup>

Thus, as Yurkevych explains, he endeavored to bring people back to the feelings of humaneness, for only on the basis of such feelings can the virtues of togetherness, sincerity, simplicity and compassion be nurtured. Yurkevych found that the individual must, first of all, establish a peace within one's own heart, a peace within oneself.

"The blessed peacemakers," writes Yurkevych, are "blessed" because of their struggle with selfishness, their conquest over passions, their obedience to their conscience and, in particular, their true love for Christ and their complete submission to His will.<sup>49</sup>

These were the spiritual ideals brought forth by Pamphil Yurkevych, one of the greatest philosophers of Ukraine. He maintained the old Ukrainian spiritual tradition faithfully. "Peace be unto you" is a magnanimous expression of the gentle and peaceful Ukrainian nature, or as Louis Bouyer would say — a Biblical nature. This is why Yurkevych dedicated a short tractate to this ideal.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., pp. 349–350.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., pp. 356–357.

It was before Yurkevych's time that this particular evangelical greeting about peace was thoughtlessly vulgarized. Those who used this greeting were branded as "myrkachi" ("peace-niks"). Among the pious and devout, however, this greeting remained a testimony of the high spiritual virtues of the person expressing it. This custom, as is evident, was not prevalent only among the simple folk, for the philosopher engaged in it as well even if he did write about it in a sorrowful manner.

### *Mykola Shlemkevych (1894-1966)*

If Yurkevych's sorrowful tone prevailed not on a conscious level, it was definitely prognostic, for three-quarters of a century later the element of sorrow became dominant in the philosophical thought of Mykola Shlemkevych. In the face of that which I call the dehumanization of the individual, this is a natural feeling.<sup>50</sup>

One need only to see Dr. Shlemkevych's collection of articles under the title "Zahublena ukrayins'ka lyudyna"<sup>51</sup> ("The Lost Ukrainian Individual") to understand that this thinker is responding to the unfortunate decline of Ukrainian spirituality, not only in political life, but in the ecclesiastical life as well.<sup>52</sup> And he had to pay dearly for this in the time of his funeral, had it not been for a group of noble people, particularly priests.

Shlemkevych was an individual of higher European education and culture, a true spiritual aristocrat (he also came from a family of the lower aristocracy in Halychyna). He became a philosopher because of his broad erudition, his keen penetrating mind and his philosophical orientation.

Shlemkevych was a humanist and an unpretentious person. Even his series of publications, which he edited, came out under the modest title "Lysty do pryvateliv" ("Letters to my Friends"). Notwithstanding, Shlemkevych, himself, was a living symbol of that lost and lonely individual about which he wrote in his publications and works. When he died in 1966 there were difficulties in the arrangements of his church funeral.<sup>53</sup> Never-

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<sup>50</sup>More about dehumanization in my work, "Fate of the Individual and Pastoral Care in Eastern Orthodox Theological Education, pp. 31-39.

<sup>51</sup>Mykola Shlemkevych, *Zahublena ukrayins'ka lyudyna*, in the series "Zhyttya i mysli," book 2, New York, 1954.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., pp. 36-37 and 87-90.

<sup>53</sup>Dr. Mykola Shlemkevych died in Irvington, USA, February 14th, 1966 at 73 years of age. The planned and announced Funeral Service did not take place, because his parish priest in Elizabeth and the priests of Newark and Passaic "were indisposed at the time." Thus a large group of people prayed for the soul of the deceased on their own. (Cf. the daily newspaper "Svoboda," no. 33, February 19, 1966, p. 1.) But the Burial Service

theless, it seems that Mykola Shlemkevych will become the Ukrainian spiritual giant of the twentieth century.

Shlemkevych lamented the undervalued individual in all of life's situations — the social, political and even ecclesiastical spheres. In his article "Moral'na kryza" ("The Moral Crisis"), which is included in his collection, "Zahublena ukrayins'ka lyudyna," he writes: "Man, concrete man, the human being, a fellow man is growing pale and vanishing behind an idea, the general, the law. In a bit more time we will hear the seemingly proud motto: let the idea live and, in its name, let the concrete human being perish!"<sup>54</sup> Shlemkevych had to have possessed great courage to write this, particularly in such a short time after the Second World War, when the Ukrainian scene was dominated by the very forces that Shlemkevych was criticizing.

According to Shlemkevych, our spiritual life is undergoing a modern spiritual illness, which can be healed only by a general common effort, for every living organism fights its illnesses in just this way.<sup>55</sup> Obviously, Shlemkevych's proposal suggests a radical healing of Ukrainian spirituality because it is ailing. One must be grateful to him for his deep concern for the human being and for expressing these thoughts about it.

## THE UKRAINIAN SPIRITUALITY OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

### A. *The early part of the twentieth century*

No one has gone beyond the frequent assertion that the Ukrainian nation is pious and deeply religious in its nature, except Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, who wrote an original survey on the development of religious thought in Ukraine.<sup>56</sup> Hrushevsky emphasizes the more radical elements of this development and he does so with obvious satisfaction. But he does not show the spiritual pursuits and expressions of spirituality of the Ukrainian people objectively. It seems to me that even beyond all the radical movements which emerged among our people, particularly at the turn of the twentieth century, one should look for reasons of

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for the deceased philosopher took place on Feb. 18th and 19th with the participation of the three priests ("Svoboda," no. 34, February 23, 1966, p. 1).

<sup>54</sup>Zahublena ukrayins'ka lyudyna, p. 51.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>56</sup>The above cited work: *Z istoriyi relihiynoyi dumky na Ukrayini*, 1962.

spiritual nature. These reasons may be hidden beyond the widely acclaimed piety of our people.

As stated earlier, the concept of spirituality encompasses all that activity of a human being which gives one, or leads him/her to spiritual contentment or, in other words, to the satisfaction of one's spiritual needs. It could have been that even "ecclesiastical bureaucratism" impeded the satisfying of those needs within the framework of church life. Consequently, other forms of expressing spirituality were sought. Such is the case of the devout Panteley mentioned in the memoirs of Oleksander Koshyts, whose father was a priest. Oleksander Koshyts recalls the following in this regard:

They say, but maybe they lie, that Panteley made a replica of an "altar" in his home and gathered people there when there was no church service and read entire evening services, and other services, according to the chasoslov (Horologion). Some people wanted to create a scandal from this (as can be expected! S.J.), since this was at the time of the persecution of the Stundists. Thus the priest was informed. How astonished they were when my father said: "We should be glad that people pray to God beyond the church as well!"<sup>57</sup>

As regards the spiritual influence that the noble Father Antoniyy Koshyts had on his parishioners is seen also in the same memoirs of his son. The following excerpt is a confession of the elderly Petro:

I will never forget my childhood impressions when I came to your place early in the morning during threshing. I would sit in the raspberry bushes and watch how the late Father Antoniyy would walk in the orchard and pray out loud to God. Later I searched the world for such a man, because I wanted to see a pure and holy religiousness, yet I was unable to find it. But I saw something quite close to it in an old Russian priest at the Kriposna Church in Kherson. These impressions stayed with me my entire life and gave direction to my whole spiritual being."<sup>58</sup>

Is this spirituality in the prayers of the Ukrainian being not similar to the one we saw in the old priest of Stryzhavsky's

<sup>57</sup>Oleksander Koshyts, *Spohady*, vol. 1, (Winnipeg: Kul'tura i Osvita, 1947), p. 94.

<sup>58</sup>Oleksander Koshyts, *Spohady*, vol. 1, p. 92.

novel: the old man who prayed in his apiary? Or the one we saw in the old illiterate Mykola? This spirituality lives in the Ukrainian being to this very day. Obviously, it was not this spirituality, but the lack of it, or perhaps something different altogether that gave the late Mykola Shlemkevych so much sorrow and suffering. The roots of this sorrow must, perhaps, be found in the Utopian ideas of some of the members of the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood as Kostomariv and Kulish, in the radicalism of Mykhaylo Drahomaniv, M. Pavlyk and the followers of their ideology, or an ideology similar to theirs.

### *The influence of monasteries on spirituality*

The Ukrainian nation's great sense of spirituality is a natural endowment. This endowment is evident in our pre-Christian traditions, in the traditions of the "Instructions" of the Princely era, in the phenomena and ideologies of the brotherhoods, the Cossacks, the Kievan Mohyla Academy and its education, in the Brotherhood of Cyril-Methodius and in Ukrainian philosophy. Above all, the spiritual virtues of the Ukrainian people were reinforced by the kind-hearted Ukrainian clergy.

Until this day the clergy is the most privileged "profession" to impart a spiritual tone and, generally, an evangelical flavor to the life of its people. At one time this function was performed to a great extent, by the monasteries as well. It must be underscored that the monasteries were a unique spiritual phenomenon at one time. The monastery was the symbol and embodiment of that for which the individual longed, that which the individual expected and that which the individual zealously desired. The currently popular, academic, abstract and even naive enthusiasm with monasticism has nothing in common with the purely spiritual and devout attitude of our nation toward the monasteries.

I lived seven kilometres from the largest monastery in Western Ukraine the Pochayivs'ka Lavra (The Pochayiv Cave Monastery). Pochayiv, in Volynya was a place of pilgrimage, not only for Orthodox Ukrainians, but for the Greek Catholics and the Polish Roman Catholics as well (they would come even from the western regions of Poland). In the summertime, thousands of pilgrims gathered in Pochayiv; those who were coming from the west usually came through our village, Lidykhiv.

The Pochayiv Cave Monastery is located on the Pochayiv hill, which gave us a beautiful view, particularly in the Uspensky Sobor (The Sobor of the Dormition) and the belfry. The voice

— indeed the prayer of the bells were heard at our village. While in the sunny afternoon the view of the silvery bright Sobor and belfry seemed like something absolutely divine. One would be spiritually enraptured with this view and pray to God with his gaze alone, with his eyes.

I recall the images: on the country road, from the forest which belonged to Halychyna, come a group of pilgrims. The unexpected view of the Sobor of the Dormition enchants them. They stop, cross themselves, bow to the ground in adoration, kneel, pray or, simply astound, gaze at the heavenly beauty of the monastery. These pilgrims were Orthodox, Greek Catholics, Roman Catholic and even Protestants.<sup>59</sup>

A similar influence was made on the devoutness and spirituality of our nation by hundreds of other monasteries. People had their own spiritual fathers in the monasteries. They visited them there and asked them for their blessings and prayers. They confessed their sins there, went for consolation and advice in all of life's circumstances. They listened to stories about the deeds of the saints and in the customary evening gatherings passed their learning on to new generations. The monasteries thus played a role in so-called counselling which has a professional meaning today, rather than a spiritual one. Religious people made contributions toward the monasteries which comprised a very important chapter in their spirituality.

The devout people did not pay attention to, or discuss the negative and sometime even tragic events in the monasteries, because it was the ideals of the monasteries that were of primary importance to them and nothing else. This is another highly noble aspect of our spirituality.

From the very many monasteries in Ukraine only a very few remain active today. Nevertheless, they still have a very high spiritual significance for the faithful no matter who is in these monasteries at the present time. We know that even in the current Soviet situation (despite the official barriers), pilgrims still visit Pochayiv from as far away as the Far East.

It is worth mentioning as well that our religious people especially favored the Morning Service, Matins, particularly if it was performed properly which was usually possible in the monas-

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<sup>59</sup>Those who read the memoirs of my friend Mykhaylo Podvorniak know how he, a protestant, bidding his last farewell to Volynya, stood elevated on the foundation of the Sobor. See *Viter z Volyni*, (Winnipeg: IDV, 1981), pp. 229–231.

teries. As regards the devotion to Church Services, this Morning Service occupied first place even before the Divine Liturgy. As Shevchenko had stated that he fasted, took confession and communion, but particularly joyfully prayed at the Morning Service (a greater testimony of Shevchenko's religiousness is unnecessary).

*The spirituality of Ukrainians in the movement for church independence*

The most important and the most critical event of the twentieth century as regards Ukrainian spirituality is the establishment of autocephaly (independence) of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

We know that the matter of independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was announced by Directoria of the Ukrainian National Republic on January 1st, 1919. But this announcement was made by a civil government of which some members were indifferent to church matters and to religious matters in general. Thus, this announcement was, first of all, of a civil political significance. Nevertheless, the proclamation of this independence at the All-Ukrainian Church Sobor of October 1921 was moved into the ecclesiastical realm and, moreover, by the Church Sobor. It must be acknowledged that this occurred in an atmosphere of extreme ecclesiastical tension. Whoever assumes this not to be so, treats this very critical spiritual moment of the participants of the Sobor light-heartedly. These participants — the Fathers of the Sobor — were placed before an alternative to make a series of decisions which were of a radical nature; this is not an easy task.

Other nations, as the Serbs and Bulgarians who proclaimed the autocephaly of their churches as well, also experienced a great intensity. But the Ukrainian situation was far worse, because we had to announce the Autocephaly of a Church that did not have its own Episcopate. Without an Episcopate a Church cannot exist. Therefore, the Fathers of the Sobor took a particularly critical step. They made the decision to install bishops through the ordination by priests and laymen without the bishops. They knew that by doing so they are departing from the traditional practice of the Orthodox Church. This required people of great spiritual strength and faith in the rightness of their deed. Whoever thinks that this was done in a state of spiritual indifference, does not understand the circumstances and inflicts a disregard and injustice upon the participants of the Sobor.

From the stories about the All-Ukrainian Kievan Sobor of October 1921,<sup>60</sup> we know that when the exarch of the Patriarch of Moscow, the Archbishop Mikhayil (Yermakov) refused to ordain bishops for the Ukrainian Orthodox church, the Sobor decided to take the extreme step and ordain bishops in the so-called "Alexandrian method." This "Alexandrian" argument was sufficient for the majority of delegates. One can assume that these delegates were mostly of the clergy and laymen. I think that for the leading Fathers of the Sobor, who had a higher theological education, this "Alexandrian" argument was secondary. Theologians like the Very Reverend Vasyl' Lypkivs'ky and Volodymyr Chekhivs'ky knew that in the time of the "Alexandrian" practice the matter of the ordination of bishops by "priests" was of a different nature.

This was a time when the Eucharist could be administered only by a bishop, who also was the only one allowed to give a sermon in church. When Christianity had spread from the cities to villages the village congregations could celebrate the Eucharist through the newly instituted so-called chorepiscopoi, that is, regional or village bishops. The village bishop enjoyed all episcopal functions, except for administration rights beyond his parish.<sup>61</sup> Thus if these bishops were sometimes invited to participate in the ordination of other bishops, then these were not priests, but individuals with a full bishop's grace. In my opinion this is where the so-called "Alexandrian" practice of ordination of bishops by "priests" finds its base. The chorepiscopoi of the time performed the functions of priests. The Council of Laodicea tried to dissolve their institution in the fourth century (Canon 57), but the chorepiscopoi caused much trouble even at a later date.<sup>62</sup>

Only a political treatment of the events of the All-Ukrainian Sobor of 1921 would find no difficulties with this. It seems to me that the leading Fathers of the Kievan Sobor placed their stakes more on the natural and benevolent laws of the Ukrainian Church and the strength of the faith of the nation, than they did on the

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<sup>60</sup>Cf. Metropolitan Vasyl' Lypkivs'ky, *Vidrozhennya Ukrayins'koyi Tserkvy*, (Winnipeg), pp. 34-45.

<sup>61</sup>About chorepiscopoi cf. H. L. "Khorepiskopi" *Entsiklopedicheskiy slovar*. Braukhaus and Efron, vol. 74, p. 571. Metropolitan Ilarion mentioned chorepiscopoi in his course *Kanonichne pravo* (not yet published). Cf. 103 pages of my notes from his lesson.

<sup>62</sup>Chorepiscopoi were dealt with by the First Ecumenical Council in 325 (canon 8) and the Councils of Ancyra in 315, Antioch in 341, Sardica in 347 and finally by the Seventh Ecumenical Council. It seems, then, that they would not give up so easily.

“Alexandrian” practice. For when it became clear that there was only one way out for the Sobor (the ordination of bishops by the participants of the Sobor, and without bishops), then some of these participants, as the Very Reverend Vasyl Lypkivsky, went on a strict fast in order to contemplate that although this step was unusual, it was the right and blessed step. Thus many of the participants of the Sobor went to Confession and received Holy Communion. Then a Hierarchy was established by the noncanonical method: the ordination of candidates by the participating presbyters (priests), deacons and laymen.

However, if there were ever a demonstration of an exceptionally great power of faith and the power of the spirit of the Ukrainian people, it was at the All-Ukrainian Sobor in Kiev in 1921. This was a critical moment resulting in a critical act. The Sobor was fully aware of this; consequently, the Sobor made a resolution that never again in the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church will such an act be permitted. In Article 8 the Sobor stated: “In the future the blessed act of the ordination of bishops . . . will be with the participation of two or more bishops according to the order of the Universal Eastern Church.”<sup>63</sup>

I purposely include the matter of the All-Ukrainian Sobor of 1921 within the context of the spirituality of the Ukrainian people, because I consider this Sobor a manifestation of an extraordinary strength of spirit of Orthodox Ukrainians. I do not touch upon the question of the “canonic” or “noncanonic” actions of this Sobor, for this does not belong to my basic theme. I would like only to state that one must ponder not the “canonicity” of the case, but, rather, the spiritual validity of the All-Ukrainian Sobor of 1921 and the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in general. We know the accepted definition of “canonicity,” which does not appease one’s feelings, but brings us to another problem — the confusion between ecclesiastical “canonicity” and “noncanonicity.”

### *The confusion between ecclesiastical “canonicity” and “noncanonicity”*

The All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Sobor of 1921 and its institution of an ecclesiastical hierarchy by the “Alexandrian ordination” method elicited a series of theological questions —

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<sup>63</sup>*Diyannya Vseukrayins'koho Pravoslavnoho Tserkovnoho Soboru* in Kiev 14-20 October, 1921. Bratstvo im. Metr. Vasylya Lypkivs'koho, na chuzhyni, New Ulm, 1965, (IV Vidnovlennya Ukrayins'koyi Tserkovnoyi Iyerarkhiyi), pp. 19–20.

dogmatic, canonical, moral and spiritual. My interest is mainly in the spiritual nature of the problem: how this problem influences the spiritual life of the general community of believers, or whether it indeed had any influence at all. This question is not only difficult, but is simply impossible when approached formally. It is completely different, however, when approached in the spirit of genuine Christian love.

The Ukrainian situation was not an exception. For even the Apostles of Christ were encountered by this question of “canonicity” as well. Once, upon returning from missionary work, John informed Jesus that they had run into some unknown (pretender, a “noncanonical”) person who, in the Name of Jesus Christ, was doing good works — casting out demons of the sick. The Apostles, not acknowledging him to be “canonical” forbade his holy work saying “he does not walk with us.”

What was the Lord’s reaction to this? The Lord Jesus Christ praised the missionary work of that unknown and “self-proclaimed” Apostle and asked the Apostles not to play games with “canonicity”: “For he who is not against us is on our side,” He explained (Mark 9:38-40).

Our problem lies in priorities. We place abstract “orthodoxy” in the primary position, while the truth of life, human sufferings, the spiritual needs of the people and the most important — evangelical love — are often overlooked. We seem to forget that “orthodoxy” is for man and not man for “orthodoxy” to paraphrase what Jesus had said in His explanation of a similar situation (Mark 2:27).

The problem of “canonicity” and “noncanonicity” is primarily a theological one. Therefore we should not disturb the spiritual peace of the layman with it. To do so is to exhibit unintelligent conduct, because in connection with the 1921 Sobor the problem is not real — the situation no longer exists. Today we can theologize only about its spiritual validity, not its canonicity. People should also be more careful with their criticism of that Sobor. Only self-righteous arrogance can accuse the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches — the three Metropolitanates as being “self-ordained.” There is no such a thing as “self-ordained” clergy presently, either in theological conviction of Orthodox Ukrainians, or in their practice. Accusations and criticism of Orthodox Ukrainians as being “without grace” are un-Christian and dishonoring. They are political and should be treated as such and should not trouble the spiritual well-being of the people. Rather

than dwelling on these matters, we should occupy ourselves with the ideals of true spirituality, the problems of real life. For this is our primary task.

It is better to praise the Lord for our blessings — our lives, our freedom, our prosperity, our marriages, our children, our health, our friends, our nation and the world. Let us praise Him sincerely and truly in the Orthodox manner. Let us wish all people well, without exception, and then we will truly be Orthodox, for by doing so we will so “trouble” Him that He will love us for it. (Luke 18:1-7).

### *The Sovietization of the human being and its influences on spirituality*

The Sovietization of the individual in the inhumane system of the USSR has been in process for more than sixty years. There, a complete dehumanization of the human being has taken place, but no one as yet has done any scholarly work on how this Sovietization has affected the spiritual structure of the human being. Such a concept as homo sovieticus does exist, not in the proletarian or class sense, but in the spiritual sense; it is used in unofficial theological jargon. This phenomenon of the “Soviet man,” however, reaches far deeper than a superficial witty implication; it touches the very spiritual structure of the human being and, as such, is inseparable to this study.

The fact that the Soviet individual can enjoy no privilege of a free spiritual development, deprives one of many things; for such individual the concepts of freedom and responsibility and other human values are difficult to grasp. The distrust and disloyalty manifested in the Soviet system does penetrate the very human being. The Soviet system teaches children, from a very early age, to distrust their parents and they are rewarded for informing on their parents. Such facts, among others, make the Soviet reality a psychological reality for many who are weaker in spirit.

There are people in the USSR, beings of weaker character, whom the Soviet rulers, the “engineers of souls” (as Joseph Stalin said) have succeeded in transforming into such underlings that they can be designated only as *hommes sovietici*. It is a generally known fact that central to the tasks of Soviet rule is its endeavor to transform the people of the USSR into such that, in the spiritual sense, each and every one of them could truly be classified as *homo sovieticus*, that is, a Soviet human being in the fullest sense of its meaning.<sup>64</sup>

There is much evidence for this. One need only to acquaint oneself with the novel of Oles Berdnyk, a well-known Ukrainian writer, dissident and prisoner of Soviet prisons. In 1963, the journal "Radyans'ky pys'mennyk" published his historical novel "Syny Svitovyda". The plot unfolds in prehistoric times, in the time of Kyy, who is shown as the founder of Kiev. In the characters of Hlytsia and the young Svyatobor are very clear characteristics of the Soviet man — the human being of the twentieth century. Reared in the spirit of Socialist Realism, the writer cannot think or imagine in any other way. His heroes of antiquity are typical figures of "homo sovieticus." The same is true of the heroes of the Soviet film "Oleksander Nevsky" which illustrates events of the twelfth century. The many leading figures in this film are Soviet type of beings.<sup>65</sup>

These are examples of the influence of Soviet reality on the thinking of the intellectual. The influence of Soviet reality on the spirituality and the psyche of the individual and the transformation of the human being is seen also in the terrorized and frightened peasants and workers, who have learned to conceal their inner feelings so carefully that their faces reflect nothing but a deep mysterious fear and suffering.<sup>66</sup>

The experiences of the horrid famine in Ukraine, 1932-1933, left deep traces on the human psyche. The tragedy of the famine transformed many of the victims to extreme introverts who distrust, who are mysterious, who show signs of fear and feelings of guilt and although their sporadic signs of joy are justified it, nevertheless, is incomplete. The most damaging effect on these victims is that their loyalty and trust have vanished forever. Fear and suspicion have taken the place of their natural openness and hospitality. This greatly limits the spiritual life of a human being.

Another disappearing phenomenon of Soviet reality is the meaning of land. Of particular importance to the Ukrainian is the love of the land — the homeland and one's ownership of land. In "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" the author's refrain: "O,

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<sup>64</sup>A brief, but very good article on "Homo sovieticus" appeared in the Toronto weekly "Novy Shlyakh." It is written by M. Petrovych who illustrates this phenomenon with a series of scholarly conclusions and actual facts. Cf. No. 37, September 10, 1983.

<sup>65</sup>This film was shown in Winnipeg on March 6, 1983, on the French TV Channel of CBC.

<sup>66</sup>This is seen in a slide album of Eastern Europe published in 1983. Cf. *A Voiceless Song — Photographs of the Slavic Lands* by John Paskievich, A. Lester and Orpen Dennys/National Film Board of Canada Book, 1983.

Land of Rus', thou art now beyond the hills'' expresses more than just a longing for the homeland.

It was mentioned earlier that for the Ukrainian the earth holds more promises and secrets than do the heavens. Thus, to a Ukrainian, the distancing from the homeland meant a distancing from the very bases, from the source of a life-giving force as in the early Old Testament the distancing from one's land was a distancing from God Himself. An example of such a situation is described in Psalm 41, or in David's situation in the First Book of Samuel, 26:19.

The Ukrainian has an unusually tender philosophy of the land. He relates to his own land as to some great, mysterious, sacred force. But no Ukrainian has yet formulated a philosophy about his homeland. I mention it only briefly in my doctoral dissertation, where I deal with the respectful attitude of the Ukrainian toward his land and with the spiritual significance that the land has for Ukrainians.<sup>67</sup> It is our land that makes us who we are.

In the USSR the land is communalized and industrialized and therefore it is deprived of any spiritual quality for the Ukrainian peasant. At one time he worked this land and cared for it as though it were something sacred. Working his land, the Ukrainian peasant often prayed. In his respect for the tilled land he sowed it with his head uncovered and completed his spring work by sowing a beautiful cross by the road that it may bless the earth, the field and the harvest. With the communal industrialization of his land the Ukrainian peasant was deprived of his holy attitude toward his sacred land and became an indifferent proletarian and his orphaned land now relates to him in the very same manner.

I do not consider it necessary to describe the well-known hostile communistic attitude toward things spiritual, toward religion, toward the Church, toward believers, and what significance this godless attitude has for human spirituality. It is a well-known fact that communism and militant atheism damage the spirituality of the human being systematically, both through its ideology and its programs.

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<sup>67</sup>In *Fate of the Individual and Pastoral Care in Eastern Orthodox Theological Education*, (San Francisco Theological Seminary, 1981), pp. 57–59.

## B. *The later part of the twentieth century*

### *The spiritual depletion of the human being after the Second World War*

After the Tatar attack and destruction of Princely Rus' in the middle of the thirteenth century, the second especially unfortunate and difficult century for the Ukrainian nation was the twentieth century. For Ukrainians this century became the moment of great movements in the sphere of liberating hopes and endeavors, in defeats, in human losses, in human sufferings and even in the changes of the human spirit. The Ukrainians endured a great deal: according to the most recent figures, from the First to the end of the Second World War the Ukrainian nation suffered the loss of about fifteen million victims.<sup>68</sup>

Because these movements, changes and sufferings were of such a gigantic scale, they could not have been without influences on the spirituality of the Ukrainian. In fact, the fate of the Ukrainian of the twentieth century led him to an unheard-of spiritual depletion, or, as observed by Shlemkevych, to a spiritual loss, to a complete disorientation. This even led some Ukrainians to a departure from their traditional spirituality, as the retrogression of some people to the so-called "Runvira," or paganism.<sup>69</sup>

These changes led the Ukrainian being to yet another phenomenon in Ukraine — to the deepening of faith among some of the believers of all religions. Besides this (according to the most recent testimony of visitors to Ukraine), a strong apocalypticism is unfolding among the believers of all faiths, that is, emergence of the apocalyptic expectations and apocalyptic spirituality.<sup>70</sup>

This is not surprising, for the Ukrainian nation of the twentieth century experienced, not only a great amount of disillusionment and suffering (as the horrid manmade famine of 1932-1933), the

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<sup>68</sup>Cf. my brochure *Holod v Ukrayini (1932-1933): Chomu?* (Winnipeg: Konsystoriya UHPTserkvy v Kanadi, 1983) p. 13. The figure of fifteen million was quoted by Dr. Bohdan Kravchenko during a discussion of his talk on the famine in Ukraine, 1932-1933, which was given in St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg, March 24, 1983.

<sup>69</sup>The fact that in Ukraine today there is a spread of various Protestant sects and an official proletarianization of the human being, and in Diaspora there is a secularization and ritual formalism, or the fact that over 80,000 Ukrainian Greek Catholics in Canada have joined Roman Catholic parishes is strong evidence in regard to this disorientation.

<sup>70</sup>Information regarding the rising apocalypticism among Christians in Ukraine, on the basis of worthy reports, was given by Father Oleksander Baran during a seminar on "Eastern Spirituality," in the program of conferences of the chaplains of Canadian universities in the University of Manitoba, March 1983. Dr. O. Baran was the Chairman of this seminar.

nation found itself in an extremely hopeless situation in the Soviet police system. There is only one way out for this nation and that is in the faith in God and in His resolution of this hopeless infernal situation. Thus, the deepening of faith in God and the apocalyptic waiting for God's help is quite natural for the people in Soviet Union.

The Ukrainians in Diaspora, on the other hand, particularly the Ukrainians of North America are experiencing totally different spiritual processes. The Populist Radicalism brought by the leading members of the first immigration played a dominant role in affecting human spirituality. With no hope of any progress among the Ukrainian Greek Catholics, Populist Radicalism situated itself in the Orthodox section of Ukrainian society where it remained a dominant social force for half a century. It penetrated so deeply into our spiritual life that its traces are felt to the present time.

It is true that Populism led a great educational Ukrainizing and organizational work; but clerical authority was watered down, church life became greatly democratized and secularized. The only liturgical expression of this life was the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. This, in turn, became transformed into a Divine Service without Holy Communion. Other Services of the liturgical life went out of practice and out of the spiritual process. The Morning Service (Utrenia) may still be celebrated in the main churches but in a very impoverished short form. We narrowed our devotion and spirituality down to Sunday spirituality; the entire wealth of a celebrated spirituality of the Evening and Morning Services has simply vanished from liturgical practice.

Populist Radicalism is not the only aspect to blame for this. Other life situations, as urbanization and industrialization are to blame as well. Total mechanization of agriculture creates change in church life in that old principles and customs become adapted to it. Furthermore, there are many priests, both Orthodox and Catholic, that have to serve parishes composed of a number of small communities. This places an exceptional burden on the priests and on their pastoral care. This too affects the spirituality of the people.

The weakening of the spirituality of our people is caused also by the influences of modern secularization. Secularization is particularly affecting those with a weakened or a completely absent Eucharistic devotion and spirituality. Secularization alienates people from a sacramental life — from Confession, Holy Com-

munion and Holy Unction. It influences a light-hearted attitude toward the Sacrament of Holy Matrimony — the epidemic violation of marriage, easy divorces, the living together in common law. This violates not only the spiritual principles of life but leads also to the destruction of the normal social order. And somewhere from the periphery, or from the very nucleus of this situation a modern culturalism has come to the fore. But I must say that notwithstanding its possible negative implications, this Ukrainian culturalism is a manifestation of the great vitality of the Ukrainian and the Ukrainian spirit in general.

### *The phenomenon of culturalism*

Culturalism is, by in large, a phenomenon which is developing among the youth of the Diaspora, particularly in North America. It is indeed a spontaneous and sometimes passionate captivation with the national culture, customs, folklore, various national rituals, including some old customs connected with magical forces. This captivation is accompanied with the endeavor to recognize the symbolic essence of these actions and phenomena, often with a dramatic representation of them and with personal experiences of them. However, purely pagan elements emerge with this and even cult elements, which have no place in Christian life.

Culturalism can contain a secularized attitude toward all the spiritual acquisitions of the nation. Therefore, it must be emphasized that when cultural aspirations are devoid of truly Christian elements they can become dangerous.

Culturalism among our young people stands in contrast to that of the older generation. Adults very often occupy themselves with the preservation of cultural acquisitions in museums. Youth, on the other hand, occupies itself with the acquaintance of our cultural heritage by learning old Ukrainian ritual traditions — Christmas and Epiphany (winter), Easter (spring), Ivan Kupalo (summer) and harvest (autumn) festivities. These are recreated and enacted to experience their magic. Youth finds something novel in this, something magical and entertaining. Thus, the expression “It is fun to be Ukrainian” takes on a real significance.

Beautiful work in this connection is done in “Selo,” (the summer program of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association) led by organized enthusiasts in the various provinces in Canada. Lectures are given on Ukrainian culture and traditions and these

are put into practice. Although an appropriate Orthodox catechism is also on the agenda, the focus of attention, in my opinion, is given to culture, rather than to Orthodox spirituality.

Since 1970 I have held the position of lecturer at the Theological Faculty of St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg. This has often given me the opportunity to give religious instruction to the young people in some of the summer programs. One time I requested a class to be honest and candid with me and to raise their hands if they had no interest in religion, in Church, or in God. Over forty of them, more than half of the class, admitted that they had no religious interests. This was not at all surprising to me. I know some of the homes they come from. Yet these same boys and girls were most enthused about Ukrainian culture; they very much enjoyed Ukrainian singing, dancing, handicrafts, and so on.

Our young people are the children of a secularized time. They formulate their outlook in the secular schools which they attend. Their school world lives according to atheistic assumptions; therefore, a very strong spiritual home and an adequate spiritually active environment are necessary to nurture these children so that they could defend and preserve their spiritual individuality and the spirituality of their home in the outside world. If they have no spirituality at home, then they are at a loss. One can sympathize with them, for they themselves are not responsible for their situation. Notwithstanding, there are some purely spiritual pursuits among our young people as well.

Culturalism is a positive phenomenon. It is a sign that our young people will not bear spiritual depletion. Thus they seek satisfaction in their enthusiasm with their native culture. But someone should inform them that this secularized culture is not everything, that the spirit which gave the inspiration for the creation of this culture wants its own nourishment. This is our mission. It is a possible mission and urgently necessary; it has a bright promise for success. On the initiative of a few young enthusiasts some steps have already been taken to develop something similar to "Selo" that would be solely dedicated to spiritual education. This new idea has already been formulated as a kind of "Spiritual Retreat." This is a very good sign.

Therefore, if the necessary spiritual guardianship is not provided, then youth culturalism could very easily fall prey to the apostate pagan "Runvira," for not everyone understands that it

is a misleading and obsolete religious surrogate, a falsehood adorned in national dress.

### *The Theotokean spirituality*

The devotion concerning the Mother of God is another aspect which is undergoing a noticeable change in the Ukrainian spirituality of our time, particularly among the Ukrainians in Diaspora. The Mother of God has held a lofty position in the spirituality of the Ukrainian people from the very beginning of Christianity. Yaroslav Mudry entrusted the city of Kiev and its population in the protection of the Holy Virgin; the Church of the Tithes in Kiev was built in the honor of the Mother of God; the Church of the Holy Annunciation at the Golden Gates of Kiev is mentioned by Ilarion I.<sup>71</sup> In later times the Zaporozhian Cossacks placed themselves in the protection of the Holy Virgin. There was also the belief of the defense by the Mother of God of Pochayiv, and so on.

These illustrations speak of the deep devotion and spirituality revolving around the Mother of God and of the constant awareness of Her guardianship. This awareness ran so deep that the prayer "Holy Mother of God, save us" was used more often among our common folk than the prayer "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner." However, the scholars of prayer have disregarded, somehow, this prayer to the Virgin Mary.

Currently the devotion to the Mother of God and this aspect of Ukrainian spirituality is definitely declining. This may be because the Feasts honoring the Mother of God frequently fall mid-week. In our urbanized and industrialized life with its established days of work the believers cannot attend Church during these holidays. Also, we must take into account the influences of other faiths that do not acknowledge the Mother of God spirituality. Moreover, there also is the current intellectualism, rationalism and the rise of one's own personal views in matters of faith and spirituality.

Nevertheless, this aspect, as well as every other aspect of our spirituality can be revived and deepened with a better understanding of the special role of the Virgin Mary in the history of mankind, in the Church, in the life of various people and nations. The Theotokos (Virgin Mary) is so close to our people and Her

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<sup>71</sup>Cf. Addendum to Metropolitan Ilarion's book *The Ukrainian Church*, pp. 291–292.

reality appears in the history of the Ukrainian nation so often that, upon our awareness of this, a more devoted attitude toward Her could easily flourish.

*Biases and snobbery versus simplicity*

Everything that happens in the world of our young people happens on the social background of their parents. Almost thirty years ago the very noble and penetrating Dr. Mykola Shlemkevych, analyzed this background and came to the startling conclusion that the Ukrainian being is a lost being. It is lost in its own personal world, in its own personally elevated and utopian enthusiasm, in its "isms" and "isms" and more "isms" and in its own great concerns.

Our greatest concern in Diaspora since the Second World War has been the national concern and everything that is connected with it. No one can say that we are unpatriotic, for we are patriots in both, the healthy and in the sick sense. For a long time our greatest national concern revolved around our national parties, notwithstanding the fact that these parties had no relevance in the new land and that our children, therefore, saw no sense in our party patriotism and biases.

Later, in place of a psychosis of national party patriotism and biases came the psychosis of the various preservations of national acquisitions, museum, etc. Although the museum is a good and noble idea, it seems to me that behind our preoccupation with museums lies a great abyss of hopelessness. If we gave less energy to the preservation of the acquisitions of our past generations and gave more energy to the preservation of a healthy Ukrainian human being, to the preservation and constant revitalization of Ukrainian spirituality, then our spirituality would awaken and excite our children into a far vigorous future than the dead culture of museums. For, truly, what can one learn from the prehistorical stone preserved on the islands of the Pacific Ocean? Yet they exhausted so much energy and work. I am, therefore, more impressed by the energy which awakens our youth, the energy which I call "culturalism," for in that culturalism there, indeed, lies something dynamic, a great vitality.

Another problem is the struggle for the preservation of the Ukrainian language. The preservation of one's own language is a natural pursuit, a natural need of a healthy individual. But this concern is approaching a sick situation as well, for our linguistic efforts often only cover the fact that we actually sin very greatly

before Ukraine, Ukraine's problems, her people and her immemorial past in many ways. I think that the passionate struggle for the preservation of our native Ukrainian language, in many cases, is only a mask of national patriotism put on for conferences and for the stage. At home, the language concern is totally different. I believe that more than one honest reader will say: "Yes, this is so, is this any better in regard to our family?" The same must be said about church patriotism which morally and spiritually has much to be desired.

Another example of spiritual decadence is our widespread snobbery which leads to the formation of various cliques.<sup>72</sup> These are formed on the basis of economic, professional, intellectual, provincial and even spiritual snobbery. For the value of a human being today is weighed and established on the basis of the strength of one's bank account, rather than on his or her spiritual qualities. Similarly, the authority of a human being is distinguished on the basis of his career gains, rather than on his intellectual knowledge and erudition. From this snobbery, a so-called "bourgeois" psyche has developed, as revealed by the studies of Nikolay Berdyaev.<sup>73</sup>

Snobbery and opportunism are closely related social phenomena that are difficult to conceal and they have a very negative effect on other people, especially, on youth. In Church, the snobbery that is found among the laity and ecclesiasts paralyzes the spiritual life of the believer. Is it any wonder, then, that the youth, experiencing a spiritual emptiness, turns to its native culturalism?

Nevertheless, on the background of our spiritual stage there still remains a sincere, innocent and divine simplicity. This is the simplicity which we saw in the old man praying in his apiary at dawn in Y. Stryzhavsky's novel; in old Petro, who is mentioned in the memoirs of O. Koshyts; in Taras Shevchenko, who prayed with such simplicity during the Morning Service and explained the experience so simply; or even in my noble friend — old Mykola with his "nonsensical lines" in his personal praying.

"If you do not become like children" (Mark 10:15) . . .

Magnanimous persons always treated such simple "nonsense" with respect. A good example of this is the story regarding the event at the time of the death of the Czech reformist, Ivan Hus,

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<sup>72</sup>Creation of cliques is particularly frequent among the Ukrainians in North America and in that among members of different groups of migration.

<sup>73</sup>Cf. Nikolay Berdyaev, *Hrystianstvo i klassovaya bor'ba*, (Paris: YMCA Press, n.d.).

who was sentenced to death by the Catholic Church at the Council of Constance in 1415. As he was to begin burning at the stake, a simple old woman came up with a bundle of dry twigs and placed the twigs under the stake, with great devoutness to which Ivan Hus gave his magnanimous response and said: “Sancta simplicita” (“holy simplicity”). It is a wonder that the heavenly angels did not respond with a reverberating “Amen!” But perhaps they did.

## CONCLUSIONS

“Life is but a vast field” our proverb says. Our social and spiritual field has great opportunity for learning and development and experiences in many branches of spirituality. This is because the experiential field of our forefathers is one of grand acquisitions in the realm of culture, spirit and sanctity. It is also a field of great opportunities, endeavors, trials as well as a field of disillusionment and of great sufferings.

However, that, after all, is the normal process of life. Our glorious ancestors, the Rus’, understood life. They understood its values and its challenges and they knew how to make a choice: “is it better to be slain than to be enslaved.” They stood the risk of being slain. In later times, when it was necessary to defend our dignity and the Orthodox Faith, the Cossacks took up arms for the cause willingly. Similarly were great challenges met by our brethren, the colleagues of Mohyla, of Mazepa, of the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood, of the autocephalists, of Petlyura, of insurgence and the defence of human rights and human dignity, our philosophers, of the mass of simple folk — and some of us as well.

At the end of each choice, each initiative, each courageous step into the unknown and the difficult and risky, at the end of each tense moment, each endeavor and struggle there stands an alternative before the simple in spirit competitor: to win and reach the goal, or not to reach it. But it is different for the strong in spirit, who always win, for they remain true to their ideals and initiatives to the final ounce of their energy, whether they win or lose. Indeed these never lose.

In our princely antiquity the great human value consisted of honor for oneself and glory for the prince. In the times of the Cossacks the great human values consisted of loyalty in companionship, of freedom and devoutness to the Orthodox Faith.

Therefore, before every worthy individual initiative there stood some altruistic good, an ideal goal. For us, however, something of another nature emerges, something that can be brought down to the following: “We want remembrance of ourselves!” and “We want to live. . . .”

It seems to me that it would be much better if our spiritual objective was the consistently firm resolution: “We will live!” Then we would not only preserve our past acquisitions; we would develop new values as well. In my opinion the most important virtue of our contemporary spirituality is a clear insight into the existing state of affairs and our needs. Furthermore, we should set purposeful altruistic endeavors and struggles before us and we should be ever faithful to them. Mainly, we should be faithful to the Lord God, to the Church, to our fellow-man, and to our own ideals and initiatives. Above all, we must fight partisanship wherever it appears!

Those who are strong in spirit are faithful to their ideals. Thus it is worth not to worry about the end result or consequences of our endeavors (Matthew 6:34), but rather about the actual honest pursuit. Any individual with worthy ideals should strive to obtain them and should be content that he or she can act upon them and thus be true to his/her ideals. The very commitment to one’s spiritual ideals, indeed, may be his or her highest reward.

Every human being should have some spiritual goal, some value. If not, then one should search for them prayerfully, for, as Kostomariv was convinced, if someone wants something sincerely, then, in time, the Lord God will give him the right spiritual insight. Each insight shows the individual a clear goal, for that is exactly what each of us needs. A human being cannot live without a goal. Without a goal one is lost. This is the situation of modern man, who has freed himself in many ways, but finds no happiness in his freedom. He lives without a goal and, therefore, he is lost, as Shlemkevych writes.

Similarly, Victor Frankl, another philosopher of our times, explains why modern man is lost in this world. According to Frankl, the human being, in his or her original state, was governed by instinct. Later, man created traditions that told the individual what to do. But modern man, who is free from instinct and from tradition, does not know what to do, he lives without goals and ideals and, therefore, becomes easily lost.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>Victor E. Frankl, *Man’s Search for Meaning (An Introduction to Logotherapy)*, (New York: Pocket Books, 1971), p. 168.

Such a life is not meant for man. The human being lives fully only when one is spiritualized, that is, when one lives and directs his or her life not only with the motives of his body and emotions, but with the motives of the spirit as well. These motives of the spirit comprise our spirituality. Ukrainian spirituality is Christianized and church-oriented and thus it is such that it truly spiritualizes, develops and raises our dignity as well as our God-like human attributes.

Sioux Lookout, Ontario  
June 13th-24th, 1983

## ADDENDUM

### MYKOLA'S PRAYER

“Mykola’s Prayer” is a tape-recording of the actual praying of the elderly Mykola upon my request for my lectures in Pastoral Theology at St. Andrew’s College in Winnipeg. The tape-recording was done at his home in Kenora, Ontario, Canada, on October 26th, 1975. — Stephan Jarmus

In the name of the Father and the Holy Son and the Holy Heavenly Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen. In the name of the Father and the Holy Son and the Holy Heavenly Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen. In the name of the Father and the Holy Son and the Holy Heavenly Spirit!

To our Lord, the Heavenly Father; Jesus Christ, Son of God, to the Holy Spirit of the Heavenly God. For the prayers of the Saints, our fathers, the sinners (!), Jesus, our beloved Christ, and You Holy God, Bright Son! Have mercy on us, Merciful God!

Praise be to You, our Father. Praise be to You, Heavenly King and Redeemer and the Spirit of Truth . . . /not clear here — S.J./ that is everywhere and always, fulfilling and enriching the blessed, Giver of Life! Come to us, Thou, Lord, to us to live in us sinners and to cleanse us from all evil and save and cleanse our evil souls.

Our Holy God! Holy Mighty and Holy Immortal, have mercy on us, Merciful Lord (three times).

Most Holy Trinity, have mercy on us, Lord! Lord, Thou cleanse us from our sins. Master, forgive us our iniquities! Holy One visit and heal our infirmities, for Thy Holy Name’s sake.

Our Lord, have mercy on us (three times).

Glory be to our Holy Father, Holy Son of God and Holy Heavenly Spirit, forever and ever of ages. Amen.

Our Father, who art in heaven! Hallowed be Thy Name! Thy kingdom come! Thy holy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day, Lord, one daily bread, and forgive us all our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead Thou us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen. For Thou art the kingdom, and power forever and ever of ages. Amen.

Rejoice, O Virgin, Thou Mother of God! Thou art our counsel, Mary Mother, the Lord God is with Thee! Thou art blessed, blessed is the Fruit of Thy womb! For Thou hast given birth to Christ, our lord, our Saviour, Saviour of our sinful souls.

Our Lord, have mercy on us, our Lord, have mercy on us, our Lord, have mercy on us.

Glory to our Holy Father, to the Holy Son of God, to the Holy Heavenly Spirit, and forever and ever of ages. Amen.

Let us come and bow to our Holy Heavenly Father, to the Holy Bright Son of God and to the Holy Heavenly Spirit.

Let us come and let us bow to our Holy Father, to our Holy Son of God, to our Holy Heavenly Spirit.

Let us come and bow and kneel to our Heavenly Lord, to our King, the Lord Jesus Christ; to the Holy Son of God, to our Heavenly Spirit of God.

I believe in one God and our Father Almighty and the Maker of heaven and earth, of all things, visible and invisible. And in Jesus our Christ, the Son of God the highest, beloved, the only-begotten, begotten of the Father before all ages. Light of Light, from our very God and begotten, not made, being of one essence with the Father, through Whom all things were made. Our (something unclear) Who for us men and for our sake came down from heaven for our Salvation. And having come down and was incarnate from the Holy Mother of God and was made Man from the Holy Spirit.

He was crucified for us sinners under Pontiy Pilate and suffered and suffered death and was buried. He rose the third day according to the Scriptures. Sitting on the right hand of the Father again, and ascended and into heaven and rightly made all real. And again our Lord God will come, our King Jesus Christ, our Holy, Righteous, Heavenly Father from heaven to earth in this state. He shall judge the living and the dead and His kingdom shall have no end. For the Spirit of the Lord, the Giver of life and for (unclear) and for the Son and for the Holy Spirit and we worship and glorify Who was speaking and through the prophets. And One, and Holy, Universal, Apostolic Church I acknowledge; it was established for the cleansing and for the remission of sins from our Very God. The dead await the resurrection from the dead and the future live to the ages and from the ages. Amen.

Forgive, O Lord, release, O Lord, all my sins, the willing and unwilling, for the Words of God, either in work or deed or (unclear) and thought either in the day or night — all of them — Thou our Lord God, my Merciful, my Heavenly Father, our Jesus Christ, forgive me, a sinner. I ask Thee Lord, in my heart, Thee, sincerely, in my body Thee sincerely, my soul is sincere. Forgive, God, my sins and release them from now until forever, from the ages of the ages. Amen.

For Thou art One Lord our King, Lord Jesus Christ, Holy Father Who lovest mankind, and we hurry to Thee. O, Virgin, Mother of God, do not disregard our prayers in our tribulations and save us. You, the only pure and blessed and glorified, Ever-virgin Mary, Mother of Christ, our God.

Accept, Lord, our prayer to Thy grace. Raise to Thy Son, to our beloved God and let Him save us. And Lord God is Thy God and our Refuge is Christ and Redeemer. (More words addressed to the Virgin Mary but they are indiscernible.) More honorable and the Cherubim, and without comparison glorious than the Seraphim, who without stain barest God the Word, true Birth-giver of God, we glorify thee.

Ten Commandments of our highest and beloved God: I am the Lord God Myself and Thy Child, on earth from Egypt. . . . (unclear). First, have no other gods but Me. Second, do not call the Name "God" in vain. Third, remember to keep holy the holy day. Fourth, listen to thy mother and thy father, you will live long on earth. Fifth, do not kill. Sixth, do not commit adultery. Seventh, do not steal. Eighth, do not be a false witness, and don't witness with falsehood. Ninth, do not covet a stranger's wife or things. Tenth, do not covet thy neighbor's wife and things.

The Seven Sacraments: first — Baptism; second — with God's beloved myrrh Chrismation; third — Ocharist, that is, the Lord's beloved Holy Body and Blood, and drink the Lord's bread and wine and the Holy Lord's Christ's eternal sincere blood; fourth — Penance; fifth — the Holy God's oil unction; sixth — Holy Priesthood, Chaplaincy, . . . (unclear).

The Five Church commandments: first — to observe the Holy days; second — on Sunday, holidays, listen to the Divine Liturgy and to spiritual education; third — it is commanded that at least once a year, before Christ's Easter, to confess by our own bowing and to receive the Holy Communion about one's sin; fourth — to fast during Lenten days; fifth — it is commanded not to hold any wedding feasts; to give our Holy Lord God a church tithe.

To the Angel: I believe in our Heavenly Father, Holy Bright Son of God, God's Holy Heavenly Spirit.

To the Guardian Angel: O, Angel, Guardian, keep my soul from morning till evening, from evening till midnight, from midnight till dawn, from dawn to the ages, forever of ages. Amen.

I am a sinner, I confess to our Highest Lord, our King Lord God, All-Powerful in God's Holy Trinity, to the One, Most Holy

Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, to my Guardian Angel, to all the Heavenly Powers and to You, honorable Father, from the depths of my mind till this very day.

The Holy Mother of God ascended the great Mount Calvary, Christ's holy mount. She saw Her Son crucified on the cross. My Son, My Child, My Blood! I nourished Thee with my bosom and now Thou sufferest such heavy wounds for Thy Christians!

My dear beloved Mother. Thou prayed such a prayer to Me! If such a man were found that would say His prayer to Me, I would send him four hundred angels from heaven, all that his soul would need. Whoever wants to make penitent his heart, his blood, his body, his soul — let him make penitent his heart, his blood, his body, his soul. Let him ask My Mother and Myself and he will be in the Heavenly Kingdom forever and ever of ages. Amen.

The six main rules of faith: first — man will come to his senses. He should know and believe that there is one God — our Holy God, beloved, Jesus Christ, Heavenly Father. Our Holy God, beloved, Jesus Christ, Son of God, Righteous, Bright, Thou Who died on the cross for our heavy sins. Our God, beloved Father, our Shepherd, our Master, our Holy Father, Holy Heavenly, Spirit of God, Thou Who ascended from the holy grave from the dead, from great sufferings, from great wounds, and downtrodden. And Holy God's Bright Spirit . . . Those lights of the third heaven, were ascended to the holy high heaven.

And God's Holy Trinity became our salvation. The soul is immortal and most necessarily triadic. Have mercy on us Thou Lord, by Thy great mercy. Hear Lord and have mercy by Thy greatness, and remember Thy bountifulness, also my unlawfulness. I know that I have sinned, my lips are before me.

Merciful God awaken me a sinner, Merciful God cleanse me from sins, from my faults. God be merciful to me a sinner. I am sinful I sinned before Thee. Thou didst carry a heavy cross for my sins; Thou didst fall before a heavy cross for my sins, Thou didst injure Thy innocent knees for our heavy sins. Thou, innocent one, was thorned, Thou was crucified on the eternal cross, Thou was pierced by a sharp spear in Thy holy chest, innocent God. Thou didst die innocent on the cross for our heavy sins; Thou didst ascend on the third day from the holy grave of the dead, from great sufferings, from great wounds and down-

trodden. And the Bright Spirit of the Holy God — the lights of the third heaven, ascended to His holy heaven.

I believe in Thee, God, for Thou art our highest Lord, our King, Lord God, our . . . Jesus Christ, Son of God, the resurrection of the world of the Holy Living God. Thou art the Kingdom, Thou art the rule, Thou art the truth, Thou art the power, Thou art mercy, Thou art nourishment, Thou art eternal life. And forever and ever of ages. Amen.

Merciful God, I live in Thee. Merciful God I will die in Thee. Merciful God, I am Thine in my life. I am Thine after my death, forever and ever of ages. Amen.

The truth is Thine Lord, the Truth is the essence, and Thy word, Holy God is the essence, and forever and ever of ages. Amen.

In the name of our Father, and the Holy Son and the Holy Heavenly Spirit, and forever and ever of ages. Amen. In the name of our Father and the Holy Son and the Holy Heavenly Spirit. In the name of our Father and the Holy Son, and God's Heavenly Spirit. Amen.

## EPILOGUE

The incorporation of six articles into this book represents my thinking about the spirituality of the Ukrainian human being in particular and the Ukrainian people in general. But the very fact that I could end my deliberations with an illustration of a truly folk spirituality, "Mykola's Prayer" gives me a feeling of particular satisfaction. For that prayer, although simple, is, at the same time, the best mouthpiece of the spirituality of the individual human being as well as the Ukrainian people. Such examples should necessarily be regarded as true examples of spirituality and nothing else. It must be understood that spirituality is not theorizing at the heights of theology or philosophy. True spirituality of a Christian people is the adaptation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the actual life of the people. The most important definitions of Christian spirituality attest to this fact. Thus, if anyone wants to deal with Christian spirituality, he must irrevocably examine the spirituality of the people, or that of the human being, for spirituality is not something that is theorized abstractly, but is realized in actual life.

Theorizing about spirituality at the heights of theology and philosophy is a matter only for specialists, of whom there are not very many. It is obvious that their theorizing is inaccessible to the average individual and can, in fact, be dangerous to him, for the Gospel can thus be abstracted from one's life. In this manner, saintliness can be placed far beyond the reach of the common person and represented as a difficult task. Is this not the consequence about which Christ had warned (Luke 11:46, 52)?

Thus, contrary to popular belief, it is demonstrated here that spirituality is not something projectively normative in the realm of theological and philosophical thought. On the contrary. True spirituality is a vital thing and, therefore, a voluntary activity of the human being, or nation, for the sake of individual ennoblement, for the ethical and moral good, and for the Gospel and the will of Jesus Christ Himself.

The spirituality of a people is also its historical consciousness in which the understanding of righteousness occupies a very important position. The ingenious Boyan spoke categorically about this in regard to God's justice in "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign." Kvitka-Osnovyanenko spoke about it just as categorically in his moralizing short story "Perekotypole" ("Tumbleweed"). This understanding or perception of right-

eousness warns that if a sinful crime is not revealed by the individual's conscience, or by witnesses, then nature will reveal it. Thus speaks practical Ukrainian spirituality, according to which righteousness means truth. It always prevails.

My thinking on spirituality, its search and its insight on Christian life is not new. It is in the tradition of early Christian praxis, the unfortunately forgotten Antiochism (the tradition of the Antioch school of thought), as a reaction to the abstract Hellenism (the tradition of the Alexandrian school), which captures some followers of modern intellectual Orthodoxy, particularly in North America.

The ideal of modern Hellenism is not so much the good of the average person, nor his or her temporal and eternal well-being, but an idealization of abstract orthodoxy — the placing of orthodoxy above the means of human being. This is similar to what the Pharisees had done when they enburdened and bound the human being of the Old Testament to the formal demands of the law and various prescriptions of the “sabbath.”

For some reason people do not understand that orthodoxy must be in the service of the human being, that orthodoxy is for the good of human being; the human being is not here for orthodoxy. Similarly, the “sabbath” of the Old Testament was established for the good of the people; the human being was not called upon for the purpose of respecting its prescriptions. Christ spoke about this very clearly (Mark 2:23-27).

This is why the basic objective of my work was to focus attention on this fact and to try to demarcate the true essence of personal and general spirituality in actual life. I endeavored to illustrate real Christian life and the character of that life. At the same time I tried to illustrate the ethno-political connection of our spirituality, that is, that the essence of the spirituality of the Ukrainian being and the Ukrainian people has always remained the same, beginning from the most ancient times — even the times of the Trypilian culture. It has remained the same before the formation of Kievan Rus', during the Kievan Rus' era, during the Cossack era and in modern times. In other words, in the historical context our spirituality is one and the same.

Moreover, we, Ukrainians, need this information for our own conviction as well as for an insight into the facts so as not to admit the superficial Soviet theory in regard to the origin of the so-called “three brother nations” — the Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian — which developed, seemingly, from the disoriented

remains of Kievan Rus' ruined by Tatars. According to this theory, the formation of the Ukrainian national entity would only have begun during the time of the Cossack movement and would have only developed during the Cossack era. My survey of the nature of Ukrainian spirituality and Ukrainian culture reveals that this is not so. The Soviet theory of the origin of the "three brother nations" is not only incorrect, it is harmful, for it robs us of our entire pre-Mongolian heritage and our historical past in general.

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Being unpretentious about the professionalism of this work, I would like to point out that all the conclusions and assumptions made in it I tried to base on facts, even on unpopular facts, for this was necessitated by the nature of most of this work. I also endeavored to maintain objectivity as is required in this type of survey.

Finally I would like to note that I consider this work as only a brief orientational survey. It is an original and small study. Therefore, each following work on the spirituality of the Ukrainian people, hopefully bigger, deeper and more comprehensive, our readers (and I included) will willingly accept and read with gratitude. For a book on spirituality is not only interesting, it is urgently needed from the spiritual and cultural standpoints as well as from the ethno-political ones.

The primary objective of this work was to stimulate thought; for there are so many things that still remain unexplored and unconsidered even though the prospects for such undertaking are most inviting.

The Author.

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## **A BRIEF NOTE ON OUR MAJOR DONOR**

As a special project on the occasion of the Millennium of Baptism of the Ukrainian People into the Holy Orthodox Faith (988-1988), the Ukrainian Orthodox Congregation of the Nativity of the Theotokos, in Oshawa, Ontario is sponsoring the publication of this work.

The Oshawa Ukrainian Orthodox Congregation began its church and cultural activity in 1916. Throughout the entire span of the congregation's history many priests and many pioneer workers, sons and daughters of the noble pioneers went to their rest in the heavenly mansions. The small group who are making the congregation of the present time, to honor their predecessors, have decided to finance the publication of this valuable work of the Very Reverend Dr. Stephan Jarmus, **SPIRITUALITY OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE**.

The project was decided upon with the assistance of the Mitred Very Reverend Father Fedir Leheniuk. The Church Committee consisted of the following: M. Kalyenko — chairman; M. Bashutsky — vice chairman; Ilko Dwernichuk — secretary; P. Hohol — treasurer; I. Hryhoriuk and I. Pawlynchuk — auditing committee.

I wish to thank the Author . . . for asking me to translate this very penetrating book. This was an especially worthwhile task for me, because the book explains to our youth, firstly, where we come from spiritually; it gives us a spiritual "root" identity and an insight into our very nature. Secondly, it helps to clarify the concept of pre-Christian spirituality versus our notion of paganism. Thirdly, it gives us an insight into the Christian love and charity, and therefore the high cultural level of our ancestors, through the humanness of Volodymyr Velyky' and, particularly, through evangelical nature of the "Instructions" of Volodymyr Monomakh.

(Moreover) . . . this work touches upon the most interesting topic of Ukrainian Messianism. Very Rev. Dr. S. Jarmus makes an interesting connection between the Crusades and the Rus' campaigns against the pagan nomads as reflected in our literary masterpiece of the twelfth century — "Slovo o polku Ihorevi" ("The Tale of Ihor's Campaign").

*The Translator — Orysia Ferbey*

The author . . . approaches this theme from the religious-philosophical standpoint which, in this case, is by-in-large, based on psychological criteria. Because the author classifies this work as "A Brief Orientational Survey," one can conclude that he does not regard its contents as a "theory" of the essence of the spirituality of the Ukrainian people, but only as illustrative examples, which, in his view, are testimony that one must approach the nature of the spirituality of our people from the religious-philosophical standpoint with a particular consideration of ethnopsychological criteria in the methodology.

Father S. Jarmus finds that the Ukrainian ethnic spirituality has remained stable throughout the history of the Ukrainian nation (which begins in its pre-Christian past) despite the changing conditions of its life. He attributes this to the Ukrainian nature itself.

*From the Foreword by George Mulyk-Lutzyk*

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