The education of ukrainian greek catholic clergy (1882-1946)
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Виховання Українського Греко Католицького священника
(1882-1946)

Львів
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Ivan Kaszczak

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I would like to dedicate this book to Dr. Walter and Lydia Masny and their beloved children: Michael, Stephen and Victoria. May God bless you!
CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION TO CATHOLIC CLERGY EDUCATION

Overview

The land of Kyivan Rus’ traces its Christian heritage to the baptism of the inhabitants of Kyiv by Volodymyr the Great in 988.¹ This sister of both the Bulgarian and Greek Byzantine Church went through various troubled times and political permutations until the Bishops of the Kyivan Metropolitinate re-united with the successor of St. Peter at the Council of Brest (1596). This was a reunion under tension, which was eventually totally suppressed in Russian controlled territory by Alexander II in 1875 when the Cholm diocese was phased out of existence.² This Church perjured on the soil of Galicia in the multi-cultural Empire of Austria Hungary.

In Galicia the Greek-Catholic Church made progress in clerical education: in 1772, when the dioceses of Lviv (Lwów) and Peremyshl (Przemyśl) passed over to Austria, the education of the clergy made great progress in the changed political and religious conditions.³ After the dissolution of the Cholm Diocese the Catholic Church of the

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¹ Senyk reminds her readers that Eastern and Western Christianity “was still one and was felt to be one...and the choice of the Greek was not a rejection of the Latin, but was only the natural adoption of something nearer.” Sophia Senyk, A History of the Church in Ukraine - Vol. I (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1993), 63.


former Kyivan Metropolitinate existed only in Austria-Hungary. In 1885 the Stanyslaviv diocese\(^4\) was created in Galicia and this raised the total of the remaining Greek-Catholic dioceses of Eastern Galicia to three: Lviv, Peremysl and Stanyslaviv. These three dioceses are the focus of this work.\(^5\)

With the abolishment of the Greek-Catholic dioceses under Russian rule, it was primarily in the Austrian territories that the Greek-Catholics were able to survive and in some ways flourish. The period from 1882-1946 would provide the seeds of survival during one of the most tragic church persecutions in the history of Catholicism. This Church which had been uprooted from its Kyivan roots would need to survive Soviet Communist persecution for over forty years.\(^6\)

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**Galicia**

There may be many persons in the United States and elsewhere who are unaware of the geographic-political term “Galicia”. In fact many would probably equate it with the province in Spain bearing the same name (*La Galicia*)\(^7\) or even ancient Gaul. This province in fact sits in the heart of Europe obscured by political permutations which have left most of it in present-day Poland and Ukraine. It is for these reasons that it is necessary to give a short explanation of the term “Galicia”.

The general history of the geographic area known as Galicia (*Galizien*, in German, *Halychyna* in Ukrainian and *Galicya* in Polish), with its access to the most important commercial rivers (*San*, *Buh* and *Dnister*) of east-central Europe, is divided usually into the following periods: The Kyivan Era (981-1340), The Polish Era (1340-1772), The Austrian Era (1772-1918), The Polish Interwar Era (1919-1939), and World War II and its aftermath\(^8\). The boundaries for historic Galicia were much different from Austrian Galicia. In this work

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\(^4\) Blazejovsky 1975, 21.

\(^5\) From 27 April 1796 to 17 October 1809 there were three eparchies in Galicia: Lviv, Peremyshl and Cholm.


\(^8\) This basic division of Galician history is derived from: Paul Robert Magocsi, *The Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism - Galicia as Ukraine’s Piedmont* (*Toronto: University of Toronto Press*, 2002), 3-37.
“the concept Galicia is understood in its long-term historical sense, meaning, basically, Ukrainian-inhabited lands east of the San and WisBok rivers.”

When Galicia became a part of Poland in the fourteenth century it was called Ruskie Województwo (Ruthenian Palatinate) and in the common parlance of the people it was referred to as Ruś Czerwona-Russiae Rubra (Red Ruthenia). When Austria annexed “Galicia” in 1772 following the partition of Poland, it combined southern Poland with “two Silesian Duchies, Oświęcim and Zator, with historic Galicia, as ‘Western Galicia’, and named the whole country [sic] Galicia...The whole conglomeration of different territories was fused into one, creating the imposing ‘Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria with the Grand Duchy of Cracow, Oświęcim and Zator’ – the full official name of the crown land.”

The Austrian rulers had always wanted to assign to themselves titles of grandeur; consequently, the title “King of Lodomeria” was chosen even though only a small part of what had been at one time the kingdom was in Galicia. This kingdom was established by the Ruthenian prince Roman of Volynia (1199-1205) who “succeeded in uniting under him Galicia and Volynia and creating a powerful new state that included all the Ukrainian territory between the Carpathians and the Dnipro.”

When Galicia became part of the Austrian Empire in 1772-1918 it went through several transformations. There were both additions and deletions. There were also various names for the province. The Poles called it “Little Poland” (Malopolska). For the Eastern half of the province the name “Eastern Little Poland” (Malopolska Wschodnia) was applied. Following the establishment of the modern Polish State Galicia became the Polish provinces of StanisBawywyw, Tarnopol, Lwyw and Cracow. The first three of these Polish provinces were called “Western Ukraine” by the Ukrainians.

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11 Koenig, 5.
12 Dmytro Doroshenko, A Survey of Ukrainian History (Winnipeg, Canada: Trident Press Limited, 1975), 68.
13 The Austrian rescript of 13 June 1803 united Western and Eastern Galicia.
14 Derek Edwin Johnson, “The Polish Military and the Ukrainian Question, 1921-1939” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, 1997), 3-4.
Galicia was also divided into administrative units: “In 1867 until the collapse of the empire, into counties (or districts – in Ukrainian, povity, in German, Bezirke). In 1867 there were seventy-four counties, in 1914 eighty-two. Each county was headed by a captain (starosta, Bezirksbauptmann).”\(^{15}\)

During the Austrian period Galicia went through several geographical permutations. It was always administered as a “Kronland” no matter what its particular demarcation. What this chart shows is that following 1866, approximately the time this work takes into account, Galicia entered a fairly stable geographic period.

In other words, during the period considered in the scope of this work Galicia had a fairly stable history at least in regard to its politico-geographic territory. It was to remain this way until the traumatic events of the Second World War. Those events led to the dramatic upheavals of not only provinces such as Galicia but of entire countries.

The transitions of the Austrian period (1772-1918) have been outlined in the following concise manner:\(^{16}\)

Table 1 Galicia in sq.km from 1772-1866

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>Change in sq. km</th>
<th>Total sq. km</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1772</td>
<td>First Partition</td>
<td></td>
<td>81,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1775</td>
<td>Bukovina added</td>
<td>+10,456</td>
<td>92,356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>Third Partition</td>
<td>+47,000</td>
<td>139,356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1809</td>
<td>Loss of Third Partition Acquisitions: “Western Galicia” and Zamosc to the Duchy of Warsaw; Loss of Tarnopol to Russia</td>
<td>-52,300 -6,650</td>
<td>80,406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>Tarnopol returned</td>
<td>+6,650</td>
<td>87,056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1818</td>
<td>Duchies of Oswiecim and Zator detached</td>
<td>-1,900</td>
<td>85,156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>Republic of Cracow created in 1815, added</td>
<td>+1,030</td>
<td>86,186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Bukovina detached</td>
<td>-10,456</td>
<td>75,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>Duchies of Oswiecim and Zator returned</td>
<td>+1,900</td>
<td>77,630</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{15}\) Himka 1999, 13.

For purposes of this work Greek-Catholics refers to those Catholics who consider themselves the heirs of the Baptism of Kyiv by Grand Prince Volodymyr (988) and more recently of the Union of Brest in 1596. In fact, the diocese of Kyiv was listed separately in the official Vatican directory Annuario Pontificio in 1747 and last in 1798. There was a very close connection between the Kyivan Metropolitan and the Galician hierarchy, most especially the Metropolitan of Lviv:

From 1851 to 1861 it is listed again, but jointly with the see of Halyč with the reference See Lviv... From 1904 on, there is no longer any listing at all for Kyiv. The joint listing of Kyiv, Halyč and Lviv indicates that, at least between 1851 and 1903, the Sees of Kyiv, Halyč and Lviv were connected, and therefore the Archbishop Metropolitan of Kyiv, the Metropolitan of Halyč and the Archbishop of Lviv were considered as one and the same person.

Myovich (174) writes that the formal titles of Greek-Catholic bishops often included the place names of other administrative centers in their diocese: e.g., bishop of Lviv-Halyč and bishop of Peremyshl-Sanik-Sambir.

Throughout its history this church has historically been affected by various influences. There have been pro-Orthodox Russian influences, Nationalist Ukrainian influences and various pro-Polish, pro-Rusyn influences. There have also been issues between Greek Catholics and Roman Catholics. These issues were a constant source of conflict and misunderstanding.

17 The preeminent study on this period was done by Oscar Halecki, From Florence to Brest-1439-1596 (Rome: 1958). He also wrote a smaller 67 page work called Unia brzeska w [wietle wspóBczesznych [wiadectw greckich-The Union of Brest in light of the report of two witnesses. (Rome: 1954). Regarding the Kyivan Metropolia see: Dr. Joannes Choma, De Metropolia Kioviensi In Periodo Berestensi-The Kyivan Metropolia during the Period of Brest. (Rome: Editiones Universitatis Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae: 1979). Also see the more recent study by Borys Gudziak. The Kyivan Metropolitinate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Genesis of the Union of Brest (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Series, 1998).

18 This annual was first published in 1716 under the title Notizie dell’anno1716 and continued with interruptions in 1799-1800, 1803-1806, 1809-1817 and in 1871. The title from 1860 to 1870 was Annuario Pontificio, from 1872 to 1911 it was La Gerarchia Cattolica and since 1912 it reverted to Annuario Pontificio.


20 This is a multi-volume annotated bibliographic work compiled by the Basilian Fathers which is an indispensable resource for the history of this church: Isydoi I. Patrylo, Fontes et Bibliographia Historia Ecclesiae Ucrainae - Sources and Bibliography of the History of the Ukrainian Church, 3 vols. (Rome: Analecta OSBM, 1975, 1988, 1995).
The issues between Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics in Austria were guided by the “Concordia of 1863” which was to provide equality between Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics. This, however, would prove difficult to put into practice.\textsuperscript{21} It was proposed by both groups of bishops who met on 18 May 1855. Pope Pius IX proclaimed this constitution on 8 April 1862 and re-issued it with some changes from the \textit{Congregatio of the Propagation of the Faith} on 6 October 1863. This Concordia dealt with changes of rite, liturgical issues, sacraments, education of children and mutual aid.\textsuperscript{22}

\textbf{Purpose and Significance of Study}

Although much has been written about the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia during the period of 1882-1946, there is no one study which takes under consideration the education of the Greek-Catholic Clergy.\textsuperscript{23} This period is influenced by the episcopal work of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky of Lviv (1900-1944). The Church historian John-Paul Himka speaks to this issue: “The period after 1900 has attracted scholarship because of the charismatic figure who stood at the head of the Greek-Catholic church in the first half of the twentieth century (1900-1944): Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky. Although much remains to be done, there is a voluminous literature on Sheptytsky, in many languages.”\textsuperscript{24}

I propose to study the question of clergy education in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Galicia from 1882 to 1946. I will also discuss some of the Greek Catholic seminaries outside Galicia. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC) formally returned into the Catholic Communion of churches in 1596 as it struggled to adopt western modes of scholarship advanced by the Jesuit order and introduced into Poland in 1564. One of the prime reasons for joining

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{21} Natalya Polonska-Vasylenko, Istoriya Ukrainy - History of Ukraine, 4th edition ed. vol. 2 (Kyiv: Lybid’, 2002), 367.
\item \textsuperscript{22} This concordia can be found in Ukrainian translation in: Isidorus Nahayewsky, Historia Romanorum Catholicorum Pontificium - History of the Roman Catholic Pontiffs (Rome: Editiones Universitatis Catholicae Ucrainorum, 1979), 177-181.
\item \textsuperscript{23} The following dissertation is the one work in English which at some length treats the education of Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergy in Galicia. Andrew Dennis Sorokowski, “The Greek-Catholic Parish Clergy in Galicia, 1900-1939” (Ph.D. diss., University of London, London, England), 1991.
\item \textsuperscript{24} John-Paul Himka, Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine - The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1867-1900 (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1999), 16.
\end{itemize}
the Catholic Church was to educate the clergy, which was seen as an avenue for increasing the prosperity for the nation. Many in the UGCC saw the clergy as leading intellectual and cultural social strata. It was this element of clerical leadership which was the source for many intellectuals in the history of the Ruthenian/Ukrainian people.

Due to many political and social struggles the UGCC was decimated within the realm of the Russian Empire, culminating in its demise under Czar Nicholas I in 1839. The clergy was seen and used as a tool of assimilation. The restricted education of clergy was a primary step in the destruction of the Church, since candidates were forbidden to study in Rome or Vilnius and thereby were separated from Catholic influences.

The UGCC survived in the 1800s under the patronage of the Austro-Hungarian Empire where it was officially given the name “Greek-Catholic” by Maria Theresa in 1772. The Austrians elevated the level of scholarship in that section of Ukraine, which still bears the name of that “gubernia” of the empire “Galicia”.

In 1882 the Jesuit order was commissioned by the Vatican to reform the Basilian Order (O.S.B.M.), which had gradually declined in piety and learning: “Even in Ruthenian society no one doubted that the Basilian monks, once the elite of the Ruthenian clergy, had entered upon a grievous decline since the end of the eighteenth century.” From that reformation there emerged three bishops who were in charge of the three most important seminaries of the UGCC.

This study explores the influence of the Jesuits upon the Basilian Order. What were the educational influences and paradigms which were transposed during the time of the Basilian Reform? The Jesuit influence and work within the Basilian Order would be underlined in the Provincial Synod of Lviv in 1891.

In the history of the UGCC clergy education was exploited by Muscovite authorities in the 1800s to subjugate a people and to

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25 A monastic order established by St. Basil the Great approximately AD 362. After the partitions of Poland (1772, 1793 and 1795) when all the Ruthenian Basilian provinces except Galicia became part of the Russian Empire the Basilian order survived only in the Galician Province of the Holy Savior which was under Austrian rule.

26 Himka 1999, 79.

achieve a certain dry clericalism that focused on career and not service. During the period of 1882-1946 in Western Ukraine clergy education was used to liberate a people and preach the gospel. It was a rare period in the history of the UGCC when the clergy were able to be the driving force in forming curricula, structure and aims of clerical education. It was also a preparatory phase for one of the most brutal persecutions of the modern era. This persecution under the atheistic communism of the U.S.S.R. lasted from 1946 until 1989. Those who were educated in the Galician seminary system of the 1900s preached the gospel for over forty years across the Soviet Union, especially in Siberia.

The question needs to be asked: Why study the education of clergy? The answer is both simple and direct. The prime religious educator of the Christian Community in Galicia (1882-1946) was the local cleric. He set the curriculum of the local church and implemented the scope of evangelization proposed by the bishop. We need to understand the education of the clergy of the period if we are to understand the work of religious education of the time.

The UGCC in Ukraine is undergoing a re-structuring of its seminary educational system. In July, 2003 the first Ukrainian Catholic University in Ukraine, in the city of Lviv, was established. This University is part of the vision for an educated clergy. Religious education is imparted by clergy in many of the public schools in Ukraine and this Ukrainian Catholic University is part of the overall plan to continue this service to the Church.

This study is an attempt to show how education of the clergy is a most important element in the way the Church fulfills its task of evangelization. Education was used to destroy and to control in the past.

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28 There were two major Greek Catholic seminaries in Subcarpathian Ruthenia (Pidkarpatska Rus). The Mukachevo Greek Catholic eparchy which originated from the Union of Uzhhorod, signed on 24 April 1646, the seminary was originally in Mukachevo in 1776. The seminary later moved to Uzhhorod Castle and was closed by the communists in 1947. The Prashiv eparchy organized a seminary in 1880. It was closed in 1950.

29 The Ukrainian Greek Catholic church today operates the following educational institutions in Galicia: Greek Catholic Seminary of the Holy Spirit in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk Theological Seminary, Josyf Slipyj Seminary of Ternopil, Holy Trinity Eparchial Catechetical Institute in Drohobych, Nicholas Charnetsky Philosophical-Theological Institute of the Redemptorist Order in Lviv, Metropolitan Rudsky Philosophical Institute of the Basilian Order in Zoluchiv, Institute of Religious Culture in Lviv, Institute of Spiritual and Religious Education in Sboriv, Lviv Musical-Theological School, Cantor’s school in Chortkiv, Clement Sheptytsky Lyceum in Lviv and the Peremysl seminary in present day Poland.
My goal is to underscore the fact that the proper formation of clergy was paramount in preaching the gospel even in times of persecution. This understanding of evangelization prepared bishops, clergy, sisters and brothers to become confessors and martyrs for the faith in numbers far exceeding those in the persecution of the early church.

This study focuses on the fruits of the great efforts expended to prepare an adequately formed clergy in the years when the faith was under great pressure, yet surviving to prove once again the divine, unconquerable nature of the Church. This would best be expounded using the historical method. Although this era is only a century ago it is a period which needs to be brought to light because in the Soviet Union historical criticism was one of the weakest facets of the Soviet educational system. This lack of historical objectivity has left in the wake of the fall of the Soviet Empire much disinformation and many historical inaccuracies.

This work begins with a general introduction to the topic of clergy education in Christianity. It must be said that we are at a disadvantage when reviewing the education of clergy in the early Church. Since early Christian writings are sparse in their treatment of this subject, there will be only a brief review of clergy education in Catholicism before we turn to the specifics of clergy education in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. The overview continues by placing specific emphasis upon the post-Tridentine period in which the Ukrainian (Kyivan) Church entered into reunion with the successor of St. Peter at the Council of Brest in 1596.30

One of the greatest influences upon clergy education in Galicia was Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, a Basilian monk of the 1882 Dobromyl reform who played a pivotal role during his long service as bishop (1899-1944), and his prolific work in education.31 This chapter will not allow for a thorough discussion of his educational policies and achievements, but it is well to keep in mind that he was formed in the reformation period of the 1880s and is an exemplar of the fruits of the Basilian Reform in Dobromyl. He will be a significant person in the 1900-1944 period when he was Metropolitan of Lviv. We will in-

clude a synopsis of secondary education during the Austrian period (1772-1918). We will conclude with a short outline of the Dobromyl Reform of the Basilian Order in 1882 by the Jesuit Order.

The education of Greek-Catholic clergy during the persecution of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church by Soviet authorities (1946-1989) will not be treated in this work save in passing. The primary focus of this chapter is the early Christian era to the Council of Trent. The next chapter will prepare us to speak about the reform of the Basilian Order. The Dobromyl reform is a crucial stage in clergy education for the UGCC because it produced three bishops and several rectors and professors who were instrumental in the reform of Ukrainian Catholic seminaries. The subsequent period from the Dobromyl reform to the 1946 pseudo-Synod of L'viv appears to be a logical era in the history of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church because it shows the systematic way in which the Russian Empire in 1839 and then the Soviet Union in 1946 persecuted the church and thereby forcing it to exist underground. This latter period is covered in the remaining three chapters of the work.

This work will furnish an overview of the education of Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests within the context of clergy education in Catholic history. It is also the goal of this work to show that the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church had a highly educated clergy in the period preceding its suppression by the Soviet authorities in 1946. This highly educated clergy was the product of systematic efforts of Church authorities especially by those clergy connected with the Dobromyl reform. This desire to have an educated clergy reached its apex in the Inter-War Period of 1918-1939. Chapters three, four and five will highlight the main educational efforts of the 1882-1946 period beginning with Dobromyl. The entire work may be divided into the following periods: The formative period, the Austrian period (1882-1918), the Polish period (1918-1939) and the War and occupational period (1939-1946).

32 These three hierarchs were: Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, Bishop Soter Ortymsky and Bishop Yosaphat Kotsylovsky.
33 Pawliczko, 15.
Jesus, in the Gospel according to Matthew, gives the following final command to his disciples: “Go, therefore, make disciples of all nations... and teach them to observe all the commands I gave you” (Matt. 28:19-20). This command or rather commission presumes that one who teaches has been prepared to do so. This verse in itself was an impetus for clergy education in the early church or at least in the selection of qualified men for the ordained ministry.

The Catholic Church is actually a communion of 22 churches. Twenty-one of these churches are of an eastern tradition. Although small in population, the Eastern Catholic Churches contribute to the breadth of Catholicism and to the diversity of traditions which are contained in both Eastern and Western Catholic Churches. The papal documents of John Paul II encouraged a study of the traditions of both east and west so that the Catholic Church might breathe with both lungs. This work reflects a desire to spell out the way one of the Eastern Churches has sought to educate its priests and thus preach the gospel. This is important for western Catholicism and for that very Church in Ukraine that is beginning to rejuvenate itself after over forty years in the catacombs of persecution. As the Church prepares for the future it will be wise to reflect on the past.

In looking at the methods and plans which were tried in the past, those in charge of contemporary education in Ukraine have a standard against which to measure their firm intentions and ardent desires. This is even more vital now since the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is re-establishing seminary structures and institutions of higher education. Perhaps these new paradigms of education will benefit from the gift of the past, the so-called “democracy of the dead.” In any case, it is important to have a study of seminary education and also the higher education afforded to dedicated clerics who were to form the professorial and leadership ranks of the church.

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37 See appendix F for a chart of the 22 Catholic Churches (Sui iuris).
38 Orientale lumen, art. 1.
40 The so-called “democracy of the dead” must be liberated from the autocrats of the present who wish to monopolize both the past and present while stealing the living voice of the ancestors - tradition. This living voice of our ancestors (tradition) allows us to hear their voice.
It is indispensable to study the clerical education of the past for insights into the situation at hand.

**Research Methodology and Organization of the Study**

In speaking of the past one author declared:

They are like us, that is that they were people who had to make sense of a world in which hate and betrayal and death were as common as love and trust and life. These people can quicken us because they are unlike us. Someone has said that ‘the past is a foreign country; they do things differently there.’ But in their very differences they can tantalize us to think about who we are, what our times mean and how we can help shape a future.\(^41\)

My chosen topic demands an historical methodology. This addresses the question of what happened and what we can learn from these events. My research identifies past events and trends in clergy education. This will not be a quest or foray into cultural trends or specific cultural characteristics. I will simply state the events as they unfold themselves.

In the retelling of the historical events I hope to illustrate the motivations and methodologies of those involved in clerical education. In such an exercise one can develop a better sense of identity for that very church which is recovering from the status of an underground church to a fully recognized and public functioning body. Perhaps an enlightened and educated clergy will help the UGCC find and develop both its private and public persona: “We live and are moved by historical ideas and images, and our national existence goes on by reproducing them.”\(^42\)

Clergy education is not studied here with restriction to a specific ethnic group; in fact, my research encompasses several political structures and ethnic peoples who were united by a common church structure. In short, I do not have the resources nor do I think that this type of ethnographic research is the specific methodology conducive to discuss and evaluate clergy education.

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This study is sensitive to semantics both because of the foreign languages employed during this period and because religious education has its own particular nomenclature – its own particular language. In this study we will expand our image of clerical education to include both виховання (Vykhovannya: formation) and наука (Nauka: book or formal learning/education). The value of the spoken word (preaching) is and always will be of incalculable value in the ministry of the Gospel. A wider sense of learning is necessary to keep in mind because the church teaches and learns in more than verbal ways: “...the parish’s form of teaching is mostly non-verbal. The sacraments, especially the Eucharist, teach by being themselves. They are not means to education, a language that liturgical experts rightfully object to; they are education.”

**Chapter I: Introduction to Catholic Clergy Education**

This chapter explains the background, significance and organization of the study. The research methodology is also explained. There is also an overview of early Catholic clergy education. The goal is to provide a rationale for how the Church has consistently employed its resources in educating a clergy capable of teaching the Gospel. While some Protestant leaders sought to reform the church by emphasizing the priesthood of the believers, the Catholic Church at Trent sought to renew the life of the church by educating the clergy. This chapter speaks to the fact that clergy education was the *modus operandi* of ecclesiastical reform for the Catholic Church especially in the Post-Trent period (Counter Reformation). This chapter also speaks to the diverse efforts at clergy reform through education and the various political and world events which conspired against it.

**Chapter II: Education of Kyivan Clergy 988-1882**

This chapter treats Greek Catholic clergy in the Kyivan Era and the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth until the Dobromyl reform. There is no single work which traces the development of clergy education to this seminal event. Following the period of the 1780s there are several articles and source books but no comprehensive study about clergy education in Galicia. This chapter also emphasizes the deliberate and determined way in which the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Galicia emphasized the education of its clergy both as

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a way of preaching the Gospel and a way of safeguarding the social stability of a people. The clergy were both symptomatic of a general religious decline and also the hope of a brighter tomorrow.

**Chapter III: The Basilian Reform of Clergy Education (1882-1918)**

This chapter speaks about Greek Catholic clergy in the Austrian Gubernia of Galicia and the status quo which prompted Pope Leo XIII to order the Jesuits to reform the Greek Catholic Basilian Order (O.S.B.M.) in Galicia. From this reform there came several hierarchs and Catholic intellectuals who would be instrumental in assessing and gradually changing the intellectual life of Galician clergy.

It seems that there is sufficient historical evidence to draw a direct line from this reform of the Basilian order to the direction clergy education took in Galicia following the Synod of Lviv (1891) and the ascendancy to positions of authority in the church by the children of this reform. Following this period, the UGCC would have three seminaries. The three cities that were centers for the seminaries were Lviv, Peremyshl and Stanyslawiv.

**Chapter IV: Clergy Education in the Golden Age (1918-1939)**

The period between the two great wars of the twentieth century might be considered the Golden Age of clergy education in Galicia. At this time each of the three eparchies in Galicia had a seminary. All three eparchies prepared scholars at some of the best universities of Europe. In the 1920s we also see the establishment of the Theological Academy of Lviv that would function at the highest theological levels.

Furthermore, we witness the rise of several religious orders who take a very active role in religious education. The printing presses were also active in many of the Religious houses. This produced much of the theological literature and books which had been scarce in the previous century.

**Chapter V: The Decline of Formal Clergy Education in Galicia (1939-1946)**

With the invasion of Poland in September of 1939 Galicia passed under German control. This war time control of Galicia would alter-

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44 The population of these cities in 1910 was: Lviv - 206,113, Peremyshl - 54,078 and Stanyslawiv - 33,328.
nate between German and Soviet powers throughout the war years. It may be stated that during this period there was a very tenuous advancement in clergy education.

In March of 1946 a Pseudo-Synod was called in Lviv by the Stalinist regime of the Soviet Union. All the Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishops of Galicia had refused to give up their convictions and were summarily incarcerated by the NKVD\textsuperscript{45} (later the KGB\textsuperscript{46}); consequently, the alleged synod did not have a single Greek-Catholic bishop in attendance when it “re-united” with the Russian Orthodox Church.

The Greek Catholic Church and its highly educated clergy would begin an odyssey which would have them preaching the gospel from the Gulags of Siberia throughout one of the most atheistic regimes of history. Some of the clergy would live to see the re-birth of their Church in 1989 with the collapse of the Soviet Union. A few of them would even participate in the re-building of seminaries and the establishment of the first Ukrainian Catholic University in 2003.

\textbf{A Survey of Early Clergy Education in Catholicism}

The Synod of Pistoia (1786) speaks of the ingredients necessary for church reformation.\textsuperscript{47} The two main areas are the parish and liturgy. At the core of each of these elements is the diocesan cleric. In fact, when the committee of cardinals (1538) that preceded the Council of Trent made recommendations to Pope Paul III for the reform of the church they spoke much about the diligence necessary to prepare educated diocesan priests, but recommended “that all conventual orders should be abolished, not by decree, but by forbidding them to admit new members.”\textsuperscript{48}

The renowned Catholic historian, John Tracy Ellis, begins his evaluation of clergy education by using quotations from the Gospel according to Matthew (4:18-22), the Acts of the Apostles (16:4), 1 Timothy (5:22, 24-25) and attributes to these texts the beginning of

\textsuperscript{45} Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del - People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs: A Soviet ministry responsible for security and law enforcement that was established on 7 November 1917.

\textsuperscript{46} Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti – Committee for State Security: Soviet political police in charge of intelligence at home and abroad. It was established as a separate agency on 13 March 1954.


\textsuperscript{48} ames Barry Coleman, Readings in Church History (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1985), 695.
clergy education in the Christian context. Subsequently, Ellis arrives at the following conclusion about the Apostolic Age: “But beyond these and a few additional facts, lack of extant evidence does not permit one to speak in detail of the character and method of priestly education in the early Church”.49

Ellis goes on to speak of the lack of organized education of the clergy until the time of Augustine. For the most part, candidates for the priesthood were instructed in the residence of a bishop or under his supervision. There is a prime example of this in the life of John Chrysostom:

‘...the blessed Meletius the Confessor, an Armenian by race, was ruling the Church of Antioch; he noticed the bright lad (John Chrysostom), and was so much attracted by the beauty of his character, that he allowed him to be continually in his company. His prophetic eye foresaw the boy’s future. He was admitted to the sacrament of the washing of regeneration, and after three years of attendance on the bishop, advanced to be reader’ [SPCK-Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London]. During this period he had as his master in theology Diodore of Tarsus...’He then retired to a cave by himself. and there spent twenty-four months for the greater part of which he denied himself sleep, while he studied the covenants of Christ, the better to dispel ignorance.50

Augustine of Hippo also gathered men around him who devoted themselves to learning in preparation for ordination and in continuous study after ordination:

As at Cassiciacum, Augustine was determined to be the educationalist of his circle. But his circle now consisted of the clergy and devout laymen of Africa: the sons of the nobility, who in Milan, would be groomed as ‘well-trained souls’, were now replaced by young men ‘fearing God; made meek by piety, who seek the will of God’.51

These two examples, one from Eastern Christianity and one from Western Christianity, are examples of the education of clergy in the

initial centuries of Christianity. They focused on an almost monastic model for clergy education, where the clergy were separated from the town and sustained by a common evangelical life. Saint Benedict and other monastic leaders took up the mantle of the education of the clergy as reflected in the many schools attached to monasteries.

From the death of Augustine until the seminary reform of Trent it can be stated that the education of clergy followed the threefold path of monastic schools, episcopal (Cathedral) schools (ἐπισκοπίου, patriarchium) and universities. There were also parish schools and song schools which provided for basic religious education. Following in this vein the famous monk Cassiodorus (c.485-580) wrote his Institutiones divinarum et secularium litterarum in two books for the education of monks. He recommended a blending of pagan learning with the Christian arts in order to preserve learning: “The sanction given to classical education by Cassiodorus led to the development of an educated clergy who, salvaging the best from the past, made it an integral part of Christian culture to be transmitted to posterity.”

In 787 Charlemagne issued various orders for the education of the clergy in his realm, which his son Louis the Pious continued: “During his reign the law was passed (817) directing the maintenance at each monastery of the school for interns, schola interior, and the school for externs, schola exterior; the first for those who were to become monks, and the second for those studying for the secular priesthood and the laity.”

In the ensuing centuries of the early Middle Ages the monasteries of Europe produced Christian intellectuals such as Lanfranc (1005-1089) and Anselm (1033-1109) who brought Scholasticism to prominence. From the various monasteries and ecclesiastical ties of Europe sprang the universities which produced many scholars:

The University of Paris soon established itself as a leading center of theological speculation, with such scholars as Peter Abelard (1079-1142), Albert the Great (1200-80), Thomas Aquinas (c.1225-74), and Bonaventure (c.1217-74). The four-

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52 Brown 2000, 192.
51 Ellis 1967, 6.
55 McCormick, 223.
teenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed a considerable expansion of the university sector in Western Europe, with major new universities being founded in Germany and elsewhere.\textsuperscript{56}

The clerical training received by candidates for the priesthood was greatly enhanced in the University of Paris. Peter Lombard’s \textit{Sententiarum Libri Quattuor} (Book of Sentences), Anselm’s \textit{Cur Deus Homo} (Why God became Man), the rebirth of Aristotelean philosophy in the works of Aquinas and Bonaventure were the radically superior elements of university clergy education: “This proved indeed to be an advance, both in content and method, over anything yet seen in medieval philosophy and theology.”\textsuperscript{57}

The university, however, trained very few priests because of the length of studies. It took sometimes up to fifteen years to complete a doctorate in theology at the University of Paris.\textsuperscript{58} Few could afford such time and expense for a university education. Many opted to join religious orders which had their in-house faculties of theology. Those destined for the diocesan priesthood may have gained intellectually from the university but found little time for Christian character formation.

Within the ranks of diocesan clergy there was a gradual decline into mediocrity and beyond during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries well into the Renaissance. This also gave birth to grave anomalies within Church administration and ministry. There were bishops who were not ordained priests and many corrupt practices such as multiple benefices, which promoted an inordinate interest in money and power, rather than work and study.

The Fifth Lateran Council attempted to correct these abuses with a bull issued on 5 May 1514. “The same bull established stricter rules for the behavior of cardinals and their households; it was concerned to promote the better religious formation of clergy and laity, whose growing moral decadence and serious ignorance of the principles and essential teachings of the faith it deplored.”\textsuperscript{59} Alas, this was but a nominal effort which produced little effect among the diocesan clergy. Until it closed on 16 March 1517 the remainder of the council took up the issue of the press and the reform of the Church calendar.

The lack of systematic education for the diocesan priesthood pre-

\textsuperscript{56} Alister E. McGrath, Historical Theology (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 102.
\textsuperscript{57} Ellis 1967, 14.
\textsuperscript{58} Ellis 1967, 15.
pared the way for the Reformation’s agenda and was reflected in the writings of the secretary and scholar in the Curia James Sadoleto (1477-1547):

As a critic of the profoundly decadent state of the priesthood and ecclesiastical institutions and the errors of popes and their advisers, Sadoleto found himself increasingly close to Erasmus, while also cultivating close but always rather reserved relations with the group of ‘reformers,’ for whom he had the natural sympathy of a religious man who was attracted by Erasmus’ ‘philosophy of Christ.’

Pope Paul III in his bull *Sublimis Deus* approved the establishment of a Commission of Reform in 1535 headed by Cardinal Piccolomini, who prepared a paper on the reform of the clergy which was published by the pope in 1536. That same year there was a commission appointed with Cardinal Contarini as president. There were nine members of the commission who presented their findings in the document *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia*. This document deplored the way inadequately educated men of questionable character were admitted to Holy Orders; yet, “it did not seem to occur to them to suggest the prior need of institutions which would be devoted expressly to the spiritual and intellectual formation of future priests and bishops.”

This would have to wait until the Council of Trent began its auspicious gathering of bishops in December of 1545.

The Council of Trent experienced much political and internal disorganization, which accounted for three separate sessions over the course of eighteen years. There were periods of interruption and inaction. The result of such disorganization was the deferral of clerical formation until the last days of the council. Seminary education had been a primary issue, but, once the council began it was delayed so often that it appears sometimes in the council documents as an afterthought. Nonetheless, one of the practical movements in clerical education during those conciliar times was the establishment of the Roman College by the Jesuits in February of 1551. The German College “*Germanicum*” was opened in Rome in August of 1552 “and exercised much influence upon the diocesan seminaries later estab-

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60 D’Onofrio, Giulio (ed.), 412.
61 Ellis 1967, 23.
62 Ellis 1967, 30.
exercised much influence upon the diocesan seminaries later established for secular priests by order of the Council of Trent.”

These initiatives at clerical education were heartily endorsed by Cardinal Reginald Pole, who convened a national Council in England from 4 November 1555 to 10 February 1556 at which the Council fathers issued guidelines for the education of clergy. Pole was a friend of Ignatius of Loyola and a member of the papal reform commission; yet, within his own lifetime we see a reflection of the anomalies of his age. In spite of 30 years of active ecclesiastical duty he had not yet been ordained a priest:

Only when the deprivation and burning of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, for heresy in March, 1556, created a vacancy in the primatial see to which Pope Paul IV named Pole, was his ordination to the priesthood brought about on March 10, 1557, two days in advance of his consecration as a bishop and only a year and eight months before his death.

These various initiatives in clerical education prompted the Council of Trent after an interminable eighteen years to seriously take up this issue during the twenty-third session in 1563. Although, in 1545 at the first session, the fathers of the council explicitly stated that “the reform of the clergy and Christian people” was one of its main concerns, it was not until 15 July 1563 that the Council finally issued the decree about clergy education under Chapter 18. This chapter owes much to the national Council called by Cardinal Pole.

This law about seminaries dealt mostly with administrative concerns and was more interested in excluding bad applicants than in training good candidates. The most important and salient point of this decree was the mandate for every diocese of magnitude to establish a seminary:

…the holy council decrees that all cathedral and metropolitan churches greater than these shall be bound, each according to its means and the extent of its diocese, to provide for, to educate in religion, and to train in ecclesiastical discipline, a certain number of boys of their city and diocese, or, if they are not

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64 Ellis, 34.
66 Some say Pole was the first to use the word seminary in its true ecclesiastical sense. Cardinal Bourne, Ecclesiastical Training (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd, 1926), 73-78.
found there, of their province, in a college located near the said churches or in some other suitable place to be chosen by the bishop.\textsuperscript{67}

This decree of the Council of Trent gave rise to many pioneering seminaries such as Charles Borromeo’s seminary in Milan, which opened its doors in 1564, the seminary at Eichstadt in Bavaria, and Douai College in the Low Countries which opened in 1568. There is an excellent description of this seminary development in Ellis’s history.\textsuperscript{68} The Greek College was established by Pope Gregory XIII on 13 January 1577 by the papal Bull “\textit{In Apostolicae Sedis Specula}.”\textsuperscript{69} These responses to the decrees of Trent show that the education of clergy was deemed as an urgent necessity and was not an “afterthought”.

The necessity of clergy education was not simply an option that the church could exercise in its life of faith. It was a necessary component of stemming the tide of the moral decay of the clergy. An admonition was included for the hierarchy in scripture: “Do not be too quick to lay hands on anyone, and never make yourself an accomplice in anyone else’s sin; keep yourself pure” (1 Timothy 5:20). This moral decay and intellectual ineptitude gave rise to the distortion of the faith among the laity. These are some of the conditions which gave rise to the Protestant Reformation: “Once the direction of so delicate a thing as the \textit{Devotio Moderna}, passes into the hands of those unlearned in theology, all manner of deviation is possible.”\textsuperscript{70}

The intellectual and moral decay is best illustrated by a vivid description of the English diocese of Gloucester. Bishop Hooper visited this diocese in 1551 and in his assessment of the clergy he found the following situation:

\textit{...out of a total of 311 clergy, 171 could not repeat the Ten Commandments, 33 could not say in what chapter they were to be found, 10 could not say the Lord’s Prayer, 27 were ignorant who was its author, 30 could not say where it was to be found, and...}

\textsuperscript{67} Schroeder, 175.
\textsuperscript{68} Ellis, Chapter 2, “Early Post-Tridentine Seminaries”, 41-59.
\textsuperscript{69} Dr. Joannes Choma, De Metropolia Kioviensi in Periodo Berestensi-The Kyivan Metropolia in the Period of Brest (Rome: Editiones Universitatis Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1979), 16.
\textsuperscript{70} Devotio moderna (Latin: modern devotion) was a religious movement at the end of the 14th to the 16th century stressing meditation and the inner life and downgrading the speculative spirituality of the 13th and 14th centuries. Philip Hughes. A History of the Church, vol. 3 (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1947), 223.
Lord King had commanded its use.\textsuperscript{71}

One could give more examples of the state of clergy learning and its consequent effect on the church; however, this example suffices for this work.

At this point we will turn to the Kyivan Rus’ Empire and its many political permutations in order to outline the status of clerical education within the Kyivan Ukrainian Church.

It is evident that the Christian community and specifically the Catholic Church did not have a formal system of educating its clergy for the first fifteen hundred years.

It was only after the Council of Trent that any substantial reforms in clerical training were effected. When the foundations for those reforms were laid in the Council of Trent, the Fathers of the Council used the cathedral school as the basis on which they built the seminary.\textsuperscript{72}

In short, the great mission of preaching the gospel and in turn educating the clergy for this mission was the domain of an educated elite rather than the mainstay of professionally educated clergy. The arduous task of clerical education gradually developed into the formal system we are familiar with today.


\textsuperscript{72} Rev. Casimir M. Peterson, “Spiritual Care in Diocesan Seminaries” (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC., 1966), 34.
CHAPTER TWO:

EDUCATION OF KYIVAN CLERGY
(988-1882)

Introduction

The Kyivan-Rus Empire had contact with the Byzantine and European world. It is therefore quite natural for the leaders of this empire to have been influenced by their neighbors and trading partners. This chapter covers the wide span of history which begins in the Empire of Kyivan Rus and ends with Galicia under the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Ukrainian Church would begin its Christian journey and go through various political changes which would bring it to reunion with the successor of St. Peter.

The history of Ukraine is a byzantine labyrinth filled with conflicting trends and influences. The territory of present day Ukraine has been referred to by the following names: Schytia, Rus’, The Borderlands, Ruthenia, Russia and Ukraine. These lands were also conquered by the Mongols in 1245. They were subject to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Austria-Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union.

Now the focus will be on the territory which is delineated in the present boundaries of modern Ukraine and especially upon Western Ukraine where the majority of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics live. It has been said about many cities in Western Ukraine that you could be born in Austria-Hungary, be married in Poland, raise your children in the Soviet Union and live out your old age in Ukraine without ever moving from the same house. Such is the shifting of politi-

cal boundaries common in Eastern Europe. Louis XIV faced similar issues. It is stated that he, “confronted with a revised map of his domain based on accurate longitude measurements, reportedly complained that he was losing more territory to his astronomers than to his enemies.”

**Education of Clergy on Ukrainian Territory**

**(988-1596)**

This brief section will consider the education of clergy from the time when Kyivan Rus’ accepted Christianity from Byzantium in 988 during the Macedonian Epoch (867-1081) of the Byzantine Empire until the formal re-union of the Kyivan Church with the successor of St. Peter at the Council of Brest in 1596. The Kyivan Church was greatly influenced, as is to be expected, by the Greek Byzantine Church. It was through the Baptism of Prince Volodymyr that both culture and commerce were exchanged:

Vladimir was baptized and married the Byzantine princess, Anna... Peaceful and friendly relations were established between Russia and the Byzantine Empire, and they lasted for a considerable length of time. Both countries engaged freely in extensive trade with one another.

The Greek Byzantine Church was the mother Church for the Kyivan Church. Yet, education was not one of her prime gifts. The Greek language was not well known among the Kyivan Clergy and people of this era; consequently, a number of Greek works of piety were translated into Old-Slavonic (Paleo-Slavonic). This dissemination of culture was not widespread. The education of clergy suffered from the lack of books and, according to some authors, from the lack of care from the Mother Greek Church:

The Russian clergy apparently was afraid to translate and propagate the works of pagan writers, while the Greeks themselves were not especially interested in spreading education and their

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75 This work provides a detailed explanation of the politics of reunion. Oscar Halecki, From Florence to Brest (1439-1596) (Rome, Italy: Sacrum Poloniae Millennium, 1958).
cultural heritage among the Slavs. Moreover, they preferred to appoint Greeks to head the Russian Church rather than to prepare Russians for such positions, and did very little to raise the intellectual standard of the native Russian clergy.77

One of the reasons for this lack of true catechetical activity in Ukrainian territory was the prevalent preoccupation the Greeks had with the so-called Turkish peril: “In Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth century the chief preoccupations were the Turkish peril, drawing nearer, and the polemics with the Latins… In Rus’, as it was slowly becoming Christian, not polemics were needed, but basic catechization and mission activity.”78

Although this disheartening situation was the case in general, there are several instances in the ancient chronicles which show us that education, generally speaking, was valued in Kyivan society. There are two texts which will serve to illustrate the love of learning during the period of Medieval Rus’. The first text refers to Yaroslav the Wise and is taken from the Primary Chronicle (1040-1118):

He applied himself to books, and read them continually day and night. He assembled many scribes, and translated from Greek into Slavic. He wrote and collected many books through which true believers are instructed and enjoy religious education.79

The second example is from the famous work by Volodymyr Monomakh entitled Instruction to His Children. In this work he praises knowledge as a path of virtue:

Forget not what useful knowledge you possess, and acquire that [with] which you are not acquainted… Laziness is the mother of all evil; what a man knows, he forgets, and what he does not know he does not learn. In the practice of good works, you cannot neglect any item of good conduct.80

In the territory of Rus’-Ukraine the clergy followed the educational paradigm of Western Europe with the exceptional fact that in Rus’-Ukraine there was a predominance of married clergy. Fathers educated

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77 The modern adjective “Russian” is sometimes used to describe those inhabitants of Kyivan-Rus’ who did not have the present-day concept of Russian nationhood. Serge A. Zenkovsky (ed.), Medieval Russia’s Epics, Chronicles, and Tales (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1974), 4.
79 Zenkovsky, 72.
80 Zenkovsky, 98.
their sons and indoctrinated them into the clerical ranks. There was a disparity between the education of the clergy in the countryside as opposed to that of the clergy of the towns:

In the towns the candidates for the priesthood had greater access to instruction and culture and could provide themselves with books. They were in an especially fortunate situation if the town was an episcopal see. At bishop's courts they could find someone to give them a more thorough instruction; there they could also have access to at least a modest library and could themselves copy or hire someone to copy the books they needed.81

The theology that developed in the Kyivan period was related in narrative form more frequently than in didactic dogmatic monographs. For this reason it also posed some problems in the transmission of Christian truth: “The fact that these truths are often hidden in writings that are narrative rather than didactic is what makes Kiev theology so attractive, but this circumstance also makes it fragile and subtle.”82 This particular form of aesthetic theology helped to form the clergy for many generations as they marveled at the objects of theology: “much of Western aesthetics (in the second sense) follows the Greeks, for whom ‘the beautiful (τὸ καλόν) is identified with things whose value is self-evident: one cannot ask what they are for.”83

The Eastern Rus' Synod of 1273 lists many of the steps necessary to prepare for the priesthood. The majority of these are listed in Senyk’s book on pages 157-159. The Synod appears to have focused more on formation than on education. It also emphasized that most of the clergy should be married if diocesan, and, of course, unmarried, if connected to a monastery. The acts of this synod are found in a work by Beneševi...p.84

This Synod, with its minimal requirements for clergy education and formation, was but a harbinger for the gradual decline in cleri-

cal education during this period. This decline in clerical education was coupled with dissension that was rearing its head in the Mother Greek Church in the Byzantine Empire as that Empire gradually declined. Ultimately, the weaknesses of the Byzantine Empire and the effectiveness of the Greek Orthodox Church were dramatically played out in the fall of Byzantium in 1453.

The synod of 1273 ties the lack of clerical education to a number of ills which befell the Church:

If a synod of the Kievan Church in 1273 speaks of disorders and blames the clergy as one of the causes, this surely is a sign that some portion of the clergy fell even below minimum standards in knowledge and practice of the Christian faith. The complaint comes at a time just after the greatest havoc wrought by the Mongols, but its causes lie before that invasion, which only made an already existing problem more acute.

In general, it may be said that the Greek period of influence from the 900’s to the 1200s, and the period of the “Tatar yoke”, was not a productive intellectual period for ecclesiastical education as can be seen from the time of Volodymyr:

In the Chronicle’s account of Volodymyr’s services to Christianity, we have a single reference to his endeavors in the sphere of education: he ‘began to take children of prominent subjects and set them to the study of book learning.’ It has been justly pointed out that the reason for taking the children of ‘prominent subjects’... was not to educate clerics, who emerged from other than aristocratic circles, but had a broader purpose, namely, to introduce the Byzantine system of education and cultural upbringing among local aristocracy. In short, it was Volodymyr’s overall goal to make Rus’ part of the contemporary, civilized world that was personified by Byzantium.

Priests were ill prepared to face the modern European call for learning. This was, according to Borys Gudziak, reflected in the writings of the Jesuit Peter Skarga, who during the 1570’s, judged the Ruthenians and their language to be ill suited for education. Gudziak

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85 The date of the great schism between the Roman Church and the Greek Church is considered to be 1054.
86 Senyk 1993, 162.
87 Doroshenko, 72.
only partially agrees with Skarga’s assessment by attributing the Ruthenians’ pitfalls to their environment and not their nature: “Ruthenians had absolutely no formal scholarship or tradition of intellectual inquiry. Association with the Greeks left them comparatively impoverished. They had not developed the scholarly disciplines, abstract reasoning, and institutions that had allowed the West, beginning in the high middle Ages to advance in learning.”

During the period following the Tartar invasions, from approximately 1300-1500, there was a period of gradual decline in clergy education. This is attested to in the writings of Slipyj and Marusyn who both give an account of the guild-like training of clergy under the patronage of relatives where a simple oral exam in front of the bishop qualified one for ordination to the priesthood or the diaconate. The result of this haphazard preparation and examination was a decline of clerical formation.

In 1564 a synod was called in Lviv for bishops of Ruthenian lands. Bishops were commissioned to study the seminary question and to propose plans for the establishment of seminaries. This bore little fruit and the matter was allowed to rest both at the 1583 and 1593 synods in the aforementioned city. This was an indication perhaps of the lack of both the ability and the will of the ecclesiastical leaders to provide a superior education for the diocesan clergy of the area.

The laity also saw a decline in clerical education so much so that in 1593 Constantine Ostrosky, a layman, wanted to found a seminary in Ostrih and asked the pope to send Greek priests from Rome to educate the seminarians. This school at Ostrih was consistently overshadowed by the Jesuit College in the Commonwealth and hampered: “the competition was rapidly outpacing the Ruthenian revival, because the dearth of educated clergy and competent tutors was a persistent obstacle to its development.”

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89 Borys A. Gudziak, Crisis and Reform (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 84.
92 Slipyj 1969, 277.
93 Marusyn 1963, 56.
94 Gudziak, 141.
From the Council of Brest (1596) to the beginning of the Austrian Era (1772)

In the 16th and 17th centuries ecclesiastical lay-brotherhoods (confraternities) were proponents of education among the people and at the center of their cultural life. In Lviv, the Brotherhood of the Dormition was one of the most active. In 1586 a brotherhood school was established in that city. The brotherhood had intended to transform this school into a university. This was difficult due to the political situation at the time; nevertheless, “a formidable achievement of the confraternities was the organization of the first network of independent, but mutually sustaining, Orthodox schools in the Slavic East. Eventually, as at Ostrih, pedagogy in the confraternities was accompanied by publishing.”

The brotherhood-Mohyla school in Kyiv developed into the Kyivan Mohyla Academy. Eventually the Kyivan Metropolitan Peter Mohyla (1632–47) put his stamp on the value of education in the Kyivan Church. But the Kyivan Academy did not immediately address the need for specific clergy education:

Yet it must be remembered that while candidates for the priesthood studied at the brotherhood-Mohyla school from its beginnings in 1615, a full theology course was introduced only in 1640’s. The Academy was not a school for prospective priests alone, but for persons from all walks of life. The question of what proportion of priests in the Orthodox territories of Ukraine (Hetmanate and Slobidscyna) had a formal education and at what level still needs to be studied.

In 1596 the Kyivan Orthodox Church entered into formal union with the Successor of Peter, the Pope of Rome. Actually, Pope Clement VIII received the delegation on 23 December 1595 in the Vatican;

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96 Gudziak, 142.
however, this momentous event was proclaimed in October 1596 at the (Synod) Union of Brest.\footnote{Wasyl Lencyk, The Eastern Catholic Church and Czar Nicholas I \textit{(Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University Press, 1966)}, 9.} While in Rome preparing for this council, the bishops Cyril Terlecky and Ipaty Potij “...had plans for a seminary. The bishops asked that the Greek Peter Arcudius be assigned as its director”.\footnote{Senyk, 1987, 395.} Although this seminary remained but a plan when Arcudius arrived in Vilnius. Nonetheless, in 1601 a small seminary was opened. This seminary, small in structure, was probably closed soon after Arcudius left for Rome in 1609,\footnote{Senyk 1987, 396.} due to lack of interest.

In 1608 the Society of Jesus founded a school in Lviv. They had intended to found an academy from the very inception of their “\textit{Collegium}”. The Polish King Casimir II helped them realize their plan for an Academy when he signed a decree on 20 January 1661 which gave the Jesuit College the dignity of an Academy and the title of a University. This University had two faculties, one in Theology and one in Scholastic Philosophy.\footnote{Slipyj 1969, 275.} According to Slipyj, the Jesuit schools for educating prospective priests on Ukrainian lands were divided into two parts: the lower studies (\textit{studia inferiora}) and higher studies (\textit{superiora}). Since Vilnius was the only city where Ruthenians trained that had these two levels, it is safe to assume that for a majority of both clerical candidates and educated laymen there was usually the following lower studies course (gymnasium):\footnote{Slipyj 1969, 276.}

1. \textit{Infima class grammaticae}
2. \textit{Media classis grammaticae}
3. \textit{Suprema classis grammaticae} (\textit{syntaxis})
4. \textit{Humanitas} (\textit{polysis})
5/6. \textit{Rhetorica}.

Sophia Senyk in her article about the education of Ruthenian Clergy in the Greek Catholic Church writes about various seminaries until the time in 1772 when Galicia came under Austrian rule\footnote{Senyk 1987, 396-408.}. She mentions the following seminaries beginning with those in the city of Vilnius, the capital of the grand duchy of Lithuania:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Senyk, 1987, 395.
  \item Senyk 1987, 396.
  \item Slipyj 1969, 275.
  \item Slipyj 1969, 276.
  \item Senyk 1987, 396-408.
\end{itemize}
1. Vilnius (Vilna) Pontifical Seminary—founded 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII.
2. General Seminary in Vilnius was attempted by Bishop Joseph Velyamyn Rutsky (1623-1637) but was unrealized at the time of his death.
3. Navahrudek was maintained by Basilian monks (O.S.B.M).
4. Volodymyr Volynskyj was founded by Bishop Ipaty Poty about 1590s and lasted until about 1790s.
5. Kholm (Xolm) was founded by Bishop Methodius Terlecky in 1640.
6. Minsk was founded in 1650 and closed in approximately 1661.
7. Lviv Pontifical Seminary founded in 1709 and lasted until its suppression by Emperor Joseph II in 1784.

The Kyivan Catholic Metropolitanate was hampered by political movements which rendered the notion of a Ruthenian seminary untenable. The gradual encroachment by the Moscovite powers was soon to render both the union and clergy education impotent. Eventually the Church was unable to recover the momentum of earlier events and concentrated on monasteries and monks for its hierarchy and eparchial officials. The Ukrainian area of the Kyivan metropolitanate passed over to Russia in 1772:

The failure of the projects for the seminary hurt the Church under two aspects. The secular clergy remained uneducated in any higher sense, with all the consequences this had for the religious culture of their Church. Because of the backwardness of their clergy and their Church at large as well as due to pressures on them in their formative years to pass to the ‘safer and better’ rite, the nobility and gentry almost to a man abandoned their Church in favor of the Latin.105

This lack of attention to the education of the secular diocesan clergy was expressed in the synod of Zamość (1720) which required that candidates for the priesthood spend only six weeks in residence next to the Cathedral.106 This bespeaks a hierarchy that did not intend to make strict educational requirements an obligation since they realized that they could not be enforced.

Following the Union of Brest the Greek-Catholic Church had only one provincial synod in Zamość (1720). The synod of Zamość for some reason has not been studied in depth by Ukrainian Scholars.

105 Senyk 1987, 405.
There have been a small number of works on the synod but there is still much regarding the synod which remains to be studied. The work by Bilanych appears to be the one most often quoted in reference to this synod.107

At this period of her history the Ruthenian Church consisted of nine eparchies and the Kyivan Metropolitante. The Przemyśl eparchy had accepted the Union of Brest in 1692, the Lviv eparchy in 1700, the Lutsk eparchy in 1702 and the Stauropegian Brotherhood in 1708. The church had consolidated its position and was ready to take a good look at its situation.

The provincial synod in Zamość (1720) mandated that each bishop have a seminary and that in lieu of this they send their seminarians to the Theatine seminary in Lviv.108 Also, the Basilians had agreed to provide for the education of the so called “bile-white” clergy (i.e., diocesan). This need of educating diocesan clergy was reinforced in the various ways; yet, the Basilians had become ensconced in the highest ecclesiastical positions and were reluctant to educate diocesan clergy. The Basilians had become an order of prelates (ordo praelaticus). This systemic rise to positions of authority caused friction between the diocesan and the “chorne-black” (religious) clergy.

**Clergy Education in Galicia during the Early Austrian Period (1772-1882)**

The tension between the Basilians109 and the secular clergy had its beginning in the 1740s and proceeded apace until the early 1780s. The secular clergy were mostly married and thereby excluded from episcopal office. This had the effect of educating those who would

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108 Acta Synodi Zamoscensis, Tit. XV. De Studiis instaurandis et Seminariiis, 144.

109 The Basilians (O.S.B.M.), the Order of St. Basil the Great, was the only religious order for most of the history of the Greek Catholic Church.
hold a higher office. This had begun at Zamo[ (1720): “The same synod had enjoined upon the Basilians the task of establishing seminaries to educate the secular clergy, but the order did not take this duty seriously...The alienation of the bishops from the monks was intensified after 1743, when the monks were exempted from the bishops’ jurisdiction.”110 This tension would exist overtly until 23 September 1781 when Peter Biliansky became the first candidate from the secular clergy to be elevated to the episcopacy in the UGCC:

With the death of Bishop Leo Sheptyts’kyi, the question of whether only Basilians could be elevated to the episcopal dignity was posed concretely and acutely. Empress Maria Theresa nominated Petr Biliansky, a secular priest, in fact, canon111 (Domherr) of the Lviv cathedral chapter. The Basilians resisted the nomination fiercely, both in Vienna and Rome, but only succeeded in delaying, not preventing, his consecration.112

Maria Theresa wanted to correct this inequality in clergy education by establishing the “Barbareum” (1774-1784, replaced by crown boarding school 1808-1893) in Vienna113. This seminary was opened on October 15, 1775 and ceased functioning on 1 May 1784 because Joseph II wanted to close eparchial seminaries and open only general seminaries.

The Greek seminary in Rome was the paradigm for both the Barbarium and the seminary in Lviv.114 Slipyj gives the following analysis of the importance of the Barbarium in Galician clerical education: “(they-seminarians) studied the state German language and got to know the state and official customs; therefore it is no wonder that having been formed in the Barbarium they occu-

111 The cathedral chapter was called in Ukrainian, krylos or kapitul[a]; in German Domkapitel.
112 Himka 1991, 45.
113 The “Oriental Academy-Barbareum”, was a Greek Catholic Seminary founded by Empress Maria Theresa in 1774 at St. Barbara’s Church in Vienna for the education of Greek Catholic clergy within the Austrian Empire. The full name for the seminary was: Regium generale Seminarium Graeco-Catholicum Viennae ad Sanctam Barbaram. From about 1847-1892 in Vienna the Central Theological Greek Catholic Seminary or “Second Barbarium” trained Greek Catholic clergy.
114 The Greek College of St. Athanasius (Rome) was planned still by Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585). Belorussian and Ruthenian Basilians studied there. In 1623 secular clergy began to study and attend classes at the Propaganda University.
pied leading roles as bishops, consistory officials, professors and doctors... (-the *Barbareum* prepared the foundations for the General Greek Catholic Seminary in Lviv.)

The seminary rule book was issued in the summer of 1780 and was called “*Regii Seminarii Graeco-Catholici Viennae ad Sanctam Barbaram recens fundati Leges atque institutions.*” Once again, this work was modeled on the Greek College of St. Athanasius in Rome where both Iosyf Bastashych and Bozhychkovych studied. In fact, there were eight future seminary rectors and six bishops who studied in this seminary: Povchiy, Tarkovych, Skorodynskiy, Anhelovych, Vulkan and Stanych.

In 1776 Leo Sheptytsky, the Ruthenian Bishop of Lviv wanted to establish a one year temporary seminary next to the Cathedral of St. George as a reaction against the 6-8 years of formal studies proposed by the Austrian authorities. His attitude in this regard is reflected in the terminology of the day for villagers in Galicia: “temne prostoliudy—uneducated masses”. These had no need or appreciation for educated clergy. The reasons put forward for this minimalist education are as follows: 1. the priests will have no occasion to use scholastic disputations in the village. They need to teach only the mysteries of faith and tradition; 2. It is wishful thinking to believe that those educated in theology and canon law will want to serve in a poor parish; 3. Until the benefice becomes more substantial only those educated in the one year diocesan seminary will want to serve in the village.

The rationale that the diocesan clergy could be relegated to a lesser form or standard of education would characterize much of the clerical educational system of Galicia. It would not be apparent that the needs of the Gospel merit more and not less education for the village clergy. This minimalist approach to clergy education permeated much of the decision making until the twentieth century in Galicia.

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118 Androkhovych, *ZNTSh* vol. 131 (1921), 130.
Joseph II established the Latin Rite general seminary in 1783. Also, there were five Ruthenian seminaries in Galicia in the late eighteenth century (1779-1792): The diocesan seminary in Lviv, Halych, Kamenets, Bari and the Peremyshl seminary founded by Athanaziy Sheptytsky. The Lviv diocesan seminary was the paradigm for the seminary in Halych, Kamenets and Bari. This seminary existed from 1779 until 1 September 1792. The seminary curriculum included moral and pastoral theology, catechesis and homiletics, chant and liturgics and politics. They used manuals or “kazusy” in their classes. The seminarians were responsible for their own room and board and the following description of the methodology is available:

The professors taught in a lecture style, and for more difficult lessons the students were given the professors’ scripts for copying. Classes were held on weekday mornings and afternoons with the exception of Sunday and Holy days. The language of instruction was the vernacular (Vernacula lingua ruthena), intermixed according to the local custom with the standard language... Aside from the Ukrainian language lessons were taught in Polish.

This seminary system was also very flexible in adapting to the perceived needs of the parish. Since the students also took care of their own room and board it was desirable to keep the length of studies to a minimum so as to minimize the cost. “Therefore the time spent at the seminary could last from 2 weeks to 4 years. Education swiftly taught is often education swiftly forgotten.

Another interesting fact is that most of the seminarians were not from villages because serfdom existed in a strict sense in Galicia until 1848 and in a social constrictive sense for much of the next century. In other words, the poor were socially unable to enter seminaries for many years. The landlords saw to it that illiteracy would flourish among the serfs and keep them in bondage.

120 Androkhovych, ZNTSh, v. 131 (1921),133.
121 Androkhovych, 134.
122 Androkhovych, 134.
The lack of education put the peasantry at a great disadvantage during the feudal conflict with the landlord. When the nobility voted down Snihursky’s proposal to found more schools in 1848, they derisively asked: Should we establish more schools so that the peasants can write more complaints against us to the circle authorities?\textsuperscript{123}

Yet the Ruthenian priests were to become a powerful force both in village life and in politics. They would become the translators, teachers and informal leaders of the people in the village. This would demand more than just a cursory education:

It was a sign of the clergy’s prominence at the village level that priests continued to make up about fifty percent of the Ruthenian delegation to the Diet throughout the 1870s. Moreover, respect for priests and their learning carried over into the first direct elections to the Reichsrat in 1873. Eleven of the sixteen Ruthenian representatives elected were priests, and a further one was a cantor, a fact which can in part be attributed to the desire to send delegates to the Reichsrat who could speak German and understand the proceedings.\textsuperscript{124}

In the University of Lviv (1784) the \textit{Studium Ruthenum} (1787-1809) was established for those students who did not understand Latin.\textsuperscript{125} The Galician metropolitinate was restored to Lviv in 1808 when it had but one suffragan, Peremyshl. After 1817 the University of Lviv offered instruction in German. Many elementary schools continued to teach in Polish.

The Peremyshl Eparchy had various seminary systems during the course of its history. Their seminarians at one time were sent to Lviv to study at the Theatine (\textit{Collegium Pontificum-\textit{Collegio Sive}


\textsuperscript{125} The most detailed work of Studium Ruthenum was done by the Ukrainian scholar Amvrosii Androkhhovych “L’ivske Studium Ruthenum” in Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka (ZNTSh) (Lviv): v. 131 (1921), 123-195; v. 132 (1922), 185-217; v. 136-137 (1923), 43-105; v. 146 (1927), 33-118; v. 150 (1929), 1-80. There is a shorter account by Ivan Krevetsky (Krevč’kyj) “Neopravdani dokory. Do istorii t. zy. ‘Ryskoho Instituy’ (Studium Ruthenum) na lvivskim universyseti.” (ZNTSh-Lviv) v. 102 (1911), 116-126.
Seminario Leopoli Pro Ruthenis et Armenis Fundato) seminary in Lviv. This situation was fraught with various difficulties and inequities. The Theatine Fathers discriminated against Greek Catholic bishops and theologians. In the course of ten years 1762-1772, as is witnessed by Bishop Sheptytsky’s letter, which he sent to the nuncio Grimaldi, the Theatine fathers educated one priest, the pastor of Nehrybky, who was in their seminary four years, and in 1772 the Theatines refused to accept candidates from the Peremyshl eparchy, citing a depletion of funds.

These and similar difficulties were experienced by the Peremyshl seminarians. These seminarians remained in the Lviv General seminary for all four years until 1845, and for three years until 1919 when they finally built their own large seminary building. Francis I on 28 May 1802 had given his acquiescence for the establishment of a seminary in Peremyshl. Although this did not precipitate the establishment of a seminary in Peremyshl at that time it did add impetus for priests of this eparchy to be more involved in the Lviv General Seminary.

After the reform of Joseph II the course of studies for the priesthood in the Lviv general seminary was divided into a two-year course of philosophy and a four year course of theology. Because the Peremyshl seminarians studied in Lviv they were also recipients of this curriculum. The eparchy of Stanyslaviv had not yet been established. The following is a table based on Hrynyk (p. 105-6) which outlines the course of studies during this period.

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126 The Theatines, aside from the eparchies of Lviv and Peremyshl, also trained seminarians from the eparchies of Sambir and Lutsk. The Theatine seminary was closed on 30 June 1783.
128 Hrynyk, 102.
129 Hrynyk, 104.
130 Hrynyk, 104. The following were priests of the Peremyshl Eparchy who were prefects in Lviv: Aytal Vitoshynsky (served, 1836-1837), Iosyf Levytsky (served, 1838-1842), and Dr. Antin Yuczynsky (served, 1839-1848).
Table 2 Curriculum at Lviv General Seminary before 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2: Second Year</td>
<td></td>
<td>Religion, Philosophy, Latin Philology, Physics and World History.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II: THEOLOGY</td>
<td>1. First Year</td>
<td>History of the Church, Biblical Archaeology, Introduction to the Old Testament and Oriental Languages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Third Year</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dogmatic and Moral Theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Fourth Year</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pastoral Theology, Catechetics and Methodology.</td>
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In 1819 there was an allowance made for academically weaker seminarians to complete the course of studies in a three-year shortened course in order to solve a clergy shortage.\(^{131}\)

Senyk elaborates the way in which the upper class of Ruthenian society became alienated from their Church. The seminaries were not simply schools for the education of clergy but also schools for the education of society. It is one of their inadequacies that they were not able during the 16\(^{th}\) and 17\(^{th}\) centuries to fulfill their mission in this regard. In short, not only were the seminaries unable to educate the clergy properly, they were also gradually alienating the intelligentsia from their church.

A major factor in the literary history of the Ruthenians in Galicia, which came under Austrian rule in 1772 and 1774, was the alienation of aristocracy and intelligentsia from their historic culture. Polish influence became prevalent and the Ruthenians lost the social and intellectual upper structure of their national group, including a large part of the clergy,

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\(^{131}\) Hrynyk, 106.
to the Poles. The Union of Brest in 1596 opened for Ruthenians a spiritual center, seemingly close enough to their own national tradition, but failed to open to her members the door to equal status in Polish society.\textsuperscript{132}

The situation for the education of diocesan secular clergy did appear grave at this point and perhaps this was the nadir of clergy education in the Greek Catholic Church. The Basilian monks had access to advanced seminaries and monastic schools while diocesan priests were hampered by poor salaries and difficult social circumstances. The Basilian Order was reorganized in 1617 by Metropolitan Velamyn Rutsky (1613-1637) under one protoarchimandrite.\textsuperscript{133} Because of this centralized organization the Basilians attained influential status in the church:

This order had extensive influence on the metropolitinate of Kyjiv and on its canonical and liturgical development, because after 1617 all bishops were Basilians until the time of the partition of Poland. The bishops’ curias were predominantly staffed by Basilians. Thanks to the efforts of Metropolitan Rutskyj, to the active leadership of the Basilians, and to the continuous support of the hierarchy, the monks received higher education, comparable to that obtained by the Latin rite clergy in their own and in various pontifical seminaries.\textsuperscript{134}

Many diocesan priests did not have access to higher education nor were they encouraged to study. Some clergy were forced to take secular employment due to their financial straits. In other words, there was much that was not conducive to higher education among the secular clergy. Such was the dire case of clerical education that: “in the reports to Rome of nuncios and other Latin ecclesiastics the secular clergy is depicted as uniformly uncouth and ignorant, not even knowing how to administer the sacraments properly.”\textsuperscript{135} This viewpoint, however, was colored by foreigners who thought that the Slavic languages were not capable of conveying theological and any higher thought; consequently, although the assessment was reasonable it was culturally conditioned and at times incomplete.


\textsuperscript{133} P. Choma, “Mityropolit Yosyf Rutsky i Yoho osvitni zmahannya - Metropolitan Joseph Rutsky and his Educational Efforts,” Bohoslovia (Lviv) (1923): 277-283.

\textsuperscript{134} Blazeyovsky 1975, 5.
With the annexation of Galicia by Austria in 1772 the prospect of improved education for clergy became possible and the opportunities for national life expanded: “Much of this changed during the reigns of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. Furthering of Ruthenian seminaries by both rulers in Vienna (1774) and Lwów [Lviv] (1783) and the establishment of the new Polish University in Lwów in 1784 with at least some offerings in the Ruthenian language enhanced the Ruthenian status.” In the history of Galicia it was Austria which began to tackle the problem of illiteracy and lack of education. This general trend was not based on scholarship but on the idea of having a literate and functional populace. This dramatic push towards general education in Galicia reverberated within the walls of the church and for this reason is worthy of consideration.

**Austrian Education and its Galician Developments**

In 1772 Galicia (Halycyna) passed under Austrian rule. This also coincided with the dissolution of the Jesuit order. It was at this time, under the rule of Maria Theresa, the archduchess of Austria and the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and Emperor Joseph II that what was so difficult to accomplish through ecclesiastical circles was done so via government circles:

Furthering of Ruthenian seminaries by both rulers in Vienna (1774) and Lwów (1783) and the establishment of the new Polish university in Lwów in 1784 with at least some offerings in the Ruthenian language enhanced the Ruthenian status. These concessions were withdrawn, however, in the early nineteenth century, and teachings in Ruthenian on the academic level resumed only after 1848, on a limited scale. The same applied to conditions at the University of Czernowitz (Cernivtsi, Cernăuți), founded in 1875.

This is important to keep in mind because the Habsburg influence of Austrian Empire, the Romanov influence of the Russian Empire and the nationalist interests of the Polish gentry and

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135 Senyk, 1987, 413.
137 Kann, 392.
nobility all vied for influence among the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) people of Galicia.\textsuperscript{139}

In 1773 a Synod of Greek Catholic bishops was called to discuss some of the irregularities of printing books. At this synod the bishops authorized which books to print because there were several instances of stopping the presses in mid-run. This was also the synod which officially approved the name Greek-Catholic (\textit{Griechisch-katolisch}) for the Ruthenian Church, which over the years preceding this Synod had been called: \textit{Rutheni catholici}, \textit{Rutheni uniti} or “just simply \textit{uniti} and \textit{non uniti} were used especially by Polish religious as well as lay circles in order to underline the singularity of Ukrainian Catholicism and to imply its inferiority \textit{vis-à-vis} their own Roman Catholicism. The Orthodox in Eastern Europe also used the name ‘\textit{Uniatè}’ pejoratively.”\textsuperscript{140}

In 1773 the expulsion of the Jesuits provided the financial resources which helped fund a good deal of the educational reform of Maria Theresa (1740-80) and her government. This fund (\textit{Exjesuitenkasse}) helped to operate printing presses in normal schools so that school commissions could standardize texts. “Ex-Jesuit property and capital enabled the monarchy to establish normal schools in virtually every province, an achievement that helped create the most advanced system of teacher training in Europe.”\textsuperscript{141} This fund enabled the monarchy in 1774 to engage the most ambitious reform of elementary education in Europe: “Maria Theresa’s General School Ordinance (\textit{Allgemeine Schulordnung}) required that every child between the ages of six and thirteen learn how to read and write.”\textsuperscript{142}

This movement towards general education came about fifty years after the emergence of \textit{pietism}.\textsuperscript{143} In this manner predominant Catholic Austria began to see education as a bastion of religious orthodoxy and good order; consequently, it was placed within the scope of the government:

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{139} Himka 1999, 8-12.
\item \textsuperscript{140} A. Velyky, “Greek Catholic church,” in Encyclopedia of Ukraine, 1st ed.
\item \textsuperscript{141} James Van Horn Melton, Absolutism and the eighteenth-century origins of compulsory schooling in Prussia and Austria (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 233.
\item \textsuperscript{142} Melton, 61.
\item \textsuperscript{143} An approach to Christianity associated with German writers in the seventeenth century, that places an emphasis on the personal appropriation of faith and need for holiness.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
One by one, Maria Theresa declared institutions previously administered by ecclesiastical corporations – censorship, university faculties, secondary schools, and primary schools – to be a *politicum*, a realm of activity in which the state had a legitimate interest and thus the authority to intervene.\textsuperscript{144}

This idea was reflected in a brand of pietism called *cameralism*. This basic idea spread to seminary education where there was a mechanistic element which tended toward utilitarianism. People needed to fulfill their state in life and maintain a balance in society (*Gleichgewicht*):

Education was to achieve this balance by schooling individuals for work in the occupations in which they were born, thereby contributing to the social whole. Schools were to be organized in such a way as to eliminate imbalances in the social order, whether these took the form of idle beggars loitering in the streets or plebian students lingering in universities.\textsuperscript{145}

This would be reflected in the 1891 Synod of Lviv which describes the goal of clerical education under addition 35 to Title 8, Chapter 2: “The goal of the major seminary is to properly coordinate the formation of clerics so that these would inculcate those characteristics which are necessary for the servants of God and pastors in the proper execution of their office.”\textsuperscript{146} This would be slightly modified with the understanding that “for ecclesiastical men, especially in today’s world, education connected to piety is necessary.”\textsuperscript{147}

Maria Theresa established a printing house in Vienna for Eastern Catholics and a Greek Catholic seminary in 1774, modeled on the Greek College in Rome, at St. Barbara’s Church in Vienna which was called “Barbareum”.\textsuperscript{148} This seminary was eventually closed in 1784. It was also in 1777 that the Austrian Empire introduced three types of state-run schools: “the six-grade normal school (only one in Lviv), the four grade major school (in middle-sized towns and monasteries), and the trivium school (the lowest open to everyone).”

\textsuperscript{144} Ibid., 79.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid., 119.
\textsuperscript{146} “Dodatok do Sobora Lvovskoho 1891 - The Supplement to the Lviv Synod of 1891,” in Synod of Lviv 1891 held in Lviv 1891, (Lviv: Z Drukarni Stavropihivskoho Instytuta, 1897), 443.
\textsuperscript{147} Dodatok, 444.
\textsuperscript{148} The Encyclopedia of Ukraine gives the following reference work on this Viennese seminary: W. Plöch’s St Barbara zu Wien: die Geschichte der griechisch-katholischen Kirche und Zentralpharre St. Barbara (2 vols, 1975).
This educational reform culminated in Joseph II introducing compulsory universal education for every community that had at least 90-100 children.149 This educational reform would provide the base of students from which the seminaries would choose their candidates, especially those attending a gymnasium.

In Lviv, Bishop Lev Sheptytsky had plans in 1776 to establish a seminary; however, his appointment as Metropolitan in 1778 and its concurrent administrative duties delayed the project. His sudden death on 13 May 1778 put an end to that project150. A Greek-Catholic General Theological seminary, however, was established in 1783 which had some previous historical counterpart with the Armenian/Ruthenian seminary run by the Theatines.151 This seminary was a replacement for the “Barbareum” seminary in Vienna. Lviv University was subsequently re-established in 1784. This university was also a source of clerical education: “A temporary institute, the Studium Ruthenum, was set up within the university in 1787 for candidates for the priesthood who did not know Latin.”152

All of these renewals of educational establishments were attempts of the Austrian government to replace the Jesuit educational institutions left vacant by the departure of the Jesuits in 1773. Among the government institutions in Galicia there were four Gymnasia at which:

Most of the students were of Polish nobles or of German or Czech officials. In 1784, however, Josef II decreed that only gymnasium graduates would be admitted to seminaries and established Lviv University and the Academic Gymnasium of Lviv for training Greek Catholic priests with a command of Ukrainian (Ruthenian). The medium of instruction was Latin, with German as an auxiliary language. Ukrainian was taught as a subject. In 1818 the curriculum was expanded from five to six grades; two more grades were added in 1849.153

The aforementioned advancement and establishment of educational institutions for the Greek-Catholics within the realm of the Austrian Empire did not have the same auspicious success in the East-

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150 In 1776 he gave to the Gubernia a seminary project for a 1 year course and he even built a building for the seminary.
151 Senyk suggests the book by Blażejovsky “Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical Seminaries of Lviv” as a reference for prior attempts at establishing a Greek-Catholic seminary in Galicia.
ern regions of Ukrainian territory. During the time preceding and following the partitions of Poland (1772 – 1793 – 1795) the Empress Catherine II (1762-1796) used every means at her disposal to eradicate the Greek-Catholic Church. Such was her policy that the approximate numerical cost to the Church has been listed as follows. During this period of conversion through violence, the Uniat Church lost 9,000 of 11,000 parishes, 145 monasteries, and more than 8,000,000 people. About 1,500 churches remained in Union along with approximately 2,000,000 people. The death of the Empress in 1796 ended further persecution.154

The anti-Greek Catholic bias continued in 1901 when Czar Nicholas I became ruler of the Russian Empire following the assassination of his father on 13 March of that same year. During Nicholas’ reign the Greek Catholic Church was subordinate to the Roman Catholic College, a branch of the so-called “Department for Foreign Religion’ and part of the Ministry of Education.”155 This very Ministry of Education was responsible for acting as an agent for the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church in Russian territory. Bludov, the Vice Minister of Education, used the education of clergy as a tool for the liquidation of the Church.

In 1805 Lviv University was demoted to a lyceum and universal education was repealed and the Ukrainian trivium schools were closed, not to be revived until Lviv University was re-opened in 1817.156 In the local villages of Galicia the parish schools were gradually being transformed into trivium schools. “The gubernial circular of 11 May 1848 (no. 6286) was based on the outcome of the debate in the Beirat. It mandated instruction in the local language in the trivium and, in cases of mixed nationality, in both languages.”157 Polish scholars have studied this period and have left us an interesting work which deals with primary education in Galicia.158

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154 Lencyk 1966, 15.
155 Lencyk 1966, 28.
The new Ministry of Public Instruction led by Franz Seraphin Exner (1802-1853) began to reform secondary and higher education. In July of 1848 they began printing the seminal document of this reform which was not printed in its entirety until Exner left office: “Proposal of the Basic Feature of Public Education in Austria”.159 This “proposal” required a general examination of intellectual maturity. This exam was officially called Maturitatsprufung or Reifeprufung equivalent to the Arbitur required for admission to Prussian universities after 1834.160 This Maturitatsprufung would be the criteria for admission in all the seminaries of Galicia.

In June of 1848 in Lviv the Halytsko-Ruska Matytsia an educational society for Ruthenians was established by the Supreme Ruthenian Council. It was coopted by Russophiles; consequently, the pro-Ukrainian forces established the Prosvita society in 1868 and in 1874 the Russophile priest Ivan Naumovych founded the Kachkovs’kyi Society.161 According to Hugo Lane the Greek Catholic hierarchy was opposed to both of the former attempts at educating the peasantry. This would of course influence their education of clergy:

When Ivan Naumovych, a prominent supporter of the Russian-oriented views preferred by the Greek Catholic hierarchy, founded the Mykhailo Kachkovs’kyi Literary Society as an alternative organization for encouraging peasant education, those associated with the hierarchy were no more inclined to back it than they had been to back Prosvita. Thus, the Greek Catholic hierarchy appears to have been bothered by the very idea that the elite should do anything more than tell the peasants what to do.162

The July 1848 proposal was implemented differently in Galicia than in the Alpine or Bohemian lands, especially at Lviv University. Here, the Austrians attempted to give more independence, self-governance and new curricula: “In 1849 the chair of Ruthenian literature was established in L’viv University and was occupied by Ya. [Yakiv]

159 Its official name was Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens in Österreich.
160 Cohen, 22. The Maturitatsprufung test was often colloquially referred to as the Matura.
161 The author includes the statutes of this Galician society in this citation. Paul Robert Magocsi, The Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism - Galicia as Ukraine’s Piedmont (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 118-158.
Holovatsky.”

Ukrainian also became the language of instruction in many secondary schools until 1867 when Polish replaced it as the language of instruction in secondary schooling and the University of Lviv.

The regulations of 1849 established a test to verify educational achievement, a Maturitatsprüfung or popularly known as Matura. To take the Matura, a student must have reached eighteen years of age and completed the eight-year curriculum of the Gymnasium, either as an enrolled student or as an external or ‘private’ student who had passed all the course examinations. The oral portions of the Matura were administered by panels of Gymnasium professors chaired by the provincial Gymnasium inspector or some other official designated by the higher educational authorities. Students who failed might take the Matura again after six or twelve months, but only in exceptional cases could a student attempt it a third time. In principle, completing Gymnasium studies and passing a Matura administered by an accredited Gymnasium granted the student admission to any Austrian University; and the Matura soon became a qualification for many civil service positions. It also, as stated earlier, became a qualification for entrance into the Lviv general seminary.

The Realschulen was guided by a document issued by the Austrian Emperor in March of 1851 called “Organization of Manufacturing Instruction in General and the Establishment of Realschulen in Particular”. There was no Matura and no foreign languages in this type of school. During the next two decades the Austrians operated enhanced vocational secondary schools. Higher education, however, especially of clergy was handed over to the episcopacy. The episcopate, populated by both socially elite and monastics saw little need for the education of a local parish priest who would most likely remain in a village setting for years:

...in 1855 the state signed a Concordat with the Vatican that gave the Catholic Church broad powers over Austrian education and marriage law while reducing government intervention in the internal administration of the Church. Leo Thun considered the primary function of the Catholic theological faculties in the uni-

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164 A comprehensive qualifying exam used for entrance into a university or into a civil service position.
165 Cohen, 28.
166 Cohen, 31.
versities to be the training of prospective clergy, and the ministry left those faculties under the bishops’ control. As a result, there was little concerted effort during the 1850s to raise their academic standards.\footnote{Cohen, 33. On page 306 in footnote 68 Cohen writes the following: “One sign of the different standards for the theological faculties in the 1850s was the ordinance of the Ministry of Religion and Instruction issued on 26 May 1851, Z. 5123, allowing admission to theological studies on an exceptional basis of students who had completed the eighth year of a Gymnasium but had not passed the Matura.”}

One of the results of the ministerial ordinance of January 1854 and the Concordat of 1855 “…established episcopal oversight over Gymnasien to assure the Christian moral content of education the neo-absolutist government…exempted a number of regular clergy, including Jesuits, from the new educational requirements for secondary school teachers”\footnote{Cohen, 34.}
The Catholic Church slowly began to control theological faculties and the Jesuits operated the new theological faculty at Innsbruck in 1857.\footnote{Eventually this faculty would be known by the name “Canisianum”.}

In Galicia “the provincial law of 22 June 1867, Article XIX of the 1867 Constitution and the Imperial School Laws of 14 May and 20 July 1869 provided the basis for the educational system in Galicia.”\footnote{Ann Sirka, The Nationality Question in Austrian Education - The Case of Ukrainians Galicia 1867-1914 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter D. Lang, 1980), 204.}

From this point the province controlled educational matters where there was a provincial, district and local board for each community. The provincial school board reported to Vienna.

In 1867 Poles acquired administrative control of Galicia within the Empire and the Ukrainians/Ruthenians attempted to function within a society in which they held limited political power and where political unrest was fueled from many sources: “…in 1882 and again on the eve of World War I, the Austrian government held treason trials in Galicia in which local Old Ruthenians and Russophiles were accused of promoting Orthodoxy and thereby tsarist Russian political aims against the Habsburg Empire.”\footnote{Magocsi 2002, 24. For a detailed account of Russiphiles and National Populism in Galicia see: John-Paul Himka, in his book “Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine” 1999, 138-149.}

Article 19 of the December 1867 constitutional laws “guaranteed the full ‘equality of all the languages customarily spoken in each crown land [aller landesüblichen Sprachen] in school.”\footnote{Cohen, p. 39.}
The loss of church involvement in general education allowed the church to focus on seminary education, and for the state to continue its school reform. “The recurrent liberal image of clerical darkness versus contemporary light encouraged the new regime to ambitious plans for education. The May 1868 school law made eight years of primary education compulsory.”\(^{173}\) The state and the church both saw education as primarily at the service of their institutions. That is, they thought education should be minimal and functional. They saw little need to raise the educational level of the entire population of the nation or the clergy.

The status of higher education in Eastern Galicia was limited to the University of Lviv\(^ {174}\) which was established on the site of the Lviv Jesuit Academy (1661) on 21 October 1784. Although theology had been taught in Ruthenian to the seminarians of the Greek Catholic Church, essentially it was a German language institution until 1870. After that, Vienna had planned to have both Ukrainian and Ruthenian become languages of instruction: “In an administration dominated by Poles, the result was to be foreseen. Within the three year limit stipulated by the patent Lviv University became a Polish institution.”\(^ {175}\) This transition would be an impetus for a more intense work in transforming the seminary system for the Galician Greek Catholics into an intellectual institution.

**Education in Galicia Following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867**

There are three developments of educational reform in the Austrian-Hungarian period: Thun-Exner reforms, the reform of German liberal Cabinets between 1867 and 1879 and the great growth period for public education, both civil and religious, after the mid 1890s.\(^ {176}\) In and following 1849 the governmental office in charge of education was officially called *Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht* (Ministry of Religion and Instruction) or abbreviated KUM.


\(^{174}\) Although Ruthenian/Ukrainian students attended all the universities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Wien, Gratz, Innsbruck, Prague, Lemberg, Krakow and Czernowitz) it is the University of Lemberg (Lviv) which affected political and ecclesiastical life in Galicia.

\(^{175}\) Sirka, 140.

\(^{176}\) Gary B. Cohen, Education and Middle Class Society in Imperial Austria 1848-1914 (*West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press*, 1996), 84.
The 1867 constitutional laws promised language instruction in the people’s native tongue. “As Polish propertied interests took over much of the administration of Galicia during the constitutional era, their efforts to consolidate a full system of Polish-language education collided with Ukrainian cultural aspirations in the eastern part of the province.”

This continued apace during the 1870s. “In 1860 the Poles quickly established Polish as the language of instruction in the secondary schools of western Galicia although some German-language schools remained in eastern Galicia, where the Jewish population was denser.”

...in the Carpathian lands the Ukrainians, or Rusins/Ruthenians as they were often called there, still had little secondary education in their mother tongue.”

The influential Polish noble landowners in Galicia worked during the 1860s and 1870s to establish Polish as the language of instruction in the universities of Krakow and Lviv. In the 1850s German instruction had predominated in Lviv and even in Krakow, which had only Latin and Polish lectures before 1846; but the Galician Diet won the gradual conversion of both universities to Polish-language instruction after 1860. Polish was the basic language of instruction in both universities by 1871.

In the Galician government the Polish authorities had support from other circles: “...the Czech educator Josef Jirecek served as minister of religion and instruction in the short-lived Hohenwart cabinet in 1871.... (he supported) “...the conversion of the university of Lviv to Polish-language instruction.” This would come to influence those theological students of the UGCC who were studying at the same university and inspire them to seek their own Ukrainian University in Lviv.

In November 1871 German liberals regained control of cabinet. “With Stremayr in charge, the ministry insisted that the law faculties in Krakow and Lviv offer their courses on German law in German.”

In 1875 “to compensate in part for the loss of German-language university education in Galicia, the central government founded in

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177 Cohen, 45.
178 Cohen, 46.
179 Cohen, 47.
180 Cohen, 47-48.
181 Cohen, 48.
1875 a new German-language university in remote Bukovina, the Francis Joseph University of Chernivtsi (Czernowitz, Cernauti) April 1878 requirements for teacher certification include passing an examination in German...”\textsuperscript{182} In 1879 Conservative forces came to power.

The development of Polish language primary schools and gymnasien moved at a determined pace during the Period of Polish autonomy. The school system in Ruthenian territory also began to develop:

By 1910, there were 2,457 Ruthenian (Ukrainian)-language primary schools in the province, though these were largely one- or two-room affairs. By 1914, there were six Ruthenian state gymnasias; in addition, some 15 private educational institutions of various sorts were set up by the Ruthenian intelligentsia.\textsuperscript{183}

The situation was different for Ukrainian women who had to struggle for education. “For Ukrainian women, the two most important gymnasias were those in Przemyśl and Lviv. Public high schools for girls were authorized in December 1900, but government funds for them were limited.”\textsuperscript{184}

The policy of the government was to dispose of any Latin spirit or any thought that would oppose the forced reunion of Greek-Catholics with Orthodoxy. This “uniate” policy of the government was to be accomplished in great part by re-educating clergy:

The Russian Government forbid candidates to enroll in any seminary in Rome (1830) or in the General Seminary in Vilno. The purpose of this prohibition, clearly enough, was to separate all Uniat seminarians from any contact with Catholic centers, particularly Rome, where students were once enrolled at the Propaganda College of the Greek Seminary. There were two seminaries at this time that served the intended purpose of the Russian Government, the White Ruthenian in Polotski and the Lithuanian in Zyrowyci.\textsuperscript{185}

The result of all this educational manipulation was the change in the mind set of the clergy of the Greek-Catholic Church in the Russian Empire. The formal acceptance of the Greek-Catholic Church into the

\textsuperscript{182} Cohen, 48.
\textsuperscript{183} Sorokowsky, 51.
\textsuperscript{184} Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Feminists Despite Themselves-Women in Ukrainian Community Life 1884-1939 (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988), 63.
\textsuperscript{185} Lencyk 1966, 46.
fold of the Russian Orthodox Church was proclaimed on 30 March 1839.\textsuperscript{186} This effectively terminated most of the public Greek-Catholic activity within the Russian Empire. The Greek Eparchy of CheBm, north of Galicia, was the only eparchy left in the Russian eparchy.\textsuperscript{187} This eparchy was absorbed by Orthodoxy in 1875. From the 1840s until this very day, the Greek-Catholic educational system for clergy has been concentrated in Galicia, Rome, Austria and the United States of America.

In Galicia, under the constitution of 1867, the Poles gained control of the educational system. This affected the seminary system in Galicia which at that time was the only place in addition to Rome where Greek-Catholic Clergy could obtain an education. It became difficult for the seminary because Ukrainian Gymnasia and Ukrainian classes at Polish Gymnasia steadily declined.\textsuperscript{188} Consequently, those entering the seminary system for Greek-Catholics were less than adequately prepared.

In this chapter we see the positive steps taken in clergy education beginning with the Council of Brest and expanding throughout the Austrian Era. It can be said that the Austrian government, and especially Maria Theresa, placed the Greek-Catholic Church on the road to a highly educated eparchial clergy. Of course, there were several obstacles and halting steps on this road; nevertheless, it can be positively stated that under Austria clergy education began in earnest for the Greek Catholic Church.

In the following chapter we will discuss the impact of the reform of the Basilian Order (O.S.B.M.) had upon clergy education in Galicia. This reform, conducted by the Society of Jesus, found its concrete formulation in the Lviv Provincial Council of 1891. Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky as Bishop of Stanyslaviv (1899) and then as Metropolitan of Lviv was a product of the Basilian reform in Dobromyl and an active agent of seminary reform. It was only the advent of World War I that delayed his vision of seminary education.

\textsuperscript{186} Lencyk 1966, 112.
\textsuperscript{187} Himka 1999, 32.
\textsuperscript{188} P. Polishchuk and B. Struminsky, “Gymnasium,” in Encyclopedia of Ukraine, 1st ed.
CHAPTER THREE:

BASILIAN REFORM OF CLERGY EDUCATION
(1882-1918)

In 1921 Amvrosii Androkhovych (1879-1942), the Ukrainian historian and professor at the Ukrainian Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv (1941-42), wrote the following regarding the state of scholarship in the field of seminary education:

The history of education on the territory of Galician Ukraine in the second half of the XVIII c. and from the first half of the XIX c. is unexplored. If we were simply to limit ourselves to Ukrainian education, then we do not have a history of diocesan seminaries: Lviv, Galicia, Peremyshl, Kamenets, Bari, Cholm, Lutsk and Mykachiv seminaries. 189

Androkhovych goes on to provide a most impressive serial history of the Studii rutheni or the teaching of Philosophy, Theology and Law at Lviv University from 1787 to 1809. In 1935 this lacuna in the history of clerical education in Galicia would find confirmation in the works of Yosyf Slipyj, 190 rector of the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary and Theological Academy in Lviv, who would echo the following thoughts:

The history of Ukrainian Catholic education awaits its delineation (completion). Truly, we have a few serious works...but no one to da-te has attempted a work which is chronological, systematic and comprehensive. This applies also to a history of the theological seminary in Lviv which in 1933 celebrated the 150th jubilee of its existence. 191

191 Slipyj 1935, 5.
In this chapter the UGCC will be considered during the last period of Austrian rule when Galicia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a province (crown land). A short history of Galicia will present the complex multi-national empire which held its power in a tenuous grasp and what Count Taaffee phrased: “...the art of governing Austria consisted in keeping all its nationalities in a state of ‘well-tempered discontent’.”

This chapter discuses the reform of the Basilian Order (O.S.B.M.) by the Society of Jesus (S.J.) and its subsequent influence upon the seminary system in Galicia. The chapter concludes with the influence of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky of Lviv upon seminary education in Galicia.

This chapter is primarily concerned with Habsburg Austria after the Compromise of 1867, which created the Dual Monarchy. This was a complex multinational state, for “each half of the monarchy was really a multinational state. In the Kingdom of Hungary its Magyars were predominant, while in the Austrian half of the empire the Germans had a privileged position.” I am concerned primarily and almost exclusively with the Austrian half of the monarchy, specifically Galicia. Galicia was part of the lands represented in the Reichsrat. These lands were also known as Cisleithania and the Hungarian half of the monarchy was known as Transleithania. Throughout the paper I refer to Galicia and simply use Austria to refer to those lands represented in the Reichsrat.

Emigration from Galicia was very difficult during the first part of the Austrian period (1772-1867). The 1867 Austrian Constitution and especially Article IV of the Fundamental Law Concerning the General Rights of Citizens provided for freedom of movement. Yet

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192 In the Austrian half of the Austro-Hungarian Empire the non-Hungarian part was divided into crown lands. Also, the Empire was known as the Dual Monarchy which resulted from an agreement (Ausgleich) with Hungary in 1867.
195 The lands and kingdoms represented in the Reichsrat include Galicia, Bukovina, Moravia, Austrian Silesia, a slice of northern Italy and the mostly German-speaking provinces of present day Austria. Daniel Louis Unowsky, “The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism: Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848-1916” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, New York, NY, 2000), 15.
in the poor province of Galicia it was only with the completion of the first railway in the 1870s that emigration became feasible.

In the 1880s the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Galicia underwent a transformation due to the emigration of her members. It was during this period that the UGCC took the first steps to becoming a world wide church. This trend was seen in Brazil, Argentina and especially the United States where the connection with the Galician Church was made clear in the following petition:

By 1882 there were about sixty to seventy Ruthenian families in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, and it was these immigrants who in 1884 made the first attempt to obtain a priest from Europe. With the help of Carol Rice, himself an immigrant from Lithuania, the Shenandoah immigrants sent a petition to the Metropolitan of Galicia, the Most Reverend Sylvester Sembratovich, Archbishop of Lviv (Lvov), requesting that a priest be sent to minister to their religious needs.196

One of the first instincts among Catholics in foreign lands is to obtain the services of a priest. In this they follow a Catholic tradition rooted in history and its sacramental character. “All Christians, moreover, are bound to certain activities that pertain to discipleship, and first of all to worship. The Church is never more Church then when it gathers at the feet of the Master, as occurs in the liturgy.”197 These early pioneers did not want to be without the structure of the church as they saw it. Yet they were the initiators of this particular missionary work eventhough they had been motivated by social and economic reasons. This idea and image of church as servant bespeaks a rich cooperation between clergy and laity:

If it is the minister of the clergy to define the church and keep it true to itself, it is the ministry of the laity to make that church alive in this time and place, to be the hands and feet of the church body. Here then we see the close and inseparable inter-relationship between the two ministries, the ministry of identity and the ministry of vitality.198

The very act of education, according to Moran, leads us to use words such as “uncover,” “re-shape,” and “reveal”. So, although the

process of education is rich it needs to be focused (with end) and constantly re-focused (without end) if it is to be a vital force in life.\textsuperscript{199} It is for this reason that throughout the remaining chapters of this work the way the church forms its ministers will be studied. In order to re-form, re-shape and re-invent it is necessary to un-cover the past in all its complexities. “Most of us do not presume that we know about things which we have not studied. But scholars often do assume that they know whatever is to be known about religious education even if they have never investigated the matter.”\textsuperscript{200}

This work forges ahead to study how a particular Catholic Church during a selected era and place educated and formed its clergy in religion and complied with the words of the teacher who said: “Go and make disciples of all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit; teaching them to keep all that I have commanded you. Behold, I am with you until the end of the world” (Matthew 28:19-20). One cannot understand the present if one does not attempt to enter into dialogue with others who in the past have had some human experience. The human experience is a shared experience not only of contemporaries but of those who have walked before us.

The priesthood has confronted dramatic changes during the past several years. The Church has often denied these dramatic changes.\textsuperscript{201} The priesthood is a world wide network of persons that needs to learn from its own history. As new models of the priesthood emerge it would serve us well to integrate the lessons of history and adapt old and new methodologies to the present day where the priest is called to be apart and part of the People of God:

While ordained for priestly ministry, the priest remains a member of the faithful in need of ministry and community. If true to his calling, the priest evokes in his parishioners an awareness of their priestly character as baptized believers. Distinct roles are respected while the inherent mutuality of the members of a local church is allowed to flourish. The same transforming effect resulting from the unbroken teacher/student archetype takes hold of the faith community – a sense of the mystery of

\textsuperscript{199} Moran 1989, 49.
\textsuperscript{200} Moran 1982, 2.
\textsuperscript{201} Donald Cozzens, Sacred Silence - Denial and the Crisis in the Church (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2004), 11-25.
God’s grace relentlessly shaping an assembly into a community of praise and service. The local church inches closer to a wisdom community where parishioners perceive their pastor as elder and shepherd but also as brother and friend.\footnote{Donald B. Cozzens, The Changing Face of the Priesthood - A Reflection on the Priest’s Crisis of Soul (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2000), 12.}

It was at this point in history (1880s) that the Basilian order, which for many years had carried the torch of clerical education, experienced difficulties. “Even in Ruthenian society no one doubted that the Basilian monks, once the elite of the Ruthenian clergy, had entered upon a grievous decline since the end of the eighteenth century.”\footnote{Himka 1999, 79.} If the Basilians, who had once been so highly educated among the Ruthenian clergy, declined, what could be the state of the diocesan clergy? It declined to the Basilian educational level and lower. With the loss of the Greek Catholic Church in Russia, the Galician Church and the Apostolic See saw the need for increasing its emphasis on clerical education for the church.

The reform of the Basilian order was initiated by Pope Leo XIII in his Apostolic Letter *Singulare Praesidium* on 12 May 1882. This reform was handed over to the Jesuit order because the Jesuit provincial in Galicia, Father Henryk Jackowski, had agreed that this was necessary. This reform is a critical and pivotal point in the educational reform of the secular clergy in the Galician Greek Catholic Church. The Dobromyl Reform “revitalized the agonizing order and infused it a new spirit of service for the spiritual progress of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. It also produced many outstanding members, like Metropolitan Andrew Septyckyj, Bishop Soter Ortynskyj, Bishop Josaphat Kocylovskyj, Protohegumen Platonides Filas and others.”\footnote{Anno Centesimo... 1982, 448.}

Three of these distinguished figures that came from this reform, namely the three bishops, were responsible for two of the largest seminaries for the Greek Catholic Church. In fact, their seminary reforms and initiatives prepared the most highly educated clergy in the history of the Greek-Catholic Church. The reform of the Basilians will be considered in more detail shortly.

This role played by the Basilian Fathers is a very important one in the Universal Church because those educated clergy were the ones...
who were sent to the far reaches of Siberia by virtue of the communist liquidation of the Greek-Catholic Church in 1946; consequently, the gospel was preached throughout the Soviet Empire as one of the fruits of the Dobromyl reform.

One of the dramatic influences upon the education of clergy in Galicia was that of the Jesuits. Their tenacious approach to education initiated efforts of an intellectual revival; however, there was a gradual and perhaps only slight change in methodology as the UGCC began to revisit its Eastern Christian roots from the very beginning when the first Master of Novices in the reformed monastery at Dobromyl, Andrew Sheptytsky accepted the task in 1895:

When the Jesuit Fathers educated and formed our novices they did so following the paradigms of western asceticism, but Fr. Sheptytsky from the first conference for novices began to base all the ascetical teaching of novices upon the paradigms of eastern asceticism, the eastern Fathers of the Church and mostly on the basis of St. Basil the Great whose works Fr. Sheptytsky studied in the original Greek during theological studies. The Jesuit Fathers encouraged us to love common choir, but they themselves did not participate because they read their breviary privately; yet, Fr. Sheptytsky with Fr. Datsiy was always with his novices for Matins, the Hours and Vespers and other liturgical services.²⁰⁵

This single vignette gives some intimation of the gradual adaptation of the initial formative model of the Jesuits. The UGCC would in turn gradually transform the western model left by the Jesuits into something although not completely eastern neither was it a simple reproduction of a western model. In some ways the Jesuit ratio studiorum began to morph into something more akin to monasticism which lacks a ratio studiorum:

In monasticism, however, if the problem exists, it is because there is no one simple solution which has been devised once and for all and needs only to be applied in conformity with the legislative rule. This solution must be continually rediscovered, re-invented, rejuvenated in a living and spontaneous manner, for each period and each milieu, for each monastery, and almost for each monk²⁰⁶.

²⁰⁵ Anno Centesimo... 1982, 465.
On 18 August 1883 Pope Leo XIII wrote a letter on the occasion of the opening of the Vatican archives to scholars and researchers. “In that letter, Leo quoted with approval the words of Cicero that “the first duty of a historian is not to tell a lie, and the second duty is not to be afraid to tell the truth.” 207Leo’s distant successor, John Paul II, would speak of Leo’s esteem for the Eastern Churches in his Apostolic Letter Orientale Lumen (The Light of the East) dated 2 May 1995. 208

Pope John Paul speaks of the need for Catholics to be familiar with the diversity within Catholicism. This familiarity is needed in order to see the church as she sees herself. The city of Jerusalem is proposed as a model in this regard: “In that city the most varied cultures and traditions were welcomed in the name of the one God (cf. Acts 2:9-11). In turning to it with nostalgia and gratitude, we find the strength and enthusiasm to intensify the quest for harmony in that genuine plurality of forms which remains the Church’s ideal.” 209

It was this quest for the flourishing of the “genuine plurality of forms” that prompted Leo XIII to initiate a reform of the Basilian Order of St. Josaphat (O.S.B.M.) and thereby spur a renewal of the Christian intellectual and spiritual life of the Galician clergy of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church:

The Basilian reform, ordained by the Apostolic Letter Singulare Praesidium of Pope Leo XIII, dated 12 May 1882, was started under the auspices of the Jesuit Fathers at St. Onuphrius monastery of Dobromyl’, which belonged to the Province of Our Savior in Galicia. In a short time it spread to other countries where Basilian monks lived or to which they went as missionaries. 210

The Basilian Order had their new Constitution approved on 1 June 1896 and officially took over the direction of their order from the Jesuits in 1904. It can thus be said that the Jesuits for a span of twenty-two years nurtured the Basilian Order. 211 This significant span of time had an influence upon both the religious clergy and the education

208 John Paul II mentions two Apostolic Letters of Leo XIII in the first footnote of this document: Orientalium Dignitas (1894); Praeclara gratulationis (June 20, 1894) and the Encyclical Letter Christi Nomen (December 24, 1894).
209 Orientale Lumen, §2.
210 Anno Centesimo... 1982, 7.
of secular clergy of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (UGCC).

A simple review of the status quo of clergy education and the UGCC at the time of the reform will serve us well. The UGCC in Galicia was headed by the Metropolitan of Galicia and the Archbishop of Lviv. There were three eparchies (dioceses). The Archeeparchy of Lviv (in German, Lemberg; in Polish, Lwów; in Russian, Lvov), the eparchy of Peremyshl (In Polish, Przemyśl), and the eparchy of Stanyslaviv (presently, Ivano-Frankivsk), founded in 1885. During the period of the Dobromyl reform, roughly 1882-1904, the Church in Galicia retained this basic administrative structure. In 1934, however, a special Apostolic Administration for the Lemko region of Galicia was carved out of the Peremyshl eparchy from its nine westernmost deaneries. This ecclesiastical structure was headed by two bishops and an archbishop until 1946.

There were several pivotal events in the 1880s which make it a critical era for the UGCC. The 1880 Imperial Inspection Tour of Galicia (Kaiserreise): The Hnylychky and Treason Trial, the reform of the Basilian Order, the resignation of Metropolitan of Lviv Iosyf Sembratovych, the excommunication of Father Ioann Naumovych, the erection of the Stanyslaviv Eparchy (25 March 1885), and finally the Lviv Provincial Synod of 1891 which placed in law a reform which would transform the church. These diverse events drove the UGCC to reassess its positions and its clergy.

It is also important to note that the Armenian Catholics had their center in the city of Lviv. With their leader, Archbishop Jyzef Teodorowicz (1902-1938) they were mostly Polonized and were a relatively small community. In 1932 they had five thousand faithful, sixteen priests and three seminarians. This is part of the multi ethnic fabric of Galicia and the seminarians who would be trained to be priests: “These priests lived in a multi-national and multi-ritual province. Lviv was the seat of a Latin-rite archbishopric, while Latin-rite bishops sat at Peremyshl’ and Tarnyw. There was also an Armenian-rite archbishop at Lviv.”

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212 It is common to refer to an Eastern Catholic diocese as an “eparchy”.
213 Statistica Con Cenni Storici Della Gerarchia e Dei Fedeli in Rito Orientale (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, Sacra Congregazione Orientale, 1932), 86.
The 1882 Dobromyl Reform of the Basilian Order

The Basilian monks had the reputation of being at the core of ecclesiastical life in the UGCC. They had established many educational institutions and had, at least nominally, been involved in the education of diocesan clergy. It is quite logical to think that any reform of clergy education for the UGCC in Galicia would include the Basilian Order as an essential ingredient in this effort. The provincial of the Galician Jesuits Rev. Henryk Jackowski gave the following assessment of this connection: “It is necessary to reform the Ruthenian clergy with the aid of retreats... It is also necessary to reform the seminary and theological studies, and also solid theological literature in the Ruthenian language. This is why it is necessary without any further delay to initiate the reform of the Basilian Order.”

The fact that many Basilians had been elevated to the episcopacy and the added condition that this had been enshrined in law gave the Basilians great power:

The pope also mentioned the article of the Synod of Zamość of 1720 that stipulated that only Basilian monks could become bishops in the Ruthenian church. This stipulation, however, had been deliberately ignored since the end of the eighteenth century. The pope did not expressly restore the stipulation in his bull, but his mention of it seemed to open the possibility of its restoration.

The Apostolic Letter Singulare Praesidium (12 May 1882) comments on the provisional law codified in 1720: “In Zamoscena synodo Ruthenorum provinciali, cuius Apostolica Sede decreta confirmavit, cautum fuerat, ut nemo esse Episcopus posset, quin institutum Basilianum professus esset,...- At the Ruthenian Provincial Synod of Zamosc, whose decrees were approved by the Apostolic See, it was decreed, that no one could be a bishop who had not taken vows in the Basilian Order...”

The Basilian Order experienced a difficult period in the mid-1800s

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216 Himka, 1999, 82.
following the implementation of Josephism\textsuperscript{217} and its constituent reforms by which their power and authority began to decline:

Since the Basilian monastic order had dominated the higher offices of the Greek Catholic Church, Joseph II’s reduction of their number and elimination of their privileges spelled a fundamental change in that church’s administrative character.... Habsburg policy sought to make the Basilians accountable to the pastoral mission of the church in its parishes.\textsuperscript{218}

Although the reform of the Basilians in Galicia had been proposed as early as 1867\textsuperscript{219} it was in the imperial inspection tour (\textit{Kaiserreise}) of Francis Joseph which began on 1 September 1880 that was a catalyst for renewal. When Francis Joseph arrived in Lviv it was a city of approximately 104,000 people in 1880. It also had changed from a German-speaking city to a Polish-speaking city and “Lemberg was the seat of the only elected Polish-speaking representative body on the territory of the defunct Polish state.”\textsuperscript{220} On 13 September the emperor was greeted by Greek Catholic Bishops, clergy and lay-people before the Cathedral of St. George. It was here that he most probably heard about the condition of the Basilians.

At this time the formation of the Basilian novices was inadequate. In 1867 there were 10 novices in Dobromyl and only one remained to take vows. On 6 September 1881 Metropolitan Yosyf Sembratovych issued a letter that stated the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith about oriental issues (\textit{Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide pro Negotiis Ritus Orientalis - 1862}) asked him to conduct a visitation tour of Basilian Monasteries on 9 September 1881.\textsuperscript{221}

One of the first issues to address, according to Fr. Henryk Jackowski, was whether the Basilians should be totally or only partially reformed: “\textit{Pierwsze pytanie byBo, czy zachodzi potrzeba...}”

\textsuperscript{217} State sponsored reforms enacted by Joseph II (1765-1790) which included among many other items a reshaping of church-state relations which enhanced power of state and promoted religious tolerance.

\textsuperscript{218} Samuel T. Myovich, “Josephism at its Boundaries: Nobles, Peasants, Priests, and Jews in Galicia, 1772-1790” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, 1994), 178.

\textsuperscript{219} Himka 1999, 79. Himka gives a most concise account of the Basilian reform in this book from page 79-84.


\textsuperscript{221} P. Macarius Karowec, O.S.B.M, Quomodo Ordo S-Ti Basilii Magni Anno 1882 in Galicia Reformatus Est? - How the Order of St. Basil the Great in the year 1882 in Galicia was Reformed - Vol. I (Lviv: Basilian Pres in Zhovkva, 1933), 35.
caBkowitej reformy, czy też wystarczy zaprowadzi niektóre tylko zmiany i obostrzenia – The first question was, whether to enter into a complete reform, or whether it would suffice to simply introduce certain changes and reforms.”

In the end they chose to initiate a complete reform of the Basilian Order as an ascetical/contemplative order.

In the letter issued by Pope Leo XIII “Singulare Praesidium” on 12 May 1882 the parameters of the reform were explained. The Jesuits were to conduct the reform with a single novitiate at Dobromyl. In the future the Basilians would be taken from the jurisdiction of the local bishop and placed directly under the authority of the Holy See.

The monastery at Dobromyl was given over to the Jesuits on 16 June 1882. Father Henryk Jackowski, S.J. gives the following facts for the transfer of the monastery. Present from the Basilians was the provincial Fr. Klymentii Sarnytsky, OSBM and the superior of Dobromyl, Fr. Teliszewsky. Representing the Jesuits were Fr. Gaspar Szczepkowski and Fr. Jackowski. From the government there was present the starosta (mayor) of Dobromyl Mr. Friedrich. The bishops had no representative present due to the Basilian exemption.

Those monks who wanted to be part of the reform had to re-do their novitiate. If they did not wish to be part of the reform, then those monks and monasteries would live out their days in peace but would not be able to take any new novices. Only three older monks re-did their novitiate. The last of those who did not wish to take part in the reform was Fr. Meletius M. Tybinka who died in the Hoshiv Monastery on 29 November 1920.

From the onset of the reform the Ruthenian intelligentsia and press attacked the Basilian reform. These attacks comprise volumes three and four in Karowec’s work on the Dobromyl reform. This idea of the Jesuits as agents of Latinization and Polonization is mentioned and refuted by Jackowski: “Inny zarzut podnoszony przeciw użyciu Jezuitów w Dobromilu, dotyczy si´ rzekomych ich dªnoci do łatynizowania i polszczenia Rusinów – They need to seek elsewhere their rationale

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223 Jackowski 1884, 36.
rather than the use of the Jesuits in Dobromyl for the so-called tendency for the latinization and Polonization of the Ruthenians.”

The fact that the Jesuits spoke Polish and not Ruthenian/Ukrainian also alienated them from the Greek Catholic faithful as is described in a visit to Dobromyl on 4 September during the time of Sheptytsky’s stay there:

In less than five minutes there arrived in the waiting room the ihumnen (abbot) the Jesuit Fr. Szczepkowski, to whom I introduced myself. He began in Polish to apologize to me, at the beginning of our conversation, that he does not yet speak in Ruthenian, but assured me, as a student to his teacher – he is studying the Ruthenian language and is making progress in his studies.

The fact that the Jesuits did not speak a language of the territory in which they lived gave rise to a skepticism about their motives because the Jesuits were renowned for learning many diverse languages in their missionary zeal; yet, it appears they were unable or unwilling to learn the language of their neighbors.

The following is a list of novices from the initial period of the reform. This short list gives us at least a slight idea of number of those who entered the reform and how their influence spread throughout the UGCC and also in a specific way in the education of diocesan clergy in Galicia. The italicized name is the monastic name taken after vows.

Fr. Kulyk Vesarion Wasyl, Fr. Stech Volodymyr Wasyl, Br. Saj Yeuseviy Yevstahiy,
Fr. Datsiy Yulian Ivan, Fr. Tkatchuk Dionisii Dmytro, Fr. Martyniuk Antoniy Andriy,
Fr. Lonchyna Meletiy Matey, Fr. Shkripan Markian Mykola, Fr. Povch Mariyan Ivan,
Fr. Zhykovskiy Dionisii Dmytro, Fr. Ostrovercha Yeronim Ivan, Budzylovcy Volodymyr Wasyl, Fr. Fyltpiw Atanasiy Mykola, Fr. Kandiuk Pankratyi Mykhaylo,
Fr. Tymochko Ivan Ilya, Fr. Holowka Mykola Marko, Fr. Kotovych Petro Andriy,

225 Jackowski 1884, 23.
Those who distinguished themselves from that initial group in seminary education are: Fr. Lomnytskiy Yeremiya Ivan who was named the rector of the Stanyslaviv seminary from 1907-1915. In 1915 the Russian forces arrested Fr. Saj and took him to Symbirksa in Russia. In 1916 there was rumor that he would be nominated Bishop of Peremysl. This rumor did not come true and Fr. Saj died 3 July 1916.

Fr. Filias Platonid Petro was a prolific missionary. Fr. Filias finished 8 years of the Lviv gymnasiu. He entered the Basilian novitiate in 1883. He is considered the author of the Basilian System of giving parish missions. With Sheptytsky in 1897 he founded the journal “Misionar.”227 In 1904 Fr. Filas returned from Canada to become the first protobegumen (superior general) of the reformed Basilian order. In 1914-16 he was apostolic administrator of Ukrainian Catholics in Austria. He died 16 June 1930.

Bishop Ortynsky Soter Stepan was the first bishop for the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Catholic Church in the United States from 1907 to his death on 24 March 1916. He was one of the most important figures of the Dobromyl reform. His efforts as bishop of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church in the United States reflect his: “dedication in organizing the Ruthenian Church into an orderly entity, even if such progress was achieved with alternately permanrnt and temporary results.”228 He helped establish the seminary system for the nascent UGCC in the United States.229

Fr. Tysovskiy Ihnatiy Ivan: In 1904 to 1906 became the spiritual director of the Metropolitan seminary in Lviv. In 1924, after the Basilians took charge of the seminary, he became the spiritual director and confessor. In 1926 when the seminary leadership returned to diocesan clergy he went to Krekhiv monastery.

Fr. Davyd Andriy Oleksiy was nominated as Rector of the Papal Seminary in Rome on 23 October 1904. He left Rome in 1908 and Fr. Lazar Berezovsky, OSBM became rector. Fr. Davyd taught moral and pastoral theology in the Stanyslaviv seminary from 1916-1917.

227 The “Misionar – Missionary” magazine was also published in Philadelphia, PA in January 1917 with Rev. Zachary Orun as the first editor. He was involved in Bishop Ortynsky’s Missionary School in Philadelphia as rector from 1917-18. This school had twenty-two boys and was to be changed into a seminary according to the wishes of Ortynsky (cf., Misionar, Vol. I, No. 2, 62). He died in Philadelphia on June 13, 1918. The fledgling “Minor Seminary” suffered a double blow at its inception. 228 Walter Paska, Sources of Particular Law For The Ukrainian Catholic Church In The United States (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America, 1975), 60. 229 Bohdan Procko, “First Ruthenian Bishop in the United States, 1907-1916,” The Catholic Historical Review, no. LVIII (1973): 514-516.
Metropolitan Sheptytsky Andriy Roman helped to set the foundation for the seminary in Stanyslaviv (1899) and reformed the seminary in Lviv as Metropolitan (1900-1944). He is the single most important figure of the Dobromyl reform. His episcopal work began in 1899 as Bishop of Stanyslaviv and continued from 1900 to 1 November 1944 as Metropolitan of Lviv.

Although this reform had many detractors it also had some objective voices that reluctantly gave it some credit. Among those voices was Fr. Ioann Naumovych, as reported by Fr. Lonchyna:

O, how many accusations and insinuations were poured on us by the the leader of the moskophils, Ioann Naumovych in his journals and brochures. He even one time came incognito to Dobromyl on our mount, to see how we celebrate the liturgy, are we truly those “destroyers of the rite”, as some had told him about us. I believe this was on Green Holy Day (Pentecost)... After “the visit” – to our great amazement, Naumovych praised in his paper “The Word” the Dobromyl Basilians, that they maintain our ancient rite.230

The Jesuits were respected for their ability to educate and form good Christians. There was, however, an innate distrust of them among the Ruthenian population. Cyril Korolevsky, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky’s confidant for close to forty years, gave the following assessment:

The Jesuits formed excellent men. But they could not provide an Eastern mentality which they themselves did not have. Although they were Polish, they did not seek to polonise the Basilians, but they were Roman Catholics by birth and formation, and they could not conceive of a more flexible, less strictly juridical mentality in greater harmony with the mentality of the Ukrainian people, who still have a deeply Eastern spirit. Later this caused difficulties, but when the Dobromyl’ reform was conceived and carried through, no one even thought about it.231

This reform produced good missionaries and educators. In a few short years the Basilian order conducted missions throughout Galicia and bore fruit in many parish communities. When word of their effectiveness spread they were called to aid in the Lviv General Semi-

230 Anno Centesimo Reformationis... (1982), 479.
nary. Soter Ortynsky, the future Bishop of Greek Catholics in America, gave such a mission during Easter time:

As those who are hungry, the seminarians desired spiritual leadership, the following fact can attest to that, following the Easter Retreats in the years 1896-1897, which were conducted by Fr. Soter Ortynsky, later the first Bishop for Catholics – Ukrainians in America, almost all the theologians wanted to go to Holy Confession to him so that the director of the retreat Fr. Soter sat in the confessional from 12 noon to three o’clock in the morning – without a break.232

It may be stated that the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church underwent various permutations of clerical education. There were monasteries and schools which have educated clergy; yet, it appears that finances, political interests and historical accident affected this noble project as much as the particular reluctance of both hierarch and student to enter into the arduous task of education. Hopefully, this short synopsis will be but a prelude for a foray into a most interesting time in clerical education in Galicia.

**The Lviv Provincial Synod of 1891**

One of the pre-requisites for the re-union of the Kyivan Church with the Apostolic See was the intention to form and educate clergy for its church. Article 27 of the Union of Brest (1596) states: “That we be permitted to establish Greek and Slavonic language schools, seminaries in those places where it will be most opportune, and also that publishing houses be allowed...”233 This is something that was very important because in Article 10 the Kyivan Bishops acknowledge that in the past there were among those chosen to be bishops and high church dignitaries “some of whom could hardly read.”234

One of the signs that the seminaries were in need of reform was the fact that those who were familiar with them wrote explicitly about their deficiencies. When Father Aleksander Bachynsky became editor of the journal *Sion* (Ruskii Sion, published from 1871-1884) one of the contributors Nykolai Malyniak:

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233 Gudziak, 269. The articles for the Union of Brest are translated from Polish into English and are found on pages 264-272.
234 Gudziak, 265-266.
...who had been educated in Rome and then served as one of the prefects of studies at the Lviv Greek Catholic seminary, contributed a long, rambling series of comments on Galician church affairs under the title “Notes of a Roman.” The series was critical of conditions in the Lviv seminary and of conditions in Lviv archeparchy more generally. Malyniak lamented, for example, that there were not many clerics suitable for high office in the Ruthenian church, that it was hard to find appropriate persons to become canons, rectors, and bishops, let alone cardinals.\textsuperscript{235}

For this reason, and also the fact that the Greek Catholic Church had not had a Provincial Synod since 1720\textsuperscript{236}, a Provincial Synod was prepared in Lviv in 1891. One of the main issues under discussion prior to the synod by the lieutenant of Galicia, Kazimierz Badeni, the Apostolic Nuncio in Vienna Luigi Galimberti and the Prefect of the Propaganda Cardinal Giovanni Simeoni was the seminary as an agent of reform and stability in light of a resurgent Russophile tendency among the Galician Ruthenians: “It was therefore necessary to give the clergy a solid education in a true ecclesiastical spirit; the Ruthenian seminaries left much to be desired in this regard and had to be reformed.”\textsuperscript{237}

The premier study of the Theological Academy in Lviv speaks of the Synod of Lviv in the following manner: “The life and studies in the Theological Seminary were formed by the ‘Provincial Synod of Lviv’, which took place in Lviv in 1891. The handbook for the Theological Seminary was published in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent.”\textsuperscript{238}

Seminary reform appears to be a constant source of appeal to those who wish to reform the church and maintain the social status quo in Galician society. The litany of seminary reform at this period of history includes issues of liturgical conformity, publishing of liturgical books, canonical adjustment (i.e., clerical celibacy), and a reduction in dissen-


\textsuperscript{236} Himka, (1999),101. Himka cites the lack of a quorum of bishops as one of the reasons a Synod was not called. Participation of Ruthenian bishops outside of Galicia was nigh impossible. Only with the appointment of Iuliian Pelesh as bishop of the newly established eparchy of Stanyslaviv (established, March 25, 1885) did the metropolitan of Lviv have two other bishops in the province.

\textsuperscript{237} Himka, 102. Paul Gautsch von Frankenthurn was the minister of Religion and Education (KUM) and constituted part of the composite of Vatican, Austrian officials and Ruthenian hierarchy who were involved in planning the synod. For further details please reference footnote number 209 on page 199 in Himka’s book. Here he cites correspondence between Simeoni, Galimberti and Badeni.

\textsuperscript{238} This is a three volume compendium of various sources for the Theological Academy of Lviv (1927-1944). Svitlynyk Istyny - The Light Bearer, Vol. 1, ed. Dr. Pavlo Senycia (Toronto-Chicago: Kiev Printers Ltd, 1973), 30-31.
sion from the Catholic spirit. This particular thrust was already evident at the time of the Basilian reform in 1882 when the “lack of a Catholic Spirit” was understood to be a general relaxation of discipline and a slide into mediocrity:

There was no true Catholic Spirit then nor was there religious formation in theological seminaries. About prayer, asceticism, the spiritual life, retreats they had almost no clue neither in the seminaries nor in the monasteries where the only prayer was the church office in choir.239

It was in 1889 that the Lviv Seminary received a new building. The synod was originally scheduled to take place in 1889 but Bishop Ioann Stupnytsky of Peremysl died in December of 1890. This left the metropolia with only two bishops, thereby lacking the quorum for a synod. In May of 1891 Bishop Iuliian Pelesch was transferred to Peremyshl and Bishop Sas-Kuilovsky was transferred to Stanyslaviv at the end of 1891. Bishop Pelesch was steeped in seminary education from his Vienna days. The Ruthenian Seminary in Vienna was a source of Russophile tendencies. For this reason it was scheduled to be closed in 1874 when Iuliian Pelesh was appointed as rector and prevented this closure; however, in 1893 there was an incident which eventually precipitated its closure:

Metropolitan Sylvestr Sembratovych and Bishop Kuilovsky arrived in Vienna, on their way back to Galicia after a pilgrimage to Rome. A group of Ruthenian students surrounded the metropolitan at the train station and began shouting that he was a traitor to the Ruthenian church, a sell-out to Rome, because he was trying to introduce celibacy. The students then pelted the metropolitan with rotten eggs. It turned out that some seminarians were involved in the protest, and on 3 July 1893 Minister Gautsch recommended to the emperor that he close the Vienna seminary, which he did by a decree of 13 July. On this occasion the emperor also supported the recommendations of the Lviv synod by urging that eparchial seminaries be erected for the Greek Catholic church in Galicia.240

The dramatic impact of this attack upon the Archbishop cannot be overstated. It was a vivid example of the uneasy tensions within the seminary structure. The abovementioned incident gained certain overseas infamy when it was reported in the New York Times.

240 Himka, (1999), 120.
This first-hand report gives us an example of how serious this attack was and how misunderstood it was since the seminarians are referred to as “Polish” instead of “Ruthenian” students:

Vienna, June 8. – Archbishop Sembratowicz was mobbed by forty Polish students in Lemberg to-day on account of his visit to the Pope, which the Poles regard as treason to the Greek Catholic Church, of which he is a prelate.

The Archbishop was driving to the railway station from his house when the students attacked him. They threw rotten eggs at the Archbishop and his coachman, stopped the horses, and tried to climb into the carriage. Five men reached over the doors and beat the Archbishop with their canes, while others tossed dirt, eggs and vegetables over the back. The Archbishop was caught twice by his collar and was half dragged from the carriage, but each time he tore himself loose. The police attacked the students but were driven back. Reinforcements were summoned and after a hot skirmish nineteen of the students were arrested. The others fled. Bishop Kuijlowski of Stanislau, who had come upon the mob in the worst of the fight and had attempted to defend the Archbishop, was severely cut and bruised on the face and neck. The Archbishop’s face was bleeding and he was covered with filth. Both he and the Bishop were accompanied home by the police.241

The appointment of bishops to Stanyslaviv and Peremyshl allowed the final preparations to for the Lviv synod to move forward. This included the selection of Msgr. Agostino Ciasca as the apostolic delegate who would preside over the synod.242 This Roman-based churchman saw things in a western modality. His solution to the seminary problem was the introduction of celibacy:

He said, among other things, that the main source of the lack of discipline in the Ruthenian seminaries and clergy in general was the tradition of ordaining married men to the priesthood. While it would be impossible to completely abolish this privilege, the synod could at least put restrictions on it.243

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242 Ciasca was an Augustinian monk who was nominated by Pope Leo XIII to oversee the council. Metropolitan S. Sembratovych was informed of his papal appointment in a letter from Cardinal G. Simeoni dated from Rome on 10 August 1891 – No. 368.
This would prove to be a divisive issue when the synod began on 24 September 1891 at 9 in the morning. The synod fathers especially objected to the inclusion of St. Paul’s citation about the superiority of unmarried persons (1 Cor. 7:32-33). This citation according to some seemed to imply that married clergy were not serving God. It was eventually included in the documents of the sobor (synod) relating to the seminary. Following this quotation the sobor (synod) leaves the option of married clergy undisturbed; yet, it calls upon the seminary leadership to encourage celibacy and to remind those who want to be ordained as married men not to enter into marriage until they have completed their theological studies.

The translator for the papal delegate, Agostino Ciasca, to the 1891 Synod was Fr. Isydor Dolnytsky “spiritual director of the Lviv seminary, who had studied at Propaganda College in Rome.” It was known that Fr. Dolnytsky had been a proponent of priestly celibacy. To bolster the idea of celibacy the sobor mentions (Title VIII, Chapter 2, paragraph 15) that organizations such as that of the “Brotherhood of the Entrance of the Blessed Mother into the Temple in Jerusalem” which was founded by Fr. Dolnytsky at the Lviv seminary in 1883 should be a model for other seminaries of the Greek Catholic Church.

The synod Fathers approved a revised text regarding celibacy absent the Pauline text. This modified version was proposed by Fr. Ioann Kopystiansky and accepted by the synodal fathers but Msgr. Ciasca

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244 The author gives a somewhat skewed analysis of celibacy in the Greek Catholic Church. Roman Cholij, Clerical Celibacy In East and West (Madison, Wisconsin: Idea, 1989), 170-194.
245 Lviv Sobor of 1891: Title VIII, Chapter 2, paragraph 13.
246 This is an interesting novel which gives a description of the everyday life of married Greek Catholic clergy and seminary education in Galicia. Dorothea Gerard, The Supreme Crime (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1901), 34-52.
247 Himka, (1999), 105.
248 A book was published in 1895 which gave both Latin and Ruthenian translations of the statutes of the brotherhood: Sodalitum Praesentationis SS. Deiparae in Seminario Leopoliensi Rutheno et Graphis Vitae SS. Deiparae et Membrum Sodalitii (Leopoli: Typis Instituti Stauropigiani, 1895). Pope Leo XIII with a rescript dated February 23, 1881 through the intercession of Metropolitan I. Sembratovych gave Fr. Dolnytsky the right to establish brotherhoods at the seminary, p. 35. On December 25, 1883 Dolnytsky send a letter to Cardinal S. Vantunelli asking for confirmation of the said brotherhood, p. 37.
249 Fr. Isidore was also an honorary Basilian as it was stated on p. 623 of the book of his brotherhood: Praelegos Sanctae Sanctitatis, Consiliario Metropolitani, Directori Spirituali Seminarii Rutheni et Sanctorum Ordinis S. Basilii M. Leopoli. Otets’ Isydor Dolnytsky: bohoslov, liturhist, sviatyi - Father Isidore Dolnytsky: theologian, liturgist, saint (Lviv: “Pais”, 2002), 30.
changed the resolution before it was printed.\textsuperscript{250} Yet, the celibacy issue notwithstanding, this synod laid the foundations for seminary reform in the Galician Church:

The synod laid the foundation for a major reorganization of the Greek Catholic seminary system. In particular, eparchial seminaries were strengthened and established in the early twentieth century so that bishops could more closely supervise their candidates for the priesthood...The seminary opened (Stanyslaviv) in 1907...In 1903 Sheptytsky, then metropolitan of Halych, undertook a reform of the seminary in Lviv.\textsuperscript{251}

The following are the main texts which deal with seminary reform at the 1891 Provincial Synod of Lviv: Title VIII under the title 

\textit{About Theological Seminaries}. This was divided into two chapters: \textit{About young Men's (minor) Seminaries} and \textit{About Major Seminaries}.\textsuperscript{252} In speaking about the Boy's Seminary (Minor Seminary) the Sobor quotes the Synod of Baltimore about having good teachers who would set a good example for the students and continues to speak of inculcating in the boys a "\textit{Liubov do nauky} – Love of Learning".\textsuperscript{253} The minor seminary would not come into existence until 1919.

The Sobor goes on to speak about the Major (Theological) Seminary with the following extended quote which in part reflects Tridentine influences:

In these [seminaries] are more proximately prepared those who are to become the light of the world and the salt of the earth and leaders of nations, who as though with the double edged sword of piety and learning would fight adamantly for truth and unconquerably battle against error. These, who with strength of word and deed, would be able to guard and rule the vineyard of the Lord. Most of all let the Bishop keep in their heart a care for the Major Seminary and let them concern themselves with a father's care and guard the seminary as if their own eye.\textsuperscript{254}

In Title VIII, chapter 2 paragraph 2 the Sobor makes note of the fact that since there is but one major seminary for the province the

\textsuperscript{250} Himka (1999), 118.

\textsuperscript{251} Himka (1999), 119. Also, note that a Ruthenian College was established in Rome in 1897.

\textsuperscript{252} Chynnosti i rishenia ruskoho provyntsiialnoho sobora v Halychyni vidbuvshoho sia vo Lvovi v rotsi 1891 - The Acts and Decisions of the Provincial Sobor in Galicia which took place in Lviv in the year 1891 (Lviv: Nakladom Lvivskoho hr. kat. Mytropolychnoho Ordynariiata, Iz typohrafii Stavropysiiskooho Instytutu, 1896), 208-218.

\textsuperscript{253} Chynnosti, 210.

\textsuperscript{254} Chynnosti, 212.
Metropolitan and the suffragan bishops are to structure everything in accord with the spirit of the Council of Trent.

An eparchial synod was held in Lviv on 7-9 December 1897, in Stanyslaviv in 1897 and in Peremyshl on 1-3 November 1898 at which the synod fathers wanted the celibate laden text removed from acts. By 1905 this must have been a moot point because the Archeparchial Sobor of 28-29 August 1905 speaks mostly about religious education, rights and obligations of Deans and a small section on parish finances. This sobor also gives an indication of the Dobromyl Reform’s fruits because it was presided over by Metropolitan Sheptytsky of the same reform who stated:

The solidarity of the clergy with the bishop, the solidarity of the priests among themselves, the solidarity of the bishops and priests with the people, this is the foundation of our future, this is the program of our work.

The Sheptytsky Initiative (1900-1914)

Sheptytsky had continuously seen seminary education as a vehicle for the execution of gospel imperatives and national enlightenment. While still the Master of Novices in Dobromyl he ran the Misionar magazine and was a professor at the Lviv Seminary. It was, however, as Bishop of Stanyslaviv (1899-1900) that he was able to make dramatic moves toward this end:

...he foresaw the need for an eparchial seminary and bought land bordering the eparchial rectory for a sum of $4000. In addition, he was able to acquire from the Austrian government the sum of 280,000 crowns ($37,300) for a structure, which was erected by his successor, Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn (1904-1945). On 12 April 1901, he donated to the eparchy a library consisting of 3870 volumes which he had started accumulating as bishop. This library, which contained many valuable old imprints and was valued at 8216 zBoty ($1642), served as a valuable resource for the clergy and students at the Theological Seminary in Stanyslaviv. To insure that the library would con-

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255 Himka (1999), 118-19.
to acquire all the books it needed, Sheptyts'kyi also established an endowment to fund the library.\footnote{Ann Slusarczuk Sirka, “Sheptyts'kyi in Education and Philanthropy,” in The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptytskyi, ed. Magoci, Paul Robert (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989), 271.}

One of Sheptytsky’s first acts as Bishop of Stanyslaviv was to write a letter to the clergy of his eparchy in 1899 in which he took note that although the laity had taken their rightful place in the field of scholarship and education; nevertheless, the clergy need to be conscious and responsive to the great need for leadership within the church. To this end they need to prepare themselves.\footnote{Michael Hrynchyshyn (ed.) et al., Tvory Sluhy Bozoho Mytropolyta Andreya Sheptytskoho - Pastyrski Lysty (2.VIII. 1899r. - 7.IX.1901 r.) Tom 1. - The Works of the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky - Pastoral Letters (Aug. 2, 1899 - Sep. 9, 1901) (Toronto: Opera Theologiae Societatis Scientificae Ucrainorum - Vol XV, 1965), 20-28.}

Sheptytsky was nominated Metropolitan of Lviv on 17 December 1900 and was installed in St. George Cathedral on 12 January 1901. The Eparchy of Stanyslaviv was run by the widower and Vicar General, Fr. Vasyl Fatsiievych. The eparchy remained vacant until 16 April 1904 when the rector of Lviv seminary Khomyshyn was appointed eparch. When Sheptytsky assumed the office of Metropolitan of Lviv “The Lviv seminary, which also served Peremyshl’ and Styanyslaviv, had only 89 pupils; 10 more students were at the Ukrainian College in Rome and twenty-nine students who had finished their studies would presumably be ordained as soon as they had married.”\footnote{Korolevsky (1993), 84.}

The diligent care for the education of the clergy in which the policy of adequacy was replaced by the policy of excellence and evangelical witness is evident in Sheptytsky’s letter to the clergy of the Halych Metropolia dated 1901 and entitled: “\textit{Pro dostoinstvo i obovyazky Svyashchenukiv – The dignity and obligations of priests}”:

\begin{quote}
And you, who are preparing for spiritual work in the seminary, take life seriously. Understand the situation of people, with whom you are some day to work. Understand that the people need reverent and holy priests. If one of you will not become such a priest it is better for him not to be a priest. Let him not enter into a situation in which cheating people he would become an infection for the church and a parasite upon the nation. In the seminary I will demand from each of you in the seminary conscientious and reverent work. I speak to all of you, to the seminarians from Peremyshl and Stanyslaviv...that you would
\end{quote}
study year round and not simply before exams... I ask honorable professors at exam time to demand the most from you.\textsuperscript{260}

On 2 December 1901 Metropolitan Andrew was confronted by a student strike at Lviv University. Dr. Fialek, Dean of the Theology Faculty, refused to allow Ruthenian seminarians the use of their own language. The Ruthenian students left the University and those who were seminarians were supported by the Metropolitan as they left for an entire year to study at various European universities. The seminarians returned on 3 October 1902:

Many of the “secessionists” – by one account, half – were Greek-Catholic seminarians. On hearing of this, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi informed the University rectorate that he was closing the seminary on the next day. He provided financial support for his students to continue their studies abroad.\textsuperscript{261}

In the 1902-1904 period at the Lviv seminary the spiritual director Rev. Isydor Dolnytsky, educated in Rome and a leading figure in both the Dobromyl Reform and the 1891 Provincial Synod, and the rector Hryhorii Khomysyn, educated in Vienna, were instrumental in Sheptytsky’s seminary reform. Khomysyn was an assistant pastor in the cathedral in Stanyslaviv and a parish in Kolomyya before his appointment as rector.

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi’s reform of the Lviv seminary was radical. It was completely re-organized, nearly all the major personnel were replaced, and the rules were simplified. A major role was played by Rev. Dol'nyts'kyi, who had already done much to settle earlier liturgical controversies.\textsuperscript{262}

Bishop Snihursky established a seminary for the fourth year of studies at Peremyshl in 1845. This was meant to make up for the lack of Byzantine-Ruthenian studies at Lviv University. Bishop Hryhoriy Yakhymovych (1845-1860) took steps to establish a seminary in Peremyshl but was unsuccessful. Bishop Yulian Pelesch (1891-1896) received government approval on 13 July 1893 to establish a full eparchial seminary.

Bishop Konstantyn Chechovych (1897-1915) in 1899 was able to obtain appropriate acreage for this seminary project. The land on Baschtova Street was purchased by the government for 30,000

\textsuperscript{260} Ibid., 188-189.
\textsuperscript{261} Sorokowski, 85.
\textsuperscript{262} Sorokowski 1991, 65.
kr. The government also directed Bishop Chehovych to purchase the remaining property but he was able to convince the government to buy the rest for 20,000 kr.\textsuperscript{265} This land was presented to the chancery on 10 December 1911. Work was begun on the building during the winter, and in the spring of 1912 the foundation for the seminary and chapel was completed and on June 25, 1912 Bishop Chehovych blessed the cornerstone. The work progressed apace and the seminary was to begin functioning in the new building during the 1914-15 academic year; however, as soon as the Great War broke out, the army requisitioned the unfinished structure and used it for a headquarters, a hospital and other important military support functions. Until the Great War the fourth-year theologians studied at the Chancery (‘Kapitula’) building. From 1914-1916 the seminary ceased to function and some of these theologians continued their studies in Kroměříž/Kremsier.\textsuperscript{266} In 1916-1918 the seminarians returned to Peremyshl but due to the November 1918 nationalist activities studies were suspended. After the Polish-Ukrainian War the church gained possession of the seminary complex from the government. It began to function fully in the 1921-22 school year.

When Khomyshyn was appointed Bishop of Stanyslaviv on 8 May 1904 Fr. Iosyf Zhuk who was not a good leader or speaker left the Lviv seminary as rector and eventually joined the Orthodox Church in America.\textsuperscript{267} Fr. Fatsiyevych had erected a building for the seminary in Stanyslaviv. Fr. Fatsiyevych retired to Vienna and died there on 26 February 1921.\textsuperscript{268} It was Bishop Khomsyn who established a seminary in Stanyslaviv on 14 January 1907 and appointed Fr. Lomnytskiy Yeremïya Ivan, O.S.B.M. as the rector of the Stanyslaviv seminary from 1907-1915:

Like their predecessors, the over 30 students accepted in the

\textsuperscript{265} Hrynyk, 107.

\textsuperscript{264} The relevant article about this seminary is found in the Peremyshl Theological Almanakh, p. 117-134.

\textsuperscript{266} “Josyf Zuk”, as he is listed in Blazejowskyj’s book (p. 265) Ukrainian Clergy in Diaspora, died in Florida on February 23, 1934. In 1910-14 he became vicar-general in Bosnia - from 1914-20 was pastor of St. Barbara church in Vienna and went to Canada in 1921. On September 25, 1932 Bishop Sophronios Bishara and Archbishop Aftimios consecrate Zuk Bishop of New York. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in America (Ecumenical Patriarchate)-[UOCA(EP)]; the American Orthodox Catholic Church’s Ukrainian vicariate.

\textsuperscript{268} Melnychuk, 18.
first year in 1906 were sent to the Lviv seminary from the Stanyslaviv eparchy to take courses at the University, but after the Christmas holidays became the first entering class at the new Stanyslaviv seminary. By 1922-24, the number of seminarians at Stanyslaviv was 140.267

On 29 July 1910 Iosyf Bocan, at the behest of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, visited various seminaries in Austria, Switzerland and Germany to review their status.268 He was appointed rector on 9 October 1910. In 1914 he was to accompany Metropolitan Sheptytsky to exile and be ordained Bishop of Lutsk.

Rev. Petro Chaws gives an intimation of the robust life that began to grow in the seminary as he describes his entrance into the seminary:

After I completed the gymnasium in 1905 I submitted an application with all my gymnasium certificates to the Episcopal Ordinariate in Peremysl with the petition to accept me for theological studies with the right of residence in the General Theological seminary in Lviv during my theological studies at Lviv University. Having entered the General Theological seminary, I registered at Lviv University for the first year of theology. In the Theological seminary I joined the membership of the reading club “Prosvita”, whereupon they selected me at their general meeting to be a member of said organization and the librarian.269

When Fr. Oleksa Prystay traveled to the U.S.A. in November of 1907 to serve the immigrants he tells of a twenty-two year old seminarian called Omelan Bartosh who had decided to go to the U.S. where his brother Eugene was already serving as a priest. Omelan was a second-year seminarian of the Theological Seminary in Lviv. He was also traveling to America because: “With the permission of Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky, he left the Lviv Theological Seminary,

267 Sorokowski, 78.
268 Mykola Prystay, Lvivska Hreko-Katolytska Duchovna Seminariya (1783-1945) - The Lviv Greek-Catholic Spiritual Seminary (1783-1945) (Lviv-Rudno: Lviv Seminary, 2003), 173 MANUSCRIPT.
269 Fr. Chaws also wrote about his Gymnasium studies in Lviv (1897-1905) which was submitted to the newspaper America in numbers 173,174,175,176,177 in September of 1967. Rev. Petro Chaws, U Viri Zhyttya ta Mostyschyna i Sudovovshchyna - In the Maelstrom of Life and the Mostyska and Sudova Vyshnia region of estern Ukraine (Stamford, CT: Diocesan Museum and Library of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of Stamford, 1976), 26-27.
in order to complete his Theological studies in America, be ordained celibate, begin the missionary work which needed so many labor-
ers.”

Andrii Krawchuk has put together documents which show that under the leadership of Andrew Sheptytsky the Greek-Catholic episco-pate held forty-three conferences in the years 1902-1937. The com-
plete text of the minutes from these conferences was found in the
Stefanyk Library in Lviv and transcribed by him with a short intro-
duction. There were varied discussions about the seminary structure in
Galicia. One of the first references in the aforementioned minutes tells
us that at the episcopal conference on 26 June 1902 the Metropolitan
and the rector of the seminary are given more authority:

...agreed that it be left to the Metropolitan to choose staff regard-
less of eparchy. It is also agreed to leave it to the Rector of the
seminary to accept theologians for all years of the seminary.

The nomination of Fr. Zhuk was noted at the Lviv Conference
dated 11 July 1904. On the 9-10 May, 1911 conference there is
made mention of the creation of a missionary school next to the Lviv
seminary which has eight candidates and is to serve both the U.S.
and Canada.

At this point it would be appropriate to underline the fact that
Galician seminarians also studied at the Jesuit theological seminary
in Innsbruck, Austria, founded in 1911, which was affectionately called
“Canisianum”. From 1912 to 1918 there was an average of eight to
d twelve Galician-Ruthenian seminarians at Canisianum. Among these
seminarians was Fr. Klymenti Sheptytsky, OSTS ( Studite), Inokentii
Bagan, OSBM, Br. Iosyf Zaiatskivsky, OSBM, Fr. Dr. Tyt Haluschynsky,
OSBM, Fr. Dr. Zhyk and Iosyf Slipyj who was head of the homiletical
circle which kept the Galician seminarians united around the library

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270 Prystay, Fr. Oleksa. Z. Tryska vech to the Land of
Skyscrapers vol. III -From Tryska vech to the Land of
April 1914. His brother Eugene died on 29 July 1964 in Watervliet, NY where he is buried. See
Blazjowskjy, Dmytro Ukrainian Catholic Clergy in Diaspora (1751-1988) (Editiones
271 Andrri Krawchuk, “Konferentii Archyyereiv Ukrainskoi Hreko-Katolytskoi Tserkvi 1902-
1937 - Bishops Conferences of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church 1902-1937,” Logos: A
272 Ibid, 434.
273 Ibid, 437.
274 Ibid, 460.
established by Metropolitan Sheptytsky and there was a chapel which was called “\textit{altare Ruthenorum}”.\textsuperscript{275}

The other seminary for Galician seminarians outside Galicia was the one in Rome. At first, Ruthenian seminarians lived at the Greek College established by Gregory XIII in 1577. In 1605 the famous Metropolitan Velyamyn Rutsky completed his studies at the seminary. Cardinal Sylvester Sembratovych, Bishop Kotsylovsky, Fr. Isydor Dolnytsky finished their studies here also. In 1847 there were so many seminarians there that the name was changed to “\textit{collegio-rutheno}.”\textsuperscript{276}

At first the seminarians of the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries attended classes at the Jesuit Collegio Romano. In the 19\textsuperscript{th} century they began to attend the Propaganda University. Pope Leo XIII founded a separate seminary for the Ruthenian church in 1897 next to the church of St. Sergius and Bacchus. During the 1904-1905 school year the seminary was turned over to the care of the reformed Basilians and the seminarians began attending the Jesuit College “\textit{Gregorianum}.”\textsuperscript{277}

From 9 May 1915 until 1921 the Ruthenian seminarians as citizens of Austria had to leave Italy and various Latin religious orders occupied the building of the Ruthenian seminary in Rome. In March of 1921 Pope Benedict XV returned the seminary building to the Greek-Catholics with the reformed Basillian order in charge.\textsuperscript{278}

\textbf{The Great War and Closing of Galician Seminaries (1914-1917)}

The Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy were viewed by many at the beginning of the twentieth century as multinational empires weakened by their internal disunity and multiplicity of alliances. The Bosnian crises of 1908-1909 and the Balkan wars of 1912-1913 were a presage of the war to come. Germany worried about Austria’s predicament and for just cause: “Despite the focus in recent decades on

\textsuperscript{275} An \textit{Innsbruck Student, “From the life of Innsbruck Theologians,”} in Almanakh Ukrainskykh Bohosloviv - The Almanac of Ukrainian Theologians, ed. Melnyk, Vasyl (Lviv: The Organization of Ukrainian Theologians of the Lviv and Peremyshl Dioceses, 1923), 141.

\textsuperscript{276} Ibid, 144.


Germany’s role in the origins of World War I, there can be no doubt that Austria-Hungary shares responsibility for conflagration.”

On 28 June 1914 Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by Gavrilo Princip in Sarajevo. When Austria and Germany marched on Serbia following their mobilization Russia saw no alternative than to declare war on 1 August. The July Crises of 1914 had led to the hostilities beginning in August of 1914. The causes of this war are seen by some as a failure to understand implications of modern technology, “the breakdown after 1890 of the Bismarckian system, as indicated by Germany’s decision to pursue Weltpolitik; nationalism in the Balkans and the disintegration of the Ottoman and Habsburg empires; and nationalism in the major states and unlearned lessons from a century of relative peace.”

On 3 September 1914 the Russian troops of the Eighth Army of the Tsar under the command of Aleksei Brusilov (1853-1926) took Lviv and by 22 March 1915 had conquered Peremyshl. Count Vladimir Bobrinskoy, who was virulently anti-Greek Catholic, became the governor general of Galicia and began repressive actions against the population. On 9 September 1914 he closed all educational institutions. On 18 September 1914 Metropolitan Sheptytsky was arrested and shipped to Kyiv where he arrived on 20 September. With him he took: “the Rector of the Seminary, Father Joseph Botsian, his majordomo Brother Joseph Grotskyj and a young servant.”

Father Botsian would be consecrated a bishop by Metropolitan Andrew on 21 September. “During a short stopover in a Kyiv hotel, the metropolitan secretly consecrated Fr. Botsian the bishop of Luts’ky, and appointed the vice-rector of the Lviv seminary, Fr. Dmytro Iaremko, the bishop of Ostrih.” The arrest of Metropolitan Andrew made seminary education on Galician territory impossible. Bishop Konstantyn Chekhovych died in Peremyshl on 15 April 1915.

With the inception of World War I, also known as the Great War, seminary education for Greek Catholics moved to

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281 Korolevsky-Keleher, (1993), 188.
282 Bishop Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv spent the period of Russian occupation in Vienna and the Halych metropolia was administered by Andrei Bilets’kyi. Bociurkiw 1996, 15.
Moravia. The seminary was eventually located to the city of Kroměříž/Kremsier and was established by one of the Basilian Fathers, Yosafat Kotsylovsky, who had entered the monastery of the Dobromyl reform in 1911. This seminary, organized in the spring of 1915, was one of the bright spots in the history of the UGCC. It was a representation of Galician seminary system because most of the seminary students and staff of Galicia met here.

This was one of the few seminaries operating in Europe during the Great War. At first, seminarians had gathered next to the church of St. Barbara in Vienna and had begun to take classes in theology at the University of Vienna. The Vicar General for all Galician Greek Catholics outside of Galicia was Platonid Filas, OSBM, a monk of the Dobromyl reform. Fr. Kotsylovsky would gather the students at St. Barbara’s and try to organize their formation, although they all lived in various homes.

In the desire for a more stable seminary environment Fr. Dr. Antonio Cyril Stoyan met with Fr. Filas in Vienna. They had known each other from the Velehrad Congresses. At first they had thought of placing the seminary in Velehrad but 70 Jesuits from Chyrov had occupied that location. A Fr. Adolf Yashek a catechist in Kroměříž/Kremsier and co-editor with Fr. Stoyan of the Czech journal “Apoštolát sv. Cyrilla a Methoda - Apostolate of Sts. Cyril and Methodius”, found a place in Kroměříž/Kremsier for this fledgling seminary as it is described in the Almanac of Ukrainian Theologians:

The Christian cooperative readily gave up its theater hall, where it was easily possible to place 60 beds, the organization “Eagle” gave us its simple headquarters, immediately across from the theatre where it was possible to have a museum-school. The Archeepiscopal government gave up its garden which was next to the museum, and the ski club gave up its pavilion, which was in this garden, built next to a wonderful lake, where classes would take place. The church of St. John close to the future seminary

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285 Fr. Yashek wrote an article about this seminary under the title: “UstYedni rusinský bohoslovecký SeminaY w KromYíYí.” Apoštolát sv. Cyrilla a Methoda, 1915, no. 9-10.
was assigned for our liturgical services, and next to this church the Marian organization of Ladies ran the seminary kitchen.\textsuperscript{286}

Cardinal Franz Bauer nominated 12 priests to be the professors for this seinary. There were three Galicians and nine Czech priests. All the professors taught without remuneration. The seminarians celebrated Easter in Vienna but on 22 April left for Kroměříž/Kremsier. There were 64 seminarians who made the trip. On Monday 26 April 1915 classes began. When the war with Italy began, 11 seminarians from the Roman College arrived with Fr. Ivan Buchko who would become the auxiliary for Lviv.

There were 75 seminarians in \textit{toto}. There were 41 from the Peremyshl eparchy (38+3 from Rome), 20 from the Lviv Archeparchy (16+four from Rome), 13 from the Stanyslaviv eparchy (10+3 from Rome) and one from the Canadian Eparchy (from the Roman College). Most of the lectures took place in the pavilion, affectionately called “the university” next to the lake. Classes were in Latin, Ukrainian and sometimes Czech. At the end of July the final exams took place and were ratified by the Ministry of Religion and Education.

At the end of August 1915 some seminarians returned to Galicia and by October the seminary in Kroměříž/Kremsier ceased to exist. Thus the “provisional” seinary had existed for not more than five months. On 28 November 1916 the last Austrian emperor Karl nominated the rector of the Kroměříž/Kremsier seinary as the new Bishop of Peremyshl. Ten months later, after his release from Russian imprisonment Metropolitan Andrew consecrated him bishop on 23 September 1917.

Meanwhile, after the offensive of 1915 some form of the seinary was partially renewed in Lviv but “the Austrian Army occupied the seinary building and all efforts to remove them were unsuccessful. There were probably only a few rooms which were free, and the theologians lived on Khashovskyy Street, and in 1917 in the apartments of the Cathedral. In 1917 Bishop Bocian was barely able to free part of the seinary building from the requisition.”\textsuperscript{287} The various


international and national upheavals sparked by the Soviet revolution prevented the seminary from normalizing its schedule until 1920-23.

Sheptytsky returned to Lviv in September of 1917 and among other issues had to deal with a failed attempt by Bishop Khomysshyn of Stanyslaviv to impose the “new” Gregorian Calendar which had been a source of contention when it was introduced in 1582 and had since become a rallying point of confessional orthodoxy and national identity for the Ruthenians of Galicia. 288

In summation, we can say that the reform of the Basilian order was a crucial event in the reform of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Following this event the Provincial Synod of Lviv in 1891 endowed with legislative power the efforts of both bishops and Basilians to work at seminary reform. The status of the Peremyshl seminary which had been established in 1845 was basically a fourth year of studies for those eparchial seminarians who usually completed prior studies at the Lviv General Seminary.

Most of the Stanyslaviv seminarians studied at Lviv before the establishment of the eparchial seminary in Stanyslaviv in 1907. In fact, in 1901 there were over 50 seminarians attending Lviv from Stanyslaviv with 12 extern students. 289 The seminarians attended courses at Lviv’s Emperor Francis University. This arrangement was also the case in the Peremyshl seminarians. It was only in the 1920s that each of the three eparchies would in fact have separate seminaries; yet, it will be possible to continue to trace the influence of the reformed Basilians upon seminary education in Galicia.

The period from 1882-1946 was a time when the clergy assumed the direction of clerical education and gathered all the best minds of the region, both laity and clergy, to enter into the project in a cooperative and collaborative way. The stature of the people involved in this endeavor was witnessed to by the great numbers who gave their life for the faith and those who continued their educational work in the Gulags of Siberia. The education and formation of clergy in this period made possible the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church’s survival as an illegal entity and catacomb church for almost half a century.

289 TsDial - Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi archiv u m. Lvovi - The Central National Historical Archives of Ukraine in the city of Lviv (Fond No.451, Opys No. 2.; Sprava No. 660, 1901), 1-2.
280 John Tracy Ellis, American Catholics and the Intellectual Life (Chicago: The Heritage Foundation, 1956), 46.
Today, this same church is faced with many challenges in Ukraine. Ukraine has been independent since 24 August 1991. It has faced a failing economy and a society struggling to find its own destiny. Within this uncertain social future the church must continue to educate the faithful. The clergy will no doubt play a leading role in this endeavor. Already, the Theological Academy of Lviv has been revived and recently has been transformed into the Ukrainian Catholic University. This is a monumental achievement for the Catholic East. It is also an apt time to reflect upon the past.

This chapter has prepared the groundwork for the golden age of Greek Catholic clergy education in Galicia. In the following chapter we will discuss the period between the two World Wars, a time when the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church developed three main seminaries: Lviv, Peremyshl and Stanyslaviv. The development of the Theological Academy of Lviv was the apex of clerical education for the UGCC. One of the goals of the Galician hierarchy in seminary education was to balance formation with a devotion to intellectual excellence. This tension is a constant source of concern in seminary education:

Closely connected with the question of the prevailing Catholic attitudes in education is the overemphasis which some authorities of the Church’s educational system in the United States have given to the school as an agency for moral development, with an insufficient excellence. That fact has at times led to a confusion of aims and to a neglect of the school as a training ground for the intellectual virtues.  

The following chapter will present the three seminaries of the Galician UGCC and especially highlight the prolific work of the Lviv Theological Academy. It was only the beginning of World War II which was able to stem the development of these fine institutions. Eventually, the goal of these seminarians was not simply the education of clergy but also the education of a people. A Ukrainian University in Lviv was one of the central aims of the seminary system in Galicia.
CHAPTER FOUR:

CLERGY EDUCATION IN THE GOLDEN AGE
(1918-1939)

Introduction – Political Context

From the time of the Kyivan (Kievan) Academy in the seventeenth century the Ukrainian people have always desired to have an institution of higher learning.291 In general, the various attempts at higher education on Ukrainian lands tended to be dominated by the Polish sector of society in Galicia and the Russophile sector of society in non-Austrian lands. This was evident in the gradual displacement of the Greek pedagogical model with the newer Latin/Western model:

Initially, the educational system of L’viv was organized along the Greek model, with its courses in grammar, rhetoric, poetics, rudiments of Aristotelian philosophy...Indeed, the L’viv curriculum was mostly confessional, resting on traditional sources and designed mostly to foster Orthodox uniformity. But the purely Graeco-Slavonic orientation of the school at L’viv, as elsewhere, proved shortlived. Practical considerations and the continuous success of the Catholic schools forced the bratstva [brotherhoods] to consider Western pedagogical methods, which, among other things, meant a greater emphasis on Latin.292

The dissatisfaction with this tenuous state of affairs was felt in several violent student uprisings such as the one that follows in which one hundred students were arrested at the University of Lviv in 1907: “The students began demonstrating against the action of the Uni-

291 The Kievan Academy began as a secondary school of education and shortly thereafter attained a College level curriculum. In 1825 it was transformed into a seminary for the Orthodox Church until it was closed by the communists in the early twentieth century.

versity Board in refusing to accept the usual statutory declaration made by the students on matriculation in the Ruthenian language, insisting that it should be made in Polish.” A more violent clash between students and authorities would take place at Lviv University on 1 July 1910.

Reacting to these clashes Metropolitan Sheptytsky and several other Ukrainian authorities called for a separate Ukrainian University in Lviv. Franz Joseph I acquiesced to such an initiative with a 1913 decree stating that a separate Ukrainian University would be established on 1 October 1916. The eruption of World War I in the summer of 1914 put an end to this event; yet, the dream lived on so that during the time of the Ukrainian Republic an underground University existed in Western Ukraine until 1924.

Following the dissolution of the Austrian Empire the UGCC lost the privilege of having the theological faculty be Ukrainian. Almost in its entirety, the faculty devolved into Polish control. In opposition to this, Metropolitan Andrew established a theological faculty on the grounds of his seminary and saw the future Theological Academy (1929) as an ancillary unit in the service of the future Ukrainian Catholic University. The seminary system would provide the impetus for higher learning among Ukrainians.

The events of the preceding period (1882-1918) had the good effect of preparing a cadre of educated clergy who were able not only to effect change within the structure of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church; but they were able to inspire future generations of clergy to love education as a tool in the service of the church’s mission. The period under consideration in this chapter may be justly called the golden age of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church:

The reform of the Basilian order, the Provincial Synod of Lemberg of 1891, the founding of the Ruthenian College in Rome in 1897, the two archbishops Sylvester Sembratovitch (1882-98) and Duke Andreas Szepticki (1900-44) led to the golden age of their church... The golden age was documented by the establishment of new orders (the Studites, an eastern branch of the Redemptorists, the female Basilians, the female

versity Board in refusing to accept the usual statutory declaration made by the students on matriculation in the Ruthenian language, insisting that it should be made in Polish. A more violent clash between students and authorities would take place at Lwiv University on 1 July 1910.

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Studites, the congregation of the Servants of the Immaculate Virgin Mary), new theological institutions, periodicals, schools, and charity centers.\textsuperscript{295}

The Studites (studty) were a monastic order based on the Typicon (Monastic book of rules) of St. Theodore Studite (759-826). Their order was introduced to Ukrainian lands in the eleventh century in the Caves Monastery of Kyiv. Metropolitan Sheptytsky renewed the order in 1900 and revived it again after World War I in 1919. By 1939 there were eight Studite monasteries, three missions 225 monks and 72 Studite sisters.\textsuperscript{296}

The Redemptorists were established in 1913 through an agreement between Metropolitan Sheptytsky and P. Murray the head of the order. Belgian Redemptorists were sent from Saskatchewan, Canada to Galicia and adopted the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Rite. Before World War II there were 100 members of the order in Galicia.\textsuperscript{297}

The Basilians were the predominant monastic order which had a long and diverse history in Galicia. They were the most numerous order before World War II. The Galician Province numbered about 378 monks, which when added to their world wide total amounted to approximately 658 monks.\textsuperscript{298} The Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate were established in 1892 by Basilian Father Jeremiah Lomnitsky and diocesan priest Kyrylo Seletsky. Sister Josaphata Hordashevska was the foundress of the order.\textsuperscript{299}

During this “golden age”, as the monastic life was being diversified, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Galicia had three fully operational theological seminaries and a host of religious periodicals, which were made available to many from the various printing

\textsuperscript{297} W. Lencyk and V. Malanchuk, “Redemptorist Fathers,” in Encyclopedia of Ukraine, 1st ed.
\textsuperscript{301} For a retrospectives view of female monastic life in Ukraine before the 19th century see: Sophia Senyk, Women’s Monasteries in Ukraine and Belorussia in the period of suppressions (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983).
houses. These printing houses supplied the necessary instrument for the increase in scholarship within the theological community.

The inter-war period; however, was not a placid period of Galician history. During this period, we see the rise of the modern Polish state and the continuation of the incessant struggle in Eastern Galicia between Polish national concerns and the rise of Ukrainian nationalism. Within the Ukrainian Galician community the question of education and especially the desire for a Ukrainian University in Lviv continued to be a persistent and ardent desire.

On 22 January 1918 the Ukrainian Popular Republic declared independence in Kyiv. On 28 October 1918 the German deputies of Cisleithania met in Vienna to establish a modern state of Austria. This was the end of Austria-Hungary. The Ukrainian deputies of the Reichsrath of Vienna met in Lviv on 18–19 October 1918 and proclaimed the independence of a new state with Eastern Galicia as the core. This was called The Western Ukrainian Republic. The Ukrainian National Council took over the local army in Lviv on 31 October and November 1st became a solemn date of independence.

In furthering their own nationalist aspirations Polish politicians in Vienna founded the Polish state on 11 November 1918 and wanted all of Galicia under their control. Polish troops from Krakow entered Lviv on 21 November. This was the inception of the so-called Polish–Ukrainian War.

After the taking of Lviv, the Metropolitan Seminary was requisitioned by the Poles; its chapel was made into a cinema hall. The seminaries of Peremyshl’ and Stanyslaviv were suppressed, the endowments for students of theology were abolished, and thus the recruitment of clergy was made impossible.302

On 22 January 1919 the union of the Western Ukrainian Republic with the Ukrainian Popular Republic took place; but, by July of 1919 the Polish national forces drove the Western Ukrainian forces beyond the river Zbrycz and took control of Galicia. They signed a “Minorities Treaty” in July, which gave minorities some rights and was meant to pacify a somewhat disenfranchised people.

The Polish-Ukrainian War was mostly over by the late summer of 1919. The Versailles Peace Conference eventually conceded to the

Polish authorities most of Eastern Galicia. Eventually the Treaty of Riga gave Eastern Galicia to Poland and the Polish constitution was enacted. The Ukrainian Republic, in the person of Julian Batchinsky, protested this action on 8 December 1919 from the Ukrainian Mission in Washington, D.C.:

The Ukrainian schools, public as well as private, and other educational institutions, have been closed, while the Ukrainian chairs at the Ukrainian-Polish University of Lemberg have been abolished. Ukrainian students have been excluded from the University in Lemberg by the decree requiring from every student a record of service in the Polish army. When Ukrainian professors attempted to organize private courses of higher education the Polish government refused permission.\textsuperscript{303}

It was within this framework of gradual exclusion and loss of political power that the seminary system became one of the prime sources of Ukrainian intellectual influence.\textsuperscript{304} The main force for this intellectual input was the Metropolitan of Lviv Andrew Sheptytsky. The reformed Basilian Fathers of Dobromyl provided some very important members to the cadre of clergy involved in seminary education.\textsuperscript{305}

On 10 February 1925 a Concordat was signed between the Vatican and Poland.\textsuperscript{306} One of the provisions of this Concordat was the refusal in Article 9\textsuperscript{307} to divide the great (over one thousand parishes) Lviv Metropolia.\textsuperscript{308} This large conglomeration of parish communities made the administration of the metropolia more difficult; nevertheless, the seminary system of the UGCC would continue to fill a vacuum in the intellectual life of the Ukrainian people. The Theological Academy specifically would attempt to fulfill in some small way the yearning for a


\textsuperscript{307} Ibid., 273.

\textsuperscript{308} Korolevsky, 232.
The Ukrainian Catholic University for Western Ukrainians. Its graduates would form a cadre of ecclesiastical and lay intellectuals.

**The Lviv General Seminary (1919-1939)**

On 10 September 1917 Metropolitan Sheptytsky returned to Lviv from exile in Russia and Yosafat Kotsylovsky, also a Basilian priest, was consecrated Bishop of Peremyshl on 23 September of the same year. With bishop Khomyszyn as Bishop of Stanyslaviv this completed and added stability to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic hierarchy of Galicia. On 28 October 1918 “the German deputies of Cisleithania met in Vienna to constitute an autonomous German state of Austria. The old Austro-Hungarian Monarchy had disintegrated.”

Although the seminary in Lviv was able to operate on a somewhat limited basis in 1915-16 it was not until 1917 that Bishop Yosyf Botsian was able to recover a part of the seminary building from the authorities. The 1st of November 1918 saw severe fighting on the territory of the seminary between Ukrainian and Polish troops. There were bullet holes visible for many years in the walls of the seminary. The Polish government occupied the building partially until 1924.

In 1920 Fr. Teodozij-Tyt Halyszynsky, O.S.B.M., a docent of Lviv University, was appointed rector of the seminary. It was his duty to deal with the approximately 140 seminarians and to gradually renovate the seminary buildings, which had been left in a pitiful state by the Polish military and state authorities who had occupied them during the war. The appointment of Halyszynsky as rector of the seminary emanated from the Provincial Kapitula-general meeting of the Basilians which took place in Lviv from 24 April until 1 May 1920. The history of the Basilians elaborates on the appointment with the following words:

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309 Korolevsky, 224.
310 Bishop Botsian was consecrated by Metropolitan Sheptytsky in Kyiv on 21 September 1914 where he was exiled by the Tsarist troops who first occupied Lviv on 3 September 1914.
311 Fr. Teodozij-Tyt Halyszynsky, O.S.B.M. was born 13 April 1880. He completed his Gymnasium studies in Ternopil in 1898 and his philosophical-theological studies at Lviv University. In 1905 he studied in Frieburg, Switzerland and in Innsbruck. He received his doctorate in theology from Vienna University. He was ordained a priest 4 August 1904 and from 1906-8 lectured at the seminary in Stanyslaviv. He joined the Basilians and lectured at the papal seminary in Rome (1915) and the University of Lviv. He was rector of the Lviv seminary from 1920 until January 1926. He was also one of the founders of the Ukrainian Theological Society. He died in Canada on 31 August 1952. His specialty was biblical studies.
In this 1920 year, following faithfully the call of Leo XIII “to pro-
duce for the Ruthenian Catholic bishops learned helpers who are both
conscientious and well disposed – *Episcopis Ruthenorum catholicis
adiutores doctos, industrios. Bene animatos suppeditare*” (*Singulare
Praesidium*), The Basilian Fathers, for a five year period, took over
the leadership of the Lviv seminary. The rector of the seminary until
1925 (and a professor until 1931) was Fr. T. Halyschynsky, and during
the years 1920-25 the Basilian professors were: Fathers, Petro Kusil, P.
Demchyk, Y. Markevych, P. Martyniuk, Y. Skrutets, P. Teodorovych and
I. Tysovsky. During this time, in the years 1922-1926, Fr. Y. Luchynsky
was the Spiritual Director for the Lviv minor seminary.312

The Basilians once again took a prominent role in the education
of diocesan clergy. Leaving the seminary in the capable hands of the
Basilians Metropolitan Andrew was able to turn his attention to other
concerns which were pressing upon his time and energy in the wake
of the Great War. In 1921-22, Metropolitan Andrew made various visi-
tations to Ukrainian Catholics who had settled in the Americas. One
of his chief aims was to raise monies for orphans and to care for the
hierarchy in the Diaspora.313

On 29 September 1922 Fr. Teodozij-Tyt Halyschynsky, the Rector
of the Lviv Theological Seminary, called a meeting of all three semi-
naries of Galicia to establish a common educational program but this
met with no success.314 This meeting however did give rise to the
“Theological Scientific Society”315 which was the project of Rev. Jo-
seph Slipyj who had returned from theological studies in Innsbruck
in August of 1922. It gave an impetus for theological study and pub-
lishing. Its final general meeting was convened on Galician territory
on 2 February 1939.

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312 Isydor O.S.B.M Patrylo, “Sketch of the Galician Province of the O.S.B.M,” in Narys Istorii
Vasylianskoho Chynu - Sketch of the History of the Basilian Order, (Rome: Basilian Fathers
Press, 1992), 351.
313 The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the U.S.A. had been without a bishop since Bishop
Ortynsky’s untimely death in 1916. On 8 June 1924 two bishops, Constantine Bohachevsky and
Basil Takach, were appointed for Ruthenian Catholics in the United States. From that date in 1924
the Ruthenian Church was divided. The Bull of Pius XI (8 May 1924) appointing Bohachevsky
bishop states the division thus: “… quae eos dividit, duos Episcopos constituere censuerunt: unum
scilicet pro Ruthenis ex Galiia oriundis, et alterum pro Ruthenis ex Podcarpatia Russa.”
314 “De scientifica actione ‘Thelogicae Societatis Scientificae’ Oration in conventu generali 29-
315 For a short history and bibliography of the Society see: Wolodymyr Janiw, Studies and
The rectorate of the Lviv seminary from 1926 to 1939 was composed of five individuals: the rector, vice-rector, spiritual director and two prefects. During the period of 1926-39 Rev. Dr. Yosyf Slipyj was rector of the Theological Academy. He assumed this position from Rev. Dr. Tyt Halyschynsky, OSBM in January of 1926. He would also go on to be the rector of the Lviv Theological Academy which would open in 1929. He would be professor of philosophy, dogmatics, and history of the seminary.

The new rector of the seminary made many trips to various seminaries and institutions of learning. The trips taken by rector Slipyj over the years 1926-39 were quite varied. He went to Rome 21 April-29 May 1926 in order to discuss accreditation of the theological academy. He returned to the Eternal City of Rome on 15 April 1927-26 May 1927 and in November 1927 made a trip to Warsaw seeking instructors. On 8 April 1928 he went to Paris to survey various seminaries. We see him returning to Rome in 14 April 1930-8 May 1930. He went to the Holy Land on 1 May 1934 – 16 May 1934. Slipyj returned to Rome 3 May 1937-9 July 1937 and finally on 25 April 1939-31 May 1939. These were trips which provided new books, professors and information for the Lviv seminary and Theological Academy.

There were four vice-rectors in the Lviv Theological Seminary from 1926-1939:

1. Rev. Ivan Buchko became vice rector in January 1926 and remained only two months.
2. Rev. Dr. Vasyl Laba from April 1926 until 14 October 1932. He taught Hermeneutics and Patrology.
3. Rev. Oleksander Malynovsky was vice rector from 1932

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317 Born 1 October 1891. From 1911 he studied in Rome. Was ordained in 1915. From 1916-1921 was the assistant at St. George’s Cathedral in Lviv, vice rector of the theological seminary and rector of the bursa Institute of St. Josaphat. In 1921 he went to Gregorium University in Rome for further studies. In 1929 was consecrated a auxiliary bishop of Lviv. In 1945 was named visitator for Western Europe. Died in Rome on 21 September 1974.


319 Born 12 January 1889. 1921-24 studied theology in Lviv. Ordained a priest in 1925. 1940-45 was Apostolic Administrator of Lemkivschyna. In 1946-50 was rector of the Ukrainian catholic seminary in Germany and the Netherlands. Died 18 November 1957.
until 1937. He was a good administrator and did not teach.

4. Rev. Ivan Chornyak was vice-rector from 1926-1939.

The vice-rectors were in charge of managing the seminary and celebrating Divine Liturgy. They also were present at student’s meals in the refectory and watched over the daily discipline.

From 1926 until 1939 Rev. Stepan Rud was Spiritual Director. He received an assistant in 1935 in the person of Rev. Dr. Ivan Hrynioch. There were three prefects in charge of discipline and good order during the inter-war period. Fr. Oleksander Malynovsky was prefect from 1926 until 1932. After him was Fr. Vasyl Vasylyk from 1932 to 1934. Fr. Dr. Ivan Chornyak from 1934 to 1937.

When the seminary in Lviv was established on the land taken from the Dominican Sisters under Joseph II in 1782 it was given over for the needs of the Greek-Catholic seminary (Seminarium Generale) as noted by the marble tablet encased in the chapel bell tower: “Instructioni cleri religionis firmamento vovit Josephus II. Aug. anno MDCCLXXXIII”.

The seminary (21 October 1783) was given its first handbook in eight sections: “Institutum Seminarii Generalis”. Its next great incarnation came to being in 1929 under the title “Pravyla Dlya Pytomtsiv hreko-Katolytskoii Dyxovnoi Seminarii u Lvovi – The Rules for Seminarians of the Greek Catholic Seminary in Lviv.” This handbook had twelve chapters:


320 Born 17 December 1899. Began his theological studies in the L’viv seminary in 1922 and completed them in Innsbruck in 1928. In 1925 was ordained a priest. In 1932 returned to Rome for further studies. In 1934 worked in the L'viv seminary as lecturer, prefect, vice rector and rector. After the war he was exiled to Siberia. From 1959 he lived in L’viv until his death in January of 1980.


322 Johannes Choma and Georgius Fedoriw (ed.). Opera Omnia Kyr Josephi Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis (vol. III-IV) this publication can be found in its entirety in these pages. 47-70.

323 Ibid., 56.
In addition to the rectorate of the seminary there was also an internal structure governed by seminarians. Among positions held by seminarians there was that of the archductor. He was usually a seminarian from the final year who coordinated various internal assignments and scheduling with a representative from each class called a ductor. In cooperation with the plan not only to educate but to form seminarians an assistant to the seminary doctor and a cantor (dyak) provided some practical experience. A sextant with his assistants in the chapel took care of the liturgical life of the seminary. Some seminarians were assigned to coordinate help for the refectory and assigning readers for various meals. There were various lesser assignments such as those assigned to laundry, seminary store, library and leaders of various student organizations.324

The goal of the monastic hours reflects the desire of the early Christians to sanctify time. This goal of sanctification of the day carried over into the seminary mealtime periods. During meals students from the fourth year and “later (when the Theological Academy was founded in Lviv in 1929 there were five years of study) the fifth year students preached sermons during lunch.”325 This both prepared the students for public speaking while giving seminary staff a unique insight into the thought process of the students. Of course, following meals, recreation was mandatory and was seen as an integral part of the overall program of human formation.

There were two official vacation periods for the seminarians. The first was the winter vacation from the end of December to 17 January. The summer vacation lasted approximately from the end of June until the end of September or the beginning of October. Of course, there were times during the week when the seminarians were given two hours to go to town, approximately twice a week. The route was approved by the rector of the seminary and there were some locations which were off limits.

There were various organizations which added to the formative character of the seminary. “The reading room of the students-theologians in honor of Markiyan Shashkeych” was one such organiza-

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325 Ibid., 27.
tion.\textsuperscript{326} It was founded in 1850 and one of its chief aims was to raise money for publication of religious literature. In 1926 there was a revival of this organization and it accepted renewed statutes for its operation. It also served as a barometer of social life and the concerns of society. It was seen as a method of enculturating the seminarians into the socio-political climate of the people whom they would serve.

The second organization, previously mentioned in this work, was the "\textit{Brotherhood of the Entrance of the Holy Mother of God into the Temple.}" This organization had as its goal prayers for vocations and was founded by the long-time spiritual director of the seminary Fr. Isydor Dolnytsky on 24 June 1885. Fathers Y. Lychynsky, OSBM and S. Rud were subsequent spiritual leaders of this organization.\textsuperscript{327} There was also a short lived scouting organization in the seminary called PLAST which was disbanded by the authorities in 1930. The anti-alcohol society "\textit{Nove Zhyttya – New Life}" was founded in the late 1920s.

A very large organization in the Lviv seminary was the cooperative "\textit{vyzvolennya – emancipation}". It was founded in October of 1926. This organization provided the necessities for the academic life of the students. In 1932 light gymnastics became part of the formation program in the seminary.

\section*{The Theological Academy of Lviv (1928-1939)\textsuperscript{328}}

The Ukrainian nation in eastern Galicia had fostered a desire to have an institution of higher learning for many years. In fact, Austria had agreed to create a separate Ukrainian University in Lviv by a decree of Francis Joseph I issued in 1913. The university was to be opened on 1 September 1916. The First World War made this impossibility.

In April of 1879 Polish had become the official language for Lviv University while Ruthenian (Ukrainian) remained in use in the history and theology faculty. This gradual Polish emphasis at Lviv University undermined the openness which the Austrian government

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{327} \textit{Senytsya, vol. I}, 535-536.
\textsuperscript{328} Dr. Joseph Slipyj as rector of the Theological Academy composed three historical retrospectives to describe the first nine years of the Academy: Dr. Johannes Choma and Georgius Fedoriw (ed.) \textit{Opera Omnia Kyr Josephi (Slipyj – Kobernyckyj – Dyckovskyj) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis. 1928-31 pages 257-367; 1931-34 pages 369-479; and 1934-37 pages 537-667. There is also a speech at the beginning of the 1938-39 academic year pages 728-731.}
\end{flushright}
had envisioned for it. Nonetheless, the teaching of theology at the university level was one of the benefits of Austrian rule.

With the advent of the independent Polish state in 1918 the theology faculty at Lviv University became virtually Polish. Metropolitan Sheptytsky had to form his own theological faculty within the walls of the Ukrainian Seminary. The theological mindset of the Metropolitan was neither fully western nor fully eastern: “Thus it was deemed possible to ‘think like a Latin and pray like a Greek.’ Sheptytsky’s reliance on Thomism is perfectly understandable in this regard, even though he considered himself resolutely Eastern in his identity.”

One of the reasons that Metropolitan Andrew established the Theological Academy was to reclaim and develop eastern theological categories. The Academy was to be the seedbed for a new and invigorated eastern theology because: “…Greek and Slavic Orthodoxy were almost completely dominated by a brand of scholastic theology.”

The Academy would make great strides in eastern theology through its publications and deliberate focus on returning to the ancient sources (ad fontes). The Metropolitan’s own brand of eastern theology can be seen in his pastoral works written to his flock. His concern for the affairs of his Metropolitan See provided an avenue for expressing his thoughts.

Metropolitan Andrew developed a solid social ethics grounded in biblical realities and Patristic history. He was neither a slave to blind nationalism nor subservient to autocratic institutions and their agents. His reflection on church and society was grounded in Christian love:

Applied in practice, it set up the dichotomies that placed the real ethical stakes in high relief: authentic solidarity within the faith community as opposed to political divisiveness, whether at the pulpit or in the street; patriotism as an extension of a universal

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329 There was an underground Ukrainian University which was established in July 1921 existed in eastern Galicia until late 1925 and the Ukrainian Free University was established in Vienna 17 January 1921. A Ukrainian Catholic University was established by Yosyf Slipyj in Rome on 25 November 1963.
331 Chirovsky, 215.
332 For a list of Metropolitan Andrew’s published works see the following citation. Much of his work is pastoral in nature. Andrii Krawchuk, Christian Social Ethics in Ukraine - The legacy of Andrei Sheptytsky (Edmonton-Ottawa-Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1997), 278-371.
love of humanity, not a cover for ethnic conflict; social concern within a framework of eternal spiritual values in contrast to intolerant materialism; and religious faith as a social fact and social mission rather than a privatization of the life of the spirit and the conscience. The critical edge of this practical doctrine of love, and indeed its implications, have been missed by some who preferred to see it only as a passive blessing of any initiatives that were declared national or patriotic.333

Wasyl Lencyk, a graduate of the Theological Academy in Lviv wrote the following describing some of the reasons for establishing it: “The great Metropolitan Andrew and the new rector Fr. Dr. Yosyf Slipyj well understood the need for a higher education for the clergy not only those in the married state but also the great need for good ideal clergy in the unmarried state.”334

On the 11 of November 1927 the Ukrainian Theological Society (UTAS)335 brought up the necessity of establishing a theological academy. The Metropolitan Consistory gave its approbation on 24 November 1927. Metropolitan Sheptytsky on 22 February 1928 announced the creation of the Academy and prepared statutes336.

On 6 October 1929 the Academy celebrated its official opening with a solemn Divine Liturgy. At the time of its opening the Greek Catholic Theological Academy only had a theological faculty and as of 1 October 1932 a philosophical faculty was added. During the first three years of the Theological Academy there were four seminars whose goal it was to both diversify and stimulate the quest for knowledge: the biblical seminar, the homiletical seminar, and the historical and law seminar.337 During the first three year period there were approximately 114 graduates of the Theological Academy in Lviv.

On 24 May 1931 Pope Pius XI (1857-1939), former nuncio to Poland in 1919, published his encyclical “Deus scientiarum Dominus”.

337 Choma 1970, 355-357.
This document set new norms for theological studies; consequently, the statutes of the Academy were reworked. The statutes emphasized Pius' humanist tendencies and focus on research. They were then approved by Metropolitan Sheptytsky on 21 March 1933.

In accordance with the statutes of the Academy, the rector was in charge. He was nominated by the Metropolitan from among the full professors once every three years and was approved by the Apostolic See. The Rector had to give a report to the Metropolitan on a yearly basis. Aside from the rector there were two deans and pro-deans of the faculties who were chosen annually.

During the second three year period the Academy continued its pursuit of knowledge by emphasizing the publishing achievements of its professors. The seminars continued unchanged in its four subject format with the addition of the seminar of Slavic philology in the 1932/33 academic year.

There were no graduates from the Academy during the 1931/32 school year; however, there were 36 graduates in 1933 and 27 in 1934. It was during this period that a statue in honor of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, her founder, was erected in the Theological Academy.

It is clear from the speech of the rector of the Academy in 1935 that the intention of the Metropolitan (Sheptytsky) was the transformation of the Academy into a University which would serve the intellectual aspirations of not only the clergy but of the entire Ukrainian populace.

Last year our Academy made further progress toward the goal of establishing a full Ukrainian Catholic University, to realize the consistent thought of our metropolitan regarding its creation. ... a Ukrainian Catholic University will realize sooner our striving even among these obstacles to at least partially assuage our need for a full Ukrainian graduate school within the boundaries of the polish state.

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338 In 1925 Pius XI established the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaeology, he called for Christian action and in 1930 witnessed the reunion of the Syro-Malankarese Christians of India. His concern with Eastern Catholicism and the Concordat he signed with Poland in 1925 made his encyclical quite effective.

339 Senycia, vol. I: The new statutes spoke about the possibility of adding a Law faculty to the Philosophical and Theological Faculties. This underlined the drive for the formation of a University. Studies were to last 9 years: 4 philosophy and 5 years; nevertheless, the course of studies was shortened to 5 years. p. 60. For a Ukrainian/Latin translation of new statutes see pp. 61-79.


341 Choma 1970, 549.
According to the statutes the cohort of Professors was to have full professors and lecturers. In the report of the rector Y. Slipyj for the 10th anniversary of the Academy which he presented on 3 October 1937 he noted about 39 professors. Aside from the prescribed courses there were also 10 seminars. The Academy also published 21 volumes of "Opera Gr. Cath. Academiae Theologicae Leopoli-The Works of the Greek Catholic Theological Academy of Lviv".

During the academic year 1934/35 there were fifty graduates. During the 1935/36 academic year there were fifty-eight graduates and during the 1936/37 year there were sixty-four graduates and during the 1937/38 there were sixty-six graduates while there were sixty-two in 1938/39. A Sociological seminar was added to the curriculum before the onset of World War II.

**The Peremyshl Seminary**

From 1775-84, before the founding of the Lviv general seminary in 1783, there were places for six students from Peremyshl in Vienna at the "Barbareum." When the Lviv seminary was established there was room for approximately 20 places for the eparchy of Peremyshl. The period of study was six years, "of which the last year was to be done in the student’s own eparchial seminary." In 1790 it was shortened to four years. The presbyteral house was founded in Peremyshl by the government on 14 August 1786 in the former Carmelite monastery.

The degree of activity at the Peremyshl seminary was not as developed as that in the Lviv seminary. Lviv had a history and tradition which began in 1790s. The lack of tradition and continuity precluded any extensive student life in Peremysl:

At the Peremyshl' seminary, extra-curricular activity was less developed. The absence of any organizations at that seminary until the appearance of the "Scholarly Circle" in 1922 may be explained by the fact that this had not been a full four-year seminary until the preceding year, and that fourth-year students gen-

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erally had the least amount of free time; furthermore, as long as there was only a fourth-year class there, the next class to arrive each year would have lost touch with its predecessor due to their physical separation, virtually foreclosing continuity in the work of any student organizations.

From its founding in 1845 until 1920 the Peremysl seminary had only fourth year students. Following World War I Bishop Yosafat Kotsylovsky of Peremyshl blessed a completely new seminary building on 13 December 1921. He also consecrated the lower chapel to St. Josaphat and the upper chapel to Christ the King. In order to fund the seminary the bishop assigned a tax on the parishes. The professors at the seminary were compensated by being given a parish assignment.

The rectors for these years were Rev. Dr. Hryhorii Lakota (1918-1926), Rev. Dr. Vasyl Pynylo (1926-1929), Rev. Volodymyr Gmytrasevych (1929-1935) and Rev. Ivan Kyzych (1935-1939). Also among the professors at the seminary was the future bishop of the UGCC in America Constantine Bohachevsky, who was professor of pastoral theology from 1920-1923/24.

On 28 March 1923 Rev. John Dzenoki visited the seminary as an Apostolic Visitator. On 2 January 1925, following an eight day retreat, the bishop had all the places in the seminary reserved for those who had decided to be ordained as celibate priests. This caused much consternation among both clergy and laity.

It was under the rector Fr. Gmytrasevych that a new reform was introduced into the seminary in the 1932/33 school year:

Until that time it (instruction) lasted four years, but from the year 1933 it expanded to five. This was connected with another fact. Just then there arrived from Rome new instructors and almost all of them with double doctorates: Theology and Philosophy. Among them were: a future rector Fr. Ivan Kuzych, Fr. Mykola Denko, Fr. Stepan Hrab, Fr. Volodymyr Holinsky. Having brought with them the European learning from Rome, the new instructors changed the method of teaching in the seminary. They raised the quality of instruction. We can even say that the level of education in the Peremyshl seminary was not inferior to Lviv. I could make this com-

345 Sorokowski 1991, 76.
346 Almanakh Ukrainskykh Bohosloviv (1937), 78.
347 Procko 1982, 54.
348 Dziubyna 1995, 32.
parison because of my talks with my friend Chomiak, a seminar-
ian of the theological academy in Lviv. The lectures in philosophy
may have even surpassed the lectures at Lviv.\textsuperscript{348}

The personal interest of the bishop was manifested in his visitation
of the seminary, his talks on the priesthood, and his giving the 1932
retreat himself. In his talks he equated the goals of seminary and staff
as indivisible: “personal holiness and the furtherance of God’s king-
dom.”\textsuperscript{349} Instead of returning in October for the beginning of
the school year the bishop wanted the seminarians back mid-September.
From 1920-1937 the bishop ordained 409 priests among whom 21
were celibates. During this time seminarians were constituted thus:\textsuperscript{350}

Table 3 Peremyshl Seminary statistics 1924-1937

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<th>III</th>
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\textsuperscript{349} Almanakh, 84.
\textsuperscript{350} Ibid., 86.
The Stanyslaviv Seminary

The city of Stanyslaviv is in western Ukraine which in 1962 was renamed Ivano-Frankivsk, the capital of the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast on the Bystrytsya River. It is approximately 115 km southeast of Lviv. It was re-named after the Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko (1856-1916). It has a university, institutes of medicine, petroleum and gas, theology and a business school. The city was established in 1662 on the site of the former village of Zabolotiv by a Polish magnate. The city passed to Austrian rule in 1772. After 1848 the Ukrainian national movement gained momentum and the city became an Episcopal see of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church on 25 March 1885 (Eparchia Stanislaopolitanus).

From December 1918 to May 1919, while Polish troops occupied Lviv, it served as capital of the short-lived West Ukrainian National Republic. It passed under Polish rule in 1919, and then to the Ukrainian republic of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1939. The population estimate for 1998 was 237,000.

The students from Stanyslaviv also attended the Lviv Archeparchial seminary until January of 1907. From that year most of the students studied at both Lviv and Stanyslaviv. In 1920 celibacy, under Western influence, was established as a rule at the seminary by the Bishop of Stanyslaviv. “On 5 March 1925, an important group of Stanyslaviv seminarians left the clerical state because they did not wish to be compelled to celibacy. The review Nyva published their protest as well as another the following year, and did a whole series of articles on the question351”.

As an aside it can be stated that celibacy was chosen, although infrequently, even in the general seminary in Lviv. The mandatory nature of compulsory celibacy evoked much dissent from the ranks. Aside from the personal spiritual reasons that motivated some to voluntarily choose celibacy there were also missionary concerns that motivated others to choose celibacy:

Father Tymkewych was a graduate of the seminary in Lemberg (present-day Lviv), the spiritual center of the Ukrainian Catholics in Galicia. As a seminarian Tymkewych had deliberately cho-

351 Korolevsky, 474.
sen to remain celibate so that he could be more effective working among his countrymen in the United States and Canada. Unfortunately, the newly ordained priest’s first experience of American Catholicism was not pleasant. Archbishop Corrigan suspended him as soon as he heard that he had started St. Michael’s parish without obtaining his permission.352

During the 1923/24 school year there were 67 seminarians: 1\textsuperscript{st} year-33, 2\textsuperscript{nd} year – 15, 3\textsuperscript{rd} year – 12 and 4\textsuperscript{th} year – seven. There were seven professors: Rev. Dr. Vasyl Baran, Rev. Dr. Yakiv Medvetskyj, Rev. Dr. Ivan Lyatyshhevsky, Rev. Dr. Avksentiy Boichuk, Rev. Dr. Vasyl Babyna, Rev. Dmytro Staka and Rev. Dr. Semen Lukacha. As we can see the majority of professors were qualified with a doctoral degree.

The outstanding rector of the Stanyslaviv seminary of this period is also referred to as “its final rector.” His name was Avksentiy Hryhorovych Boichuk\textsuperscript{353}. He was born on 26 February 1888. He completed his studies at the Lviv Gymnasium, the Stanyslaviv seminary and finally at Vienna University where he attained the level of Doctor of Theology. From 1923 until 1939 he was rector of the Stanyslaviv Seminary. In 1939 he avoided arrest and continued his priestly ministry; however, in 1944 when he attempted to renew the seminary he was arrested. He eventually died on 1 August 1971:

Some clerics survived their captivity. Fr. Avksentii Boichuk, the rector of the Stanislav Greek Catholic Theological Seminary, was imprisoned for fifteen months in Stanislav and Kyiv and was then sentenced to ten years in the Vorkuta camps in the Komi ASSR. In the camps he displayed considerable organizational talent in building the “catacomb church” among the Ukrainian Catholic prisoners\textsuperscript{354}.

The Stanyslaviv seminary also had ties with the world-wide Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. This is important to note because when all the Galician seminaries were destroyed in 1945 the seminary system continued in some small manner in efforts at seminary formation that had already begun in the United States of America.

\textsuperscript{353} Nestor Muzak, “Remembrances About the Final Rector,” Svitlo (February 2000): 59-60.
\textsuperscript{354} Bociurkiw, (1996), 203.
The Greek Catholic Seminary System in the U.S.A.

The Ruthenian Greek Catholic Eparchy of the United States sent candidates to the Stanyslaviv seminary to study within its walls. Earlier in 1910 bishop Ortynsky bought land for a seminary in Yorkton, Virginia. The land was malarious and therefore unsuitable for a seminary.355

When Bohachevsky arrived in 1924 he collected money for a seminary and “in September of 1925 he designated a building for students attending local schools as ‘The Institute of St. Paul,’ the first minor seminary”. When the UGCC in the United States opened St. Basil Preparatory School (Stamford, CT) in 1933 as a minor seminary to prepare students to study philosophy, the institute in Philadelphia was closed. Some of these seminary students would continue their study in Galicia. We have the following statistical picture of seminary education in the U.S. in the year 1934-35:

Table 4 Seminarians in U.S. Greek Catholic Church 1934/35

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEMINARY</th>
<th>SEMINARIANS</th>
<th>17 (7 pay their own way while 10 are paid for by Eparchy)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Basil Prep Seminary (Stamford, CT)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanyslaviv Seminary (Galicia)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Josaphat Seminary (Rome, Italy)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All seminarians outside U.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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356 Paska 1975, 82.  
357 The seminarians from the Ruthenian (Pittsburg) jurisdiction studied in Baltimore. Kalendar Sobranija na 1921 r. (McKeesport, PA, 1921), 189-191.  
The seminary in the United States would see the addition of a college seminary in Stamford, CT whose idea was proposed at a consilium meeting in Philadelphia on 18 October 1938.\textsuperscript{359} It would come to fruition on 9 March 1939 when the Connecticut House of Representatives permitted the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary in Stamford, CT to conduct a college and to confer academic degrees\textsuperscript{360}. Before the founding of St. Basil College some seminarians studied at St. Charles College in Catonsville, Maryland.

From the memorial book in honor of the \textit{Celebration of the Ukrainian College} held in Philadelphia 24 November 1940 we see that in 1924 Bishop Bohoachevsky arrived and founded the \textit{Institute of St. Paul} in the diocesan houses 816-818 N. Franklin Street. The rectors of this initial attempt at a seminary were: Fr. Mykhaylo Kuzmak, Fr. Andriy Chlystun and from 1926 Fr. Paul Procko. The following priests spent at least some time in the institute and subsequently studied in Rome and returned as priests to the United States of America\textsuperscript{361}:

1. Fr. Dr. Stepan Tykhansky
2. Fr. Dr. Basil Feddish
3. Fr. Dr. Stephen Knapp
4. Fr. Mykhaylo Bobersky
5. Fr. Lev Pelensky
6. Fr. Mykhaylo Skorodynsky
7. Fr. Joseph Schmondiuk
8. Fr. Ivan Babyak
9. Fr. Ivan Hryniok

The seminary system in the United States received its first rectors and bishops from the seminaries of Galicia. Consequently, it is important for the study of both Galician and American seminaries to realize their close ties. Seminarians studied in Galicia and professors from Galicia came to the United States in order to fill their intellectual ranks. It is also interesting to note that many of the treasured texts of the Galician seminaries have been conserved within the Stamford Cultural Center housed on the grounds of the seminary in Stamford, Connecticut.

\textsuperscript{359} Eparchialni Visti - Eparchial News year XIII, no. #4 (November 1938): 42.
\textsuperscript{360} Eparchialni Visti - Eparchial News year XIV, no. #3 (August 1939): 43. The college would confer the degree Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) in philosophy.
\textsuperscript{361} Fr. Paul Procko. The Beginnings and Growth of the Ukrainian Seminary in the United States (Stamford, CT: Seminary Press, 1940), 23-25.
Keeping in mind the world wide growth of the UGCC it is good for the sake of perspective to consider the size of the Church in Galicia. The following table gives a very accurate picture of the scope and depth of ecclesiastical life in Galicia before the harsh realities of World War II and the unremitting persecution of Soviet atheism to methodically reduce the UGCC to oblivion. This chart is a comparison against what the underground church would become one of the largest underground churches in Catholic history. The UGCC is a world wide Catholic church with a world wide mission. The following table is of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Galicia, 1938.

Table 5 UGCC in Galicia 1938

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lviv Arch-Eparchy</th>
<th>Stanyslaviv Eparchy</th>
<th>Peremyshl Eparchy</th>
<th>Apostolic Administration of the Lemko Region (1936)</th>
<th>TOTALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliary bishops</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostolic Administrator</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaneries</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parishes</td>
<td>1,267</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>2,387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal (parish) churches</td>
<td>1,308</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>2,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filial (sub-parish) churches</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapels</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This period of seminary education was perhaps the most stable Galicia had seen in many years. In spite of the various obstacles the government had set up to dissuade the UGCC from expanding its clergy curriculum, it also forced the hierarchy and educators to look...
outside of Galicia (Vienna, Rome and Belgium) for new paradigms and direction for clergy education.

The fact that many Galician clergy obtained their degrees in European Universities enriched the cadre of clergy with a diverse education which would prepare them for the harsh war years and endless persecutions. This rich preparation would put the UGCC in a most challenging position of pastoring the faithful during World War II and nurturing them during one of the greatest persecutions the Catholic Church has ever witnessed.

This chapter has discussed the golden age of clergy education in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of Galicia. The three eparchial seminaries did not preclude the preeminent role of the Theological Academy of Lviv. This academy accepted candidates from all three eparchies. In other words, it saw the benefit of centralizing clergy education which was something the Catholic Church tried to encourage:

On the occasion of his golden jubilee as a priest Pope Pius XI issued an encyclical, *Ad Catholici Sacerdotii*, in December, 1935, in which he acknowledged the fact that it was impossible for every diocese to have its own seminary properly equipped for the training of future priests. Where this was the case the pontiff urged that the bishops of a region “should concentrate and unite their forces in a common Seminary, fully worthy of its high purpose…” And he added that he had never let pass a chance to favor and encourage efforts of this kind.

The following chapter will discuss the limited seminary system of wartime Galicia and its struggles during World War II. This was a challenging time for anyone involved in education. Intermittent bombings and government confiscations of seminary buildings along with various outright persecutions made seminary education almost impossible and quite often heroic.

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363 *The Apostolic Administration of Lemkivschyna was created by a decree from the Oriental Congregation “Quo optius consuleret” on 10 July 1934. Seminarians from Lemkivschyna, aside from the Galician seminaries, studied also at the Czenstochowa Theological Seminary in Crakow and in Dubno. Wasyl Lencyk, Shematyzm Hreko-Katolytskoho Duchovenstva Apostolskoi Administratsii Lemkovschyni - A Directory of the Greek Catholic Apostolic Administration of Lemkivschyna (Stamford, CT: Ukrainian Museum and Library, 1936-1970 2nd ed), 162.

CHAPTER FIVE:

THE DECLINE OF CLERGY EDUCATION
(1939-1946)

World War II and Clergy Education in Galicia

The inter-war period was a time of much challenge for the UGCC. The church in the preceding pre-World War I period had been guided in many ways by the Austrian-Hungarian government. There were continuous struggles for national identity between the Poles and Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia. During the Austrian period these efforts had been tempered by the Viennese government. Yet, this would change with the dissolution of the Austrian-Hungarian state.

The Polish people had worked hard to attain their independence and were rewarded for their effort by an almost serendipitous dissolution of their oppressors: “The Polish Republic came into being in November 1918 by a process which theologians might call parthenogenesis. It created itself in the void left by the collapse of the three partitioning powers.”365 With the advent of Polish independence the nascent Polish state successfully waged the Ukrainian war (November 1918-July 1919) for control of Eastern Galicia. Following this consolidation of power the Ukrainian population found itself at both a political and educational disadvantage. The long-sought-after Ukrainian University of Lviv became a moot point:

After the war Lviv University as well as all of Eastern Galicia found themselves within the boundaries of an independent Poland and even though the Paris Peace Conference (25 June 1919) provided the framework for the establishment of a Ukrainian uni-

versity in Lviv, the question was not to be settled until the end of the second World War when Eastern Galicia was incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1945.366

The Ukrainian community was relegated to several gymnasium and primary schools for its education. The seminary and an educated clergy became a unique educational and intellectual refuge for a people who had been politically relegated to a marginal role within their own land by a new political situation. The church became at this point a most unusual player in the religio-political consciousness of a people and the seminaries became sources of enlightenment.

In this malleable political situation the city of Lviv stands as a most visible paradigm. The city of Lviv has an unusual history. In 1772 it was annexed by Austria and in 1919 it was annexed by Poland. It was seized by the Soviet army in 1939 and during World War II it was occupied by the German army from 1941-1944. In 1945 it was ceded by Poland to the U.S.S.R. and became part of the Ukrainian, S.S.R. In 1989 it became a part of independent Ukraine. Its present population is estimated to be approximately 800,000.

The city of Peremyshl fell under Polish rule after World War II and was incorporated into Poland to this very day while Stanyslaviv fell under Soviet influence. Thus of the three Galician seminaries for Greek Catholics two of them remained ultimately under Soviet control while Peremyshl was under the control of the Polish communist state. All thee seminaries were closed by the communist authorities and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church would be declared an illegal entity.367

On the eve of World War II the three eparchies of the Galician Metropolia had over five hundred seminarians studying in Galicia and abroad. The Lviv Theological Academy had developed into an exemplary theological institution. There was a philosophy and theology faculty with a law faculty scheduled to be opened in the fall of 1939. Its publications and scholarship reached its apex in the years before the beginning of World War II.

367 After the 1947 Operation WisBa deported (to former territories of Germany and East Prussia) Ukrainians from the Peremyshl eparchy and the Lemko administration. The UGCC was not formally liquidated but its hierarchical structure was eliminated. It was the intervention of Pope Pius XII who appointed A. Hlond (primate of Poland) as ordinary for the Ukrainian Greek Catholics. It was not until 1969 that a Ukrainian seminary was established in Lublin.
With the fall of 1939 Galicia entered into a violent period of flux that divided the three seminaries of Eastern Galicia among Soviet, Polish and German occupation. These were most difficult times which made the educational enterprise the realm of brave individuals who were hampered by lack of supplies, hazardous conditions and ultimately would all suffer the wrath of states which made their existence intolerable.

This vibrant growth of the theological enterprise was halted by the eruption of World War II. On 15 September 1939 a bomb fell on the seminary chapel and library destroying many irreplaceable books and works of art. On 22 September 1939 the Soviet Armies occupied Lviv. The church was persecuted and all ecclesiastical educational institutions were marked for liquidation and their wealth was confiscated. The Soviet authorities liquidated the seminary and academy. The seminary building was taken for the use of refugees and other governmental needs. Later some rooms were organized as housing for students of Lviv University of Ivan Franko.

On Thursday, 14 September 1939 at 14:45 during a bombing the seminary chapel of the Holy Spirit was destroyed. The library of the Academy was in ruins and most of the library of the Theological Scientific Society fell victim to this act. The 1939-1940 academic year did not take place. The Lviv seminary and Academy did not operate for two years. During this first two year period of Soviet occupation theological publishing came to a standstill. Many manuscripts ready for print and already printed issues of “Bohoslovia”, “Nyva” and the third volume of the history of the theological seminary were lost when the printer “Biblos” came under Soviet requisition.

It was during this sad situation of all the Galician seminaries falling defenseless before the onslaught of foreigners that Metropolitan Sheptytsky called the rector of the Lviv Theological Academy, Josyf Slipyj, to the episcopacy:

On November 25, 1939, Pius XII nominated Fr. Slipyj archbishop of Serre and coadjutor of Lviv archeparchy. Cardinal Eugene Tisserant, secretary of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches, replied to Sheptyts'kyi on behalf of the pope on November 27. His letter was brought back the following month.

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369 Fedunyk 1963, 106-112.
370 Senycia 1976, vol. 2, 64.
by Fr. Kladochnyi and on December 22 Fr. Slipyj was conse- 
crated by Metropolitan Sheptytskyi and Bishop Budka and 
Charnets'kyi in a secret ceremony at the metropolitan's chapel 
witnessed only by members of the metropolitan chapter.371

On 22 June 1941 Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union. On 30 
June 1941 German forces entered Lviv. In 1941 over the course of four 
months they occupied virtually all of Ukraine. This summer of German 
occupation brought a resurgence of Ukrainian nationalism. Both 
“Prosvita” and the Ukrainian Theological Society renewed their activities 
to some degree. Even the icons in the remains of the seminary building 
were partially restored.372 Many in Western Ukraine believed that their 
national ideas of independence and self determination were soon to be-
come a reality while others remained in fear before an uncertain future.

Hitler divided Ukraine into administrative units in August of 1941 
and began to rein in the work of Ukrainian Nationalists who sought to 
work for Ukrainian independence. The Galician occupational unit was 
called: Generalgouvernment. In Galicia, however, the Nazi authorities 
allowed a certain degree of Ukrainian autonomy via the Ukrainian Re-
gional Committee (Ukrainskyi kraiovyi komitet – UKK) with Kost 
Pankivsky (1897-1973) at its head as the only legal Ukrainian civic in-
stitution in Galicia.373 This organization served as a liaison between the 
Germans and the Ukrainians.

The German government established professional schools but left 
theological education to the church. During the summer and fall of 1943 
Soviet armies occupied left-bank Ukraine so that by March of 1944 the 
Germans only held Western Ukraine in their control. From March of 
that year the intellectual life in Galicia began to disintegrate as many 
intellectuals fled. On 27 July 1944 the Soviet forces occupied Lviv and it 
one again became a Soviet city.

In August of 1941 there began a revitalization of the Greek Catholic Mi-
nor Seminary, the Greek Catholic Theological Seminary and the Greek 
Catholic Theological Academy. This was done at the initiative of the rector 
Yosyf Slipyj. When the seminary opened “the seminarians in the Theologi-
cal Academy numbered almost 70 persons at that time in all courses.”374

373 In March 1942 UKK was merged with UTsK (Ukrainskyi tsentralnyi komitet-Ukrainian 
Central Committee) in Cracow with K. Pankivsky who became UTsK’s deputy leader.
374 Senycia, vol. 2, 82.
All theological seminars took place within the seminary walls as *Priesterseminar* because the authorities did not acknowledge higher education. Studies began on 20 September 1941. At 4:30 P.M. students received the sacrament of reconciliation and the following day classes for the 1941-42 school year began. The Christmas break lasted from 17 December till 17 January 1942.³⁷⁵

Officially during the German occupation of Galicia the “Theological Academy did not exist, ‘because the German administration did not tolerate institutions of higher learning.’ All matters of the Theological Academy were documented under the name of the Greek Catholic Theological Seminary. Consequently before the German authorities only the Greek Catholic Theological Seminary existed.”³⁷⁶

Before the opening of the school year the Professors gathered on 21 August 1941 for a conference to speak about future educational goals. They decided that the curriculum remain the same as before the war and that the course of studies would last five years. After this conference the authorities of the Academy in Lviv informed the seminarians that the academic year would begin 1 September 1941.

The opening of the 1941/42 school year was postponed to 19 September. On that day a prayer service to the Holy Spirit was celebrated in the prayer room of the seminary. Classes began the day after the prayer service. The Chronicle of the seminary written by Vasyl Schyr a student of the 5th year stated that the reason the year was delayed was the difficult wartime circumstances which made communication and travel difficult.³⁷⁷

Seminary education continued apace in spite of wartime conditions with a celebration of St. Josaphat on 30 November 1941. Following the long standing custom, the seminarians on 12 December 1941 went to Metropolitan Andrew to greet him on his name day. Christmas vacation began on 17 December 1941 and the students returned on 17 January 1942. After the return of the seminarians the rector and staff celebrated a solemn Jordan water blessing. After that the students greeted the rector Yosyf Slipyj with the announcement of

³⁷⁵ Mykola Prystay 2004, 432.
³⁷⁷ Shkribenets, 24.
his episcopal ordination. That evening there was a small banquet with students from the minor seminary. The following day, 19 January 1942, classes began for the spring semester with Bishop Mykola Charnetsky.

During Holy Week the students remained in the seminary due to the difficult wartime situation. On 29 March they were released for the Easter break. Before the seminarians returned they each received a letter from their pastor testifying that the seminarian had attended services. The seminarians were to also bring some food stuffs to the seminary. These sporadic conditions and requests were but another sign of the volatile wartime situation which made it difficult for both student and staff in the seminary.

During this time of war the Metropolitan Andrew was also involved in saving many Jews from persecution: Among them was Rabbi Dr. David Kahane, a prominent Rabbi and teacher in Lviv prior to the war. Rabbi Kahane, along with Rabbi Chameides, personally appealed to Sheptytsky in mid-August 1942 for assistance in concealing the ‘Scrolls of the law’ from Nazi destruction. That same night, Sheptytsky not only took in the Hebrew Scrolls, but also both rabbis and their families. Years later, as Chief Chaplain of the Israeli Army, Kahane would recall Sheptytsky’s letter to Himmler and the Reichsführer’s rude reply.378

There is little information about the period spring 1942 to January 1943. In the spring of 1943 the German authorities informed the rectorate of the seminary that its facilities were to be given to the German army for its use. Rector Slipyj requested a stay of this order from the vice governor Otto Bauer. He was informed that the army would occupy the facilities on 9 February 1944. However a few days later German troops took over part of the seminary building on Copernicus Street (2nd and 3rd floors). Students and staff were forced to go to the minor seminary off Sykstunsky Street (present day Doroshenko Street.).

The 1944-45 school year began under Bolshevik occupation. At first it appeared that the seminary would be spared any further interference. The mayor of Lviv was a Ukrainian called Boyko who even came to visit the seminary.379 Unfortunately after a short time the

378 Michael O. Logusz, Galicia Division (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Military History, 1997), 89.
theological seminary had to move in with the minor seminary. There was a lack of discipline and even some negative influences from Soviet soldiers who were using the Theological Academy for a hospital.

Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, a monk of the Dobromyl reform and executor of the seminary reform in the Lviv seminary, died on 1 November 1944. The entire seminary staff and faithful gathered at St. George’s Cathedral to bid farewell to its pastor on 5 November 1944. He was buried in the crypt below St. George’s next to Metropolitan Sylvester Sembratovych. With his passing the agents of the Soviet authorities put their plans for liquidating the UGCC into effect.

From 19-28 January 1944 Fr. Vasyl Velychkovsky, CSsR gave a retreat to the seminarians. On Palm Sunday 1944 during a Soviet bombing blitz a wing of the seminary building on Copernicus Street was leveled. From April to June of that year due to aviation bombing the students and staff of the seminary moved to St. George’s complex where students attended some classes in the basement of St. George’s Cathedral.

In June 1944 there was the solemn conclusion of the academic year. Although Slipij had restored part of the seminary building which had been bombed it was to no avail. The Soviets would soon occupy the building as a hospital. From July to the beginning of September 1944 the seminary did not function due to the actions of war time.380

What were some of the administrative positions during this period? The rectorate of the Greek Catholic Theological Seminary: rector, vice-rector, prefect, administrator, secretary and director of the farm “Andriivka”. The Spiritual Director was not part of the rectorate. Yet, these simple issues betrayed the fact that long-ranged planning and serious scholarship was out of the question at this point. The seminary was in survival mode.

The rector of the seminary from September 1941 until December 1943 was

Fr. Yosyf Slipij. From January 1944 until April 1945 the rector of the seminary was Fr. Ivan Chornyak. Still from April of 1942 Fr. Ivan Chornyak was appointed vice-rector of the seminary. The prefect from September 1941 until June 1942 was occupied by Fr. Stepan Sampara,

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380 During the years of the German occupation there were 75 students during 1941-42 academic year, 74 in 1942-43, 90 in 1943-44 and 80 in 1944-45. As for the graduates in 1942-43, 17 in 1943, in 1943 19. See Prystay, 435.
Fr. Stepan Rud and Fr. Lev Hlynka. From September 1942 until April 1945 prefects were Fathers Stapan Sampara, Yosyf Trush, Mykola Prystay. During 1942-1945 Fr. Lev Kulenij was spiritual director.

From September 1942 until April 1945 the administrator was Fr. Ivan Havryk. The secretary for the seminary from September 1942 until April 1945 was Fr. Mykola Prystay. Fr. Antin Ruzhak was responsible for the farm “Andriivka”. These are but a few of the personnel changes necessitated by war-time conditions.

The Theological Academy in Lviv had its own administrative unit. The responsibility of rector during the 1941-1944 school years was borne by professor bishop Dr. Yosyf Slipyj. The post of vice-rector during 1941/43 was vacant. The Dean of the Theological Faculty in the 1941/42 school year was Fr. Dr. Yaroslav Levytsky, the prodean was Professor Dr. Vasyl Laba. In 1942/43 the dean of the Theology Faculty was professor Fr. Dr. Vasyl Laba, pro-dean was Professor Fr. Dr. Yaroslav Levytsky. The Dean of the Philosophy faculty was Professor Bishop Dr. Yosyf Slipyj from 1941-1943.

The post of secretary was vacant from 1941-45. The responsibility of the kvestor (Bookkeeper) from 1941-1945 was carried out by Fr. Peter Kozycky. The librarian from Sept., 1941 to April 1945 was Fr. Joseph Trush. The “Collegia professorum” of the Academy was composed of ordinary (ordinariis) professors and extraordinary (extraordinariis) professors and two delegates of docents (duobus legatis docentium). As a result of the war the academy lost two of its very talented professors: Dr. Mykola Konrad and Andrew Ischak. Some professors emigrated from Galicia: Doctors Mykola Chubaty, Volodymyr Zalozetsky, Ivan Chornyak. With the resumption of the Academy’s work only the two latter professors returned.

Dr. Senycia evaluated the faculty of the Academy during the war years 1941-1944 thusly: “The College of Professors in the war years 1941-44 was the same as before 1939 with the exception of those professors who died – such as Fr. Dr. Mykola Konrad and Fr. Dr. Andrew Ischak (Murdered in June 1941) or Fr. Julian Dzerovych (died in the summer of 1943) or those professors who did not return from emmigration.”

During the 1942/43 years the College of Professors had nine persons: four ordinary professors, three extraordinary professors and

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382 Senycia, 162. This page has a list of the professors who taught at the academy.
two docents, in 1943/44 years there were eight persons: three ordinary professors, three extraordinary professors and two docents.

The statutes of the Theological Academy in Lviv (39-42 paragraphs) states that students who completed the full course of philosophy and theology had a right to continue studies for a degree. The right to do a habilitation\(^{383}\) was given to the academy only during German occupation. Until that time the academy did not have aspirantura\(^{384}\) nor did it give out academic degrees.

There were two reasons why the academy was unable to independently award academic degrees to its students. First, the academy had to gain formal approval from the Apostolic See. The ten year “observation period” (1929-39) fell during war time and it was unable to do so\(^{385}\). The second reason was that the Polish Communist government opposed the academy’s accreditation.

In September 1943 seven aspirants began their lessons. They studied dogmatics, patristics, canon law, Arabic, pedagogy, history of Ukraine and ancient Ukrainian culture. All lectures took place at the seminary with the exception of those with Bishop Slipyj who taught at the St. George’s complex where he reviewed format issues and helped with the selection of a topic.

After the selection of a topic every aspirant searched during the year for materials in order to write his thesis with Bishop Slipyj as the only director. Aspirants would share their copies of their work with students and discuss them during class. The liquidation of the seminary in April of 1945 cut short the work of each of these aspirants – none was able to obtain a degree.

Those individuals who entered the Greek-Catholic seminary were likewise students of the Greek Catholic Theological Academy. The goal of the seminary was to give the students spiritual formation and education in order to prepare them for the priesthood. The Theological Academy focused on intellectual formation. Both formations took place concurrently.

Every year the students received a letter to return for studies. Similarly in August of 1941 the Faculty informed the students that the

\(^{383}\) The defense of a written work at the University level which allows one to become a professor.

\(^{384}\) From the Latin word aspirans (to breathe, to endeavour to obtain) it means to prepare for the attainment of a scholastic diploma or degree.

school year would begin on 1 September. Even by the 19th there were only 10 students due to wartime difficulties; however, by the end of the semester there were 76 students.

In June of 1942 there were 27 graduates. From these students 12 seminarians were from the Lviv Arch Eparchy, seven from the Stanislaviv Eparchy and two from the Przemysl eparchy, four of the students were of unknown eparchy.

In 1943 17 students completed the year to graduate. 11 were from Lviv Arch Eparchy, three from Stanislaviv and three were unknown. There is no information regarding the graduates from 1944 and 1945.

**The Closing of the Seminaries and Theological Academy in 1945**

In July of 1944 the activity of the Seminary decreased with the approach of the war front. On 27 July 1944 the Soviet army occupied Lviv and created their own administration. Bishop Slipyj gave Fr. Mykola Prystay direction of the seminary building. For a short time (September-October, 1944) he fulfilled the duties of rector. There were some small renovations and a few students returned for lessons. However, soon the authorities demanded that students apply for military service. The local Soviet administration allowed the seminary to function but in the spring of 1944 the seminary was requisitioned by the Soviet administration and the students moved into the minor seminary.

In the spring of 1945 the Soviet authorities moved more harshly against the seminary and Greek Catholic Church in general. Metropolitan Yosyf Slipyj was arrested 11 April 1945. At the end of April all institutions connected to the seminary were official liquidated. The faculty was arrested and exiled and some seminarians returned home while others were enlisted into the Soviet army. By late April of 1945: “...the theological academy and seminary and the precentors' school were raided and searched by the NKGB and effectively closed. The police detained 159 students and delivered them to the local military-draft office.”

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386 Fr. Prystay published a book about the Lviv Seminary in 2004 which was quoted at the beginning of this chapter.
In April of 1945 we see the formation of the so-called Initiative Group which was to bring about the union of the UGCC with the Moscow Patriarchate. Fr. Havryil Kostelnyk a professor at the Lviv seminary, Antonii Pelvetskyi who was to represent the Stanyslaviv eparchy and from the “Soviet-held part of the Peremyshl eparchy, the canonically appointed vicar-general of Drohobych oblast, Fr. Mykhailo Melnyk, the pastor of Nyzhankovychi, was eventually terrorized into joining the Initiative Group.”388 The final member was Serhii Khrutskyi who served as secretary for the group.

On Friday, 8 March 1946 at St. George’s Cathedral in Lviv a sobor (synod) was called at which no UGCC bishop was present. With the cooperation of the communist Authorities the UGCC officially ceased to exist in the eyes of the Soviet Union. On 11 April the NKGB arrested the bishop of Stanyslaviv along with Father Avksentii Boichuk the rector of the eparchial seminary.389 On 26 June 1946 the bishop of Peremyshl Kotsylovsky was arrested and taken to a prison in Kyiv. The arrest of all three UGCC hierarchs of the Galician Church put an end to all formal education within the UGCC.

Conclusions

When the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. set about to establish Princeton Seminary (1812) they formulated a plan which describes the goal of the seminary and the qualifications of its ministers who would:

Unite, in those who shall sustain the ministerial office, religion and literature; that piety of the heart which is the fruit only of the renewing and sanctifying grace of God, with solid learning; believing that religion without learning, or learning without religion, in the ministers of the Gospel, must ultimately prove injurious to the Church.390

This dialectical relationship between theology and praxis is at the core of the way the church proclaims and teaches. The way the church educates its ministers has a direct effect on the community which in turn affects the world.

388 Bociurkiw 1996, 121-122.
389 Ibid, 115.
The way the believing community conducts its religious education is influenced by the quality of its ministers: “the pastor is a central person in stimulating the faith community to create a vision of the meaning of the universal priesthood of believers.” The ordained minister is not the only element in religious education but an essential force in the way the Christian community conducts its religious education. In the present church the ordained minister is poised to affect religious education in its widest sense: “It is in dialogue with all that the church does and is in her preaching, teaching, pastoral, prophetic, outreach, serving, and caring ministries.” It is always important to reiterate the need for ordained ministers to be at the service of the believing community and the believing community to be at the service of the world in its religious education in the widest sense.

In restructuring the church and its various institutional structures we recall the words of the great commission when the Lord ascended and reminded his disciples to “teach” (Matthew 28:20). Religious education has been from the beginning a tool for reshaping and restructuring both church and secular structures. With its ministers educated and trained the community is endowed with confidence and competence to fulfill its God-given mission of education:

For adult women and men, it will also mean that in order to transform our broken world, we will confront our own silences as well, raising our voices against faulty systems, structures, and customs and working to change the present world into a new Jerusalem where there is neither mourning, nor crying, nor pain.

The seminaries of Galicia are but a small sample of Catholic Religious Education. Throughout its tumultuous history the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church has endeavored to educate its clergy with the belief that in so doing they would be able to reconstruct the church and society. This educational system is categorized as transformative in the pro-communist work of Klym Dmytruk who unwittingly proclaims the dialectic which existed within this seminary between praxis and theology:

392 Ibid., 3.
The Theological Academy and the seminary in Lvov had a student body which totaled, whereas the Przemysl and the Stanislav seminaries had 108 and 90 students respectively. Roman Reshetilo, a former Rector of the Theological Seminary in Przemysl who had been in charge of training for 25 years wrote: ‘The training of the Greek Catholic Clergy at theological academies has always been conducted under the Vatican’s direct supervision in the spirit of the ideological negation of materialist philosophy and with the aim of instilling an anti-communist outlook in the minds of future priests.\(^{394}\)

The Galician seminaries trained ministers as leaders, proclaimers and disciples. They took a stand against one of the most enslaving philosophies of the modern and post-modern era – communism. For this, the entire church would be able to educate not only Galician territory but, due to deportations and imprisonments, it would educate the fringes of the Siberian Gulags.

This work presents an educational system in transformation. The period in question was studied so that we might gain insight into the need to educate and form future generations of ministers who in turn become a resource for the wider mission of religious education which the church is forever re-shaping, re-forming and ever proclaiming in diverse ways. “As a church Catholics are making their way in this area: the story of the early church tells them that they ought to proceed with good order, but also with creativity and imagination.”\(^{395}\)

On 23 December 1945 Pope Pius XII (Eugenio Pacelli; pope 1939-1958) issued a papal encyclical titled *Orientales Omnes Ecclesias* on the 350th anniversary of the reunion of the Ruthenian (UGCC) Church with the Apostolic See (8,000 words). He would follow this up with another encyclical issued 15 December 1952 entitled *Orientales Ecclesias* which talked about the persecuted Eastern Churches (2,400 words). Both of these encyclicals exhibited the pastoral care of a church which was persecuted but was resilient and faithful.

Following the dissolution of the seminary system in Galicia The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church opened a seminary in Hirshberg

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The hierarchy was martyred by the communist government and was in a dismal situation. A bright spot appeared when Metropolitan Josef Slipyj was released from Siberia by Moscow in 1963. While in Rome on 25 November 1963 he established the Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement. This seminary served as an interim seminary tied to its historical sister in Lviv.

When Ukraine achieved its independence on 24 August 1989 a seminary was opened in Lviv and shortly moved to the suburb of Rudno. It was there that the idea of the Theological Academy was reborn and it laid the seed for the Ukrainian Catholic University of Lviv.

When the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was declared illegal by Stalin in 1945-46 it was forcibly joined to the Russian Orthodox Church and it would become one of the largest illegal churches in the world. When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1989 the UGCC acquired legal status. In 1992 the Lviv seminary resumed its work. The newly independent Ukrainian government offered the Lviv Archeparchy a former Pioneer (Scout) summer camp in Rudno, a suburb of Lviv.

The seminary re-opened as did the Theological Academy. In November 1998, the Academy received accreditation from the Vatican to grant the ecclesiastical Bachelor’s of Theology (B.Th.). In June 2000 ground was broken for a new Theological Center in the city of Lviv which combines the seminary residence and the University’s theological Faculty. On June 29, 2002, the inauguration of the Ukrainian Catholic University (UCU) was held in Lviv. Pope John Paul II on his trip to Ukraine blessed the university’s cornerstone on 26 June 2001.

The long awaited Ukrainian University is still facing the communist mentality which finds theology a subject which still does not have government approbation. Only the historical faculty of the University has received government approbation.

The seminary which had inspired and educated so many was revived and is living up to its mission of educating not only clergy but anyone who enters its halls. This institution continues to reflect the

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philosophy of its founder. Slipyj, the former rector who became Major Archbishop, said the following about education in his last will and testament:

As the one who became a volunteer prisoner of Christ I served the once glorious world of Ukrainian theological thought; I tried to raise it up from ruin, to renew it in the knowledge that learning is one of the foundation stones of the renewal and strength of a people; that theological learning is an evangelical command of Christ: “go, therefore and make disciples of all nations…” (Matt. 28:19). Learning is a pillar of the church among our people; for through its educational institutions it has become the educator of the people; ... Love learning; develop and enrich it with your work and your knowledge – be its servants! Raise temples of learning, burning with the spiritual strength of our church and our people. Remember that the fullness of life in the church and in our people is not possible without our own indigenous scholarship. Remember, learning is their breath of life.”398

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APPENDIX A:
Map of Galicia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire\textsuperscript{399}

\textsuperscript{399} Paul Robert Magocsi, Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 93.
APPENDIX B:
DISTRICTS AND EPARCHIES OF GALICIA

APPENDIX C:
ETHNOGEORAPHIC GALICIA

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Magocsi, 1985, xii.
APPENDIX D:
INTER-WAR GALICIA

INTERWAR GALICIA

- International borders, 1919-1939
- Territory claimed by Western Ukrainian National Republic, 1918-1919
- Polish palatinates (Województwa), 1920-1939

402 Magocsi, 1985, 177.
APPENDIX E: GALICIA SINCE 1939

Magocsi, 1985, 206.
# APPENDIX F:
RECTORS OF GALICIAN SEMINARIES 1882-1946

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PEREMYSHL</th>
<th>Rectorate</th>
<th>LVIV</th>
<th>Rectorate</th>
<th>STANYSLAVIV</th>
<th>Rectorate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fr. Dr. Ivan Ilnytsky</td>
<td>1868-83</td>
<td>Volodymsky</td>
<td>1878-81</td>
<td>Eparchy est. 25 March 1882</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fr. Yuliian Kyiilovsky</td>
<td>1883-84</td>
<td>Oleksander Bachynsky</td>
<td>1883-93</td>
<td>Began building seminary</td>
<td>June 1902</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fr. Myron Podolynsky</td>
<td>1884-88</td>
<td>Lev Turkevych</td>
<td>1893-99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fr. Dr. Konstantyn Chekhovych</td>
<td>1888-90</td>
<td>Fr. Dr. Hryhorii Khomyshyn</td>
<td>1902-04</td>
<td>Fr. Yeremiya Lomnytsky, OSBM 1907-15</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arrested Feb. 1915 and died in Symbirska, Siberia 3 July 1916</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fr. Ivan Voytovych</td>
<td>1891-98</td>
<td>Fr. Dr. Yosyf Zhyk</td>
<td>1904-08</td>
<td></td>
<td>WAR YEARS (1914-17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. Mykhaylo Mryts</td>
<td>1898-1918</td>
<td>Fr. Dr. Yosyf Botsian</td>
<td>1910-14</td>
<td>Fr. Mykhaylo Valnytsky 1917-23</td>
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<td>Fr. Avksenti</td>
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<tr>
<td>PEREMY SHL</td>
<td>LVIV</td>
<td>STANYSŁAV IV</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fr. Dr. Hryhorii Lakota</td>
<td>Fr. Dr. Teodor Halyshynsky</td>
<td>Fr. Avksenti Hryhorovych Boychuk</td>
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<tr>
<td>1918-26</td>
<td>1920-26</td>
<td>1923-45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fr. Dr. Vasyl Pynylo</td>
<td>Fr. Dr. Yosyf Slipy</td>
<td>CATACOMB CHURCH</td>
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<tr>
<td>1926-29</td>
<td>1926-44</td>
<td>1945-89</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fr. Volodymyr Gmytrasevych</td>
<td>Fr. Dr. Ivan Chornyak</td>
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<tr>
<td>1929-35</td>
<td>1944-45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fr. Ivan Kyzych</td>
<td>CATACOMB CHURCH</td>
<td>1945-89</td>
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<tr>
<td>1935-39?</td>
<td>1945-89</td>
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<td>CATACOMB CHURCH</td>
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<td>1945-89</td>
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APPENDIX G:
The 22 CATHOLIC CHURCHES (SUI IURIS)

Patriarchal Churches (7)
1. Armenian (Armenian)
2. Chaldean (Chaldean)
3. Coptic (Alexandrian)
4. Latin (Roman)
5. Maronite (Antiochene)
6. Melkite (Byzantine)
7. Syrian (Antiochene)

Major Archiepiscopal Churches (3)
8. Ukrainian (Byzantine)
9. Syro-Malabar (Chaldean)
10. Syro-Malankara (Antiochene)

Metropolitan Churches (3)
11. Ethiopian (Alexandrian)
12. Romanian (Byzantine)
13. Ruthenian (Byzantine)

Eparchial Churches (4)
14. Hungarian (Byzantine)
15. Italo-Albanian (Byzantine)
16. Krizevci (Former Yugoslavia) (Byzantine)
17. Slovak (Byzantine)

Apostolic Exarchates (3)
18. Belorussian (Byzantine)
19. Bulgarian (Byzantine)
20. Greek (Byzantine)

Exarchate (1)
21. Russian (Byzantine)

Apostolic Administration (1)
22. Albanian (Byzantine)
**RITES in THE CATHOLIC CHURCH:** Rite = Liturgical, Theological, Spiritual and Disciplinary points.

*Constantinopolitan*

1. **ALEXANDRIAN**
2. **ANTIOCHENE**
3. **ARMENIAN**
4. **BYZANTINE**
5. **CHALDEAN**
6. **ROMAN**

Coptic          Maronite     Armenian     Albanian     Chaldean     Latin (Roman)
Ethiopian       Syrian       Syro-Malankar Belorussian  Syro-Malabar
                Syro-Malankar Bulgarian
                Hungarian
                Italo-Albanian
                Krizevci
                Melkite
                Romanian
                Ruthenian
                Russian
                Slovak
                Ukrainian
On September 5, 1933, the high school unit of the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary opened its door for the first time. That forerunner of St. Basil’s Preparatory School occupied several class rooms on the top floor of the building which since that time has been given over to administration and dormitory occupancy. Registration of students took place that very morning in the green room where a temporary location of an office for that purpose was set. When Mr. Nagurney completed the registration on that first morning, he introduced the Reverend Basil Feddish who addressed the assembled students briefly on this important phase in their young lives since they were the first classes of the newly instituted educational endeavor.

September fifth was the second day in the festivities leading to the opening ceremonies. On the previous day, which was a national holiday, the dedication exercises of the building and school took place. Holy Mass was celebrated by His Excellency, the Most Reverend Constantine Bohachevsky, D.D., assisted by two other bishops of the Catholic Church, and by other Church dignitaries, at the head of whom was the Very Reverend Paul Procko, former rector of St. Paul’s Seminary of Philadelphia and newly appointed rector of the Stamford institution. The dedication ceremonies were held outdoors. Even though through the kindness of the Reverend Doctor Gleason, St. Mary’s Church was placed at the disposal of the new school, the ceremonies proceeded on the school grounds in spite of the inclement weather. Numerous visitors from many neighboring states attended the Mass and made an inspection of the building and grounds during the afternoon. Late in the afternoon almost the whole assemblage moved to the auditorium of the Stamford High School where a concert was presented by the church choirs of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

The registration of the first day showed a total enrollment of twenty-two students distributed among three high school grades and representing both boarders and day students. The day students were
residents of the city of Stamford, while the boarders came from New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. The teaching was done by the Very Reverend Paul Procko, Rector, Mr. Nagurney, the Supervising officer, the Reverend Basil Feddish, and Mr. A. Chehansky. Within several months this staff was supplemented by Mr. Andrew Mykytiak and the Reverend John A. Strimska, C.S.Sp. Two of the first group of students were dropped before the end of the first semester while one first time registrant entered at the beginning of the third quarter. In March of the same year one transferred to military school, he having registered late in the first quarter for the intermediate period while awaiting his appointment. The students in alphabetical order who completed the first scholastic year at St. Basil’s and their home towns were:

**The Freshmen**

Byrnes, Patrick Joseph, Stamford  
Cherkowsky, Harry, Stamford  
Cherkowsky, Michael, Stamford  
Chowaney, William, Auburn, N.Y.  
Cooper, Basil, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Darling, Edwin, Stamford  
Festsko, John, Jr., Yonkers, N.Y.  
Brabowsky, John, Phoenixville, Pa.  
Iffland, Charles, Stamford  
Krohley, George H., Stamford  
Monasterski, Emil, Ambridge, Pa.  
Spack, Michael, Soldier, Pa.  
Toner, Joseph, Stamford  
VanderHeyden, Robert L., Stamford


**The Sophomores**

Olesh, Bohdan, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Orehowsky, Roman, Ramey, Pa.  
Posikira, Rudolph, Brooklyn, N.Y.  
Stecyk, Michael, New York, N.Y.

**The Juniors**

Fisanick, Theodore, Barnesboro, Pa.-Boles, Ambrose Walker, Old Greenwich, Conn.

His excellency, the Most Reverend Constantine Bohachevsky, D.D., was a frequent visitor at the school throughout the first year as he has been ever since. The alumni who boarded at the school during that first memorable year make much of recalling the visits and the fine meals served on the occasion of the visits, as well as the feasts enjoyed by the whole student body in the main dining room following the completion of examinations at the end of each quarterly period.
Athletics were a minor consideration during the first year. Some football was practiced, but no games were played. Basketball season found the school without facilities. In the Spring however, a diamond was laid out on the front campus and the school enjoyed an interclass baseball season such as remains outstanding among athletic achievements.

The Labor Day week-end of September 1934 was, for a second time, pilgrimage week-end for many visitors to the campus of the year-old school. An anniversary Mass was celebrated in the Chapel and the building was thrown open for the inspection of the public. The remainder of the week was given over to arrangements for starting the school year and registration of new students.

When a count of the total student population was made on September 10, 1934, it was found that the number of the previous year had been doubled. Forty-four students reported for the opening of classes on the first day of the second scholastic year and an additional one applied for admission after the first week. The Reverend Francis Smith, C.S.Sp. was added to the faculty as instructor of Latin. Those who were members of the student body during 1934-35 were:

Amirault, Gerald, Old Greenwich, Conn.
Boles, Ambrose, Old Greenwich, Conn.
Brady, Hugh, Springdale, Conn.
Burns, John, Stamford, Conn.
Byrnes, Patrick, Stamford, Conn.
Clarke, James, Greenwich, Conn.
Cooper, Basil, Philadelphia, Pa.
Darling, Edwin, Stamford, Conn.
Dublanica, Michael, New Kensington, Pa.
Fetzko, John, Jr., Yonkers, N.Y.
Golden, Charles, Stamford
Grabowsky, John, Phoenixville, Pa.
Haggerty, Charles, Stamford, Conn.
Harasymchuk, Michael, Chesapeake City, Md.
Hotra, Stephen, Chesapeake City
Iffland, Charles, Stamford, Conn
Krohley, George, Stamford, Conn.
Medwid, Basil, New York City
Meehan, Thomas, Stamford, Conn.
Monastersky, Emil, Ambridge, Pa.
Mulhare, Robert, Stamford, Conn.
Murphy, T. Johnson, Stamford, Conn.
Olijar, Anthony, Arnold, Pa.
Olesh, Bohdan, Philadelphia
Olesh, Walter, Philadelphia
Posikira, Rudolph, Brooklyn
Rohacz, Juvenal, Chester, Pa.
Sawczyn, Harry, Lorraine, Ohio
Spack, Michael, Soldier, Pa.
Spack, Nicholas, Soldier, Pa.
Steck, Michael, Auburn, N.Y.
Stecyk, Michael, New York, N.Y.
Syroid, Michael, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Toner, Joseph, Stamford
Ulicki, Andrew, Jersey City, N.J.
VanderHeyden, Robert, Stamford
In the fall of 1934 the football team won seven consecutive games for a perfect season. Basketball found three basketball teams playing interscholastic and city league games. The Freshmen took a city league championship; the intermediate team gave a good account of itself losing the championship during the play-offs, and the Varsity completed a very successful season in which many of the public and private schools of Fairfield and Westchester Counties were engaged. The Ski teams enjoyed inter-class and inter-group competition. The Chess team played such teams as Stamford High and Bassick High of Bridgeport. Mr. Grabowsky captured the Checker championship and accompanied the Chess team on its journeys hoping to find worthy competition. The baseball team was out practicing very early in the Spring and added several worthwhile victories to the roster of competitive sports. All extra-curricular games were carried on under the coaching of Mr. Nagurney. The glee club was organized in the meantime and gave several concerts during the year. It also took part in the first graduation program of the school.

June 1935 brought the second scholastic year to a successful close. The first graduation was held in that year with Ambrose Walker Boles, Juvenal Rohacz and Andrew Ulicki as the first class to receive a diploma and be graduated. Of these three, Mr. Boles is carrying on a successful insurance business in his home town; Mr. Rohacz is happily employed in Chester, Pa. and Mr. Ulicki who entered the Seminary to study for the Holy Priesthood is about to be ordained to that Holy Office in Rome, Italy. He will return to this country soon after his ordination in the early summer.406

The school was affiliated with the Catholic University of America since its founding in 1933. The visit of the Reverend Leo McVay over the Thanksgiving week-end of that year brought the negotiations for affiliation to a conclusion.407 During 1934 the Legislature of the

406 Andrew Ulicki was ordained by Bishop Bohachevsky in Philadelphia on 7 April 1941 and died on 26 March 1983 in Johnstown, Pennsylvania.

407 The Catholic University of America opened in Washington, D.C. on 13 November, 1889.
State of Connecticut granted a charter which carried the privilege of operating a private secondary school.

During July and August of 1935 negotiations were carried on for the purchase of the school and gymnasium buildings which are located on Clovelly Road. Classes opened in the newly acquired school building in September of the same year. In the meantime Father Strittmatter, C.S.Sp. had replaced Father Smith on the faculty. The following were the new students registered:

- Byrne, Daniel, Stamford, Conn.
- Gallagher, John, Stamford, Conn.
- Leskiw, Peter, Frankford, Pa.
- Matthews, George, Stamford, Conn.
- Mulkerin, Michael, Stamford, Conn.
- Nahorniak, Michael, Dickson, Pa.
- Panas, John, Jersey City, N.J.
- Quinlan, Timothy, Stamford, Conn.
- Yourk, Bohdan, Fairfield, N.D.
- Riordan, John, Stamford, Conn.
- Mathews, Hugh, Stamford, Conn.
- Shyshka, Lubi, Elizabeth, N.J.
- McMorrow, Ned, Stamford, Conn.
- Coughlin, Richard, Stamford, Conn.

The dedication of the newly acquired buildings was celebrated over the Labor Day week-end. By this third year the public had made St. Basil’s the mecca of pilgrims and large groups of visitors arrived for the celebration.

The educational program was carried out with several minor innovations and improvements. In the meantime the athletic program passed through two striking contests which involved much traveling by the team. Among the several important trips made by the baseball team in the Spring of 1936 were one to Hartford, Conn. Where we took the measure of St. Thomas Seminary High School team by a score of 2-1, and a trip to Philadelphia, Pa., where we were defeated by Wilmington, Delaware, in a 3-2 score for the national championship sponsored by the Ukrainian Catholic Youth League. Long remembered among the feats of that combine will be the pitching of Stecyk and Darling, the catching of VanderHeyden, and the hitting of Iffland.

Eight seniors were graduated in June of that year. The glee club continued its periodical rehearsals and again took an active part in presenting musical programs during the school year and in the graduation exercises. Those who graduated in June 1936 were:

- Edwin Darling, Stamford, Conn.
- Basil Sheremeta, Syracuse, N.Y.
- Michael Steck, Auburn, N.Y.
In September of 1936 the fourth scholastic year opened with a record registration with 22 new students on the lists. Mr. Mark Danielovich was appointed to the faculty as teacher of social sciences. It was during this year that the first issues of the “Seminarian” the forerunner of “St. Basil’s Review” appeared. The year was eventful, with the general excitement of a growing student body, an expanded curriculum, visits by His Excellency, and the athletic contests which saw the undefeated junior varsity in its third straight year, demanding the time of students, instructors, and administrators alike. In June of 1937 the fourth year was ended with the graduation of fifteen students who were as follows:

Byrnes, Patrick, Stamford
Brady, Hugh, Springdale
Clarke, James, Greenwich
Cooper, Basil, Philadelphia
Dudiak, Walter, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Fetzko, John, Yonkers, N.Y.

VanderHeyden, Robert, Stamford

This Senior Class will be remembered as the group who put the final touch on the old walls of the School building. Immediately following graduation day, the contractors began work tearing down the interior of the structure to replace them with modern school construction. In the meantime remodeling operations were being brought to completion on the gymnasium and museum building. The new interiors were dedicated during the Labor Day week-end in 1937.

The newly reconstructed building was occupied for class purposes on September 13, 1937, with twenty-nine new students to replace the fifteen who graduated. Mr. Peter Kowalchik was appointed to the teaching staff. The year received an interesting impetus by the visit of Prince Danylo Skoropadsky, son of Hetman Skoropadsky, post-war ruler of Ukraine. The guest arrived on the twenty-ninth of October. On the evening of the fourth of November the students presented a concert in honor of the Prince during the latter part of which the audience was addressed by the distinguished visitor. The Prince made numerous acquaintances among the young men of the school.
who often recall his kind spirit and friendship. The royal guest de-
parted on the sixth of November midst rousing cheers from the to-
tal student body.

The first fraternity was organized by the members of the Junior Class in a meeting held during the month of November. Its first elected officer was Bohdan W. Yourke, of Fairfield, North Dakota. On the 14th of December Mr. Donald Attwater, Editor of the Catholic Herald, a London publication, gave a lecture in the school auditorium. A few days later, the Pennsylvania Historical Commission of Harrisburgh, Pa., presented the school with a miniature reproduction of Independence Hall.

Athletics recorded the return of the greats to the basketball team. With players such as John Martin, Hugh Matthews, Patrick and Farrell, and the up and coming W.E. Lynch, the school enjoyed one of the most successful seasons of all time. Capacity throngs filled the gymnasium throughout the season to watch the stalwarts perform. During athletic contests much of the conversation returns to the feats of the teams of 1937-38.

The graduates of June 1938 were:

Richard M. Coughlin, Stamford         Edward J. McMorrow, Stamford
Stephen A. Hotra, Chesapeake City, Md. Basil W. Medwid, New York City
Walter P. Kachmar, Pittsburgh, Pa.    Thomas P. Meehan, Stamford
John M. MacDonell, Stamford          Walter B. Olesh, Philadelphia
Hugh J. Matthews, Stamford           Lubomir P. Shyshka, Elizabeth, N.J.

The sixth academic year at St. Basil's opened on September 7, 1938 with ninety-two students in the four years of High School and in-
cluding the first post-graduate year. Mr. Walter Kennedy and Mr. Walter Heagney became the new members of the staff. During the preceding summer, on July 17, the completely renovated building was dedicated with His Excellency officiating and the Reverend Dennis L. Gleason as the principal speaker. During the first week of school, the Reverend J. Marron, C.S.Sp., delivered a lecture on the condition of the Catholic Church in East Africa. This lecture was followed by the oration of Reverend Leo Sembratovich, late lecturer and emi-
nent authority on church matters, on the fifth of October.

Mr. Walter Kennedy assumed his duties as football coach and pre-
pared an elaborate schedule. Among the teams encountered during
that year were Manhattan College freshmen, Stamford and Norwalk High Schools. Mr. Heagney took over his extra-curricular duties as advisor to the “St. Basil’s Review” which came out in a new and enlarged form. On November 23, 1938, the Reverend E. Ananevich, present Vice Rector of the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary, made his first visit to St. Basil’s. On December sixth, the third of a series of lectures was delivered at the school. The Reverend John B. Murphy, C.S.Sp., of the vicariate of Kilimanjaro delivered a lecture accompanied by moving picture scenes of life in Africa.

One of the greatest steps of student organization at St. Basil’s was taken on February 28, 1939, when the By-Laws of the Student Council were adopted. The sixth annual retreat was begun on March 22. It was directed by the Reverend Richard Haggerty, S.J. On April 28, Principe Noteas Majehara, oriental magician, made a personal appearance in the school auditorium. Chief Thunder Cloud, star of the motion pictures “Geronimo,” “Northwest Passage,” etc., made a personal appearance in an Indian show in the interest of self-government for the Indians of America. The baseball season was one of the finest in the history of the school.

The graduation exercises took place on the 19th and 20th of June with class night on the former and the academic procession and graduation on the latter day. There were twenty-three young men graduated from the school as follows:

Leo A. Adamiak, Altoona, Pa. Joseph McCue, Stamford, Conn.
Gerald Amirault, old Greenwich, Conn. Daniel Morelli, Stamford, Conn.
Daniel Byrne, Greenwich, Conn. Michael Mulkerin, Stamford, Conn.
Leonard J. Dziamba, Cohoes, N.Y. Michael Nahorniak, Dickson City, Pa.
John Raymond Farrell, Stamford, Conn. Gerald O’Donohue, Darien, Conn.
Marven Gretchen, Astoria, Long Island, N.Y. John T. Panas, Jersey City, N.J.
Walter M. Koval, Bayonne, N.J. James Patrick, Stamford, Conn.
Peter E. Leskiw, Frankford, Pa. Timothy J. Quinlan, Stamford, Conn.
George Matthews, Stamford, Conn. John L. Stankard, Stamford, Conn.

Bobdan W. Yourk, Fairfield, N.D.

During the Spring of 1939, the Legislature of the State of Connecticut granted to the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary, Inc., a charter to operate a college with the privilege of granting the A.B. degree.
Plans were made immediately to begin September 1939 with the first year of college in addition to the five-year sections of the high school, with the idea of expanding the college by adding an additional grade in each successive scholastic year. The Reverend Edward M. Smith, C.S.Sp. was named the dean of the college.

The seventh scholastic year, the present, was begun with Holy Mass celebrated by the Very Reverend Vice Rector for the success of St. Basil’s in its series of ever expanding functions. A group of one hundred and four students reported for the opening of class on the sixth of September. Seventeen more registered for college work on the eighteenth day of the month. Mr. Robert Ferrera was added to the school staff on the first of November and Mr. Andrew Fisanick joined the staff in March 1940. Aside from the full time staff several part time instructors were engaged. His Excellency continues his many visits of inspection to the school.

A number of new features were added to the general school program for the present year. Lectures by the visiting priests from neighboring parishes were most outstanding among the extra-curricular activities. Student dances, sponsored by the Student Council, were the second series of activities worthy of note.

The football team accomplished its greatest feat with one victory, one lost, and four deadlocks with the best teams in this and New York State; an enviable record. The basketball team also gave a splendid account of itself. The baseball team, under the coaching of Mr. Ferrera is also expected to give a good account of itself.

Another step towards expansion has been arranged in the opening of the Summer School planned for July first. The present session will be held under the joint sponsorship of Professors Nagurney and Heagney, and will be expanded as demand justifies.

God’s blessing and happiness to the class of 1940.\footnote{There have been countless priests and some bishops who graduated from St. Basil’s Preparatory School and St. Basil’s College. The following are the bishops who graduated from St. Basil’s: Jaroslaw Gabro, Basil H. Losten, Lubomyr Husar, Richard Seminack, Walter Paska and Robert Moskal.}
ABSTRACT
The Education of Ukrainian Greek Catholic Clergy in Galicia 1882-1946

Ivan Kaszczak
Fordham University, New York, 2005

Mentor: John L. Elias, Ed.D.

World War II established the Soviet Union as the political power in Ukraine and specifically over the territory of Galicia in Western Ukraine. This development was a dire note for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Its worst fears materialized when in March of 1946 a pseudo-synod sponsored by the Soviet atheistic regime declared the church no longer existed. The church’s hierarchy, clergy and laity were shipped to various parts of the Soviet gulag archipelago and its institutions were confiscated.

It was not until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 that the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church emerged out of the “catacombs” and began to rebuild its churches and educational institutions. One of the first institutions to be revived was the seminary system which eventually paved the way for the establishment of the Ukrainian Catholic University of Lviv.

The seminaries of Galicia were a pivotal part of the three main eparchies of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of the region: Lviv, Peremyshl and Stanyslaviv. The eparchial seminaries of Peremyshl and Stanyslaviv, along with the General Seminary of Lviv provided the church with a highly educated and motivated clergy. The Theological Academy of Lviv would be the apex of theological education for the church in the last four centuries.

There have been some initial studies regarding the education of clergy in the region of Galicia, however, a severe lacuna exists for the period which ends the nineteenth century and into the modern era. The influence of the Order of Basilians and their consistent efforts at the revival of clerical education merited more assiduous study. I argue that from the beginning of the Basilian reform at Dobromyl in 1882 to the 1946 pseudo-synod, it was the Order of Basilians that contributed the most towards the education of the Galician clergy.

The influence of this order can be seen in their preponderance in
the teaching cadre of the three seminaries in question. Their ascen-
dancy to the episcopacy also provided them the means to realize
many of their educational plans. The many scholarly works left by
the Basilian Order in the last century give erudite testimony to their
scholarly and even religious commitment to education.

I give a short historical synopsis of clerical education in the Catho-
lic Church followed by specific outline of the Kyivan church from
which the UGCC claims its origin. The golden era of clerical educa-
tion in Galicia dated from 1920-1939 provide an informative look
into the flowering of a church’s educational endeavors. It is this pe-
riod which I contend not only provided the church with highly edu-
cated clergy, but also provided the church with the educational and
spiritual fortitude to withstand one of the most heinous persecutions
of the modern era.

Marianne Sawicki contends that God works within human struc-
tures to communicate the Gospel. I think that the seminary system
of Galicia gives us an insight into how a particular church in a unique
period in history was able to withstand several governments and wars
and persecutions while continuously following the plea of the Chris-
tian Gospel to “preach to all nations”. It is my hope that this con-
stancy and fortitude will provide a paradigm for Christian teaching
in every age and every place.
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History has its own space and its particular laws. The people of the past speak to us out of a common heritage of humanity as well as out of the peculiarity of their times:

They are like us, that is, in that they were people who had to make sense of a world in which hate and betrayal and death were common as love and trust and life. These people also can quicken us because they are unlike us. Someone has said that “the past is a foreign country; they do things differently there.” But in their very differences they can tantalize us to think about who we are, what our times mean, and how we can help shape a future.

We need to keep in mind both the similarities and divergences when speaking of the Graeco-Roman world and Christian civilization. This vibrancy within history is oftentimes lost in the historian’s quest for stability and categorization. We like to define and believe that we have understood. With history, we like to subdivide it thinking that we have understood the river if we have studied twenty meters of it. The early Christians did not have the luxury of antiseptically analyzing what they were living:


The starting point in both cases [capitalism and pagan Graeco-Roman civilization] is the immediate impression of clash and conflict, and of practical incompatibility of divergent structures, which diverge basically in spirit or inspiration. The early Christians were facing a particular civilization, that of the Roman and Hellenistic world. It was about this civilization that they spoke; it was about this concrete system of values that they were critical and uneasy. This civilization, moreover, was itself changing and unstable at that time – was, in fact, involved in a des-
perate struggle and crisis. The situation was complex and confused.2

The term Classical-Pagan is sometimes chosen to refer to all the pagan literature employed by Basil in his Religious Education scheme. The reason that I use the hyphenated term is to emphasize that some of the literature quoted by Basil is contemporary to the Christian era; consequently, there is a need to distinguish Christian literature from non-Christian literature, both of which have become classical. In this short study the terms Classical, Pagan and Classical-Pagan will be used interchangeably to refer to all non-Christian literature quoted by Basil when he discusses Christian Education.

The term “pagan” is not intended to be pejorative but only to make the issue in question more distinct. When we speak of pagan we usually speak of literature that can be of use to Christians if they discriminate the good from the bad. Usually, it is also contrasted with the purity of the Scriptures.

The place of pagan literature in Christian pedagogy is one of the most ancient questions in Christian Religious Education. Tertullian, in his De praescriptione haereticorum spoke to those who considered the Gospel as the only learning deemed worthy of effort:


... We want no curious disputation after possessing Christ Jesus, no research after enjoying the gospel! With our faith we desire no further belief.”3

In contradistinction to this view of learning, many Christian apologists of the early Church used three classical quotations [I Cor. 15:33; Titus 1:12 and Acts 17:28] to verify the valid place of pagan literature even in Scripture: “We have seen the contexts in which these three quotations appear together; they are adduced for a polemic purpose, to justify the study of classical literature on the part of Christians.”4

We discuss here the place of Classical Greek literature and Greek culture in Christian religious education as seen by Basil of Caesarea. How he interpolates pagan literature and culture into Christian education will be the central locus in determining a patristic paradigm
for religious education. Some final thoughts on applying the paradigm to the state of contemporary religious education will conclude the study.

**Greek Literature and Christian Culture**

There were two main currents of thought on the subject of Christian culture and pagan literature. The first line of thought which bred suspicion of classical-pagan literature and culture was fed by the teachers of rhetoric who ridiculed the Greek Bible due to its lack of elegance:

Rhetoric consequently seemed a blasphemous art so preoccupied with form at the expense of meaning as to scorn Truth itself. Furthermore, paganism was responsible for the harsh persecution of the faithful under the Early Empire. Many Christians accordingly held pagan culture in such abhorrence as to accept the Bible as their only book and to reject the whole intellectual heritage of pagan antiquity.  


There were those in the pagan school that agreed in some degree with this view. Julian the Apostate (361-63) in his school reform issued two major edicts. The first edict concerned the appointment of professors to be approved by the emperor. The second decree stated that “all who profess to teach anything whatever must be men of upright character and must not harbor in their souls opinions irreconcilable with the spirit of the state.” By “the spirit of the state” this decree meant the pagan tendencies of the Emperor himself. In this order Julian declared it absurd that men who expounded the works of Homer, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Herodotus, and other classical writers should dishonor the gods whom these writers honored.
It is evident from this quotation that pagans also wanted the Christians to stay away from the influence of pagan literature and culture; however, this was done so as to deprive Christians of social and material benefit. “Meanwhile, Christians were being gradually removed from civil and military posts and their places were being taken by pagans.” 7 This intellectual censorship was carried on in the past in theological debates when the followers of Arius, who did not believe Jesus was the Son of God, forbade the use of the terms homoousion and homoousion “which was also capable, with care, of bearing the true Nicene sense, and of the term ‘substance’ (ousia) itself. In other words, they forbade the orthodox to employ the language of the scientific thought of their age in order to explain or defend their convictions.” 8 This theological censorship tried to deprive the orthodox Christians of the weapons needed to defend orthodoxy.


[7] Ibid.


The second line of thought prevalent in the formative period of Christianity was that which “recognized the propaedeutic value of pagan learning.” 9 They acknowledged that pagan learning was a significant and even necessary preparation for the higher Christian learning. An idea from Middle Platonism called logos spermatikos even spoke of the propaedeutic use of pagan learning by the divine Logos:

The divine Logos sowed seeds throughout human history; it is therefore to be expected that this “seed-bearing Logos” will be known, even if only in part, by non-Christians. Justin (Martyr – c.100-165) is therefore able to argue that Christianity builds upon and fulfills the hints and anticipations of God’s revelation which is to be had through pagan philosophy.” 10

As a rule, the Fathers of the Church read both classical pagan literature and the Scriptures. There are examples of the spiritually beneficial use of pagan literature among the ancients. For example, Au-
Augustine, says in his *Confessions* that: “...in my nineteenth year I had read Cicero’s Hortensius, and had been stirred to a zeal for wisdom.”

He also speaks of the wisdom of the Scriptures in his *Confessions*, although they may appear weak in a literary sense:

I was also pleased that when the old writings of the Law and the Prophets came before me, they were no longer read with an eye to which they had previously looked absurd, when I used to attack your saints as if they thought what in fact they did not think at all.


The great bishops of the early church almost unanimously recognized the need of the clergy to have an intellectual formation which, of course, did not neglect pagan literature: “the discourses of Gregory Nazianzus and Chrysostom on the priesthood, the *Duties of the Clergy* of Ambrose, and the Christian Instruction of Augustine are the most eloquent testimonials to this need.” In this they reflect such classic attempts in Christian pedagogy as Apollinaris and his father who reacted to Julian’s decree against Christians teaching the classics by “turning the Bible into classical forms, Homeric, Pindaric, Euripidean, and Platonic.”

Even Tertullian moderated his stance. His concern was not to allow philosophy to diminish the supernatural character of Christianity by reducing all to the sweet but shallow seduction of reason. He did, however, see God’s action in the lives of people which in their casual utterances expressed:

...an innate awareness of God, which show how beneath the encrusting prejudices imposed by the customs and habits of society the soul is ‘*anima naturaliter Christiana*’. Here we have a very different way of thinking from the blazing paradoxes of his more aggressive moods. According to this line of approach
Christianity is the full development of something already potentially present in the human soul. Grace makes explicit what in nature is implicit.\textsuperscript{15}


In fact, Chadwick says that Clement “has no criticism of pagan religion and myth which is not taken from the philosophers and cannot be supported by quotations from Menander and the writers of the Comedy.”\textsuperscript{16} The early Christian authors subordinated the classical authors to the Scriptures; nevertheless, they valued the good and reminded all that even pagan authors critiqued some pagan literature. This practical eclecticism accepted the refined style of pagan writers while “at the same time, they were careful to distinguish between what was specifically pagan – immorality, idolatry, superstitions – and the formation of the person, or, in other words, between the religion and the culture of the ancients.”\textsuperscript{17}

The Cappadocians were not seduced by pagan religion while they were gathering the fruits of pagan culture:

In the East, the Cappadocians are the first to make a clear distinction between Greek religion and Greek culture, thus becoming representatives of a Christian neoclassicism. Basil does this in his well-known letter \textit{To the Young}, which I [the author] mentioned earlier, and in his Letter 223 (written in 375); his brother Gregory does it in his Life of Moses, his discourse on Basil, his \textit{Life of Macrina}, and his critique of Eunomius; Gregory of Nazianzus does it in his extraordinary eulogy of Basil; finally, Amphilochius does it in his \textit{Letter to Seleucus}. To this list may be added Chrysostom who gives his views on education in the home in his work \textit{On Vainglory}.\textsuperscript{18}

[16] Ibid., p. 38.


[18] Ibid., p.282.
Keeping these thoughts in mind we proceed to a short biography of Basil of Caesarea in Cappadocia.

**Biography of Basil of Caesarea**

Basil was born about 329 A.D. of a wealthy family in Cappadocia. His parents Basil the Elder and Emmelia raised ten children, five of each sex. Basil's father and grandmother, Macrina the elder, provided his initial education at home and then it was continued under the famous pagan teacher of rhetoric Libanius at Antioch. After Antioch he attended school in Athens with Gregory of Nazianzus where he probably spent five years until about 357 when he was baptized. He probably studied under the sophists Himerius and Prophaeresius. Some write that it was at Athens that he studied with the nephew of the emperor Constantius, Julian, the future emperor. When he returned to Caeserea he became a teacher of rhetoric.

It was at this time that Macrina, Basil's sister, came to his aid. He had become full of pride and needed her guidance:

He was excessively puffed up by his rhetorical abilities and disdainful of all great reputations, and considered himself better than the leading men in the district, but Macrina took him over and lured him so quickly to the goal of philosophy that he withdrew from the worldly show and began to look down upon acclaim through oratory and went over to this life full of labors for one's own hand to perform, providing for himself, through his complete poverty, a mode of living that would, without impediment lead to virtue.

Gregory and Basil co-operated in writing a *Philocalia*, an anthology of extracts from Origen. Basil attended a synod in Constantinople when he wrote *Against Eunomius*. When he became Bishop of Caesarea in 370, the emperor Valens was pro-Arian. This caused Basil much pain as he strove to fulfill his responsibility to his diocese. Nevertheless, he was involved deeply in the social aspect of his people, caring for their needs. Constapelos emphasizes the attention paid to the social situation by Basil which reflects the integrity of his character and its sources: “In the words of Gregory Nazianzos Basil was a marvelous ‘symphony’ between faith and deeds, most faithful in the principles of faith and most practical in external things. ‘Symphony’, temperance, moderation were the principles that guided
Basil – principles that reflect his Hellenic inheritance.”


Basil died on August 9, 378 and left behind a legacy of literary wealth and Christian example. The emperor Valens, an opponent of Basil, died several months prior to Basil. This allowed for a consolidation of the faith enunciated at Nicea and brought about a deeper sense of unity for the church.

**The Sources of Basil’s Educational Theory**

The Fathers of the Church were exposed to a world that was both Judaic and Hellenic in society and culture. They were exposed to the philosophy of their day: “an eclectic philosophy, some sort of philosophic-religious koin’, a mixture of popularized Stoicism, Pythagoreanism, Middle Platonism, and later Neoplatonism. When compared to that of the classical era, this type of philosophy presents a character of its own, a specifically moral and religious orientation.”

This was the philosophical backdrop to Basil’s own study. He was affected by the prevalent social impulse of his time; yet, he at times writes of wanting to flee the world not only in body but in spirit. In his *Homily 1*, Basil writes that in order to prepare to receive divine instruction in the heart one must prepare oneself for the “unlearning of worldly teachings which previously held possession of the heart.”

He also writes in a similar vein to Libanius in *Homily 19* about the preeminence of the Bible: “But we, admirable Sir, are engaged with Moses and Elias and such blessed men who hold out their utterances, true in meaning, but unpolished in phrase, as these words themselves manifest.”

Although Basil had these thoughts regarding the superiority of the Christian faith, it ought not to be inferred that he saw no value in pagan culture and literature. The above mentioned episodes are simply meant to provide a look into the psyche of Basil who, like all of us, was not a one-dimensional personality. In fact, he used to send boys to Libanius, the pagan rhetorician, for study but imprinted in their souls that his prime goal was to safeguard morals. “Libanius says he is forced to ask if St. Basil will not cease ‘filling his sanctuary with Cappadocian boys’.”

Cappadocia was considered at one time inferior to Greece. It was”only in the Christian period, through the influence of St. Basil and of St. Gregory Nazianzen, that the Cappadocians enjoyed any reputation for culture.”

In Basil’s day, school was such drudgery that the children were happy that a plague closed down the schools. “The young children regarded the Church services as a ‘relaxation and pleasure’, compared with the ‘restraint of school, the burden of studies, and the annoying ways of teachers.’ It is evident that there was a great lack of discipline in the schools and of genuine character training.” He chastised both children and parents for their lack of discipline. Basil’s blend of classical pedagogy betrays a Platonic anthropology which describes the body as a vessel for the soul and the source of its many unruly passions. Yet, he is wise in wanting to form the child’s character according to its temperament. “He believes in the rod as a pedagogic aid; its use, however, is to be exercised only by a benevolent master in full control of himself and his charges. Ordinarily, corrective measures should reflect the fault committed.”


For these younger children he enjoins stories from scripture and only as they get slightly older would they pass over to pagan literature. As always, “His stand is clear enough. The pagan classics have a place in Christian education, and when properly selected and intelligently taught and received, their influence in education is beneficial and necessary.” It would be appropriate at this point to say that Basil wanted learning to be “age appropriate.” He realized that the cognitive faculties of the child develop gradually. A young child does not reason abstractly and so is in need of story, allegory and analogy to learn the moral lessons most necessary as a preparation for the study of the Christian gospel. Just as “Greek thought served as a Propaideia, a preparation for Christian doctrines,” so the good teacher must alternatively use both stories from Scripture and pagan classics in order to lead the young child to a good Christian life.


**Address to Young Men on Reading Greek Literature (10 Parts)**

In speaking about Basil’s educational treatises, Johannes Quasten, mentions two works: *Exhortation to Youths as to How they shall Best Profit by the Writings of Pagan Authors* [Ad adolescentes] and *Admonitio S. Basilii adfilium spiritualem*. The latter deals more with monastic admonitions and instructions while the former is more in keeping with the educational theme of this paper. For this reason, I will discuss at length in this section each of the ten parts of Basil’s *Ad adolescentes* (Προς τους νεον). In this endeavor I will use, for a guide, the thorough study of this work by Sherman Garnett, Jr entitled *The Christian Young and the Secular World: St. Basil’s Letter on Pagan Literature*. He delves deeper into each pagan citation of Basil than this
short article can allow. I will cull some of his best observations while trying to present a straightforward discourse on the pedagogical use of pagan literature instead of an exegetical exercise that enumerates and analyses each pagan citation. The English translation of Basil’s *Ad adolescentes* quoted in this paper will be from the anthology of Christian literature entitled *The Wisdom of Catholicism* which was edited by Anton Pegis.

Basil presupposes “not merely that there are young men in need of guidance on the issue of reading pagan literature, but that there are teachers in need of such guidance, as well.” Basil writes to the young while realizing that the language must also be instructional for the teacher. This then becomes an instructional manual for both student and teacher.

We must remember that the Christian student of this day was in an unusual situation: “either he must attend a school teeming with false ideals and given to the teaching of pagan doctrines, or sacrifice his desire for a higher education.” Perhaps the youth of today are all not in this situation. There are however some who can not afford the money for a private school. This is one of the reasons there has been some debate on the issue of school vouchers. In some small way, then, we are in a similar position to the original readers of Basil’s treatise on education.


I. In the first section Basil speaks in a fatherly way to emphasize that he does not teach for money. He emphasizes his life experience and quotes Hesiod first of the pagan authors “...excellent is he too who follows what is well indicated by others.” He then sets up the thesis for his entire discourse in the following words to the young students regarding the reading of the ancient authors:

...that you should not surrender to these men once for all the
rudders of your mind, as if of a ship, and follow them whithersoever they lead; rather, accepting from them only that which is useful, you should know that which ought to be overlooked.\textsuperscript{35}

In this short introduction Basil proposes censorship in a subtle manner: “…he does so more by demonstration of how texts should be read than by openly admitting to his addressees that they must be deprived of books.”\textsuperscript{36} Chrysostom in a similar manner instructs parents of their responsibility in the education of their children:

[34] Pegis, A. C. The Wisdom of Catholicism. (New York: The Modern Library, 1949) [The translation of Basil’s letter to Youth on Greek Literature is on pages 8-26.], p. 9.

None of Chrysostom’s works gives such a condensed presentation of his educational ideas as the treatise entitled De inani gloria et de educandis liberis. He urges parents to regard the education of their children as the highest and holiest of tasks and to provide them with the true riches of the soul rather than with worldly wealth.\textsuperscript{37}

The parents become the mentors and the censors for their children. They are involved in their child’s education and determine what and when pagan learning can be used.

II. The pagan formula for a good life is rejected: ancestral renown, bodily strength, beauty, stature, honors and kingship. This is rejected and the afterlife is placed in front of the student as a goal which provides perspective. Because Sacred Scripture may be too difficult for a student, he needs to learn by analogy. These analogies of virtue are found especially in pagan literature. It is no small wonder that Basil goes to classical literature for his analogies because they had provided some of the foundation for his early thought. He had been raised to admire the ancients and had gained much from them:

It was but natural that he should champion the classics, for he understood them. He could admire them, for he appreciated the great minds that had produced them, and he had a true sense of their power and worth. As he had no thought of appearing as a formal literary critic, the remarks that give an in-
dex to his views of Greek literature are of necessity scattered and casual, yet none the less they ring true, and time, while confirming most, has not changed one of them.\textsuperscript{38}

[38] Jacks, 1922, p. 113.

\textbf{III.} In this section there is found the often quoted verse on pagan literature “...the truth is primarily its [the soul’s] fruitage, yet it is clad in the certainly not unlovely raiment even of the wisdom drawn from the outside, which we may liken to foliage that furnishes both protection to the fruit and an aspect not devoid of beauty.”\textsuperscript{39} We see Moses and David as Scriptural examples of appropriating wisdom from the pagans. As long as youth keep the afterlife in mind this will be a moral guide in the labyrinth of pagan literature from whence they can gradually advance to Sacred Scripture. Sometimes they will be able to see the truth of Scriptures by comparing it to what is in pagan literature. Comparison also is a method of learning.

\textbf{IV.} In this section Basil speaks about the seduction that can happen in poetry where the student can become enraptured with the beauty of the verse [words] and “swallow poison with honey.” That is, be careful of what is being said and not simply how it is being said. He also warns the young about the lying of orators. Once again, we need to remind ourselves that Basil himself was an orator and used oratory to advance the Christian cause. His simple warning ought not to be extrapolated as a condemnation of the entire art. He, like other Fathers, made use of all contemporary art but he tried to avoid artifice in his defense and spread of the faith:

The attitude of the Fathers then, on this question of the second sophistic must be properly understood. As in their ideas upon education they strove patiently to make clear the distinction that what is noble was great and noble in the pagan classics as well worthy of admiration and imitation... They preached to pagan and Christian. But to do this they had to use the medium of the day which the people would understand. This was the popular rhetoric, saturated with many foreign forms, and transient elements, literary, political, social, religious, Christian, Alexandrian, Semitic, Hellenic and pure Asiatic.\textsuperscript{40}
Here, Basil gives us the famous image of the bees going to some flowers and not to others. They take what is best from each flower they visit and leave the rest. This image will appear again after a three section digression within the work (section 8). There is a variation on this theme of discernment quoted in Maloney’s Notes to Basil’s Greek text of Ad adolescentes (Προς τους νεους): “I condemn not the words,’ says St. Augustine, speaking of Terence, ‘they are choice and precious vessels; but I condemn the wine of error, which is given us to drink in those vessels by inebriated masters’.”41 The Christian must test everything against the truth of the faith. This is alluded to as Basil quotes a Doric proverb “bringing the stone to the line.” This proverb was used also by St. Gregory Nazianzen in Letter 38 and John Chrysostom in Homily 25. Everything needs to be aligned to the teaching of Christ.

V. Since all the poets, historians and philosophers mention virtue we ought to use that as a means to the afterlife. Here he quotes his teacher Libanius and states that philosophy, like Scripture, must be studied by older men. It is interesting to note that in this section Basil misinterprets Homer by ignoring Odysseus’ “cleverness and the possibility that such an encounter might lead to seduction; he abstracts completely from the erotic nature of the body and presents nakedness in a way familiar to Christian iconography, i.e., where the naked body signifies innocence and virtue.”42 Basil is interested in pedagogy not literary criticism. He wants to save the youth from dangerous examples found in classical literature, but also wants to expose them to lessons that can be adapted to the text. For example, Basil exchanges the ancient virtue of magnanimity for the Christian view of the afterlife “the entire section ascends toward a rejection of antiquity’s highest notion of virtue, magnanimity, in favor of a passion for heavenly glory.”43 In keeping with the Christian view of life’s transitory nature, Theognis is quoted regarding the futility of wealth:

[41] Maloney, 1901, p. 44.
Some wicked men are rich, some good are poor,
We will not change our virtue for their store.
Virtue's a thing that none can take away,
But money changes owners all the day.

VI. Basil continues his digression in this section. He makes an important point in connecting words and deeds of the students into an integral personality: “By insisting on the indivisible link between study and action, Basil restores the connection between imagination and life.” He uses analogies from the arts to illustrate his points. He also continues to quote the classic authors and thereby manifests his own familiarity with them while also showing teachers how they ought to use pagan literature: “One of the great virtues of pagan literature is that it is inherently educational in intention; Basil retains this essential virtue by pruning some texts, rejecting others and transforming the standards by which these works are judged.”

VII. This is the last section of the digression. Self-control is a virtue extolled in pagan literature and most useful in preparing the youth to read Sacred Scripture. This is the second section in which Basil quotes from scripture and it is the Matthean account of turning the other cheek. This self-control is a furnace that prepares a character for a venture into Scripture.

VIII. In this section Basil returns to the example of the bees. Practice [spiritual exercises] prepare the soul for the difficult journey to the afterlife. This journey is made easier if good habits are formed in your youth. We have a choice in life – we must choose well or we will be punished for deliberately going down the wrong path.

IX. Basil repeats the Platonic stress on the inordinate passions of the body that can deflect us from our prime objective, the afterlife. Good music and philosophy can free us from the passions of the body. We must use body and soul to attain the victory. He compares St. Paul to Plato in making no provisions for the body (Romans 13:14). He

also has a wonderful quote from Execestides “Of wealth no limit lies revealed to man.” Basil gives a well-balanced view regarding wealth in this section where wealth is not condemned:

But in my opinion, we ought not to long for wealth if it be lacking, and if we have it, we should not pride ourselves so much on its possession as on the knowledge that it is being put to good uses.\footnote{Pegis, 1949, p. 23.}

In winning Christian freedom we must not change our mind to suit our company or the opinion of others. Bad pleasure appears to be a stumbling block while philosophy (dropped in section 5) has replaced poetry as an inducement to the afterlife.

\textbf{X.} Basil concludes his work by once again placing the Scriptures in a higher place than pagan literature; however, he says that virtue taught by pagans is also good. We must leave “no stone unturned” in gathering supplies for the journey to the afterlife. All wisdom must be honored and gathered no matter where you find it. He then concludes with a general exhortation to encourage those who may waver on account of the difficulty of the task:

And because this is difficult and calls for toil, let us not on this account draw back, but recalling the words of him (Plutarch) who urged that every man should choose the life which is in itself best, in the expectation that through habit it will prove agreeable, we should attempt the best things.\footnote{Ibid, p. 25.}

\begin{itemize}
\item Perhaps these words are meant to encourage those who would give in to an apathy regarding Christian learning. Basil does not want his students to fall into the “easy” fault of refusing to learn lest, as Gregory Nazianzus warned, they infect the entire Christian community:
\item Therefore learning is not to be despised because it seems despicable to some people, but we are rather to consider these people to be boorish and uneducated, wishing that everyone would be like them, in order to hide in the community and escape reproach for their ignorance.\footnote{\textit{Ibid}, p. 25.}
\item Basil concludes by giving his readers a final word not to spurn a good teacher nor someone who can instruct in wisdom. To himself
he has applied all this by not rejecting pagan learning: “The young thus read philosophy and approach it as Basil has. They inherit his spirit. This is the heart of Basil’s tolerance; for he is not quick to condemn what is different from his faith, but is always seeking to find in it something useful for the Christian life.”

Forbidden Books and Records – Comparison and Contrast

In this short section I wish to consider two issues to which the principles of Basil regarding pagan learning might be applied. The first such issue was the Index of Forbidden Books. In this the Catholic Church not only made a decision that some books were bad, but that they were so bad that Christians ought not to read them. This has proven over the years to be an incorrect approach to “guided reading.” St. Basil and indeed most of the Fathers would no doubt look at the Index as rash judgement. Perhaps it was the teachers that needed to be educated.


The second issue is the issue of music in its many forms. The decision by the music industry to label some of its music as inappropriate for certain age groups appears to be more in line with the teaching of Basil who most of all wanted a young person to draw wisdom from all branches of learning under the tutelage of a wise master. Thus the ancient spiritual maxim comes to the fore: “he who has himself for a guide is led by a fool.” Any method by which teachers can be guided, such as labeling records for content, appears to be more in keeping with the spirit of Basil and his approach to seeking wisdom everywhere. Clement of Alexandria can be quoted here: “Accordingly, before the advent of the Lord, philosophy was necessary to the Greeks for righteousness. And now it becomes conducive to piety... For God is the cause of all good things.”

The wise person will seek wisdom everywhere and simply needs the help of a good guide and any other tools that would help him or her make the best choice for their life as they focus on the goal of the life after death. Eternity
adds an urgency to seek wisdom at every turn and the courage to acknowledge it in every place it is present.

**Conclusion**

Some [Krumbacher] in the course of history have stated that with the disappearance of paganism “Christian topics were being unconsciously clothed in pagan garb.” Well, this is good if the garb is good. Basil would agree by saying that we should use everything that is good to attain the ultimate good. In general, Basil’s approach to Pagan literature in no way made him amenable to the ideas of pagan religion.

He wanted to ensure that Christianity had a rightful place in society and had a right and obligation to partake in its heritage. The Fathers realized that they were born into a certain time and place. They also believed that God was active through all periods of human history. It was their duty to see where his footsteps were left in literature.


Basil used Plato more than any other philosopher and in this he tried to make parallels to St. Paul. This however was common for many writers in the Christian world who found much good in Socrates and Plato. In fact, Basil quoted or was connected to 41 classical (pagan) authors. But no matter how wise the guide, the individual Christian has the ultimate responsibility of thinking for himself/herself. In all the decisions that need to be made the individual conscience will make them for each of us. This underlined the dignity of the individual which is sometimes overlooked in Patristic thought.

We need to apply these principles of responsibly presenting to our youth how the truths of the Christian faith are reflected in our society. Perhaps the 1960s presented our first few steps in accomplishing this. We faltered and a conservative feeling is preserving a stability in religious education. I will be so bold as to propose that we
need to take a more involved approach in our society by filtering and interpreting for our children all that is good in our culture. This balanced presentation of a faith encased in culture will be more realistic than a simply historical presentation.

In conclusion, Basil is humble enough to learn from everyone and realizes that God is not confined to one mode of revealing his truth. Also, the truth he speaks of leads to someone. Learning is not simply for learning’s sake and leadership is not simply for power: “...when it is stated that the power of leadership is one of the strongest effects that the early leaders apply to the reading of Scriptures, the implication is, usually, ability to lead others to Christ.”

He exhorts us to do the same in his work *Ad adolescentes*: “But although we Christians shall doubtless learn all these things more thoroughly in our own literature, yet for the present, at least, let us trace out a kind of rough sketch, as it were, of what virtue is according to the teaching of the pagans.”