

4-2020

Development of the Greek Catholic Church in Independent Ukraine: Persons, Historical Heritage, and New Trends

Mykhailo Kobryn
Lviv National Literary-Memorial Museum of Ivan Franko

Olena Lyovkina
University of the State Fiscal Service of Ukraine, Irpin, Ukraine

Hennadii Khrystokin
University of the State Fiscal Service of Ukraine, Irpin, Ukraine

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/ree>



Part of the [Catholic Studies Commons](#), and the [Eastern European Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Kobryn, Mykhailo; Lyovkina, Olena; and Khrystokin, Hennadii (2020) "Development of the Greek Catholic Church in Independent Ukraine: Persons, Historical Heritage, and New Trends," *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe*: Vol. 40 : Iss. 3 , Article 6.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/ree/vol40/iss3/6>

This Peer-Reviewed Article is brought to you for free and open access by Digital Commons @ George Fox University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe by an authorized editor of Digital Commons @ George Fox University. For more information, please contact arolfe@georgefox.edu.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH IN INDEPENDENT UKRAINE: PERSONS, HISTORICAL HERITAGE, AND NEW TRENDS

By Mykhailo Kobryn and Olena Lyovkina and Hennadii Khrystokin

Mykhailo Kobryn, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, Deputy Director of Scientific Work of Lviv National Literary-Memorial Museum of Ivan Franko, religious studies scholar. Research interests: history and modernity of the UGCC, issues of inculturation in Christianity, religious hieratic and ritual practices, history of Galicia, Ivan Franko's religious heritage. E-mail: kobryn.m.lviv@gmail.com

Olena Lyovkina, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor, and Head of the Department of Psychology and Sociology at University of the State Fiscal Service of Ukraine, Irpin, Ukraine. Research interests: Christian ethics, the problem of alienation, social philosophy of Frankfurt School, theories of effective activity. E-Mail: peggy@ukr.net

Hennadii Khrystokin, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor of the Department of Philosophy and Political Science, and Director of the Educational-Scientific Institute of Humanities, University of the State Fiscal Service of Ukraine, Irpin, Ukraine. Research interests: philosophy of religion, Christian theology, Orthodox theology, philosophical theology, philosophy of theology, religious studies. E-Mail: xristokingena@gmail.com

Abstract

The article analyzes historical features and tendencies of the development of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (the UGCC) in the period of independence of Ukraine. It considers the prerequisites in which this church has begun its revival in the early 1990s after the official ban on church activity in the Soviet Union. Three stages of the development of the UGCC have been identified which correspond to the times of the various church leaders' management. The first stage in the development of Greek Catholics corresponds to the time when the community was governed by Ivan-Myroslav Lyubachivsky. The main tasks of that phase was to restore and establish the functioning of this religious community in the traditional regions of their activity until the Soviet period. The second stage fell on Lyubomyr Husar's chairmanship in the UGCC. The main purpose of that period was to bring the church to the all-Ukrainian level, and the main achievement became the transfer of the church management center from Lviv to Kyiv. Moreover, that stage was marked by a number of small splits within the church. The activity of such central groups as "*kovpakivtsi*" and "*dognalivtsi*" was especially noticeable. The third stage began with Lyubomyr Husar's voluntary retirement for health reasons and the election of a new head of the UGCC, Svyatoslav Shevchuk. The main challenge for a young church leader is to grow the community taking into account the challenges of globalization, as well as to preserve the

Greek Catholic identity. One of the issues of differentiation within the Ukrainian Uniate Church is the activity of three identification groups in its environment that perform cultic and ritual practices in different ways. Namely, there are Oriental, Oxidental, and all-Catholic groups.

Keywords: Greek Catholicism, Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Ivan Lyubachivsky, Lyubomyr Husar, Svyatoslav Shevchuk, “*kovpakivtsi*,” “*dognalivtsi*.”

Introduction

The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was established as a result of the Berest Council,¹ (or the Council of Brest) which took place in 1596. At that Council, most of the bishops of the Kyiv Orthodox Metropolitanate of that time swore allegiance to the Pope. Today, this denomination is the largest Greek Catholic church among the 23 existing Byzantine Rite Eastern Catholic Churches² in the world. In Ukraine, the Greek Catholics rank third by the number of the members after the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in unity with the Moscow Patriarchate and the Orthodox Church of Ukraine. According to the UGCC data, its structure unites about 5.5 million believers, which are structured into 32 dioceses (44 bishops). The Church has its structures both in Ukraine and in the Diaspora (Western Europe, the USA, Canada, Brazil, Australia, etc.).³ The state statistics show that about 3,500 of the UGCC religious communities, 103 monasteries (more than one thousand inhabitants), 27,000 clerics, 16 religious educational institutions (more than 2,000 students), and more than 2,000 Sunday-schools are registered in Ukraine.⁴ Moreover, the Mukachevo Greek Catholic Diocese additionally has 442 religious communities, 20 monasteries (more than one hundred inhabitants), 337 clerics, 2 religious educational institutions (73 students), and 138 Sunday-schools.⁵

The UGCC is a prime example of the philosophical notion of “borderline:” when a society and its institutions exist in a cross-cultural territory. This is also the case with the Metropolitanate of Kyiv situated between Orthodox Moscow, on the one hand, and Catholic

¹ In the Ukrainian theological and academical traditions it is customary to say Berest Council (Берестейська Унія). The authentic name of the settlement is Berestia (Berestye) as it is mentioned in Old Rus chronicles. Its contemporary name is Brest.

² In Ukraine in the academical and theological environments it is acceptable to use such variants of names as: the Uniate Church, Byzantine Rite Eastern Catholic Church, the Ruthenian Uniate Church (the historical name of the church before the formation of the Austrian Empire), and the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

³ “Українська Греко-Католицька Церква. Склад і територія.” *Офіційна сторінка УГКЦ*. http://ugcc.ua/official/ugcc-today/suchasniy_stan_70010.html Accessed 09.04.2020.

⁴ “Дані Департаменту у справах релігій та національностей Міністерства культури України. Форма 1. Звіт про мережу церков і релігійних організацій в Україні станом на 01.01.2019 р.” https://risu.org.ua/ua/index/resources/statistics/ukr_2019/75410/ Accessed 09.04.2020.

⁵ Ibid.

Poland, on the other. This geopolitical situation influenced by many historical events has contributed to the creation of a separate religious phenomenon of the Uniate Church. It synthesized features of both Byzantine and Latin Christian traditions.

A large number of scientific studies are devoted to the phenomenon of the UGCC existence and activity. Among them are the scientific works of the Bishops Sophron Mudry⁶ and Igor Isichenko,⁷ the historians Oleg Turiy,⁸ Anatoliy Babynsky,⁹ and many others.

Origins of the UGCC

In order to understand the state of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church at the time of declaration of Ukraine's Independence on August 24, 1991, it is necessary to recall several historical factors that have led to its development. Thus, from the beginning of its existence until the end of the 18th century, this unitary church existed within the Polish Commonwealth, occupying considerable territory of Right-Bank Ukraine. However, at the end of the 18th century, the Polish Commonwealth was divided among Prussia and the Austrian and Russian empires. The Ukrainian lands were ruled by the Austrians and the Russians. In these empires, the Ukrainian Greek Catholics experienced radically different fates.

The territories of present Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia joined the Austrian Empire. There, the Uniate Church received the support of the state. In particular, a seminary was opened in 1774 in Vienna (under St. Barbara's Church) known as the Barbarium. In 1783, the General Greek Catholic Church was founded in Lviv. By contrast in the Russian-controlled lands of Right-Bank Ukraine (Volyn, Kholmshchyna, Podlasie, Lemkivshchyna and Nadsyanya), this church was banned. The Russian imperial decrees of 1839 and 1875 forbade the profession of the Greek Catholic faith and forcibly promoted Orthodoxy instead. This policy of Russia has led to the fact that at present we have the regional specificities of the UGCC. It is most developed in Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia.

It should be noted that Transcarpathia has a separate branch of the Greek Catholics who have signed the so-called Union of Uzhgorod (1646) with the Vatican. Its separate status is historically conditioned by having existed in a different political environment than the rest of the Greek Catholics of Ukraine. For a long time they have been under the control of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Archbishop of Eger. However, since 1771, according to the bull

⁶ С. Мудрий, *Нариси історії Церкви в Україні*. (Жовква: Місіонер, 2010).

⁷ І. Ісиченко, *Історія Христової Церкви в Україні*. (Київ: Акта, 2008).

⁸ О. Турій, *Церква мучеників*. (Львів: Свічадо, 2002).

⁹ А. Бабинський, *Історія УГКЦ за 90 хвилин*. (Львів: Свічадо, 2018).

(decree) of Pope Clement XIV, the Mukachevo Greek Catholic Diocese was granted an autonomous status; the Hungarian Roman Catholic Archbishop of Esztergom had only supervisory functions over it. In fact, the diocese has become “*sui juris*” and is subordinate to the Pope. However, since Ukraine’s declaration of independence a number of initiatives have been launched to achieve full unity for all Greek Catholics in Ukraine. Therefore, at present, the Mukachevo Greek Catholic Diocese *de jure* is not part of the UGCC, but *de facto* this diocese is one community within the UGCC.¹⁰ It should also be noted that the clergy of the Mukachevo Diocese has made everything possible to create the Slovak and Hungarian Greek Catholic Churches and to establish the Metropolitanate of Pittsburgh in the United States in due time.

In the early 20th century, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky was at the head of the UGCC and led the church through the troubles of two world wars and a difficult inter-war period. It was because of him that the authority of the church and its clergy was actually restored,¹¹ and the church became a leader in the national interests, protecting not only the religious, but also the cultural and political rights of the Ukrainians. Metropolitan Andrei’s successor as head of the church, Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, had no chance of preserving the church under the Soviet totalitarianism. The UGCC was liquidated at the Lviv pseudo-council in 1946 and officially annexed to the Russian Orthodox Church. Those clergy of the UGCC who did not accept this decision were arrested and sent to concentration camps. After 1946, the UGCC began to exist in two dimensions, clandestine and diaspora. The clandestine church in Ukraine existed until 1989. Only prior to a meeting with Pope John Paul II, the Secretary General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, issued an order to recognize the right of believers of the Greek Catholic Church to practice their religion.¹²

Periodization of the UGCC Development in Independent Ukraine.

The UGCC was headed by three leaders since Ukraine’s independence. Each of them led the church for about 10 years, and each had slightly different views on priorities in the future strategy of the church institution. Those priorities, of course, were largely determined by the existing level of development of church structures, clergy education, self-organization

¹⁰ J.-P. Himka, *The Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian Society in Austrian Galicia*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 14.

¹¹ P. Magosci, *Morality and Reality: the Life and Times of Andrei Sheptytsky*. (Edmonton, Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989).

¹² I. Hvat, *The Catacomb Ukrainian Catholic Church and Pope John Paul II*. (Cambridge. Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1984).

of believers, and their political authority at the level of regional or national structures. Therefore, we can speak of three periods of the church formation that have their own characteristics and which we would characterize as follows: a regional church, an all-Ukrainian church, and a global church.

The First Period Is the Regional Church of Ivan-Myroslav Lyubachivsky

The first head of the UGCC who led the church at the time of its emergence from the clandestine, as well as the initial, years of Ukraine's independence was Ivan-Myroslav Lyubachivsky. He was elected the head of the UGCC after the death of Patriarch Joseph Slipy in 1984 in Rome. Among other things, Joseph Slipy gave himself the title of "patriarch" in 1975. This hierarchical title was not recognized by the Vatican. Moreover, to date, the patriarchal title of the UGCC is one of the issues sought by the leaders and bishops of this church. The head of the UGCC in the church media is often referred to as the "patriarch;" there is a "patriarchal" cathedral, etc., but there is no clear understanding and vision of when this issue will be resolved by the Vatican and under what conditions.¹³

Ivan-Myroslav Lyubachivsky was ordained in 1938 a deacon by the Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky in Lviv. He studied in Innsbruck where he survived the terrors of World War II. After the war, he continued his studies in Rome and earned a doctorate in theology. It is interesting that the consecration of Ivan-M. Lyubachivsky (Archbishop and Metropolitan of Philadelphia) took place in the Sistine Chapel with the participation of Pope John Paul II in 1979. It was the first time in the history of the UGCC that the Roman Pontiff took part in an episcopal consecration. These facts of the biography of I.-M. Lyubachivsky indicated that the then head of the Greek Catholics had been formed and mainly situated in the diaspora church.

At that time, in Ukraine the clandestine UGCC was headed by Bishop Volodymyr Sternuk. He led the community during the most difficult period of existence and had unquestioning authority among believers, especially by clandestine priests. Therefore, after the return of I.-M. Lyubachivsky to Ukraine (March 31, 1991), the Greek Catholics feared that there would be a conflict between these bishops for the primacy in the church. But those fears were in vain. Bishop Volodymyr Sternuk immediately recognized the primacy of I.-M. Lyubachivsky. This has become one of the important factors in uniting the church in the face

¹³ С. Шевчук, "Визнання нашого патріархату має велику місію—пояснити православним сутність служіння Папи Римського. (Київ, 2018)." *Інформаційний ресурс Української Греко-Католицької Церкви*. http://news.ugcc.ua/video/glava_ugkts_nadannya_nam_patr%D1%96arhatu_maie_veliku_m%D1%96s%D1%96bu__poyasniti_pravoslavnim_sutn%D1%96st_sluzh%D1%96nnya_papi_rimskogo_81851.html Accessed 09.04.2020.

of the need to address important issues of institutional formation.

At the time of I.-M. Lyubachivsky's arrival, the UGCC was in a state of emergence from the clandestine existence which began in 1989. In the spring of 1991, the Soviet government still existed in Ukraine, and the Soviet Union's structures were not enthusiastic about the revival of the UGCC on the territory of the republic. Therefore, the church had to address a large number of issues—the main one being the return of church property. The rapidly recovering Greek Catholic communities could not register (facing inaction or even aggression by the public authorities on this issue); they had no premises for worship (all their church buildings were confiscated by the state and handed over to the Russian Orthodox Church which did not want to return the property); and they did not have enough priests for the newly formed communities, etc. Therefore, these events provoked, first of all, the revival of the UGCC in the territories of Galicia and Bukovina. Here, the Greek Catholics quickly formed numerous communities and, importantly, had a large number of supporters in local governments.

The Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on April 23, 1991, was a significant impetus for the development of the UGCC.¹⁴ The law removed the ban on religion in general and in certain church institutions in particular. Citizens of the republic were guaranteed the right to freedom of conscience and religion.¹⁵ Another impetus for the development of the UGCC was the declaration of independence of Ukraine and the active revival of the cultural and national life of Ukrainians.

Until 1992, the UGCC structures in Ukraine were revived mainly on the territory of three regions—Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, and Transcarpathia. Accordingly, three dioceses were formed—Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, and Mukachevo. At the Synod of Bishops of the UGCC held in Lviv on May 16-31, 1992, a new territorial structure was defined. The number of dioceses was increased to seven. Four dioceses were added: Ternopil, Zboriv, Sambir-Drohobych, and Kolomyia-Chernivtsi. The Kyiv-Vyshgorod Exarchate, which covered the whole territory of Ukraine outside Galicia, Transcarpathia, and Bukovyna, received a special status. In September 1994, the Lviv Theological Academy, founded in 1929 by the Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, was restored, now known as the Ukrainian Catholic University.

Much attention of the church was paid to the construction of new church buildings

¹⁴ “Закон України ‘Про свободу совісті та релігійні організації.’” *Відомості Верховної Ради УРСР (БВР)*. 1991, № 25, p. 283. <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/987-12> Accessed 09.04.2020.

¹⁵ С. Мудрий, *Нариси історії Церкви в Україні*. (Жовква: Місіонер, 2010), 506-507.

(Ukrainian term *hram*) and the restoration of old ones. The problems with the erection of the new church buildings were purely financial in nature and were largely solved by the material support of believers in the diaspora. However, the return of church buildings often created conflicts as it was resisted by Orthodox believers. The latter were already structured into three churches: the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate (the UOC MP), the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kyiv Patriarchate (the UOC KP), and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (the UAOC). Particularly acute conflicts (often even with the use of physical force) arose in the case of confrontation with the believers and the clergy of the UOC MP since the latter decisively refused to jointly share the church building for their worship services.

The way out of the conflict situations was the introduction of regular worship services (defined by law) and the construction of new church buildings in each settlement for the segment of the believers who were in the minority or could not prove their legal rights to the church premises. It should also be noted that the UGCC has occupied a number of former Catholic cathedrals standing empty after the Second World War after the mass departure of Poles to their homeland. In most cases, the Roman Catholics had and have no claim to such a development. However, with the restoration of full-fledged Roman Catholic communities, the latter raised questions about the return of some churches. These conflict situations, of course, are not as severe as in the 1990s, but they need to be resolved. A striking example of such a conflict is the Church of the Lord Savior in Lviv which the Roman Catholics have been seeking for many years to reclaim from the Greek Catholic community.¹⁶ The latter, unwilling to return the church building, came under the auspices of the Local Church of Ukraine (the LCU).

Another problematic situation faced by the Greek Catholics in the initial phase of restoring their church in Ukraine was the personnel issue. The legalization of the activities of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church has contributed to the mass return of believers to the church. Hundreds of communities have been restored and hundreds of communities have returned from Orthodoxy. However, there were few clandestine priests. The load on them has increased several times. Therefore, in addition to clandestine clergy, dozens of diaspora priests were sent to Ukraine. In particular, the next head of the Greek Catholics, Lyubomyr Husar, returned to Ukraine. Another source of recruitment was Orthodox priests, most often from the UOC MP. Sometimes they returned with their parish. An example is the story of

¹⁶ А. Бабинський, *Історія УГКЦ за 90 хвилин*. (Львів: Свічадо, 2018), 127-131.

Yaroslav Chukhny, the rector of the Transfiguration Church. He was one of the first to return to the UGCC with his community. However, the largest group of the Greek Catholic clergy were the so-called “recruits.” After one or two years of “express” preparation, those volunteers were ordained priests.

Each of those groups had its advantages and disadvantages. The “clandestine clergy” had unquestioned authority among believers, but they lacked knowledge, especially in the liturgical and theological aspects. In contrast, diasporic priests with impeccable theological knowledge were often detached from the problems of ordinary believers. The believers converted from Orthodoxy were treated with suspicion. The problem with the “recruits” was that the initial passion of the neophytes was dampened by the pressure of everyday life and unsuitable living conditions: some of them eventually questioned the validity of their calling. It should be noted that the problems posed by the clergy at that time still continue to some extent, but they are gradually being resolved. In particular, the new generation of priests formed in independent Ukraine is replacing the older generation of priests. They have adequate scholarly and theological training which is often supported by internships or additional studies abroad, lasting up to eight years. The training of priests takes place in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil Seminaries (founded in 1990) and Drohobych Seminary (1996).¹⁷

Another important issue for functioning of the UGCC, which had to be addressed in the first stage, is its perception as a separate and distinct subject of inter-church dialogue. In 1993, the Seventh Session of the International Mixed Commission on Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches was held in the Balamand Theological Institute. At this session, the so-called “Balamand Declaration” was adopted. The main provisions of the declaration, in addition to the “recognition of the parties as sisters-churches,” directly concerned the Eastern Catholic Churches. On the one hand, the Orthodox recognized that such churches had a right to exist within Catholicism. On the other hand, they condemned proselytism and “Uniatism” as a method of achieving unity among churches.

The Greek-Catholic hierarchs criticized the declaration which, moreover, was accepted without their participation. The problem was also that the Ukrainian Orthodox Christians interpreted this declaration in their own way. For example, the construction of Greek Catholic churches outside Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia was considered a manifestation of proselytism and encroachment on Orthodox canonical territory.

In this connection Ivan-Myroslav Lyubachivsky issued a pastoral message “On the

¹⁷ С. Головащенко, *Історія християнства*. (Київ: Либідь, 1999), 300.

Unity of the Holy Churches.” The document described the ecumenical activity of Catholicism and the Popes themselves. Particular attention was also paid to the Balamand Declaration, the characteristics of which he stated: “Undoubtedly, the Balamand Declaration, like any document, has its imperfections and does not always reflect all points of view, or convey the complete historical truth. But we consider it more constructive to emphasize what is positive in it as we believe that it is what the “signs of the time” demand from our Church.”¹⁸

The final event in which Cardinal Ivan-Myroslav Lyubachivsky actively participated was the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the proclamation of the Union of Brest. Festive events were held in all structural parts of the UGCC. The main event of the celebration was the Divine Liturgy in the main Catholic church of St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome (July 7, 1996). The liturgy was celebrated on the main altar of the Basilica and was led by Pope John Paul II personally. He was concelebrated by Cardinal Ivan-Myroslav Lyubachivsky with all the Greek Catholic bishops as well as the College of Cardinals. This celebration showed the deep spiritual connection of the UGCC and the Apostolic See.¹⁹

Following the celebration, in view of the Primate’s state of health, on October 14, 1996, the Synod of Bishops of the UGCC appointed a Bishop Assistant to the Head of the UGCC. Lyubomyr Husar, the exarch of Kyiv-Vyshgorod at that time, took up that position. Since that time, church affairs were largely led by Bishop Lyubomyr. Cardinal I.-M. Lyubachivsky officially led the church until his death in December 2000.

The Second Period Is the All-Ukrainian Church of Lyubomyr Husar

In January 2001, the Synod of the UGCC Bishops elected Bishop Lyubomyr Husar as their primate. Pope John Paul II endorsed this election and also conferred the title of Cardinal on Husar. Although being nineteen years younger than Lyubachivsky, Lyubomyr Husar had a life history similar to his predecessor; he was born in Lviv. However, because of the events of World War II, he and his parents emigrated abroad. He studied and received his ordination in the USA. He continued his theological studies in Rome. In 1977 Patriarch Joseph Slipy consecrated secretly Husar to the rank of bishop in the Vatican. Lyubomyr Husar returned to Ukraine in 1993 together with the student monastic community and took an active part in the

¹⁸ I.-M. Любачівський, “Пастерське послання ‘Про єдність Святих Церков’.” (Lviv, 1994). *Бібліотека духовного дзвону*: Станом на 9.04.2020: <http://book.dyhdzvin.org/dokumenty-tserkvy/pastyrskе-zvernennya-blazhennishogo-myroslava-ivana-kardynala-lyubachivskogo-pro-yednist-svyatyh-tserkov.html>

¹⁹ “400-ліття Берестейської унії. Літургія у Ватикані.” (Roma, 1994). *YouTube*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9qasegnQ_Vc Accessed 09.04.2020.

revival of the UGCC.²⁰

The first major task for Lyubomyr Husar, after his election as head of the church, was to prepare for the visit of Pope John Paul II to Ukraine. During his visit (taking place on June 23-27, 2001) John Paul II proclaimed as blessed the 28 new martyrs of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church who died for the faith in 1935-1973. This was an important step in the development of the church as it enabled the Greek Catholics to build their identity and spirituality on the example of their martyrs. Up to that time, only one martyr, Josaphat Kuntsevich (died for the Uniate faith in the 17th century) had been canonized (in the 19th century).²¹

In his activities, Lyubomir Husar emphasized the quality of training of church personnel, which became an important factor in the growth of the church's authority. It was at his initiative that the Lviv Theological Academy was reformed in 2002. Since then, it has become the Ukrainian Catholic University. Father Boris Gudziak (now Bishop), a native of the American diaspora, a graduate of Harvard University, was appointed its rector.

Another focus of Cardinal Lyubomyr's work was the activity directed to find the way for the church to go outside the western Ukrainian regions. In particular, in 2005 the head of the UGCC was transferred from Lviv to Kyiv and his title was changed from Archbishop of Lviv to Archbishop of Kyiv-Galicia. Moreover, despite the protests of the Orthodox Moscow Patriarchate and pro-Russian political forces, the erection of the majestic and modern main cathedral, the church of the Resurrection of the Lord, began on the left bank of the Dnieper. Securing the church structure of the UGCC throughout Ukraine, the logical step of Lyubomyr Husar was to proclaim new exarchates. New exarchates appeared, Donetsk-Kharkiv (February 2002), Odessa-Crimean (July 2003), and Lutsk (January 2008).²² In 2010, Holy Trinity Theological Seminary of the UGCC was also established in Kyiv.

Cardinal Lyubomyr paid special attention to his activities as a member of the All-Ukrainian Council of Churches and Religious Organizations where he took an active position both as a hierarch of the church and as a responsible citizen. He was also one of the founders of the First of December public movement (it was on the day when an All-Ukrainian referendum was held to confirm Ukraine's independence). Such an independent position of the first hierarch of the UGCC has become an example for many of its clergy and believers.

²⁰О. Турій, "Блаженніший Любомир завжди апелював до того, що нас єднає." *Релігійно-інформаційна служба України. РІСУ*. https://risu.org.ua/ua/index/expert_thought/interview/71320/ Accessed 09.04.2020.

²¹О. Турій, *Церква мучеників*. (Львів: Свічадо, 2002). 3-5.

²² "Українська Греко-Католицька Церква. Склад і територія". *Офіційна сторінка УГКЦ*. http://ugcc.ua/official/ugcc-today/suchasniy_stan_70010.html Accessed 09.04.2020.

The church became a truly national church for Ukraine (not in the ethnic, but in the political sense of the term). It should be noted that the present head of the church has supported this line of behavior of the primate.

However, in his activities, Cardinal Lyubomyr faced some unexpected problems related to personnel issues. In particular, several clergymen opposed the official church hierarchy of the UGCC and its policies in the early 2000s. Subsequently, those “protest” sentiments were picked up by some congregations, which even established separate religious communities.

In particular, this refers to the priest Vasyl Kovpak. He promotes the idea of Latinization of the Byzantine rite within the UGCC and holds extreme conservative positions, being a supporter of the Lefebvre movement. This movement, which was started by Cardinal Marcel Lefebvre after the Second Vatican Council, did not accept the decision of the council and separated from the Holy See. In 1999, the UGCC leadership gave a number of warnings to Vasyl Kovpak about his ministry. However, these warnings were ignored. Father Vasyl gathered several priests who became the basis of the brotherhood of the holy priest Josaphat. This fraternity entered into official communication with the Lefebvrists. In 2005, the priest Vasyl Kovpak was convicted by the Tribunal of the Supreme Archdiocese of the UGCC, and in 2007 the great excommunication was confirmed by the Pope.²³ However, this did not prevent Vasyl from continuing his activities.

In fact, parallel to these events, Josafat Kavatsiv, a priest of the town of Stryi near Lviv, declared in 2002 that he had been secretly ordained a bishop in Kazakhstan in 1980. He did not provide any proof of this. However, this did not prevent him from acting and serving the liturgy in an episcopal manner. He even received some support from the believers who still remembered the experience and circumstances of the clandestine church ministry. But as early as 2003, the UGCC Synod declared Father Josaphat’s claims to the bishopric as groundless. However, he appealed and the case was delayed until 2008 when the official decision came from the Vatican. Father Josaphat Kavatsiv was excommunicated for “usurpation of power.” The case was finally settled after the death of the self-proclaimed bishop in 2010.

The most radical and aggressive group created on the basis of the UGCC is the so-called “Dognalit Sect.” This group was formed in the early 2000s in the midst of a dissolved

²³ “Венедикт, єп. Послання преосвященнішого владики Венедикта до вірних Львівської архієпархії про некатолицьких священників.” (Львів, 2011). *Релігійно-інформаційна служба України. РІСУ.* https://risu.org.ua/ua/index/resources/church_doc/ugcc_doc/44801/ Accessed 09.04.2020.

Czech delegation of Basilian Fathers. Some of them arrived in Ukraine and settled in the Pidhirtsi Monastery (Lviv Region). That is why they are sometimes referred to as the “Pidhirtsi Fathers.” Four of the newcomers (led by Antony Ilya Dognal) declared themselves bishops. They demanded the resignation of Lyubomir Husar, the inclusion of the UGCC Bishops to the Synod, and the resolution of several more fundamental issues such as reforming monastic communities, establishing a “charismatic foundation,” etc.

This group despised all warnings from the Primate and the Synod of the UGCC. In 2008, they were excommunicated which was confirmed by the Vatican in 2009. However, this did not stop the “reformers.” Dognal’s followers continued to pursue an aggressive policy (even spreading accusations against the head of the church), held demonstrations, tried to take church buildings away from the UGCC communities, and so on. They also made repeated attempts to register their structures as alternatives to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Following refusals, they continually picketed regional and central authorities responsible for the state and church policy. Their peak activity was during Viktor Yanukovych’s presidency as they actively criticized Euromaidan and campaigned for the unity of Ukraine with Russia and Belarus. But after the Revolution of Dignity and the extradition of Dognal to the Czech Republic, the group became marginalized and gradually disappeared from the information space.²⁴

The second period of the UGCC’s development in independent Ukraine ended with Lyubomyr Husar’s departure from the church management. Unlike his predecessor, he did not appoint an alternate to handle all cases, but in February 2011 handed in his voluntary resignation for medical reasons. The Church and the society as a whole perceived it as a wise decision of the hierarch and appreciated his ability to hand over the responsibilities to the younger generation. By that time, Lyubomyr Husar had actually become a nationwide moral leader. His authority has only grown since his resignation. This was facilitated by his unambiguous civic stance during the Revolution of Dignity, through numerous lectures and meetings he held throughout Ukraine.²⁵

The Third Period Is the Global Church of Svyatoslav Shevchuk

A qualitatively new period for the development of the church began in 2011 with the election of 40-year-old Svyatoslav Shevchuk as its head by the Synod of the UGCC Bishops. At the time of his election he was a bishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholics in Argentina.

²⁴ А. Бабинський, *Історія УГКЦ за 90 хвилин*. (Львів: Свічадо, 2018), 135-137.

²⁵ О. Климончук, *Любомир Гузар*. (Харків: Фоліо, 2019), 87-88.

Bishop Svyatoslav became one of the youngest primates in the history of the church. Only Andrey Sheptytsky was elected at a younger age (35 years old). However, this did not prevent Metropolitan Andrey from becoming one of the most prominent reformers of the church. It is obvious that the intention and logic of the members of the UGCC ecclesiastical Synod in 2011 was the same.

The young head of the church was different from his predecessors by his biography. He grew up and studied in Soviet Ukraine and even was in military service in the Soviet army. The Greek Catholic priests secretly held liturgies in the house of the Shevchuk family. In the late 1980s, Svyatoslav Shevchuk was trained in an underground seminary. Later, his training took place in the restored UGCC at the Holy Spirit Seminary in Lviv. He also completed an annual training course in Buenos Aires. Later, he studied in Rome where he completed all his education and received his doctorate in theology. After completing his studies, he returned to Ukraine and became a teacher, and then rector, of Lviv Theological Seminary.²⁶

Having become the head of the UGCC, Svyatoslav Shevchuk continued his predecessor's line for gradual reformation and development of the church outside Western Ukraine. One of the first things in the structure of the church was the proclamation of three metropolitanates in Lviv, Ternopil, and Ivano-Frankivsk regions. Within the structure of these metropolises, smaller dioceses were formed. The Greek Catholic Exarchates in London and Paris also acquired the status of dioceses. The Diocese of Kolomyia-Chernivtsi was divided into two separate parts. Those actions made it possible to improve the communication of the bishopric with priests and believers, to create a more extensive and clear structure of the church that would approximate the time of proclamation and granting of the status of patriarchate to the UGCC.²⁷

In 2013, the Cathedral of the Resurrection of the Lord was consecrated and officially opened in Kyiv. It acquired the status of the patriarchal and main cathedral for the Greek Catholics. A new level of development was also reached by the Ukrainian Catholic University, which obtained state licenses for a number of its programs. In September 2017, the university opened a new resource and information center, the Sheptytsky Center. A UCU representative office was opened in Kyiv, and a number of new training programs were

²⁶Свято́слав Шевчу́к, “Біографія.” *Офіційна сторінка УГКЦ*.

http://ugcc.ua/official/synod/biography/blazhenn%D1%96shiy_svyatoslav_shevchuk_verhovniy_arhiiepiskop_kiievogalitskiy_otets_%D1%96_glava_ugkts_71086.html Accessed 09.04.2020.

²⁷ “Українська Греко-Католицька Церква. Склад і територія.” *Офіційна сторінка*. http://ugcc.ua/official/ugcc-today/suchasniy_stan_70010.html Accessed 09.04.2020.

created. The level of its guest lecturers also testifies to the authority of the university; well-known speakers such as Francis Fukuyama and Jose Casanova lectured there.²⁸

The active position of Svyatoslav, the UGCC head, at the Ukrainian and world level, and the growth of the UGCC's authority in the world were not ignored by the Moscow Patriarchate. The latter is rather sensitive to the development of the UGCC in Ukraine as it regards this country as its "canonical territory." On February 12, 2016, a meeting took place at the Havana airport which was unexpected for both Ukrainian and Greek Catholics and members of the Orthodox Church in the whole world. For the first time in the history of their churches, Pope Francis and Patriarch Kirill of Moscow met. At the meeting the so-called "Havana Declaration" was signed, which clearly specified mutual understanding between Catholics and members of the Orthodox Church. However, several points in this Declaration concerned Ukraine in general and the Ukrainian Greek Catholics in particular (paragraphs 24-27).²⁹

Especially, paragraph 25 strikes a very serious blow not only to the relations of the Vatican and the Eastern Catholic Churches, but also to the ecumenical dialogue in general. The unitary churches are called "church communities" here. Such terminology is used in the official Vatican documents only to refer to Protestant denominations. According to the researchers, "it looks like the Vatican is declaring that it no longer considers the Eastern Catholic Churches to be churches, but as Protestant denominations."³⁰ The declaration also condemns "uniatism" as a method of "uniting one community with another by separating it from its Church," along with similarly contradictory affirmations, in terms of both theology and history. It is not surprising, therefore, that not only the Orthodox but also the Greek Catholics have criticized this declaration. As Svyatoslav Shevchuk put it: "... it happened before as well, they talked about us without us, without calling on us to speak." And it again confirmed the problem of recognizing the UGCC as a separate subject of the ecumenical dialogue involving all faiths.³¹ On the other hand, this unsuccessful attempt by the Moscow Patriarchate to use the Vatican to condemn "Uniatism" attests to the growing authority of the

²⁸ Центр Андрія Шептицького. Офіційна сторінка. <https://center.ucu.edu.ua/pro-tsentr/> Accessed 09.04.2020.

²⁹ "Совместное заявление Папы Римского Франциска и Патриарха Московского и всея Руси Кирилла. Подпись совместной декларации". Cuba Venerdi, 12 febbraio, 2016. *The Holy See*. http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/ru/speeches/2016/february/documents/papa-francesco_20160212_dichiarazione-comune-kirill.html Accessed 09.04.2020.

³⁰ Вільчинський, о.Орест-Дмитро, "Гаванська декларація." *Католицький оглядач*. 2016, 16 лютого. <http://catholicnews.org.ua/gavanska-deklaraciya> Accessed 09.04.2020.

³¹С. Шевчук, "Зустріч, яка не відбулася." *Релігійно-інформаційна служба України. РІСУ*. https://risu.org.ua/ua/index/monitoring/society_digest/62514/ Accessed 09.04.2020.

UGCC not only in Ukraine, but also in the world, especially in the diaspora. The church is becoming a major force in uniting the efforts of the world Ukrainian people, which since 2014 (Russia's aggression against Ukraine) has become a threat to Moscow's plans.

At the same time, after the Revolution of Dignity and the beginning of Russia's military aggression in Eastern Ukraine, chaplains of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church became more active. First of all, it involves pastoral activity among servicemen. The center of chaplaincy is the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul, a former Jesuit church in the center of Lviv. This activity was noticed in the church. In January 2020 Father Stepan Sous, a long-time priest of that church, the head of the UGCC Chaplain's Department, became the Assistant Bishop of the Primate Archbishop of Kyiv-Galicia. At that time, he was the youngest Catholic bishop in the world. The rejuvenation of the church is one of the goals of Svyatoslav Shevchuk. Thus, in the list of the youngest bishops of Catholicism, the first nine positions have been occupied by the Ukrainians. Six of them, including the first three positions, are the Greek Catholic bishops. All of them have been ordained in the last decade.³²

The tendencies of the UGCC development, which began under Cardinal Lyubomyr Husar, gradually became the basic characteristic of the church under the leadership of Svyatoslav Shevchuk. It includes rejuvenation of the clergy, beginning with the hierarchy; raising the level of clerical education to that of the best universities in the world; organization and self-organization of church believers at the level of international communities; involvement of the church in the development of the country's civil society; implementation of educational programs for believers (ecology, civic position, etc.); and the like. Theology is actively being developed in the UGCC. In it, Christian social teaching, which has its own peculiarities in Ukraine, occupies a special place.³³ All this gives reason to speak of the UGCC as a global church. Those ideas have also been advanced by Svyatoslav Shevchuk, the UGCC head, in his interview given to the magazine "Patriarchate." "Our Church is global thanks to the inner unity that we keep in spite of our dispersal."³⁴ A clear illustration of the concept of the UGCC as a global church is an interactive map that virtually shows all the churches of this religious community on all continents of the earth.³⁵

³² "List of youngest living Catholic bishops." *Wikipedia*.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_youngest_living_Catholic_bishops Accessed 09.04.2020.

³³ Г.В. Христокін, Ю.П. Чорноморець *Основи християнської культури. Навчальний посібник*. (Ірпінь: УДФСУ, 2018), 100-116.

³⁴ С. Шевчук, "Між American dream та киевоцентричністю." *Патріархат*. № 6 (476). 2019, 3-8.

³⁵ *Інтерактивна карта Української Греко-Католицької Церкви*. <https://map.ugcc.ua/> Accessed 09.04.2020.

The Cultic and Ritual Features of the Present UGCC

In the modern religious life of the UGCC, there is a variety of religious practices. In regard to the structure of this denomination, one can distinguish three approaches, namely, Oriental, Occidental, and a general Catholic group.

A feature of the Oriental group is the adherence to the religious practices with Byzantine roots. The features of the Oriental Greek Catholic ritual practices include the celebration of Christian holidays according to the Byzantine tradition, with the practice of fasting and praying the Jesus Prayer on the rosary. The theological inspiration and focus of the Oriental group are the monasteries that adhere to Eastern Christian spirituality. The most famous institution representing the Byzantine approach is the Univ Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Rite with its affiliated monasteries.³⁶

The peculiarity of the Occidental group is the presence of Latinized elements and borrowings from the Latin ritual in their liturgical practices. Those borrowings are implemented in various religious, parish, or lay communities very differently. The most prominent representative of the Occidental group is the Basilian monastic order. The Order of St. Basil the Great and the Basilian Order of St. Josafat are the main monastic orders of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church as well as many other monastic and lay congregations connected to the activity of that order.³⁷

A modern tendency for the observance of the ritual practices of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is the formation of a general Catholic identification group. The religious practices of this group are based on the principles formulated at the Second Vatican Council (1963-1965). Those include the study and observance of the ritual practices of the Eastern Church to which the community is connected, a committed appeal to sources, and the observance of traditions. At the same time, the cult of Catholic saints is spreading and prayer practices are introduced which are outlined in statutes, directives, or other written or oral instructions of the community. This identification group is represented by both ancient Catholic and modern movements and congregations. The general Catholic identification group is characterized by a combination of historical predisposition and general contemporary world trends in the development of religion and its ritual sphere.³⁸

³⁶ О. Беген, "Між візантійством та латинізацією". *Патріархат*. № 1. (392). 2006: 20–23.

³⁷ С. Сенік, *Латинізація в українській католицькій церкві*. (Lublin, Свічадо, 1990), 27-29.

³⁸ Кобрин, М.. *Культово-обрядові практики УГКЦ: особливості та тенденції розвитку*. (Львів: Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка, 2015): https://theses.oa.edu.ua/DATA/59/Kobrin_M_S.pdf Accessed 09.04.2020.

Conclusions

The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is one of the key Ukrainian churches, especially when it comes to Western Ukraine (Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia). In recent decades, the UGCC has shown a steady development; its quantitative indicators have been steadily increasing (several tens of parishes annually). With regard to the development of monastic communities, they have remained virtually unchanged over the last decade.

At the same time, like most Ukrainian Christian churches, the UGCC has not escaped intra-church confrontations which, however, have not affected the overall development and authority of the UGCC in the society. Among those are the movements of the “*kovpakivtsi*” and “*dognalivtsi*.” These propagate, on the one hand, more conservative approaches to the further development of the church and on the other hand, there are practices that resemble some Protestant communities. Against this backdrop, there is a certain tension between the church and those communities which support the ideas of the LGBT community or legalization of light drugs or sexual services. After all, most representatives of the Greek Catholic community take a distinctly conservative (biblical) position in regard to such ideological confrontations.

An important trend in the development of the UGCC is its increasing development of roots in the consciousness and public activity throughout Ukraine. This religious community is no longer perceived as marginalized and exclusively “Galician.” It is especially evident in Kyiv where the Patriarchal Cathedral of the Resurrection, the seminary, the office of the Ukrainian Catholic University, and others operate. Today, the overwhelming majority of the capital’s residents are positive about the activities of the UGCC. And it is great progress even in comparison to the year 2005 when ideologists of “political Orthodoxy” organized protest rallies against the transfer of the residence of the UGCC primate from Lviv to Kyiv. Presently even the idea of such rallies seems unrealistic.

Another strategic issue for the Greek Catholic community in Ukraine is still the acquisition of a patriarchal status. In our view, in order to accomplish this, the church must dramatically increase its influence in the Vatican. After all, despite the rather friendly personal relationships (Bishop Svyatoslav Shevchuk and Cardinal Primate of Argentina, Francis Bergoglio, served for several years at one time in Buenos Aires and often served communion together), now this influence is no longer perceived as significant, in particular because of the secret creation and the papal signing of the “Havana Declaration,” unforeseen by the UGCC. The UGCC primate has not yet received the title of cardinal, although all his predecessors had this status.

On the other hand, the current Greek Catholic bishopric is represented by young intellectuals who, over time, will increasingly integrate with the Vatican and the world church institutions. This will not only increase the influence (authority) of the church in Catholicism as a whole, but will also make it possible to fill the church with global content.

References:

- Бабинський, А., *Історія УГКЦ за 90 хвилин.* (Львів: Свічадо, 2018).
- Беген, О., “Між візантійством та латинізацією.” *Патріархат*, 2006. №1. (392): 20–23.
- Венедикт, єп., “Послання преосвященнішого владики Венедикта до вірних Львівської архієпархії про некатолицьких священників.” (Львів, 2011). *Релігійно-інформаційна служба України. РІСУ*.
https://risu.org.ua/ua/index/resources/church_doc/ugcc_doc/44801/
- Вільчинський, о. Орест-Дмитро., “Гаванська декларація.” *Католицький оглядач*. 2016. 16 лютого. <http://catholicnews.org.ua/gavanska-deklaraciya>
- Головащенко, С., *Історія християнства.* (Київ: Либідь, 1999).
- “Дані Департаменту у справах релігій та національностей Міністерства культури України. Форма 1. Звіт про мережу церков і релігійних організацій в Україні станом на 01.01.2019 р.” *Релігійно-інформаційна служба України. РІСУ*.
https://risu.org.ua/ua/index/resources/statistics/ukr_2019/75410/
- “Закон України ‘Про свободу совісті та релігійні організації’.”. *Відомості Верховної Ради УРСР (ВВР)*. 1991 № 25 ст. 283. <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/987-12>
- Інтерактивна карта Української Греко-Католицької Церкви.*
<https://map.ugcc.ua/>
- Ісиченко, Ігор, *Історія Христової Церкви в Україні.* (Київ: Акта, 2008).
- Климончук, О., *Любомир Гузар.* (Харків: Фоліо, 2019).
- Кобрин, М., *Культово-обрядові практики УГКЦ: особливості та тенденції розвитку.* Дисертація на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата філософських наук. (Львів: Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка, 2015).
https://theses.oa.edu.ua/DATA/59/Kobrin_M_S.pdf
- Любачівський, Іван-Мирослав, “Пастерське послання ‘Про єдність Святих Церков’.”
- Бібліотека духовного дзвону.* <http://book.dyhdzvin.org/dokumenty-tserkvy/pastyrskoe-zvernennya-blazhennishogo-myroslava-ivana-kardynala-lyubachivskogo-pro-yednist-svyatyh-tserkov.html>
- “Совместное заявление Папы Римского Франциска и Патриарха Московского и всея Руси Кирилла. Подпись совместной декларации.” *Cuba Venerdi*, 12 febbraio, 2016. *The Holy See*.
http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/ru/speeches/2016/february/documents/papa-francesco_20160212_dichiarazione-comune-kirill.html
- Софрон Мудрий, *Нариси історії Церкви в Україні.* (Жовква: Місіонер, 2010).

Сеник, С., *Латинізація в українській католицькій церкві*. (Люблін: Свічадо, 1990).

Турій, О., *Церква мучеників*. (Львів: Свічадо, 2002).

Турій, О., “Блаженніший Любомир завжди апелював до того, що нас єднає.” *Релігійно-інформаційна служба України. РІСУ*. https://risu.org.ua/ua/index/expert_thought/interview/71320/

“Українська Греко-Католицька Церква. Склад і територія.” *УГКЦ. Офіційна сторінка*. http://ugcc.ua/official/ugcc-today/suchasniy_stan_70010.html

Христокін, Г.В., Чорноморець, Ю.П., *Основи християнської культури*. Навчальний посібник. (Ірпінь: УДФСУ, 2018).

Центр Андрія Шептицького. Офіційна сторінка. <https://center.ucu.edu.ua/pro-tsentr/>

Шевчук, Святослав, “Біографія.” *Офіційна сторінка УГКЦ*. http://ugcc.ua/official/synod/biography/blazhenn%D1%96shiy_svyatoslav_shevchuk_verhovniy_arhiiepiskop_kiievogalitskiy_otets_%D1%96_glava_ugkts_71086.html

Шевчук, Святослав, “Визнання нашого патріархату має велику місію – пояснити православним сутність служіння Папи Римського.” *Інформаційний ресурс Української Греко-Католицької Церкви*. http://news.ugcc.ua/video/glava_ugkts_nadannya_nam_patr%D1%96arhatu_maie_veliku_m%D1%96s%D1%96yu__poyasniti_pravoslavnim_sutn%D1%96st_sluzh%D1%96nnya_papi_rimskogo_81851.html

Шевчук, Святослав, “Зустріч, яка не відбулася.” *Релігійно-інформаційна служба України. РІСУ*. https://risu.org.ua/ua/index/monitoring/society_digest/62514/

Шевчук, Святослав, “Між American dream та києвоцентричністю.” *Патріархат*, 2019. № 6 (476): 3-8.

“400-ліття Берестейської унії. Літургія у Ватикані.” (Roma, 1994). *YouTube*: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9qasegnQ_Vc

Himka, J.-P., *The Greek Catholic Church and Ukrainian Society in Austrian Galicia*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986).

Himka, J.-P. *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

Hvat I., *The Catacomb Ukrainian Catholic Church and Pope John Paul II*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1984).

“List of youngest living Catholic bishops.” *Wikipedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_youngest_living_Catholic_bishops

Magosci, P., *Morality and Reality: the Life and Times of Andrei Sheptytsky*.
(Edmonton, Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1989).