

## Josyf Cardinal Slipyj and Literature

In the mind of the average Ukrainian, the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church Cardinal Josyf Slipyj (1892-1984) can be seen as a Confessor of the Faith, Head of the Silent Church of the Catacombs, a theologian, a scholar, and a patriot for his people. His intellectual brilliance, depth of reasoning and steadfast faith permeated his scholarly works, homilies, pastoral letters, and reviews, while his wide range of interests included the history of the Church, theology, martyrology, and many others.

Little is known, however, about Cardinal Slipyj's love for literature, as well as about the impact that literature had on the writings of His Beatitude. It is worth noting that some of the Patriarch's work, such as his *Testament, Memoirs<sup>1</sup> or Pilgrimages*, deserve to be reconsidered as literary pieces owing to their composition, style and literary craftsmanship. Literature was clearly an integral part of the Patriarch's humanistic world, which was largely influenced by his family's interest in education in general and literature in particular. In his *Memoirs*, Cardinal Slipyj recalls the beginnings of his literary journey initiated by his older brother Roman, whom the Patriarch considers his "first teacher"<sup>2</sup>: "In winter evenings, my brothers would read some books. I recall my brother Volodymyr reading the biography of Socrates, which brought me to tears when I heard about his death. Similarly, I was moved by the *duma*<sup>3</sup> about "The Escape of Three Brothers from Captivity in Azov."<sup>4</sup> This love for literature instilled in early childhood was deepened later, when in 1903, Josyf Slipyj became a student of the Ternopil *Gymnasium*. While preparing for the next chapter of his education, despite exhaustion after his years in elementary school, he spent his vacations studying: "I returned with my father to Zazdrist. Tired and exhausted, I, however, did not abandon studying. I would read prose and poetry, review books on Latin and other subjects I purchased in Ternopil."<sup>5</sup>

Literature laid the foundation of Cardinal Slipyj's national and patriotic outlook, which was shaped by Ivan Slobodianyuk, the Patriarch's teacher at the Vyshnivchyk four-year school, where His Beatitude studied in 1901-1903. In his *Memoirs*, Slipyj acknowledges Slobodianyuk's influence in establishing a solid patriotic grounding for his students: "Being a nationally conscious Ukrainian, he would instill this consciousness in me. For his education I am sincerely grateful."<sup>6</sup> Later, during final exams in the Ternopil *Gymnasium*, Slipyj himself appears as a sincere Ukrainian, recalling: "I do not remember what topic I chose, but I know I finished it with a quotation from a [Volodymyr] Samiylenko poem:

«Це стоїть Україна і не вмерла вона  
і вмирати не має охоти.

Кожна піч українська, то фортеця міцна,  
там на чатах лежать патріоти»<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The memoirs of Patriarch Josyf Slipyj were written in winter 1963-64 in the Monastery of the Passionists in Nettuno, Italy. Cardinal Slipyj personally entrusted Professor Leonid Rudnytzky with one of the manuscripts of his memoirs, and that copy is housed at the Josyf Slipyj Research Center in Philadelphia. English translation of hereof is ours.

<sup>2</sup> Благодарне слово Блаженнішого Йосифа 17.02. 1972 р. у храмі Жировицької Матері Божої і свв. мучеників Сергія і Вакха [Cardinal Josyf Slipyj's Words of Thanks on the Occasion of His 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday, February 17, 1972, Sts. Sergius and Bacchus Church in Rome] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа [Opera Omnia Kyr Josephi (Slipyj-Kobernyckyj-Dyčkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIII (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1983), p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Duma, traditional Ukrainian literary work similar to a ballad

<sup>4</sup> *Memoirs*, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> This is a Ukrainian patriotic ballad "На печі" (On the Stove) written by Volodymyr Samiylenko (1864-1925) on October 28, 1898.

*This is Ukraine standing, still alive  
And not willing to die.  
Every Ukrainian stove is a strong fortress,  
There lie the patriots keeping guard.*

In that way, I was trying to emphasize the importance of active patriotism.”<sup>8</sup>

Years later, as Rector of Pope St. Clement Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome (UCU), Cardinal Slipyj established branches in Argentina, the United States, Canada, and Great Britain, introducing, among other subjects, literature into the curriculum: “It is important for professors to have a four-year-course on each of the following: 1) History of Ukraine; 2) History of Ukrainian Literature; 3) Geography of Ukraine, and other subjects, depending on faculty availability.”<sup>9</sup>

For instance, in the Ukrainian Catholic University (UCU) in Rome, Rev. Dr. Ivan Tyliavsky, SDB, had a three-semester course on Ukrainian Literature from 1966 to 1968. It covered the following chronological periods: the development of early Ukrainian Literature in Kyivan Rus’ until the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century; 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup>-century chronicles and epics (with readings of selected texts); Classicism and Romanticism (with readings of selected works).<sup>10</sup> Programs of the UCU summer courses initiated by Cardinal Slipyj in 1970 had literature lectures conducted by such well-known literary critics as Bohdan Lonchyna, Vasyl Lev, Leonid Rudnytzky, Konstantyn Bida, and Maria Ovcharenko. As an example, during the sixth academic summer session (June 10-July 10, 1975), the following lectures were read: “Shakespeare in Ukrainian Literature” (Dr. Konstantyn Bida), “Ukrainian Literature of the First Quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century” (Dr. Vasyl Lev), “Dante Alighieri’s *Purgatorio*” (Dr. Bohdan Lonchyna), “Religion in the Works of Soviet-period Writers” (Dr. Maria Ovcharenko).<sup>11</sup> As part of this summer session, on July 3, the Ukrainian poet from Australia Zoya, Nikonenko-Kohut (1925-1997), held a poetic reading of her newly published poetry collection *Кучерявий дим* [Curly Smoke].<sup>12</sup> Patriarch Josyf, to whom Ms. Kohut dedicated a number of poems, was the Guest of Honor at this event.<sup>13</sup> Another reading was conducted by Dr. Volodymyr Yaniv, Rector of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, who presented his autobiographical poetry collection *Життя* [Life] (Paris-Munich, 1975). This event was mentioned in Cardinal Slipyj’s report for the year 1975-76 dated June 13, 1976.<sup>14</sup> The next, seventh summer session at UCU (June 16-July 17, 1976), included three literary lectures: “World Motifs in Ukrainian Literature” (Dr. Konstantyn Bida), “Dante Alighieri’s *Paradiso*” (Dr. Bohdan Lonchyna), “Taras Shevchenko and

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<sup>8</sup> *Memoirs*, p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> Лист Патріярха Йосифа до д-р Романи Навроцької, місто-голови Товариства «Свята Софія» США з дня 10 листопада 1975 року [Patriarch Josyf Slipyj’s Letter to Dr. Romana Navrocka, Vice-Chair of St. Sophia Religious Association in USA from November 10, 1975]. (Philadelphia: The Josyf Slipyj Research Center Archives).

<sup>10</sup> Український Католицький Університет в першому п’ятиліттю свого постання і діяльності. 1963-1968. [The Ukrainian Catholic University in the first five years of its existence 1963-1968]. Vol. XXXII (Rome: St. Clement the Pope Ukrainian Catholic University, 1969), pp. 156-157.

<sup>11</sup> VI академічний літній курс на УКУ в Римі [6<sup>th</sup> Academic Summer Course in Rome] Вісті з Риму [News from Rome], No. 8-11 (258-261), year XIII. – Rome (May 31, 1975), p. 25.

<sup>12</sup> Поетеса Зоя австралійка в Римі [The Australian Poet Zoya in Rome] Вісті з Риму [News from Rome], No. 20-24 (270-274), year XIII. – Rome (November 13, 1975), p. 22.

<sup>13</sup> Антологія поезій, присвячених Патріярхові Йосифові, «Серця живе джерело» [Anthology of Poems Dedicated to Patriarch Josyf] contains nine poems by Zoya Kohut.

<sup>14</sup> Звіт Блаженнішого Патріярха Йосифа на закінчення академічного року 1975/76 в Українському Католицькому Університеті, дня 13 червня 1976 р. [Patriarch Josyf’s report for the academic year 1975-76 at the Ukrainian Catholic University given on June 13, 1976] Вісті з Риму [News from Rome], No. 15-18 (294-297), year XIV. Rome (June 30, 1976), p. 7.

Music” (Dr. Ihor Sonevytsky).<sup>15</sup> The eighth summer session (June 16-July 17, 1977) included four literary courses: “Don Juan in the World Literatures” (Dr. Bohdan Lonchyna), “Religious Motives in the Works of Under-Soviet Writers” (Dr. Maria Ovcharenko), “Faust in the World Literature” (Dr. Leonid Rudnytzky), “Contemporary Literature in the Ukrainian Soviet Social Republic” (Dr. Ivan Tyliavsky, SDB).<sup>16</sup> The beginning of the course featured an inaugural lecture by Dr. Maria Ovcharenko on the poetry of Pavlo Tychyna. Among those present at that lecture was Patriarch Josyf Slipyj.<sup>17</sup>

UCU branches sprang up throughout the world: in Buenos Aires (established in 1968), Chicago (1973), Washington (1975), Philadelphia (1977, still operating), Montreal (1977), and London (1979, still operating). The U.S. branches launched an active educational campaign among the Ukrainian community. During the 1975 summer session, two literary lectures were held at the Washington branch, “The English-Language Publications of Ukrainian Literature” (Marta Tarnawsky) and “Lesia Ukrayinka and Young People” (Dr. Petro Odarchenko). The 1975 fall semester (October 5-December 15) featured Dr. Leonid Rudnytzky’s lecture “In Search for the Absolute: Spiritual Values of Contemporary Ukrainian Literature.” The 1976 spring semester (February 1-May 10) featured Dr. Yuri Starosolsky’s lecture “Shevchenko’s Guilt and Punishment.”<sup>18</sup>

Under the leadership of Cardinal Slipyj as the Rector of UCU, 53 volumes on the history of Ukraine, Church history, culture, art, and literature were published. Among them, the two-volume *History of Greek Literature* by Dr. Mykhaylo Sonevytsky (1970 and 1979), “Ioanikiy Halyatovsky and his *The Key of Understanding*” by Dr. Konstantyn Bida (1975), the Ukrainian translation of the Castilian epic poem *Cantar de Mio Cid (The Song of El Cid)* by Dr. Bohdan Lonchyna (1972). The UCU branch in Philadelphia published the English translation of Mykola Rudenko’s *The Cross* (1988) and Oles Honchar’s *The Cathedral* (1989), as well as *An Anthology of Poems Dedicated to Patriarch Josyf Slipyj* (1999).

The first scholarly attempt to study the topic of “Patriarch Slipyj and Literature” was made by eminent literary scholar Leonid Rudnytzky in his foreword to *An Anthology of Poems Dedicated to Patriarch Josyf Slipyj*.<sup>19</sup> Here, the author emphasized the interest of both Ukrainian and international writers with the image of Cardinal Slipyj. As an example, Rudnytzky used the Australian author Morris West’s novel, *The Shoes of the Fisherman*, whose main character, Bishop Kiril Lakota is based entirely on the life of Cardinal Slipyj. Rudnytzky also provided the reader with an overview of the Patriarch’s literary interests, claiming that he read the works “of such titans of world literature as Homer, Dante, Goethe, Schiller, Byron, Nietzsche, Mickiewicz,”<sup>20</sup> while on the Ukrainian side he especially cherished the works of Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko. Indeed, even a brief analysis of Cardinal Slipyj’s works attests to his profound interest in the works of Ukrainian writers, starting with Ivan Kotlyarevsky (1769-1838), Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), and

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<sup>15</sup> VII вакаційний курс в УКУ в Римі [7<sup>th</sup> Academic Summer Course in Rome] Вісті з Риму [News from Rome], No. 12-14 /291-293/, year XIV. Rome (May 20, 1976), p. 24.

<sup>16</sup> VIII вакаційний курс в УКУ в Римі [8<sup>th</sup> Academic Summer Course in Rome] Вісті з Риму [News from Rome], No. 3-6 /310-313/, year XV. Rome (March 21, 1977), p. 20.

<sup>17</sup> Вакаційний курс в Українському Католицькому Університеті [Summer Course at the Ukrainian Catholic University] Вісті з Риму [News from Rome], No. 11-13 /318-320/, year XV. Rome (July 19, 1977), p. 21.

<sup>18</sup> Із діяльності Філії УКУ у Вашингтоні [From the UCU Branch in Washington] Вісті з Риму [News from Rome], No. 3-6 (310-313), year XV. Rome (March 21, 1977), p. 35.

<sup>19</sup> This foreword was based on the original article “Patriarch Josyf I’s Image in Literature” Intrepido Pastori: Науковий збірник на честь Блаженнішого Патріярха Йосифа в 40-ліття вступлення на Галицький престіл 1.11.1944. [Scholarly Collection in Honor of Patriarch Josyf on the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of His Installation to the Metropolitan See of Halych, November 11, 1944] (Rome, 1984), pp. 681-691.

<sup>20</sup> Леонід Рудницький. Патріярх Йосиф і література [Patriarch Josyf and Literature] Антологія поезій, присвячених Йосифу Сліпому [The Anthology of Poems Dedicated to Patriarch Josyf Slipyj]. (Ivano-Frankivsk: “Plai”, 1999), p. 22.

ending with the writings of diaspora authors: Zoya Kohut (1925-1997), Roman Zavadovych (1903-1985), Ivan Kernytsky (1913-1984), Edward Kozak (1902-1992) and Lesia Khraplyva-Schur.

While analyzing Slipyj's kinship to literature, one should use the chronological method and begin with the literature of Kyivan Rus', which produced incredible masterpieces of Christian writings that emphasized the value of education, knowledge and wisdom. In them, Patriarch Josyf saw the seeds of Ukrainian national identity, the glory and grandeur of Kyivan Rus' and its princes, the foundation of a powerful state, and most of all, true faith. Thus, Cardinal Slipyj composed his spiritual *Testament* according to *The Testament of Grand Prince Volodymyr Monomakh to His Children*, which is considered one of the finest works of the princely era. He used Monomakh's sleigh journey to eternity as the image of his own departure, writing "sitting on my sleigh, reflecting in my soul and giving glory to God, who has brought me to this day..., I sit on my sleigh prepared for the road into the distance, and with an exhausted voice I pray."<sup>21</sup> The literature of ancient Rus' was of utmost importance to His Beatitude in the context of St. Sophia Cathedral, which was built and consecrated in Rome in 1969. For Slipyj, the original Cathedral in Kyiv was a symbol of faith and education, the two inseparable sources of human existence; it was there that "«Руська правда» [*The Rus' Truth*] and other scholarly works were published, and it was there that he [Metropolitan Ilarion (990-1088)] wrote his «Слово о законі і благодаті» [*Sermon on Law and Grace*]."<sup>22</sup> The latter, written as a eulogy for Prince Volodymyr and his ancestors, examines the autonomy of the Rus' state and its Church, became the focal point of the Cardinal's homily at the pontifical blessing of St. Sophia Cathedral in Rome on September 28, 1969. Quoting the passages from Ilarion's *Sermon*, His Beatitude appealed to the national conscience of his flock; he emphasized that "we are standing in a long historical row of many church leaders and statesmen, faithful and citizens, and the responsibility for the future of our people lays on us, the present generation and those to come; we are called to revive the ancient Ukrainian tradition in thoughts and action. The task is challenging, yet God's wisdom will enlighten our paths. Let us leave this house of Holy Wisdom encouraged and assured that our misfortune will end and a bright day will shine ahead."<sup>23</sup> While addressing the Holy Father Paul VI during the ceremony of the blessing of the church, Patriarch Josyf emphasized the high level of culture and education in Ukraine back in the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries up to the Mongol invasion: "Great Prince Yaroslav the Wise opened an impressive library and established a school where «Руська правда» [*The Rus' Truth*], a famous collection of state laws of Kyivan Rus' was written. The Kyivan Metropolitan Ilarion was considered one of the most educated and intelligent people of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Ukrainian chronicles of those times are some of the best in Europe."<sup>24</sup>

The motifs of Kyivan Rus' literature are readily discernible in Cardinal Slipyj's sermon on the occasion of Pope St. Clement's feast day on December 8, 1969. With genuine patriotism and profound enthusiasm, the Patriarch spoke about the glory of the princely times and their literary heritage, saying: "Those times bear the light of our Christian past; Ilarion's *Sermon of Law and Grace*, *The Rus' Truth*,

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<sup>21</sup> Заповіт Блаженнішого Патріярха Йосифа [Spiritual Testament of Patriarch Josyf]. Релігійне Товариство українців католиків «Свята Софія» в Канаді [St. Sophia Religious Association of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada], (1984), p. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Слово на благословення Собору Святої Софії в Римі в неділю, 29 червня 1969 року [Sermon on the blessing of St. Sophia Cathedral given on Sunday, June 29, 1969] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. Зібрали о. д-р Іван Хома і о. д-р Іван Музичка. Том XIII. [Opera Omnia Cur Josephi (Slipuj-Kobernyckuj-Dučkovskuj) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by: Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIII (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1983), p. 18.

<sup>23</sup> Слово на архієрейське посвячення Храму Святої Софії в Римі 28 вересня 1969 року [Sermon on the Pontifical Blessing of St. Sophia Cathedral given on Sunday, September 28, 1969] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. Зібрали о. д-р Іван Хома і о. д-р Іван Музичка. [Opera Omnia Cur Josephi (Slipuj-Kobernyckuj-Dučkovskuj) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIII (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1983), p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

*The Testament of Grand Prince Volodymyr Monomakh to His Children, The Lay of Ihor's Campaign* are the jewels of our ancient era.”<sup>25</sup>

Cardinal Slipyj's sermons are generously filled with quotations from prominent Ukrainian writers such as Ivan Franko, Markiyan Shashkevych, and Taras Shevchenko, the latter considered by the Patriarch as “a genius of the Ukrainian people.”<sup>26</sup> His Beatitude was very well acquainted with the works of Shevchenko; not only could Patriarch Slipyj recite “The Testament” and “My Thoughts,” commonly memorized by many Ukrainians, but he knew a great number of other poetic works by heart. He considered Shevchenko's *Kobzar* to be “philosophy in verse and a book of the wisdom of life.”<sup>27</sup> Patriarch Josyf especially cherished the Christian aura of Shevchenko's poems-- the poet “prayed for God's blessing for his successful work: [...] «Благослови мої, Боже, Нетвердії руки» [Bless, o God, my weak hands].”<sup>28</sup> Cardinal Slipyj was convinced that Shevchenko became a national figure because, “as no one else before, he penetrated the depth of his people's fate and misery with his genius; he embraced the past and the present, and captured a glimpse of the future. In his poems, Shevchenko extolled truth and love in all their forms and images; therefore, they are the masterpiece of his spirit carved in unsurpassed words and language.”<sup>29</sup>

In a young boy's imagination, Taras Shevchenko surfaced as a symbol of *Ukrainianness*, who proclaimed the ideas of an independent Ukraine; thus, in his *Memoirs*, the Patriarch stated: “At my uncle Mykola Dychkovsky's wedding I heard Shevchenko's poems recited by our relative Harmatiy [...], whose family cultivated Ukrainian national consciousness.”<sup>30</sup> His Beatitude vividly remembered his first encounter with the poet's works “in the fourth grade,”<sup>31</sup> when “teacher Ivan Slobodyanyk [...] gave me Shevchenko's *Kobzar*, which I had seen for the very first time. I immediately memorized “My Thoughts” and other poems.”<sup>32</sup> As a student at a Ukrainian school in Polish-occupied Halychyna,<sup>33</sup> Josyf Slipyj was well aware of Shevchenko's political, anti-Polish views; thus, Patriarch Josyf recalls that “every year the students would prepare a concert in honor of Taras Shevchenko [...] One had to be very careful when preparing the program so as to not offend the Poles.”<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Слово з нагоди свята св. Климента Папи, патрона УКУ в Римі у храмі Святої Софії, 8 грудня 1969 року [Sermon on the feast day of St. Clement the Pope, UCU Patron Saint, given on December 8, 1969 at St. Sophia Cathedral] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. Зібрали о. д-р Іван Хома і о. д-р Іван Музичка. [Opera Omnia Кур Йосифі (Сліпуй-Кобернукськ-Дуцьковськ) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by: Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIII (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1983), p. 49.

<sup>26</sup> Слово Блаженнішого Йосифа на відкритті пам'ятника Тараса Шевченка в Буенос Айрес, 5 грудня 1971 року [Patriarch Josyf's Sermon at the Opening Ceremony of Taras Shevchenko Monument in Buenos Aires, December 5, 1971] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. Зібрали о. д-р Іван Хома і о. д-р Іван Музичка. [Opera Omnia Кур Йосифі (Сліпуй-Кобернукськ-Дуцьковськ) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by: Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIII (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1983), p. 133.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Memoirs*, p. 23.

<sup>31</sup> Благодарне слово Блаженнішого Йосифа 17 лютого 1972 р. у храмі Жировицької Матері Божої і свв. Мучеників Сергія і Вакха [Anniversary Sermon of His Beatitude given on February 17, 1972 at Sts. Sergius and Vachus Church] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. Зібрали о. д-р Іван Хома і о. д-р Іван Музичка. [Opera Omnia Кур Йосифі (Сліпуй-Кобернукськ-Дуцьковськ) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by: Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIII (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1983), p. 150.

<sup>32</sup> *Memoirs*, p. 27.

<sup>33</sup> In his *Memoirs*, Patriarch recalls starting school in 1898-99 (p. 9). Although Halychyna was part of Austria-Hungarian Empire, the jurisdiction in the country was in hands of the Poles.

<sup>34</sup> *Memoirs*, p. 35.

Many parallels can be drawn between the two men of spirit. Titans of profound faith and devotees of learning, they were fighters for freedom, imbued with strong patriotism and exiled from Ukraine. They both died in a foreign land, and returned to their motherland only after death. The words Cardinal Slipyj once said about Taras Shevchenko are very true about himself: “Love of God and Ukraine constituted his highest spiritual ideal, the task and struggle of his life.”<sup>35</sup> The entire collection of Shevchenko’s work is filled with love for his country; likewise, Slipyj’s sermons in exile reflect his concern for the fate of Ukraine and the Silent Church of the Catacombs. For Patriarch Josyf, those two are inseparable; thus, to create in his listeners a powerful feeling of sorrow for the oppressed Motherland and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, His Beatitude used quotes from Shevchenko’s poems. The image of Ukraine as “a ragged orphan crying near the Dnipro River” («обідрана сиротою над Дніпром плаче») used by Shevchenko in his poem “To Osnovyanyenko” (1839) was used in a slightly altered form by Cardinal Slipyj as the personification of the Silent Church in his sermon on the occasion of Stefan Sulyk’s installation as Metropolitan-Archbishop of Philadelphia and Innokentiy Lototsky’s episcopal consecration on March 1, 1981 at St. Sophia Cathedral in Rome.<sup>36</sup> During the ceremony, the Patriarch, in a highly poetical manner, focused the audience’s attention on the tragedy of the UGCC by echoing Shevchenko’s words: “With this touch and holy consecration you have received an important symbol of your association with this Holy Ukrainian Church, “a ragged orphan crying on her land”<sup>37</sup>» («обідрана сиротою на своїй землі плаче»).<sup>38</sup> In his “Pastoral Letter on the Occasion of the 90<sup>th</sup> Birthday,” Cardinal Slipyj again reminded his people about the persecution of the Church of the Catacombs, quoting Shevchenko’s words: “In our souls, we suffer with you, because no one knows when the ‘harsh time’ (*врем’я люте*) will end. Yet, we do believe that there will be an end to it.”<sup>39</sup> In this spirit of faith, Patriarch Josyf encouraged everyone to pray, because prayer “is the most successful tool, it is God’s weapon.”<sup>40</sup> This unwavering faith in a better future and the ephemerality of a “harsh time,” strengthened by the call for prayer, was first expressed by Shevchenko 145 years before His Beatitude’s sermon. Lazarevsky, reflecting on the similarly exiled poet, noted that “sitting in a fortress before being sent to prison,

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<sup>35</sup> Поминальне слово Блаженнішого Йосифа при відкритті пам’ятника Тарасові Шевченкові, здвигненого Українським Католицьким Університетом в Римі, 18 червня 1972 р. [Sermon Given at the Opening of the Taras Shevchenko Monument at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome on June 18, 1972] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа [Opera Omnia Cyr Josephi (Slipyj-Kobernyckyj-Dučkovskyj) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIII (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1983), p. 167.

<sup>36</sup> Слово Блаженнішого Патріярха Йосифа з нагоди Архиєрейських свячень Архиєпископа-Митрополита Стефана Сулика і єпископа Іннокентія Лотоцького 1 березня 1981 в Соборі Святої Софії в Римі [Sermon Given on the Occasion of Stefan Sulyk’s Installation as Metropolitan-Archbishop of Philadelphia and Innokentiy Lototsky’s Episcopal Consecration on March 1, 1981, at St. Sophia Cathedral in Rome] [Opera Omnia Cyr Josephi (Slipyj-Kobernyckyj-Dučkovskyj) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1985). p. 196.

<sup>37</sup> All translations of Shevchenko’s poems are ours, unless otherwise stated.

<sup>38</sup> Слово Блаженнішого Патріярха Йосифа з нагоди Архиєрейських свячень Архиєпископа-Митрополита Стефана Сулика і єпископа Іннокентія Лотоцького 1 березня 1981 в Соборі Святої Софії в Римі [Sermon Given on the Occasion of Stefan Sulyk’s Installation as Metropolitan-Archbishop of Philadelphia and Innokentiy Lototsky’s Episcopal Consecration on March 1, 1981, at St. Sophia Cathedral in Rome] [Opera Omnia Cyr Josephi (Slipyj-Kobernyckyj-Dučkovskyj) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by: Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope), 1985. – p. 196

<sup>39</sup> «Послання Блаженнішого Патріярха Йосифа з нагоди завершення 90 літ життя». Рим 9/22 березня 1982 р. [Patriarch Josyf’s Pastoral Letter on the Occasion of His 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. Зібрали о. д-р Іван Хома і о. д-р Іван Музичка. [Opera Omnia Cyr Josephi (Slipyj-Kobernyckyj-Dučkovskyj) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by: Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1985), p. 41.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Shevchenko wrote a great number of poems on the margins of a book given to him for reading.”<sup>41</sup> They constitute a separate collection named *In a Dungeon*, dated May 30, 1847. In one of the poems, «Чи ми ще зійдемося знову?..» [Will we ever meet again?] Shevchenko poured out both his grief and steadfast faith, saying:

Свою Україну любіть.  
Любіть її... *во время люте*,  
В остатню, тяжкую мінуту  
*За неї Господа моліть.*

Love your Ukraine,  
Love her in ... *her harsh time.*  
In the last, difficult minute  
*Pray to God for her.*

Life in a foreign land indeed was a reason for the profound nostalgia for Ukraine experienced by both Shevchenko and Cardinal Slipyj. Yet neither of them ceased to believe that a return to their homeland, if not by them, then by future generations, was not inevitable. This is reflected in Shevchenko’s «Думи мої» [My Thoughts], where the poet instructs his people: “Go to Ukraine, my children! To our Ukraine.” His Beatitude took up this call, making a promise to Shevchenko: “At a certain time, we will rise up and even *go to Ukraine!*”<sup>42</sup> because “in your own house you will see/True justice, strength, and liberty!”<sup>43</sup> The last quotation was used by Josyf Slipyj at a solemn concert on the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Lviv Theological Academy on September 22, 1979. The Patriarch encouraged those present to apply education in their lives “so that in this unity and unanimity, with God’s help, we can gain freedom, justice and law. Standing on guard of this unity is our Patriarchate [...], our historical truth [...]. With this truth let us bravely move ahead, remembering Shevchenko’s words: “in your own house you will see/True justice, strength, and liberty!”<sup>44</sup> Freedom and liberty for their people were the ultimate priorities for both Shevchenko and Cardinal Slipyj, as proven by the fact that during his initial pastoral visit to the United States of America, Patriarch Josyf referred to the first American President using Shevchenko’s verses: “It is a great joy for me to stand on the free land of [President] Washington, highly respected by our poet Shevchenko.”<sup>45</sup> Here, His Beatitude undoubtedly referred to Shevchenko’s poem

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<sup>41</sup> Ієремія Айзеншток. “Невідомі та призабуті спогади про Т. Г. Шевченка” [Unknown and Forgotten Memories About Taras Shevchenko]. No. 3, Vitchyzna (1961), 175.

<sup>42</sup> Подяка Блаженнішого Патріярха Йосифа учасникам його ювілею 85-ліття [A Word of Gratitude to the Participants of Patriarch Josyf’s 85<sup>th</sup> Birthday Anniversary] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа [Opera Omnia Kyr Josephi (Slipuj-Kobernyckyj-Dučkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by: Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1985), p. 143.

<sup>43</sup> Shevchenko’s “My Friendly Epistle to the Dead, the Living, and to Those Yet Unborn, My Countrymen all Who Live in Ukraine and Outside Ukraine,” translated by С.Н. Andrusyshen & W. Kirkconnell <<http://www.infoukes.com/shevchenkomuseum/poetry.htm#link1>>.

<sup>44</sup> Промова Блаженнішого Патріярха Йосифа на святочнім концерті 22 вересня 1979 р. [Patriarch Josyf’s Sermon at a Solemn Concert on September 22, 1979] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа [Opera Omnia Kyr Josephi (Slipuj-Kobernyckyj-Dučkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1985), p. 183.

<sup>45</sup> The Catholic Standard and Times, Філадельфія, 26 липня 1968 р. Подорожі Блаженнішого Кир Йосифа VII 1968-1970 у світлі чужої преси. Ольга Вітошинська [His Beatitude Josyf VII’s Pastoral Visits of 1968-1970. Olha

«Юродивий» [God's Fool] (1857), in which the poet recalls George Washington as a symbol of democracy, so long-awaited by Ukraine:

О роде суетний, проклятий,  
Коли ти видохнеш? Коли  
*Ми діждемося Вашингтона*  
*З новим і праведним законом?*  
А діждемось-таки колись.

O generation vain and cursed,  
When will you perish? When  
*Will we see a Washington*  
*With a new and just law?*  
And we will see him someday.

After his love for God and Ukraine, a thirst for knowledge was the essence of Cardinal Slipyj's life. He learned to read early in his life: "When I turned five, my brother Roman purchased the Ukrainian ABC book, and on winter evenings he taught me to read. When I was enrolled at school I was so eager to attend, reading was a well-mastered skill for me."<sup>46</sup> Starting with elementary school, Patriarch Slipyj was a diligent pupil, who excelled in his studies and, consequently, became an outstanding scholar. Recalling his success at learning, His Beatitude stated: "The Ukrainian Language was taught by [Mr.] Staretsky [Grade 7]. My grade was always 'outstanding'."<sup>47</sup> Cardinal Slipyj was a fastidious learner and, as Rector of the Lviv Theological Academy and, subsequently, of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome, was equally demanding of his students and faculty. Establishing UCU branches in the West, Patriarch Josyf was convinced that "higher learning is a temple of education and knowledge; today, just as in the past, it is the greatest treasure that people have on earth."<sup>48</sup>

Knowledge and education were a focal point of the Cardinal's numerous pastoral letters to students, mostly those attending UCU in Rome and its branches worldwide. In many of his sermons, Patriarch Josyf quotes Shevchenko's "My Friendly Epistle to the Dead, the Living, and to Those Yet Unborn, My Countrymen All Who Live in and Outside Ukraine":

Учітеся, брати мої,  
Думайте, читайте.  
І чужому научайтесь,  
Свого не цурайтесь.

Gain knowledge, brothers!

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Vitoshynska] Праці Українського Богословського Наукового Товариства [Publications of the Theological Scientific Society], Vol. XX, (Rome-Paris, 1972), p. 22.

<sup>46</sup> *Memoirs*, p. 9.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>48</sup> Привіт Блаженнішого Патріярха Йосифа до Філії УКУ в Лондоні, Велика Британія. 7 квітня 1979 р. [Patriarch Josyf's Letter to the UCU Branch in London, April 7, 1979] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. [Opera Omnia Cyr Josephi (Slipuj-Kobernyckyj-Dužkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by: Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1985), p. 369.

Think and read,  
And to your neighbours' gifts pay heed, --  
Yet do not thus neglect your own.<sup>49</sup>

In his greetings on the occasion of the opening of a branch of UCU in Montreal on November 23, 1977, His Beatitude emphasized the need for cultivating native knowledge both in Ukraine and outside her boundaries: “It is extremely important for Ukrainians in the diaspora to create opportunities ‘to pay heed to your neighbours’ gifts -- Yet do not thus neglect your own,’ to develop Ukrainian studies, to establish Ukrainian centers of education where our young generation could discover its glorious past, its spirituality.”<sup>50</sup> In the Patriarch’s opinion, only a native [*i.e.*, Ukrainian centered] education laid the “foundation for a Christian world-view, education in the history, culture and spirituality of our people so that we could know ‘Who are we? Whose sons? Who are our parents? And why have we been put in chains?’ as our Shevchenko would say.”<sup>51</sup> His Beatitude used Shevchenko’s poem “The Caucasus” (1845) as a foundation for his sermon given on May 7, 1980 on the occasion of the Lviv Theological Academy’s 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary. . The Cardinal recalled the establishment of the Academy, emphasizing that this jubilee is “an image of our viability and work that cannot be killed or fettered, as our Shevchenko said:

‘The vital spirit he can't chain,<sup>52</sup>  
Or jail the living truth.’<sup>53</sup>

When greeting students on June 17, 1977 in Rome, the Patriarch quoted Shevchenko, accentuating the importance of education, saying: “one must seek education, must make every effort to gain it. Shevchenko would say that *a fool is beaten everywhere*...because he lacks education! But where there is education, there also is character! [...] No matter where you are, your knowledge will come to the fore. It will raise you; today, education is highly respected, while the lack thereof is not.”<sup>54</sup> As proof of his statement, Cardinal Slipyj used Shevchenko’s poem “To A[ndriy] Kozachkovsky” (1847), in which the poet describes his path to education and where one can find the lines quoted by Patriarch Josyf:

Благаю Бога, щоб смеркало,  
Бо на позорище ведуть  
Старого дурня муштровати.

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<sup>49</sup> Translated by С.Н. Andrusyshen & W. Kirkconnell <[www.infoukes.com/shevchenkomuseum/poetry.htm#link1](http://www.infoukes.com/shevchenkomuseum/poetry.htm#link1)>.

<sup>50</sup> Привіт Блаженнішого з нагоди відкриття Філії УКУ в Монреалі, Канада, 23 листопада 1977 р. [Patriarch Josyf’s Letter to the UCU Branch in Montreal, November, 23, 1977] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. [Opera Omnia Кyr Josephi (Slipyj-Kobernyckyj-Dyčkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1985), p. 314.

<sup>51</sup> Привіт Блаженнішого Патріярха Йосифа до Філії УКУ в Лондоні, Велика Британія. 7 квітня 1979 р. [Patriarch Josyf’s Letter to the UCU Branch in London, April 7, 1979] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. [Opera Omnia Кyr Josephi (Slipyj-Kobernyckyj-Dyčkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by: Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1985), p. 369.

<sup>52</sup> Translated by John Weir. <[http://www.oocities.org/ukrartlitclub/Caucasus\\_eng/Caucasus\\_eng.htm](http://www.oocities.org/ukrartlitclub/Caucasus_eng/Caucasus_eng.htm)>

<sup>53</sup> Привіт Блаженнішого Патріярха Йосифа з нагоди 50-ліття Львівської Богословської Академії, 7 травня 1980 р. [Patriarch Josyf’s Letter on the Occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> Jubilee of the Lviv Theologian Academy on May 7, 1980] [Opera Omnia Кyr Josephi (Slipyj-Kobernyckyj-Dyčkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by: Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1985), p. 388.

Щоб знав, як волю шанувати,  
Щоб знав, що дурня всюди б'ють.

I pray to God that dusk would come,  
As an old fool is being led,  
In shame, to be disciplined.  
So that he knows how to appreciate freedom,  
So that he knows that *a fool is beaten everywhere*.

One can find the most detailed analysis of Shevchenko's works in the Cardinal's two sermons on the occasion of the opening of two Shevchenko monuments, one in Buenos Aires on December 5, 1971, and another in Rome at the Ukrainian Catholic University on June 18, 1972, with Patriarch Josyf present at both events. While speaking in Argentina, His Beatitude drew a parallel between Shevchenko and *Rus'-Ukraine*: "His first happy childhood years, followed by bitter youth as a serf, his release from serfdom, his fruitful work, his banishment and imprisonment, his return, all of it constitutes symbols of the historical past of Ukraine. Yet, similarly to the life of the Ukrainian people, Taras' days – mundane and festive, happy and sad, glorious and grievous, are filled with religious spirit."<sup>55</sup> Faith in God was an integral part of Shevchenko's life and works, as was proved by His Beatitude who quoted the poet's works such as "I was thirteen," "Maryna," "Neophytes," "I think I do not know," and "To Marko Vovchok," in which the *Kobzar* implored God and His Immaculate Mother in his prayers. Such piety, as the Cardinal claims, is natural, because Shevchenko "loved to read 'Following Christ' and lived in Christian, Catholic asceticism. Faith in God's omnipotence strengthened him, although amid the pain and grief, a cry of despair would slip away, as if 'he did not know God.' Yet, it would pass, and faith in God would overtake Shevchenko's life and works."<sup>56</sup> The poet's life was a constant search for the truth for which he was fighting and eventually, laid down his life. He was trying to find it "in freedom and liberty [...] hoping for the resurrection of Ukraine which he loved so tenderly and profoundly."<sup>57</sup> These two foundations: "nostalgia for the truth and love for Ukraine, which emanate from his every verse and exalt the reader's soul to the heavenly heights"<sup>58</sup> are firmly established in the foundation of faith in God. Here lies another parallel between Shevchenko and Cardinal Slipyj: in the name of truth, out of love for Ukraine and with profound faith in the Almighty, both of them, willingly and humbly, accepted the cross of suffering and persecution.

This spirit reverberates in the Patriarch's sermon given at the opening of the Shevchenko monument at St. Clement Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome on June 18, 1972. As stated by His Beatitude, "it [the University] should not be deprived of Shevchenko's visible image as a genius of the Ukrainian people, an advocate of their Christian aspirations, works and intrepid struggle for the highest

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<sup>55</sup> Слово Блаженнішого Йосифа не відкритті пам'ятника Тараса Шевченка в Буенос Айрес, 5 грудня 1971 року [His Beatitude's Sermon at the Opening of Taras Shevchenko Monument in Buenos Aires, December 5, 1971] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. [Opera Omnia Cyr Josephi (Slipuj-Kobernyckyj-Dučkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIII (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1983), p.133.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>58</sup> Слово Блаженнішого Йосифа не відкритті пам'ятника Тараса Шевченка в Буенос Айрес, 5 грудня 1971 року [His Beatitude's Sermon at the Opening of Taras Shevchenko Monument in Buenos Aires, December 5, 1971] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. [Opera Omnia Cyr Josephi (Slipuj-Kobernyckyj-Dučkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by: Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIII (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1983), p.135.

and most noble civil rights and a society based on justice and Christ's moral principles. Let his sublime exhortation: 'Learn, my brothers... From your own store of wisdom, and not an alien one...' remind every student crossing the threshold of this University of this personal and national duty."<sup>59</sup>

One should take notice of the originality of that particular monument, designed by Professor Ugo Mazzei. Shevchenko, appearing as a tribune dressed in a Roman toga, is holding a copy of his *Kobzar* in his left hand; his right hand is raised in an appeal to his children, urging the value of knowledge and education. The element of the toga is rather symbolic, not only due to the fact that the monument was erected in the Eternal City, but also because Rome is a setting for Shevchenko's Christian poem "The Neophytes" written in 1857 in Novgorod. That is why in his sermon Patriarch Josyf focused on an analysis of the poem, stating that the poet "with tender love and compassion, praised martyrdom of the first Christians in Rome."<sup>60</sup> Using passages from the poem, Cardinal Slipyj retold the story from centuries ago: "We see the Coliseum, Nero and Diocletian's palaces, statues of Priam, Faunus, the Muses, and the Graces, ferocious leopards in the museums, and we hear his powerful word in defense of God's truth brought to Rome by St. Peter."<sup>61</sup> His Beatitude described the main characters, noting: "Alcides and his mother are the personifications of pure and complete sacrifice for Christ [...] Alcides's mother accepted Christ as the One Living God and carried His word of truth into the world."<sup>62</sup> His Beatitude used Shevchenko's works as a guidebook for Ukrainians in Ukraine and in the diaspora, encouraging his audience to perceive them as a symbol of "unity of the Great Ukrainian nation" and as an impulse for "one's national awareness."<sup>63</sup>

Another prominent Ukrainian poet to whom Cardinal Slipyj devoted much of his attention was Fr. Markiyan Shashkevych (1811-1843), the founder of «Руська Трійця» (The Ruthenian Triad<sup>64</sup>). Slipyj and Shashkevych had many similarities: both were Ukrainian Catholic priests; being Galician Ukrainians, they received their education at the Lviv Seminary; both were uncompromising about the loss of one's native language; both of them made the national and spiritual upbringing of children and youth their pastoral priority. There is evidence that Fr. Shashkevych was a role-model for Cardinal Slipyj in many aspects of pastoral and spiritual service. Patriarch Josyf admired the poet's strong faith, which Shashkevych, also known as "Будитель Галичини" (Awakener of Halychyna), would describe in a poetic manner resembling the melody of the Old-Testament Book of Psalms: "The faith of my heart is like *Beskyd*,<sup>65</sup> firmly founded on love; your

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<sup>59</sup> Поминальне слово Блаженнішого Йосифа при відкритті пам'ятника Тарасові Шевченкові, здвигненого Українським Католицьким Університетом в Римі, 18 червня 1972 р. [Sermon given His Beatitude Josyf at the Opening of the Shevchenko Monument at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome on June 18, 1972] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. [Opera Omnia Cyr Josephi (Slipuj-Kobernyckij-Dučkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIII (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1983), p. 167.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 169.

<sup>63</sup> Слово Блаженнішого Йосифа на відкритті пам'ятника Тараса Шевченка в Буенос Аїрес, 5 грудня 1971 року [His Beatitude's Sermon at the Opening of Taras Shevchenko Monument in Buenos Aires, December 5, 1971] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. [Opera Omnia Cyr Josephi (Slipuj-Kobernyckij-Dučkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIII (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1983), p.137.

<sup>64</sup> A group of young Galician poets and scholars, established in the 1830s and known as the "Ruthenian Triad," played a decisive role in the Western Ukrainian cultural revival of the 19th century. Comprised of Markiyan Shashkevych, Yakiv Holovatsky, and Ivan Vahylevych, the "Ruthenian Triad" united around itself other young people who began to research Ukrainian history and culture and actively promoted the Ukrainian national cause at the Greek Catholic Theological Seminary in Lviv.

<sup>65</sup> The Beskids (Ukrainian: *Бескиди* (*Beskydy*)) is a name for a series of mountain ranges in Europe, stretching from the Czech Republic in the west through Slovakia and Poland to Ukraine in the east.

sadness will fade, and joy will overtake it. Sad midnight will become bright noon and you will rejoice, and your eyes will shine as a morning star in the darkness of your life. You will be enveloped with a star-like coat of serenity, and God's mercy will be upon you, as hope has not escaped your heart..."<sup>66</sup> Shashkevych's moral principles were highly recognized values admired by His Beatitude: "A priest of profound faith, a deeply moral individual, a person with a loving heart and compassion for neighbors. A man with a crystal clear character who did not wallow in the mire of earthly life and did not debase his personal and national dignity; always vulnerable to everything good and beautiful."<sup>67</sup>

Cardinal Slipyj wished to perpetuate Fr. Shashkevych's heritage among the students of St. Clement Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome; thus, Professor Ugo Mazzei designed a monument to the poet, which was dedicated at UCU in 1975. Patriarch Josyf wrote about the "Awakener of Halychyna" in his *Memoirs* recalling the days of his studies at the Lviv Seminary: "Social life assembled around the Shashkevych reading room where evening lectures and meetings would take place. The Ukrainian spirit reverberated among the students, although there still remained about ten so-called "incorrigible" ones. I gave a lecture on Shashkevych's speech at the Seminary and his great influence on the students, which became a guide for future decades."<sup>68</sup> On many occasions, His Beatitude emphasized the key role Shashkevych played in reviving the Ukrainian spirit at the Seminary: "Imagine Shashkevych's times! Ukrainians initiated an anti-Polish uprising, and only after that, slowly, the Ukrainian awakening began. When I came, one could see the fruits of Shashkevych's ideas and work. Everybody spoke Ukrainian at the Seminary, as opposed to the Polish of the past."<sup>69</sup>

Fr. Markiy Shashkevych was one of the first priests who espoused equal rights for both Polish and Ukrainian languages;<sup>70</sup> he ardently objected to the introduction of the Latin alphabet into the Ukrainian language in Western Ukraine, an action which later became known as "The Alphabet War."<sup>71</sup> Shashkevych's words about preservation of native language were quoted in Cardinal Slipyj's sermon given on the Feast of Epiphany on February 15, 1976: "Your mission is to preserve the nation. We have fled to many countries! Laity, clergy, religious are all over the world! And what is their mission? To *guide* the people, to not renounce their native language, to not speak foreign languages in their homes! Fr. Shashkevych, whose monument faces the University, would say: 'My native language! One who

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<sup>66</sup> Твердне криця душ наших [The Steel of Our Souls is Getting Hard] Твори Кир Йосифа Верховного Архиепископа і Кардинала. [Opera Omnia Kyr Josephi (Slipyj-Kobernyckyj-Dyckovskyj) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. III-IV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1970), p. 790.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 792.

<sup>68</sup> *Memoirs*, p. 5.

<sup>69</sup> Проповідь Блаженнішого Патріярха у 85-ліття в Соборі Св. Софії (17 лютого 1977) [His Beatitude's Sermon Given on His 85<sup>th</sup> Anniversary at St. Sophia Cathedral, February 17, 1977] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. [Opera Omnia Kyr Josephi (Slipyj-Kobernyckyj-Dyckovskyj) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by: Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1985), p. 140.

<sup>70</sup> На Тернопільщині відзначать 200-річчя одного з засновників «Руської трійці» [Ternopil Region will Mark the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of One of the "Ruthenian Triad" Founder] *zaxid.net*, June 11, 2011.

<sup>71</sup> The first outbreak of "The Alphabet War" was recorded in the early 1830s as a reaction to Josyp Lozynsky's article «O wprowadzeniu abecadła polskiego do pismiennictwa ruskiego» [On the Introduction of the Polish Alphabet into the Ruthenian Writing System] published in 1834. Here he suggested substituting the "dead" and incongruous with the phonetic system of the Ukrainian language Cyrillic alphabet with the Polish one. To prove his opinion, in 1835, he published his ethnographic article «*Ruskoje wesile*» (The Ruthenian Wedding) using the Polish alphabet. Lozynsky's suggestion was ardently criticized, especially in Josyp Levytsky's article «Відповідь на погляд про запровадження польської азбуки в руську писемність» [Response to the Idea of Introducing the Polish Alphabet into the Ruthenian Writing System] published in Polish in 1834, and in Shashkevych's brochure «Азбука і abecadło» [Azbuka and abecadło] (1836).

forgets you has a stone instead of a heart!’ There are harsh words for a person who betrays his or her heritage.”<sup>72</sup>

In 1943, then Rev. Josyf Slipyj, Rector of the Lviv Theological Academy, spoke on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Markiyan Shashkevych’s death. This sermon, “The Steel of Our Souls is Getting Hard”,<sup>73</sup> consisted of six thematic chapters revealing Shashkevych’s multifaceted spiritual and literary works.

1. First steps. “The Ruthenian Triad.”
2. The Austrian Censor’s Comment; (NOTE: some #'s are missing from prior page!)
3. Markiyan’s Further Works;
4. Rev. Shashkevych’s Ukrainian Sermons;
5. Fr. Markiyan’s Faith;
6. The Importance of Rev. Shashkevych’s Speech.

Without a doubt, His Beatitude said, “a Catholic outlook laid the foundation for Shashkevych’s entire literary output and reached its zenith of acquired wisdom and artistic completion.”<sup>74</sup> Rev. Shashkevych’s appearance on the social stage of Halychyna was crucial; he came to awaken from slumber “oppressed by slavery unenlightened peasantry and those called to save their souls, that is, the poorly educated clergy,”<sup>75</sup> and “the local intelligentsia, fascinated by the higher standard of the Polish language, absorbed by extraneous problems and slogans, were losing their national identity and becoming alienated from their roots.”<sup>76</sup>

Shashkevych’s entire mien enkindled his listeners’ hearts; a reader who carefully reads Patriarch Slipyj’s depiction of Fr. Markiyan can easily picture the image of the Patriarch himself: “With his enthusiasm and deep belief, he would unite people, awakening their spirit and higher aspirations. His eyes would shine like stars, his face would beam with inspiration, and his forehead would become furrowed and serious when the young apostle preached his ideas. His every word would come from his heart. His circle of friends grew steadily; his convictions deepened and a tiny spark enkindled a fire.”<sup>77</sup> The phenomenon of Fr. Shashkevych as an Awakener and Guide of the Ukrainians in Halychyna repeated itself in Cardinal Slipyj, an Awakener and Guide of Ukrainians in exile. Shashkevych in his works and Patriarch Josyf in his sermons “caused ferment and stirred the pool of muddy political and social life.”<sup>78</sup> In His Beatitude’s opinion, the poet’s literary works “Син Ручи” [The Son of] and “Зоря” [Star] captured not only Shashkevych’s contemporaries, but had a profound impact on generations to come; despite the refusal of the Austrian censor to print “Star,” “a blind spot was removed and the Ukrainian matter was introduced to the social agenda.”<sup>79</sup> Shashkevych, as stated by Cardinal Slipyj, was in search of a new means for educating the people. He spent

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<sup>72</sup> Проповідь Патріярха Йосифа на Стрітєння ГНІХ в Соборі Св. Софії дня 15 лютого 1976 р. [Patriarch Josyf Slipyj’s Sermon Given on the Feast of Epiphany at St. Sophia Cathedral, February 15, 1976] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа [Opera Omnia Kyr Josephi (Slipyj-Kobernyckyj-Dyčkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1985), p. 94.

<sup>73</sup> This sermon was first published in 1961, in the Calendar of “The Ukrainian News” in Edmonton, Canada, subsequently reprinted in Vol. III-IV of Opera Omnia (pp. 784-792), the version of which is used for quotations in this article.

<sup>74</sup> Твердне криця душ наших [The Steel of Our Souls is Getting Hard] Твори Кир Йосифа Верховного Архиепископа і Кардинала. [Opera Omnia Kyr Josephi (Slipyj-Kobernyckyj-Dyčkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. III-IV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1970), p. 789.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 784.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 785.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 786.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 787.

the last of his money on publishing the almanac “Русалка Дністрова” [The Dnister Nymph] (1837), in which he reminisced about the glorious past of his people in such poems as “Під Галичем 1139 р.” [Near Halych, c. 1139] and “Хмельницького обступлення Львова” [The Siege of Lviv by Khmelnytsky]. In his poetry, Shashkevych would travel to the *Zaporozhian Sich*, to the Dnipro River, and “mesmerized by the ballad of the past, he is building plans for the future.” A war cry, a Ukrainian song and the nation-*Bandurist* are uniting to achieve a desired finale in the poem “Другові” [To a Friend]:

Відкинь той камінь, що ти груди тисне,  
Дозволь в той сумний тин,  
Най свободоньки сонце заблисне,  
Ти не неволі син.

*Remove the stone which is pressing on your chest,  
Let the sun of freedom shine  
Through that sad paling.  
You are not the son of slavery.*

Analyzing Fr. Markiyian’s sermons, Cardinal Slipyj, who himself was an excellent preacher, emphasized the former’s innovation in preaching in Ukrainian, the language of the common people. He was translating the Holy Gospel into Ukrainian, as it is in this book that he encouraged searching for “the revealed truth, the highest truth and the love of God, the highest love.” The poet was convinced that without a solid, Christian foundation, a nation was doomed to perdition.

Noteworthy are Shashkevych’s lectures for children and his “Читанка” [Textbook], published posthumously in 1850 by Yakiv Holovatsky. Fr. Markiyian was convinced that “a strong and good nation is constructed with well-raised children, and a nation of the faithful and saints is constructed with well-educated children raised in awe of God.”

Patriarch Josyf concluded that Markiyian Shashkevych was “a herald of the great idea of the Ukrainian national revival” thanks to his personal virtues and watchwords he bequeathed to his descendants: “faith in God, in Christian principles, complete national consciousness and autonomy, love for the people, political equity, overturning social exploitation.”<sup>80</sup> Without a doubt, Shashkevych was a patriot of his people, a patriot “high and wise.” This kind of patriotism was consequently instilled by Cardinal Slipyj in Ukrainians in various countries around the globe. His Beatitude was deeply imbued with the national idea; thus, in Shashkevych he saw the unrestrained energy of spirit and profound love for his people: “Being of a kind-hearted, sensitive and soft nature and sincere heart, with great tenderness, he spoke to his people; not as an Aesopian whirlwind that desired to rip the coat off a traveler, but as the sun, with warmth and light, he gently removed the rags of a slave’s consciousness from Ukrainian Halychyna.”<sup>81</sup>

The analysis of Cardinal Slipyj’s interest in Ukrainian literature and its influence on his world-view would be incomplete without His Beatitude’s thoughts and opinions about Ivan Franko (1856-1916) and his works. Patriarch Josyf did not write a separate article on the poet’s literary heritage; however, he frequently quoted Franko in his sermons and *Memoirs*. His Beatitude was ardently interested in having a comprehensive and unbiased work about Ivan Franko, one without any political and ideological connotations; a work that could focus on the poet’s religious views and values. Cardinal

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 791.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 792.

Slipyj shared his idea with a renowned literary scholar Professor Leonid Rudnytzky, who published a monograph *Ivan Franko and German Literature* in 1974. This book resulted in an invitation from Patriarch Slipyj to Professor Rudnytzky to work as a Ukrainian and Comparative Literature Lecturer at St. Clement the Pope Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome. Professor Rudnytzky was not only personally acquainted with Patriarch Josyf, but had the unique opportunity to work with His Beatitude in the St. Sophia Religious Association of Ukrainian Catholics, Inc., to host him during pastoral visits to Philadelphia in 1973 and 1975, to share various ideas and thoughts, including those pertaining to the world of literature. Professor Rudnytzky cherishes memories of those years, saying: “The UCU Rector Josyf Slipyj loved literature and especially appreciated the works of I. Franko [...]. During our numerous conversations, he would encourage me to conduct a study of Franko and Christianity. ‘You do not realize what an interesting and gratifying topic it is,’ he would say. ‘Why don’t you write on Franko, something similar to what Buchynsky wrote about Shevchenko.’<sup>82</sup> I made a promise to His Beatitude to write something some time. More than thirty years have passed since then, and the present article[referring to the footnoted source], to some extent, was inspired by those talks and that very feeble assurance I left with the Patriarch.”<sup>83</sup> As Rudnytzky notes, Slipyj’s interest in Franko “was not ideologically motivated, but rather had scholarly and cultural implications.”<sup>84</sup>

Let us, however, start from the beginning. The roots of Cardinal Slipyj’s interest in Ivan Franko’s works can be found in the Ternopil *Gymnasium*: “In the fourth grade of our *Gymnasium* there was a ‘secret society’ that promoted self-education through various lectures. Its outlook was liberal [...]. We were fascinated by Franko, Hrushevsky, Masaryk, Hilyarovykh.”<sup>85</sup> Recalling his graduation exams, His Beatitude said: “On the basis of my grades, I was excused from exams on certain subjects. On the Ukrainian language exam I was assigned the topic of Franko’s “Prologue” to *Moses*.”<sup>86</sup> It is a well-known fact that as a result of Ivan Franko’s anti-clericalism, he was considered a *persona non grata* for a number of clergy, both his contemporaries and those in the future. As an example, in 1926, Bishop Constantine Bohachevsky (1884 – 1961) of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the USA referred to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky (1865-1944) with a request to ban any celebrations of Franko’s anniversary, which was denied by the Servant of God for the following reason: “In Franko’s works, atheism and materialism take only an insignificant, sporadic place; the national and patriotic themes are of major importance to him.”<sup>87</sup> Emphasizing Franko’s vast knowledge and, to some extent, ignoring the presence of atheistic and materialistic implications in some of the writer’s works, Sheptytsky prophetically noted that “in the future, Ivan Franko will only be remembered as a great patriot and nationalist.”<sup>88</sup> We can assume that Metropolitan Andrey’s view of Franko’s works had an impact on Slipyj’s similar treatment of him.

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<sup>82</sup> His Beatitude referred to Dmytro Buchynsky’s study *Християнсько-філософська думка Т.Г. Шевченка [Shevchenko’s Christian and Philosophical Thought]* (London-Madrid: 1962).

<sup>83</sup> Леонід Рудницький . Іван Франко й Андрей Шептицький: до історії взаємопізнання двох велетнів духа [Ivan Franko and Andrey Sheptytsky: On the History of the Relations between Two Spiritual Titans] Іван Франко: дух, наука, думка, воля. Матеріали Міжнародного наукового конгресу, присвяченого 150-річчю від дня народження Івана Франка (Львів, 27 вересня-1 жовтня 2006 р.) [Ivan Franko: spirit, scholar, thought, will. Materials of the International Scholarly Congress on the Occasion of Franko’s 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary (Lviv, September 27 – October 1, 2006) Vol. 1 (Lviv: Ivan Franko National University Publishing, 2008), pp. 54-66.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>85</sup> *Memoirs*, p. 39.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44-45.

<sup>87</sup> Лист Митрополита Андрея Шептицького до єпископа Костянтина Богачевського, Львів, 21 грудня 1926 р.) [Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky’s Letter to Bishop Constantine Bohachevsky, Lviv, December, 21, 1926] Владика Ігор (Возняк) про Івана Франка [Bishop Ihor (Voznyak) about Ivan Franko. <<http://charnetskyj.org.ua/articles/vladyka-ihor-voznyak-pro-ivana-franka>>

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

In 1976, when the Ukrainian community worldwide marked the poet's anniversaries, participants of the seventh summer session of St. Clement the Pope Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome honored Franko's memory during Professor Vasyl Lev's lecture "Ivan Franko's Village of Nahuyevychi." Referring to the jubilee in his sermon, Patriarch Josyf criticized Franko's pseudo-atheism, claiming that the poet was a deeply religious person: "Today we hear voices, and rightfully so, objecting to the false image of Franko as an atheist! He is presented as a nonbeliever, which he *de facto* was not! There obviously were periods of doubts, which are a normal fact in young age; yet, his poems emanate a profound faith, as witnessed by his major work *Moses!*"<sup>89</sup> Noteworthy is the fact that his view was voiced notwithstanding the widely accepted by the Ukrainian (Soviet) literary critics' conviction of Franko's atheism. Leonid Rudnytzky agrees with His Beatitude's statement, saying that it is absurd to speak of the poet's "atheism": "his works are filled with Christian and New Testament motifs. Moreover, he dedicated a great deal of his time and energy to studies of the Old Christian legends."<sup>90</sup> New research about Franko's religiosity have been conducted in Ukraine in the twenty-some years post-independence.<sup>91</sup> As proof of his opinion, Rudnytzky also provides Franko's poem «Хрест» [The Cross] (1875) and «Як там у небі» [What It's Like in Heaven] (1906), memoirs of Franko's nephew Vasyl (Onufriy's son), and Franko's famous answer to Zonya Modrzejowska-Honchar when asked whether it was true that he did not believe in God: "No! Miss Zonya, I have believed and do believe in God, but not the way all of you do. People, people, you do not understand me, and that hurts me most!"<sup>92</sup>

However, the main source of Patriarch Josyf's reference to Franko's works was the poet's patriotic and national outlook, which His Beatitude quoted in a number of his sermons. Analyzing 90 years of his own life, Cardinal Slipyj shared the pain of his people, those oppressed in Ukraine and those spread all over the world. In his sermon on the occasion of that 90<sup>th</sup> jubilee,<sup>93</sup> with profound sadness and fatherly love, His Beatitude referred to his people using Franko's words: "My dear people, 'tortured utterly and shattered, Like a poor cripple at the cross-roads lying.'<sup>94</sup>" He bequeathed this love to Ukrainian youth in 1983, when sending his greetings to the graduates of the Heritage School in Philadelphia: "When young people graduate from the Ukrainian Heritage School, I am deeply moved

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<sup>89</sup> Проповідь Блаженнішого Патріярха Йосифа в неділю всіх святих і з нагоди інавгурації VII вакаційного курсу УКУ в Соборі Св. Софії [His Beatitude's Sermon Given on Sunday of All Saint and on the Occasion of the Inauguration of the UCU Seventh Summer Course at St. Sophia Cathedral] Вісті з Риму [News from Rome], No. 15-18 (294-297), year XIV. – Rome (June 30, 1976), p. 12.

<sup>90</sup> Леонід Рудницький. «"Я вірив і вірю в Бога, та не так як ви всі": релігія в житті і творчості Івана Франка» ["I have believed in God, but not the way you have": Religion in the Life and Works of Ivan Franko] Бюлетень Релігійного Товариства Українців Католиків «Свята Софія» ЗСА [Bulletin of the St. Sophia Religious Association of Ukrainian Catholics, Inc.], No. 21 (Fall 2012), p. 37.

<sup>91</sup> As an example, L. Rudnytzky refers to the book by Professor Yaroslava Melnyk. Як приклад, Л. Рудницький *Іван Франко й Biblia Апросурфа. До 150-річчя від дня народження Івана Франка* [Ivan Franko and Biblia Aprosyrfa. In Honor of Ivan Franko's 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary] (2006).

<sup>92</sup> Луців Лука. Іван Франко – борець за національну і соціальну справедливість [Ivan Franko, Campaigner for the National and Social Justice] (New York-Jersey City: "Svoboda" Publishing, 1967), p. 603.

<sup>93</sup> Слово Блаженнішого Патріярха Йосифа в Соборі Святої Софії з нагоди 90-ліття 17 лютого 1982 р. [His Beatitude's Sermon on the Occasion of the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Given at St. Sophia Cathedral on February 17, 1982] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа. [Opera Omnia Cyr Josephi (Slipuj-Kobernyckyj-Dyčkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by: Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1985), p. 208.

<sup>94</sup> "Prologue" to Franko's poem *Moses*. Translated by Vera Rich. [www.utoronto.ca/elul/English/Franko/Franko-Moses.pdf](http://www.utoronto.ca/elul/English/Franko/Franko-Moses.pdf).

and touched; it gives me new strength and new hopes for the future of our people, as along with Franko, I always repeat: ‘My soul is filled for you with care and tenderness.’”<sup>95</sup>

Franko’s *Moses*, as one can see, accompanied Patriarch Josyf from his early school days until the last years of his life. His Beatitude quoted it to describe works of a well-known diaspora humorist, Ivan Kernytsky (1913-1984), saying: “Your works are marked by that particular feature so neatly described by our Franko: ‘Might and softness, power and humor thronging,/All that can lift the soul to peaks untrodden.’”<sup>96</sup> Ukrainian writer, satirist and humorist Ivan Kernytsky wrote under the pseudonyms Гзимс (Gzums) and Ікер (Iker). He worked for Tyktor Publishing in Lviv and belonged to the Modernist group of Ukrainian literature in Halychyna, which gathered around the «Назустріч» [Meeting] journal edited by: Mykhailo Rudnytsky, literary critic; Vasyl Simovych, linguist; and Svyatoslav Hordynsky, poet and artist. In 1932, Kernytsky published his collection of short stories “The Flames of St. John’s Eve.” Cardinal Slipyj referred to this Lviv period of Kernytsky’s work, saying: “Your accomplishment is obvious: with your kind words, always filled with noble and gentle Ukrainian humor, you have managed to touch your readers’ hearts to love our past, our problems, even our poverty and sometimes misfortune.”<sup>97</sup> During World War II Kernytsky emigrated to Austria, and in 1947, a collection of his humorous writings *Following the Gypsy Trails* was published in West Germany. In 1949, he moved to New York where he submitted his anecdotes and stories of immigrants’ lives to the *Lys Mykyta Journal* and the *Svoboda* Newspaper. Kernytsky’s works and social activities made him one of the most popular Ukrainian writers in the diaspora. In conclusion, Patriarch Josyf made an observation: “With your personality and works, you have taught us a very important virtue, humility, which is the mother of many other Christian virtues.”<sup>98</sup>

Works of another diaspora writer, Lesia Khraplyva-Schur, drew Cardinal Slipyj’s attention with its invincible spirit, patriotism and ardent love for her native country. Born and raised in Ukraine, the poet spent most of her life in emigration where she is still leading an active social life in Canada. Her poetic heritage contains collections of fairytales and stories for children *Wind from Ukraine*, *Wind from Ukraine -2*, *Pysanka for Ukrainian Children*; fantasy stories “Immortal Cossack,” “The Magic Car”; sketches “The Greatest Gift” and “Antypko’s Adventures”; a novel for youth *Chief Volya*; stories from the lives of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army’s soldiers *In the Darkness*; a biographical poem “Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky” and numerous short stories. In 1972, Lesia Khraplyva’s collection of poems *To the Distant and Near*<sup>99</sup> was published in Chicago, and it immediately drew Cardinal Slipyj’s attention. The book comprised over seventy {NOTE—something is missing from prior page} poems and consists of seven thematic chapters “To the Ash,” “To Youth,” “To Holidays,” “To Great Sadness,” “To Ancestors,” “To My Brother Behind Bars,” and “To those Dearest.” It features her memories of Ukraine, religious poems, notes on Ukrainian traditions and history, as well as poems

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<sup>95</sup> Привіт Блаженнішого Патріярха Йосифа випускникам-градуантам «Рідної Школи» у Філядельфії, ПА, ЗСА. Рим, 5 червня 1983 року [His Beatitude’s Greetings to the Graduates of the Heritage School in Philadelphia, PA, Rome, June 5, 1983] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа [Opera Omnia Cyr Josephi (Slipuj-Kobernyckyj-Dučkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1985), p. 433. Quotation from Franko’s “Prologue” to *Moses*. Translated by Vera Rich.

<sup>96</sup> Лист Блаженнішого Патріярха Йосифа до Івана Керницького в Нью Йорк ЗСА 22 жовтня 1983 р. [His Beatitude’s Letter to Ivan Kernytsky in New York, USA, October 22, 1983] Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа [Opera Omnia Cyr Josephi (Slipuj-Kobernyckyj-Dučkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by: Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIV (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1985), p. 448. Quotation from Franko’s “Prologue” to *Moses*. Translated by Vera Rich.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid*, p. 448.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>99</sup> The original content of the collection is available in Ukrainian at:  
[www.ukrlife.org/main/minerva/lesyahraplyva.html](http://www.ukrlife.org/main/minerva/lesyahraplyva.html)

about a Siberian prison and life in exile. All this reflects the fate of many Ukrainians, including Patriarch Josyf. It is no wonder that a great number of her poems dedicated to His Beatitude were included in the *Anthology of Poems Dedicated to Patriarch Josyf*. A number of poems from the *To the Distant and Near* collection laid foundation for Cardinal Slipyj's sermon on the occasion of the anniversary of the proclamation of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic on November 1, 1918. In this sermon, His Beatitude also paid tribute to his great predecessor, the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, as well as to the "Presidents of Western and Carpathian Ukraine, Rev. Avhustyn Voloshyn, and those well- and less-known heroes who laid down their lives for the freedom of Ukraine, which needed to be achieved and defended. Today, as our poets (Lesya Khraplyva) say, the dead are meeting with those alive!"<sup>100</sup> After a brief cultural and historical overview of the history of the Ukrainian state until its decline following the liquidation of the Zaporozhian Sich, the Patriarch discussed contemporary times and events on both banks of the Zbruch River. Quoting Khraplyva's poems "The Song of Youth" and "The Pine," His Beatitude emphasized the role of the Church and the Divine Liturgy as the foundation of every nation. They, as he continued, can only "bloom and fulfill their highest natural and mystical mission in a free state:

«Внизу тобі тісно,  
Змагай до вершин!» (Юнацький спів)  
Бо «жевірила...іскра,  
Та, що вже не погасне ніколи» (Сосна)<sup>101</sup>.

"It's cramped down here,  
So aim toward the heights!" (The Song of Youth)

Because "a spark was smoldering,  
One that would never go out." (Pine)

In this context, the November events of 1918 strengthened the national identity of Ukrainians despite defeat of the national liberation movement; an example of the unforgettable Death Sotnya (Cossack Squadron) was not only recorded in history, but it inspired others to choose the uneasy path of struggle for freedom of the people, and millions of them "laid down their heads in battle, ended their lives in prisons and concentration camps, or spent their days under God knows what conditions."<sup>102</sup> As an image of this Via Dolorosa of the Ukrainian people, Patriarch Josyf quotes yet another poem by Khraplyva, "Присвята" (Dedication), which reminds us of Shevchenko's poem "Розрита могила" (The Plundered Grave):

«Понад віддалі сизих століть,  
Непомітно зближаються гості:  
Чий похилений хрест ще стоїть,  
А чиї порозкидані кості».

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<sup>100</sup> Проповідь Блаженнішого Йосифа на 1 листопада 1973 року, в Соборі Святої Софії в Римі [His Beatitude's Sermon Given on November 1, 1973, at St. Sophia Cathedral in Rome] *Твори Патріярха і Кардинала Йосифа*. [Opera Omnia Kyr Josephi (Slipyj-Kobernyckyj-Dyčkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. XIII (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1983), p. 233.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 234.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

Beyond the distances of gray centuries  
Some guests are imperceptibly approaching.  
Someone's cross, stopped, is still there,  
Yet others' bones are scattered everywhere.

Still, Slipyj continues, these shadows of forgotten ancestors are calling in a powerful voice the future generations with the verses of «Січень-Лютий 1972» (January-February 1972):

«Погляньте, ув'язнені друзі, крізь ґрати:  
Там вірні серця за серцями ідуть,  
Щоб вашою кривдою світ спам'ятати.  
Кріпійтеся, Незламні! Ми з вами: ми тут!»

Look, imprisoned friends, through the prison bars:  
There are faithful hearts marching in rows,  
To awaken the world by the harm caused to you.  
Be strong, Unbreakable ones! We are with you: we are here!

To a great extent, the word “here” refers to the two million people of the Ukrainian diaspora which, in the Patriarch's opinion, “is united as one with the Ukrainian people, with the great but suffering Ukraine.” Following are the quotations from two other poems, “Митрополит Йосиф Сліпий провадить молитву в концлагері” (Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj is Conducting a Prayer in a Concentration Camp) and “Коляда 1972” (Christmas Carol of 1972):

«Як безпросвітність хрест їм роздер  
І крізь щілину сипляться зорі».  
«...Коляда розгойдала, мов дзвони,  
Що вколисують людям зболілі серця,  
А тиранам розхитують трони».

“How the darkness was torn with a cross  
And the stars were falling in through a chink.”  
“...The Christmas carol began to swing, like bells  
That lull people's pained hearts  
And shatter tyrants' thrones.”

Uncertainty of the future forces contemporaries to take over the heroic combat and to carry the burden of the years to come; therefore, His Beatitude appeals to youth with the verses of the poem “Сонце заходить у золоті” (The Sun is Setting in Gold):

«Линь, молодче!  
Находить твій час!  
Вийди охоче,  
Ставай поміж нас!»

Rush, young man,

Your time is near!  
Come readily,  
Stand among us!

The Patriarch concludes his sermon with a thought that the events of our heroic past should become a “perpetual impulse in our mind and our will to direct our acts toward this great nationwide act [raising of the national blue and yellow Ukrainian flag],” because as we read in Khraplyva’s poetry «Варта старших пластунок» [The Guard the of Senior Scouts] and «Софійський майдан» [The St. Sophia Cathedral Square]:

«повернеться...  
В Україну цвітиста весна».  
«Ще лиш хвилинка...  
І прорветься, мов весною ріки:  
- Самостійна, Соборна, навіки!»

“the spring in bloom  
Will return to Ukraine.”  
“Just one more minute,  
And, similar to rivers in spring,  
A free, United Ukraine will burst through forever!”

A number of Lesya Khraplyva’s poems were dedicated to the political prisoners of the Soviet regime, including the so called “поети-шістдесятники” (Poets of the 1960s), whose fate Cardinal Slipuj watched closely. A prisoner of Siberian camps, His Beatitude knew the severe conditions of the tortures, interrogations, hard work and constant spying. Patriarch Josyf voiced this tragedy at the Papal Synod on October 3, 1974, stating: “In this bitter moment, the Ukrainian people are suffering from the hardship of persecution, both religious and national. The victims of this persecution, although denied by the official government, are not only the hierarchs and clergy, but also the faithful. Among them are renowned scholars who stood up in defense of the Christian religion in Ukraine, and thus became an object of mockery and persecution. These are highly educated people whose names are widely known: Valentyn Moroz, Yevhen Sverstyuk, Leonid Plyushch, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Ivan and Nadiya Svitlychny, Yuriy Shukhevych, Svyatoslav and Nina Karavansky, Ihor and Iryna Kalynets, Vasyl Stus, and many more.”<sup>103</sup> Patriarch Josyf made sure that the works of the Poets of the 1960s were included in the programs of the UCU summer sessions, as witnessed by the facts noted above. The issue of Dissidents was widely discussed at UCU branches worldwide. On October 9 through December 18, 1979, the Fall Semester of the Philadelphia UCU branch was dedicated to “The Resistance Movement in Ukraine.” During it, Dr. Ostap Tarnawsky and Dr. Thomas Byrd presented an overview of the Resistance Literature of the 1940-1970s from an aesthetic and ideological point of view. Dr. Rudnytsky discussed two ideas: that Ukrainian literature had always developed in the framework of the literary processes of the Western world; and that its essence is Christian spirituality. He also analyzed a number

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<sup>103</sup> Промова Блаженнішого Йосифа на Папськiм Синодi, виголошена 3 жовтня 1974 року [His Beatitude’s Address at the Papal Synod on October, 3, 1974] Твори Патрiярха i Кардинала Йосифа [Opera Omnia Cur Josephi (Slipuj-Kobernyckyj-Duĉkovskij) Archiepiscopi Maioris et Cardinalis]. Collected by Rev. Dr. Ivan Khoma and Rev. Dr. Ivan Muzychka. Vol. VII-VIII (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement the Pope, 1976), p. 290.

of poems by Lina Kostenko, Ivan Drach, Vasyl Symonenko, Vasyl Stus, and others.<sup>104</sup> After His Beatitude's death, the case of the Dissident movement was continued by the Institute of Research on Religion and Spirituality of the Ukrainian People in Ukraine and in the Diaspora established under the aegis of the St. Sophia Religious Association of Ukrainian Catholics, Inc. Several representatives of the Resistance Movement conducted lectures in Philadelphia: Yevhen Sverstyuk on January 26, 1990; the poet Iryna Senyk, whose recital took place on September 8, 1990; the poet Ihor Kalynets, who delivered a lecture "The Image of Poet and Prisoner" on October 24, 1990.

The wide spectrum of works favored by Cardinal Slipyj affirms his multifaceted interest in literature. Ukrainian Literature in its best examples was undoubtedly a key element in shaping the Patriarch's own literary style, whose subtlety and emotional versatility is vividly expressed in his sermons, pastoral letters, memoirs, and notes. This topic remains an open subject for further study, as His Beatitude's letters to various people in many cases served as a forum for the exchange of ideas and views on literary topics, while his prose constitutes a separate source of research for future literary critics.

### **Standing in *The Shoes of the Fisherman*: Cardinal Josyf Slipyj and Kiril Lakota**

"Do you really believe that you stand in God's shoes?"

"I do."

"How does it feel?"

"Terrifying."

(Conversation between Ruth Lewin and Pope Kiril, *The Shoes of the Fisherman*)

The year 1963 brought freedom to Cardinal Josyf Slipyj, who was released from the Soviet-period GULAG prison camps after eighteen years of imprisonment and exile. The same year marked the release of a bestselling novel *The Shoes of the Fisherman* by the Australian writer Morris West (1916-1999.) Notwithstanding the fact that the first part of the Vatican Trilogy was considered "a shallow plot" by many critics, the book earned worldwide acclaim and popularity. *The Shoes of the Fisherman* was written between March 1961 and August 1962, by which time Josyf Slipyj had been in Soviet imprisonment for seventeen years. Over twelve million copies sold in 1963, making the novel first for weeks on *The New York Times* bestseller list. These two seemingly separate events are, in fact, closely related, and this discussion will illustrate that.

The novel opens with news of the Pope's death and preparations for the Conclave, which will elect a new head of the Church. Kiril Lakota, a fifty-year-old Ukrainian priest of the Byzantine Catholic Rite in the Soviet Union during the WWII, is the main protagonist of the book. Toward the end of the war, he is ordained Bishop of Lviv, arrested and exiled to Siberia, where he spends seventeen years. Under pressure from the world community, Piotr Ilyich Kamenev, the Premier of the USSR, who was Lakota's tormentor in his first interrogations, organizes his escape from the Soviet Union. Upon arriving at the Vatican, Lakota learns that the late Pope has named him Cardinal. At the papal conclave, he is elected successor of St. Peter's throne. His supporters are two influential cardinals, Rinaldi and Leone, who believe the time has come for a non-Italian papacy.

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<sup>104</sup> Діяльність Філії Українського Католицького Університету [Report on the Activities at the UCU Branch] Бюлетень Товариства «Свята Софія» ЗСА [Bulletin of the St. Sophia Religious Association, Inc.] No. 3 (September 1980), p. 11.

It has been widely claimed, although mistakenly, that in his books Morris West prophesized the election of the Polish Cardinal Karol Wojtyła (1920-2005)<sup>105</sup> to the Holy See and uses the Archbishop of Cracow as a protagonist for his Lakota character. However, according to journalists and literary scholars, West bases his story on another historical figure's life and heroic deeds: Patriarch Josyf Slipyj. This was widely discussed by the press on the occasion of Cardinal Slipyj's visit to Australia in October 1968.<sup>106</sup> "Many people think that Morris West's Kiril Lakota in *The Shoes of the Fisherman* has Cardinal [Slipyj] as his protagonist. The movie was subsequently filmed in Rome. Morris West can object but all the details of his character [Lakota] are identical to Cardinal Slipyj's life. Pope Kiril hails from Western Ukraine. He was Metropolitan in Lviv. He spent 17 years in Siberian camps, where he was tortured, starved and interrogated. He was not freed; rather, the Soviet leader 'Kamenev' arranged his escape. An interesting fact is that 'Lakota' was the name of one of the exiled bishops<sup>107</sup> who died."<sup>108</sup>

The similarity between Cardinal Slipyj and Kiril Lakota is also expressed by Andrew Kania, Director of Spirituality at Aquinas College, Manning, Australia, in his essay "Prisoner and Exile (*cf. Isaiah 53: 3-4, LXX*)."

He states, "Metropolitan Kiril Lakota, in reality never existed — as a single person at least; rather West's character is a composite of the lives of two men: Josef Cardinal Slipyj, the Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and the Auxiliary Archbishop of Peremyshl, Hryhorij Lakota, a Ukrainian Catholic prelate who was to be one of the Ukrainian Church hierarchs who were to be executed in Soviet prisons."<sup>109</sup>

The Melbourne newspaper *The Herald* on October 11, 1968 published an article in which the author "provides the biography, including the details of his [Slipyj's] suffering at the GULAGs in Siberia, and repeats the claim that Morris West based his novel, *The Shoes of the Fisherman*, on the life of His Beatitude [Cardinal Slipyj]."<sup>110</sup>

The Adelaide newspaper *The Advertiser* (October 12, 1968) printed Ronald Mackey's article "Cardinal Beaten, but not Broken," in which the author also provides Patriarch Slipyj's biography and speculates about *The Shoes of the Fisherman* movie, which "is based on the story of His Beatitude."<sup>111</sup>

Rev. Dr. Ivan Kaszczak in his article "Patriarch Josyf Slipyj and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States – *Ex Oriente Lux*" claims that "the fictional character created by Morris L. West is based on Patriarch Slipyj, Kiril Cardinal Lakota. The famous novel by Morris L. West *The Shoes of the Fisherman* speaks of the Bishop of Lviv, Kiril who is released from Siberia after many years of suffering and is elected Pope."<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Karol Wojtyła was elected Pope (John Paul II) on October 16, 1978. He was canonized on April 27, 2014.

<sup>106</sup> These articles and press-releases were compiled by Olha Witoshynska in her chronological overview of Cardinal Slipyj's pastoral visits in 1968-1970. See *Подорожжі Блаженнішого Кир Йосифа VII 1968-1970 у світлі чужої преси* [De Itineribus S. Beatitudinis Josephi VII Cardinalis Slipyj Annis 1968-1970 Peractis atque sub lumine ephemeridum illustrates. - His Beatitude Josyf VII's Pastoral Visits 1968-1970 as Reflected in the Foreign Press (Rome-Paris: Publications of the Ukrainian Theological Scientific Society, 1972, pp. 61-62)]. All translations from this book are mine.

<sup>107</sup> Hryhorij Lakota (1883-1950), auxiliary bishop of Peremyshl; consecrated in 1926; arrested on June 26, 1946; imprisoned. Died in a concentration camp in the village of Abez near Vorkuta.

<sup>108</sup> *The Sidney Morning Herald*, (Oct. 8, 1968)// Olha Witoshynska [Olha Witoshynska. De Itineribus S. Beatitudinis Josephi VII Cardinalis Slipyj Annis 1968-1970 Peractis atque sub lumine ephemeridum illustrates. Vol. XX (Rome-Paris, 1972), pp. 61-62.

<sup>109</sup> [http://www.catholica.com.au/andrewstake2/133\\_print.php](http://www.catholica.com.au/andrewstake2/133_print.php).

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>112</sup> Rev. Dr. Ivan Kaszczak, "Patriarch Josyf Slipyj and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States – *Ex Oriente Lux*"// *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. LXVII, 1-4, 2011, p.35.

Journalists asked Patriarch Slipyj about such a possibility during his visit to Australia on the occasion of the 40<sup>th</sup> Eucharistic Congress in Melbourne on February 18-25, 1973. It was witnessed by Professor Leonid Rudnytzky, a participant of the Congress, and here is what he recalls: “His Beatitude Patriarch spent 32 hours on a plane from Rome to Melbourne. Immediately upon landing, journalists crowded around him and there was an impromptu press conference held right there. His Beatitude looked fresh, no sign of fatigue; he responded to various questions briskly and cheerily. One of the reporters asked the Cardinal if he had read a very popular at that time novel *The Shoes of the Fisherman* by the Australian writer Morris West, who had based the story of Pope Kiril I on the life of Patriarch Josyf, and what His Beatitude had thought of it. The Patriarch just said, “Well, what can I say? West’s book is fiction.”<sup>113</sup> The reporters asked one question after another and, finally, a question arose that interested them the most: “Did they torture you much out there, in Siberia?” Smiling, the Cardinal responded, “Read Mr. West’s book, it’s all in there.” This, as Germans would say comprises *Schlagfertigkeit*, a way of answering an unpleasant question, caused a joyous laughter and admiration among the reporters. It also witnessed the Patriarch’s sense of humor and his wit.”<sup>114</sup>

Morris West denies any resemblance his characters might have to real people: “This is a book set in a fictional time, peopled with fictional characters, and no reference is intended to any living person, whether in the Church or out of it.”<sup>115</sup> Yet, as Jaroslav Pelikan claims, “it is in many ways a roman à clef”<sup>116</sup> as every fictional character may have his or her living prototype, and upon closer analysis, one is able to trace clear parallels between Pope Kiril and Patriarch Josyf in their physical appearance, biographical information, and details regarding imprisonment. It is a fact that Slipyj’s prison writings managed to circulate, and thus his story was known to the world. In 1957 Pope Pius XII sent him a congratulatory letter on the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood. It was confiscated, and also on account of his circulating writings, he was sentenced to seven more years in prison. On January 26, 1963, he was freed by Nikita Khrushchev’s administration after political pressure from Pope John XXIII and United States President John F. Kennedy. He arrived in Rome in time to participate in the Second Vatican Council.

### **A Ukrainian in the Vatican**

First and foremost, Kiril Lakota is “a Ukrainian whom nobody knew because his name had been reserved in the breast of the last Pope and had been proclaimed only a few days before his death.”<sup>117</sup> According to Pelikan, “Kiril Lakota is introduced as the book opens, in a description much of which (...) would fit Slipyj to the letter”<sup>118</sup>:

“The road of his own pilgrimage was there like a scarlet ribbon that stretched four thousand miles from Lvov, in the Ukraine, to Nikolayevsk, on the Sea of Okhotsk.

When the war with the Germans was over, he had been named, in spite of his youth, Metropolitan of Lvov, successor to the great and saintly Andrew Szepticky, leader of all the Ruthenian Catholics. Shortly after, he had been arrested with six other bishops and deported to the eastern limits of Siberia. The six others had died and he had been left alone, shepherd of a lost flock, to carry the Cross on his own shoulders.”<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Леонід Рудницький “Уривок із спогадів про Патріярха” [L. Rudnytzky, “An Excerpt from Memoirs about the Patriarch”// St. Sophia Bulletin (No. 18, 2009), p. 8.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>115</sup> Author’s Note. *The Shoes of the Fisherman* (Michigan: The Toby Press, 2003). All further quotations are taken from this edition of the book.

<sup>116</sup> Jaroslav Pelikan, *Confessor Between East and West: A Portrait of Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slipyj* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1990), p. 217.

<sup>117</sup> *The Shoes of the Fisherman*, p. 3.

<sup>118</sup> Pelikan, *op.cit.* p. 217.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14-15.

Indeed, following Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's death on November 1, 1944, Josyf Slipyj assumed the right of the Metropolitan of Lviv, only to be arrested along with other bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church on April 10, 1945. They were transported to Kyiv NKVD/MDV prison. Investigation of the Greek Catholic eparchs from Halychyna lasted for a year; as a result, a trial presided over by three judges and two secretaries took place on May 29-June 3, 1946 in Kyiv. Charged with "anti-revolutionary propaganda" and "high treason," Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was convicted and sentenced to eight years of hard labor and three years of deprivation of civil rights with expropriation of property; Bishop Nykyta (Nicetas) Budka was convicted and sentenced to five years imprisonment and three years of deprivation of civil rights; Bishop Mykolay (Nicholas) Charnetsky was convicted and sentenced to five years imprisonment and three years of deprivation of his civil rights; Bishop Ivan Lyatyshevsky was convicted and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. The 80-year-old Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn died on December 28, 1945 in prison before his trial began. Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovsky, eparch of Peremyshl, who was first arrested in September 1945, and subsequently, on June 25, 1946, passed away on November 17, 1947 in the Chapayivka-Vita prison camp near Kyiv. Suffering inhuman conditions in the concentration camps in Karaganda (Kazakhstan), Bishop Nykyta Budka, the Vicar General of the Lviv Archeparchy, died on September 28, 1949; on November 12, 1950, Bishop Hryhoriy Lakota, who was arrested on June 26, 1946, died in the village of Abez near Vorkuta (Russia).<sup>120</sup>

West's "fictional" Lakota led the Martyred Church, which was sentenced to decades of existence in the catacombs, exiled in Siberia, dispersed across the globe, and persecuted by the red terror of the Soviet regime. This is not only stated by Kiril himself, but also acknowledged by the representative of the Soviet authorities, Kamenev, in his letter to Lakota: "How will you treat the rights of Russia, where you have suffered so much and whence your Church has been extirpated?"<sup>121</sup> Nonetheless, Kiril thinks favorably of his "torturer": "We have always believed, as a matter of private conviction, that our connection with the Premier of Russia, which dates back seventeen years, to the time of our first imprisonment for the Faith, had in it an element of Divine Providence which might one day be used by God for Kamenev's good or ours, or for the good of the world."<sup>122</sup> The important detail emphasized by Kiril in his speech is his first imprisonment. This, therefore, signals that there were more imprisonments, as in case of Cardinal Slipyj, and consequently, draws yet another parallel between Morris West's character and Patriarch Josyf. In his conversation with the Polish Cardinal Potocki, Kiril talks about his great predecessor with profound respect and gratitude: "For me it was the memory of the great Andrew Szepticky, Metropolitan of Galicia. I loved him like a father. I hated bitterly what had been done to him. I remembered him before he died, a hulk of a man, paralyzed, torn with pain, watching all that he had built being destroyed, the houses of education, the seminaries, the old culture he had tried so hard to preserve."<sup>123</sup>

It was Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky who saw in Fr. Josyf Slipyj his successor to the Metropolitan See of Lviv. Here is how the Patriarch himself recalls it in his *Testament*: "In 1939 our Church's new "Way of the Cross" began, and the great Saint and Genius, the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrei called upon me to be the Exarch of Eastern Ukraine in October and then in December of the same year in my episcopal consecration named me his successor. I accepted this calling as the secret call of our Lord, in Christ's words, to 'Follow me ...' (Jn. 1: 44).

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<sup>120</sup> More information on the persecution of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church can be found in the book *To the Light of Resurrection through the Thorns of Catacombs* (Lviv: Ukrainian Catholic University, 2014).

<sup>121</sup> *The Shoes of the Fisherman*, p. 290.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

I immediately understood what it meant to ‘follow Christ,’ in the trying and turbulent times which came upon our Church. For it was Christ who warned us: ‘If any man wishes to come after me, he must deny his very self, take up his cross and follow in my steps.’ (Mk. 8: 34b). The vocation of the shepherd is that of self-denial, to take upon one’s shoulders the Cross and to follow Christ out of one’s love for Him; for He also said: ‘Whosoever disowns me before men I will disown before my Father in heaven.’ (Matt. 10:33)”<sup>124</sup>

At that time, Josyf Slipyj was not ready to inherit such legacy, but as he confessed three years later, “I could not object to my ordination; in times of persecution, ordination is not an honor, but first of all, a burden.”<sup>125</sup> This, as he continues in his *Testament*, “began my way along the path of thorns. It truly became a life which reflected my episcopal coat of arms: **Per aspera ad astra**. Before me, the successor of the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrei and the beneficiary of his spiritual legacy, lay the long road of self-denial, the cross and witnessing Christ ‘before man,’ ‘to this faithless and corrupt age’ (Mk. 8:38). On this road I was aided by God’s great Right Hand. With His aid I, a prisoner for Christ’s sake, witnessed to him as He had told His disciples and followers: ‘be my witnesses in Jerusalem and throughout Judea and Samaria, yes even to the ends of the earth’ (Acts 1:8). But on the sign posts of my life there were other names: not Jerusalem, Judea or Samaria, but rather Lviv, Siberia, Krasnoyarsk, Yeniseisk, Mordovia ..., and literally ‘... to the ends of the earth.’”<sup>126</sup>

On numerous occasions, Patriarch Slipyj expressed his respect and admiration for Metropolitan Sheptytsky; in his *Testament*, he expressed his will to be buried next to his predecessor: “Bury me in the Patriarchal Sobor of St. Sophia, and when my vision is realized and freedom returns to our Holy Church and our Ukrainian People, carry my coffin to the Ukrainian land and place it in St. George’s in Lviv, by the tomb of the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrei. I am dying, and going from this world as the one whom he, Metropolitan Andrei, the Head of Our Church, named by his authority the Exarch of Greater Ukraine.”<sup>127</sup>

Slipyj’s desire to return to his native land, his longing for Ukraine, its culture and the people is also reflected in the longing Kiril experiences as a prisoner in the Siberian camps and as the successor of St. Peter in Rome. This is witnessed in Kamenev’s letter to Kiril the Pope: “I remember that I asked you during one interrogation what you missed most of all, and you smiled and said the sunflowers in the Ukraine.”<sup>128</sup> It is also intact in his recollections of the “first man in Russia,”<sup>129</sup> when Pope Kiril states: “Tomorrow I shall offer Mass for Kamenev, and tonight I must pray for light for Kiril the Pontiff, whose heart is restless and whose vagrant soul still hungers for its homeland.”<sup>130</sup>

Kiril’s appearance resembles that of Cardinal Slipyj: tall (“Calitri, too, stood up and felt himself dwarfed by the tall, commanding figure of the Pontiff”<sup>131</sup>). Lakota has a beard, following the tradition of Eastern Churches, and at the conclave he, as a representative of the Byzantine Rite, wears not only a pectoral cross, but also “a pectoral icon representing a Byzantine Madonna and Child. When he crossed himself, he made the sign from right to left, in the Slavic manner.”<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> *Spiritual Testament of His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf of Kyiv-Halych and All Rus’* (St. Catharines: St.Sophia Religious Association of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada), p. 21.

<sup>125</sup> Святослав Липовецький, «Патріарх, визнаний народом, не визнаний Ватиканом», *Історична правда* (18 лютого 2012), <http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2012/02/18/73821/> (Web).

<sup>126</sup> *Testament*, p. 21

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>128</sup> *The Shoes of the Fisherman*, p. 52.

<sup>129</sup> Although West confuses the names Ukraine and Russia, this can be explained by his contemporary perception of the USSR as Russia, and therefore, identification of all citizens of the country as Russians.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

In his conversation with Cardinal Leone, who favors Lakota as a candidate for the papacy, Hugh Cardinal Brandon from Westminster raises an issue of the difference between the rites and of the excessively Byzantine look of the candidate.

“There is the question of rites. I understand this man is a Ukrainian and belongs to the Ruthenian rite.” “If he were elected, he would automatically practice the Roman one.”

His Eminence of Westminster smiled thinly. “The beard might worry some people. A too Byzantine look, don’t you think? We haven’t had a bearded Pope in a very long time.”

“No doubt he would shave it.”

“Would he still wear the ikon?”

“He might be persuaded to dispense with that, too.”<sup>133</sup>

The newly elected Pope is conscious of these concerns: “Already I know there are questions about my beard. I have heard murmurs of a “too Byzantine look.” The Latins are more sensitive about such customs than we are [...] It is so small a matter, and yet schisms have begun over smaller one.”<sup>134</sup> During one of many gatherings, as West describes, “he rose then in his place and confronted them – a figure oddly young, oddly alone, like a Christ from a Byzantine triptych.”<sup>135</sup>

The Slavic pope symbolically, or one might say, patriotically, does not change his name upon his election to the See of St. Peter, a tradition venerated by each and every pontiff. He “kept the name because it belonged to the Apostle of the Slavs, who was said to have invented the modern Cyrillic alphabet and who was a stubborn defender of the right of people to keep the Faith in their own idiom. I explained to them also that I should prefer to have my name used in its Slavic form, for a testimony to the universality of the Church.”<sup>136</sup>

Noteworthy is the fact that St. John Paul II, the Slavic Pope, acknowledged the accomplishments of the Apostles of the Slavs, Sts. Cyril and Methodius, in their effort to introduce their native language into liturgical services. As stated by Włodzimierz Mokry, “in his Apostolic letter *Egregiae virtutis* of December 31, 1980, Pope John Paul II named Sts. Cyril and Methodius the co-patrons of Europe.”<sup>137</sup> In yet another Apostolic letter *Slavorum Apostoli* of June 2, 1985, His Holiness brings the essence of their work, saying: “Cyril and Methodius are as it were the connecting links or spiritual bridge between the Eastern and Western traditions, which both come together in the one great Tradition of the universal Church. For us they are the champions and also the patrons of the ecumenical endeavor of the sister Churches of East and West, for the rediscovery through prayer and dialogue of visible Unity in perfect and total communion, ‘the unity which,’ as I said on the occasion of my visit to Bari, ‘is neither absorption nor fusion.’ Unity is a meeting in truth and love, granted to us by the Spirit. Cyril and Methodius, in their personality and their work, are figures that awaken in all Christians a great ‘longing for union’ and for unity between the two sister Churches of East and West.”<sup>138</sup>

This universality of the Church is visibly emphasized by Kiril Lakota’s coat of arms: “crossed keys for Peter, a bear on a white field and above it a dove, the motto “*Ex Oriente Lux – A light out of the East*.”

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<sup>133</sup> *The Shoes of the Fisherman*, p. 23.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>137</sup> Włodzimierz Mokry, *Apostolskie słowo Jana Pawła II na Ukrainie w 2001 roku*. (Kraków: Biblioteka Fundacji św. Włodzimierza, tom VII, 2002). <http://www.nestor.cracow.pl/apostolskie-slowo-jana-pawla-ii-na-ukrainie-w-2001-roku-p54.html> (Web).

<sup>138</sup> [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/john\\_paul\\_ii/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_jp-ii\\_enc\\_19850602\\_slavorum-apostoli\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_19850602_slavorum-apostoli_en.html) (Web).

He approved it at first glance. It appealed to his imagination and to his sense of humor. It took time to lick a bear into shape—but once he was full-grown he was a very formidable fellow. With the Holy Ghost to guide him, he might hope to do much for the Church. And perhaps the East had been dark too long because the West had given too local a shape to a universal Gospel.”<sup>139</sup> This provides yet another parallel between West’s character and Patriarch Slipyj. One can assume that having lived close to the Vatican for many years, Morris West learned much about the dominance of the Latin tradition over the Byzantine. Therefore, Josyf Slipyj became the voice of the “neglected Church.” Jaroslav Pelikan in his book, *Confessor between East and West. A Portrait of Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slipyj*, describes in detail the Patriarch’s struggle to draw the attention of the Second Vatican Council to the Eastern tradition: “The East [...] was an important visible sign of unity [...] for the entire church, and one that had much to contribute to the Western Church. When the West neglected it, “compressing and narrowing the whole of the Christian life, both intellectual and practical, to the Latin mode,” it had paid for its mistake with the tragedy of the Reformation. [...] Everywhere during and after the Second Vatican Council, whenever the opportunity presented itself (and sometimes even when it did not), Slipyj was ready, as he put it somewhat ironically, “to say a few words about the East, because ‘the exotic East’ seems to have an enormous attraction for the mind of Westerners” in the church and beyond.”<sup>140</sup> In the final chapter of his book Pelikan draws his brief, yet apt observation on Lakota and Slipyj’s common mission: “In this Ukrainian prelate, now elected pope of Rome as His Holiness Kiril I, the world and the church were to find what West calls “a new and unexpected link between the logical West and the illuminated East”. Although Slipyj was not elected pope, he did become, and he still is, “a new and unexpected link between East and West, and that for several reasons, all of which were new and unexpected – and in some sense were so even to him.”<sup>141</sup>

Moreover, as stated by Fr. Kaszczak in the quoted paper,<sup>142</sup> “one of the lifelong battles of Patriarch Josyf Slipyj, if not his preeminent one, was “to preserve the unique vocation of the Ukrainian Church as simultaneously Catholic and particular.”<sup>143</sup> Cardinal Slipyj constantly encouraged Ukrainians to remain faithful to their rite and liturgical tradition. In an address to Ukrainians in Canada on June 17, 1971, His Beatitude said: “You must be held together by one language, one faith in Christ, one way of praying, one system of worship, one ritual, one national Ukrainian consciousness, one great love for our legacy of princes and warriors, for our culture, literature, and art, for our traditions and customs of statesmanship, strengthened by our history over many centuries. It has been necessary to bear witness to the unity of the Ukrainian nation in all lands.”<sup>144</sup>

### **A Prisoner for the Faith in Christ**

At the opening of the Synod of Bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church on March 24, 1980, Pope John Paul II extended to Patriarch Josyf his words of gratitude and admiration for the fidelity to union with the Holy See, saying: “For many centuries and especially today, unity with Rome has been the main element and visible sign of faith of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. The Bishop of Rome, “the head and foundation of the unity of the ecclesial community,” has the unique duty of gratitude and assiduity for his brothers in the episcopate, and among them for the Honorable Major Archbishop Cardinal Slipyj and the entire Ukrainian Catholic Church, tested yet faithful. I especially would like to express my respect for you,

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<sup>139</sup> *The Shoes of the Fisherman*, p. 37.

<sup>140</sup> Jaroslav Pelikan, *Confessor between East and West. A Portrait of Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slipyj* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1990), pp. 208- 209.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.

<sup>142</sup> Rev. Dr. Ivan Kaszczak, “Patriarch Josyf Slipyj and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States – Ex Oriente Lux,” //The Ukrainian Quarterly, LXVII, 1-4 (2011), p. 35.

<sup>143</sup> Pelikan, *Confessor*, p. 175.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

Your Eminence. I would like to pay my tribute for all those years of service and sacrifice for the mission of Christ and His Gospel. I would also like to call to mind the respect and honor expressed by my predecessors: Pope Pius XII gave his blessing of approval to your ordination as archbishop with the right of succession of the Metropolitan See of Lviv; and Pope John XXIII, who contributed to your freedom after years of imprisonment; Pope Paul VI, who acknowledged your merits and suffering by elevating you to the honored rank of Archbishop Major (1963) and naming you a cardinal (1964).”<sup>145</sup>

Josyf Slipyj’s confession of faith, his eighteen-year imprisonment and martyrdom undoubtedly laid the foundation for West’s character Kiril Lakota. In Lakota’s address to the conclave, he says, “To most of you I am a stranger because my people are scattered and I have spent the last seventeen years in prison.”<sup>146</sup> The seventeen-year imprisonment is emphasized by Lakota on many occasions. This chronological timeframe precisely matches that of Patriarch Josyf Slipyj: if the novel was completed in 1962, Lakota’s imprisonment began in 1945. This coincides with the date of Metropolitan Josyf’s first arrest on April 10, 1945. It started his eighteen-year-long Golgotha, which lasted until January 27, 1963. As stated by Jaroslav Pelikan, “he was to declare afterward that “in the story of my life the Soviet period begins a special page, and a sad one.”<sup>147</sup>

It is obvious that Morris West did not know all the details of Patriarch Josyf’s imprisonment. However, the situation of the persecuted Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the fate of its leaders alarmed both political and religious authorities worldwide. This is poignantly emphasized by Fr. Marco Semehen in his study of the liturgical life of the Underground Church. Immediately after the first arrests and trials of Ukrainian clergy, “on December 23, 1945, Pope Pius XII took the stage to defend the persecuted Greek Catholic Church when issuing his encyclical *ORIENTALES OMNES ECCLESIAS*. In the first part thereof, he presented the Christian and Catholic history of the Ukrainian people. In the second part, he thoroughly analyzes the Ukrainians’ centuries-long aspirations for the preservation of the faith, the tradition, the rite, as well as their successful efforts against denationalization, the Latinization of their rite, the struggle to develop a monastic and religious life, to maintain steadfastness in faith even by means of sacrifice and martyrdom. In the third part, the Pope describes contemporary times of unrest and states:

*56. For we have learnt with great grief that, in those territories which have recently been made over to the sway of Russia, our dear brethren and sons of the Ruthenian people are in dire straits in consequence of their fidelity to the Apostolic See; every means are being employed to take them away from the bosom of their mother, the Church, and to induce them, against their will and against their known religious duty, to enter the communion of the dissidents. Thus it is reported that the clergy of the Ruthenian rite have complained in a letter to the civil government that in the Western Ukraine, as it is called today, their Church has been placed in an extremely difficult position; all its bishops and many of its priests have been arrested; and at the same time it has been prohibited that anyone should take up the government of the same Ruthenian Church.*

*57. We are well aware that this harsh and severe treatment is speciously attributed to political reasons. But this is no new procedure used today for the first time; very often in the course of the centuries the enemies of the Church have hesitated to make public profession of their opposition to the*

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<sup>145</sup> Mokry, Włodzimierz. *Apostolskie słowo Jana Pawła II na Ukrainie w 2001 roku*. – Kraków: Biblioteka Fundacji św. Włodzimierza, tom VII, 2002. - <http://www.nestor.cracow.pl/apostolskie-slowo-jana-pawla-ii-na-ukrainie-w-2001-roku-p54.html>

<sup>146</sup> *The Shoes of the Fisherman*, p. 12.

<sup>147</sup> Pelikan, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

*Catholic faith and to attack it openly; they brought cunning and subtle allegations that Catholics were plotting against the State.*"<sup>148</sup>

Subsequently, in 1948, "a book was published...about the fate of Christians in the Soviet Union. On page 282 of that book we read: "on April 11, 1945 a number of bishops were arrested. Metropolitan Slipyj, who is widely reported to have passed away, has according to recent reports remained among the living. This world of ours, which was bold enough to accuse Pius XII of not having known early enough what was going on in the death camps, this same world after the end of the war in 1948 could not tell us whether Your Eminence was among the living or the dead."<sup>149</sup>

The most important facts of his torturous exile circulated in the press worldwide, and representatives of the world community appealed to the Soviet authorities to release Cardinal Slipyj. In his *Testament*, His Beatitude stated: "Whether this was a result of the Second Vatican Council and the voice there of our bishops, or whether this was the product of the efforts of our Ukrainian and foreign friends in the academic world who came to my aid, or whether perhaps could this have been a temporary sobering of those who wielded the power at the time – God knows! All, however, were but agents of God's Unknowable Wisdom! But among them all, the most influential must have been the efforts of Pope John XXIII of blessed memory – for he was truly the incarnation of goodness, humanity and Christian love."<sup>150</sup>

Another activist in Slipyj's liberation was the renowned biochemist, journalist and social activist Norman Cousins (1915-1990), who personally contributed to the Cardinal's release. On September 8, 1968, during Patriarch Josyf's pastoral visit to Argentina, the Buenos Aires newspaper "La Nación" published an article on his life which also included details of his release from the GULAG prison: "The Cardinal stated that Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy helped to bring him into the free world through the efforts of Mr. Cousins, a 'certain American liberal, a wonderful person, a noble man.'

"How did it happen?"

"This is a unique story. One day, Khrushchev asked him what sign of good will he could perform for Pope (John XXIII). Cousins replied, 'There is a certain Ukrainian Metropolitan imprisoned for 18 years. Give him his freedom!' Khrushchev responded, 'But he is dead!,' a statement that Cousins dismissed. They discussed the issue, and Khrushchev gave an order to inform him whether the prisoner was still alive or deceased. It turned out that I was alive and Khrushchev personally demanded from the Parliament to have me released. It was a unique case as I had been convicted by the highest authorities."<sup>151</sup>

In the novel, Lakota's first mention of those years in exile is made at the opening of the conclave when he delivers a moving, deeply spiritual address to the cardinals: "I have spent the last seventeen years in prison."<sup>152</sup> Two days before his coronation, Kiril summons a private meeting of all the Cardinals. Referring to them as his "brothers, [...] helpers in the cause of Christ," he then discusses the long years of imprisonment, saying: "Unlike you, I am not a man of my time – because I have spent seventeen years in prison and time has passed me by."<sup>153</sup> Later, pondering over the challenges the papacy imposes, Kiril again goes back to the times spent behind barbed wire: "So even after seventeen years of endurance for the Faith, everything was called in question again, and he saw how easy it would be to shift the burden of action."<sup>154</sup> When recalling

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<sup>148</sup> Fr. Marko Yaroslav Semehen. "The Liturgical and Pastoral Life of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the Catacombs"//The Ukrainian Quarterly, LXX, 1-4, 2014, p. 107.

<sup>149</sup> *Testament*, p. 24.

<sup>150</sup> *Testament*, p. 23.

<sup>151</sup> Ольга Вітошинська. *Подорожі Блаженнішого Кир Йосифа VII 1968-1970*. [Olha Witoshynska. De Itineribus S. Beatitudinis Josephi VII Cardinalis Slipyj Annis 1968-1970 Peractis atque sub lumine ephemeridum illustrates. Vol. XX (Rome-Paris, 1972), p. 46.

<sup>152</sup> *The Shoes of the Fisherman*, p. 12.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287.

times in prison in his private prayer, Kiril again lapses to an emotional purgatory: “For seventeen years he had been in prison, or in the labor camps. Once only in all that time he had been able to say Mass, with a thimbleful of wine and a crust of white bread.”<sup>155</sup> At his meeting with Ruth Lewin, a converted Jew, Kiril tells her about his escape from Russia arranged by Kamenev: “I was released from prison and sent to a hospital because I had been very ill for some time. The doctors treated me well, and I was nursed solicitously. After seventeen years of endurance it was a strange experience. I did not have to fight any more. It was as if I became another human being overnight.”<sup>156</sup> And again, comparing his own life with the fate of his close friend, a Jesuit priest Jean T  l  mond, who was deprived of the right to conduct scholarly work as a result of his contradictory views, Kiril says:” I spent seventeen years in prison; he has had twenty years of wandering in the far corners of the world.”<sup>157</sup>

Tortures and cruel treatment leave permanent marks on Lakota’s personality. In recalling those times, Kiril undergoes powerful visceral reactions to the stress: “a cold sweat that broke out on the face and palms, a trembling in the limbs, a twitching of the severed nerves in his face, a panic fear that the room was closing to crush him. Twice in his life he had been walled up in the bunkers of an underground prison. Four months in all, he had endured the terrors of darkness and cold and solitude and near starvation, so that the pillars of his reason had rocked under the strain. Nothing in his years of Siberian exile had afflicted him so much nor left so deep a scar on his memory. Nothing has brought him so close to abjuration and apostasy.”<sup>158</sup> On another occasion he remembers, “While I was in prison and under the long ordeals of interrogation, I learned much about the intricate functioning of the human mind.”<sup>159</sup> Writing a note on his valet in the Secret Memorials, Kiril recollects the times in the prison camps, “He is a melancholy fellow who looks very like a guard in Siberia who used to curse me at night for a Ukrainian dog and each morning for an adulterous priest.”<sup>160</sup> The hardship of imprisonment is revealed in Kiril’s retrospective view: “He could trace in its tragedies the promise of future mercies. For every one of the bishops who had died for his belief, a man had died in his arms in the camp, blessing the Almighty for a final absolution. [...] In the degradation of the road gangs he had seen how the strangest men upheld human dignities. He had baptized children with a handful of dirty water and seen them die unmarked by the miseries of the world.”<sup>161</sup>

Kiril also bears signs of physical tortures: “He had been beaten often, but the bruised tissue had healed itself in time. He had been interrogated till every nerve was screaming and his mind lapsed into a merciful confusion. [...] His body, weakened by torture, had grown miraculously strong again at slave labor in the mines and on the road gangs, so that even Kamenev could no longer mock him, but was struck with wonder at his survival.”<sup>162</sup> Moreover, one of the reasons why Lakota is wearing a beard is that “my jaw was broken under questioning and that without a beard I am somewhat disfigured.”<sup>163</sup> Such wounds and scars have become the voice of conscience of his Jesuit friend: “When Kiril stripped off his shirt and made ready for the plunge, Jean T  l  mond saw the marks of the whip on his back, and he was ashamed of his own cowardice.”<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14-15.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216.

Patriarch Josyf refrained himself from revealing details of his 18-year imprisonment not only because of his personal preferences, but also due to the fact that “a “prudent silence” was enjoined on him after his release from prison: he was “not to talk about Soviet Russia, not to talk about his imprisonment.”<sup>165</sup> During his life, he scarcely ever shed light on those years in random interviews or in his *Testament*: “Arrest by night, secret trials, endless interrogations, searches, moral and physical torment and humiliation, beatings, and murder by starvation; tainted and dishonest prosecutors and judges; and before them I stand, a defenseless prisoner and convict, ‘a mute witness of the Church,’ who had become weakened and physically and psychologically emaciated, gave witness of his silent and ‘condemned-to-death’ beloved Church... And this prisoner-convict saw that his path “to the ends of the earth ended in a death sentence!”<sup>166</sup> In another passage, the Patriarch continues: “In evangelical words and images, as if in parables, I described my life, the life of a witness, a prisoner, a confessor who arrived at the end of the world” and at the end of his life, face to face with death, in Mordovia, in an unbearable climate, in the worst death camp – where the end of my life was very close.”<sup>167</sup> The Patriarch, however, left behind his *Memoirs*, which only were printed in Ukraine in 2014. His Beatitude left several copies of this document to people he most entrusted, Leonid Rudnytzky being one of them.<sup>168</sup> Excerpts from the memoirs were published and translated on several occasions and are quoted by Jaroslav Pelikan in his book. These *Memoirs* witness “the tortures and suffering of the Cross, similar to those of Christ on Golgotha [during those] eighteen years of imprisonment and suffering.”<sup>169</sup>

### **Conclusion.**

Inasmuch as no convincing evidence can be found regarding Morris West’s knowledge of Patriarch Josyf Slipyj’s imprisonment, little doubt remains as to the fact that the story of His Beatitude laid a firm foundation for the author’s character Kiril Lakota. Cardinal Slipyj’s story was covered by the global press in the late 1950s to the early 1960s, as reflected in the book when Pope Kiril meets Ruth Lewin:

“I’m Kiril Lakota.”

“I know. The Pope from the steppes.”

”Is that what they call me?”

“Among other things...” She challenged him again. “These stories they print about you, your time in prison, your escape, are they true?”

“Yes.”

“Now you are in prison again.”<sup>170</sup>

Although in the free world after his release, Patriarch Josyf was, to a certain extent, a prisoner of the Vatican and its *Ostpolitik*. He humbly complied with it until October 1971 when at the Synod of Bishops dedicated to “The Ministerial Priesthood and Justice in the World” Cardinal Slipyj addressed the Fathers of the Church with a moving speech on the fate of Ukrainian Catholics who “sacrificed the rivers of blood and heaps of corps for fidelity to the Apostolic See” and who today “...due to diplomatic talks...are ignored as uncomfortable witnesses of the evils of the past.”<sup>171</sup> These words recall Kiril’s address at the conclave when he takes the stage to speak “for the lost ones, for those who walk in darkness and in the valley of the shadow

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<sup>165</sup> Pelikan, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>166</sup> *Testament*, p. 21.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>168</sup> The Patriarch personally entrusted Leonid Rudnytzky with a copy of the original memoirs written during his winter holidays 1963-64 in the monastery of the Passionists (CP) in Nettuno, Italy. Today, this document is housed in the Josyf Slipyj Research Center in Philadelphia.

<sup>169</sup> Pelikan, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>170</sup> *The Shoes of the Fisherman*, p. 73.

<sup>171</sup> <http://www.patriarkhat.org.ua/statti-zhurnalu/za-desyatylittya-vid-nevilnyka-do-patriyarha/>.

of death.”<sup>172</sup> Thus, Patriarch Slipyj never abandoned his main mission: *собирати в розсіянні суцix* (to gather all those, who are scattered), just as Kiril in West’s book, “To most of you, I am a stranger because my people are scattered”<sup>173</sup>[...] My charge is so simple: to keep the Faith pure and bring the scattered sheep safely into the fold.”<sup>174</sup>

Although a fictional character, Morris West’s Kiril Lakota speaks to the world as an emissary for the persecuted Church. West – voluntary or involuntary – expands the limited view of the Universal Church beyond the frames of the Roman Catholic world. Not only was he a chronicler of his times, but a careful and insightful analyst, a master of the human soul. Having brought to life Pope Kiril Lakota, West has immortalized the power of the unbreakable spirit found in one of the greatest Confessors of Faith in the 20<sup>th</sup> century – Cardinal Josyf Slipyj.

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<sup>172</sup>*The Shoes of the Fisherman*, p. 12.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.