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Michael Petrowycz
AUTEUR DE LA THÈSE / AUTHOR OF THESIS

Ph.D. (Theology)
GRADE / DEGREE

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Bringing Back the Saints : The Contribution of the Roman Edition of the Ruthenian Liturgical Books (*Recensio Ruthena,* 1940-1952) to the Commemoration of Slavic Saints in the Ukrainian Catholic Church

TITRE DE LA THÈSE / TITLE OF THESIS

Peter Galadza
DIRECTEUR (DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS SUPERVISOR

CO-DIRECTEUR (CO-DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS CO-SUPERVISOR

EXAMINATEURS (EXAMINATRICES) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS EXAMINERS

Andriy Chirovsky

John Jillions

Mark Morozowich

Susan Roll

Gary W. Slater
LE DOYEN DE LA FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES ET POSTDOCTORALES /
DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCORAL STUDIES

Bringing Back the Saints: The Contribution of the Roman Edition of the Ruthenian Liturgical Books (*Recensio Ruthena,* 1940-1952) to the Commemoration of Slavic Saints in the Ukrainian Catholic Church

by Michael Petrowycz

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Thesis Abstract

Title: Bringing Back the Saints: The Contribution of the Roman Edition of the Ruthenian Liturgical Books (*Recensio Ruthena*, 1940-1952) to the Commemoration of Slavic Saints in the Ukrainian Catholic Church

Author: Michael Petrowycz

Statement of the Problem

The sanctorale of the Ruthenian (Kyivan) Catholic Church, as represented by the 1929 Lviv Liturgicon of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsy counted six saints of ancient Kyivan Rus' (tenth-eleventh centuries), three Lithuanian martyrs of the later medieval Kyivan Metropolitanate (fourteenth century), and Josaphat, martyred in 1623 for the cause of Union with Rome, canonized by Rome in 1867. In addition, there were Cyril and Methodius, and Parasceve (of Tarnovo, Bulgaria) – without the geographical identification.

This was more or less the constitution of the Ruthenian Slavic sanctorale from about 200 years, but previously there had also been authoritative Ruthenian Catholic calendars with only Josaphat. At the same time, the Ruthenian Orthodox calendar developed in the seventeenth century a Slavic sanctorale of many dozen, sometimes close to a hundred Slavic saints.

In the course of a general revision of the Ruthenian liturgical books – the *Recensio Ruthena* (RR) editions (1940-1952), performed by the Congregation for the Eastern Church at the request of the Ruthenian bishops – the RR Commission admitted that from the historical perspective, and in the eyes of the Orthodox, this was a severe distortion of the Ruthenian sanctorale, and resolved to "restore to the Ruthenians their ancient saints."

The Slavic sanctorale of the RR, which added to the Ruthenian Catholic calendar ten Rus' and three other Slavic (along with several non-Slavic) commemorations, generally passed as a rather unnoticed event. Nevertheless, these changes, while relatively conservative in themselves (even as compared to the changes in the parallel *Recensio Vulgata* [RV] edition for Russian and Balkan Eastern Catholics), touched some

questions that had been disputed for centuries, others that had recently become urgent, and still others that surfaced only decades later.

Most noticeable was the authoritative theological recognition of the Eastern Slavic saints, at least those who lived in the time their Church was formally in communion with Rome. Equally important were the liturgical aspects and implications of the decisions of the RR Commission, especially as they touched the appropriation for an Eastern Catholic calendar saints witnessed only in Orthodox calendars, and persons "only" beatified in the Roman Church. While the details and modalities of these choices are of consequential import for understanding the relations of the Eastern Catholic sanctorale tradition both to the Orthodox Churches and to Roman canonization theory and practice, this aspect of the RR reform passed virtually unnoticed, even in the Ruthenian Church.

Methods of Investigation

Up to now, sources for our information about the work of the RR Commission on the sanctorale were a summary article by Joseph Schweigl, a few paragraphs in articles by RR Commission members Cyril Korolevskij and Alphonse Raes, and sporadic general information about the *Recensio Ruthena*, the story of which has yet to be told.

The present study investigates the deliberation process behind the RR Slavic sanctorale on two levels. First, it researches the motivations, the principles, and the sources of the work of the RR Commission on the basis of hitherto unpublished archival material – the two principal source documents of the Commission: the *Osservazioni*, or preliminary commentary and suggestions prepared by Korolevskij, and the *Minutes* of the sessions of the RR Commission. These documents will give us a closer and more detailed understanding of why certain decisions were made and how they were decided.

Second, in order to fully appreciate the choices and the work of the RR Commission, the present study surveys both the Western theological discussion on the question of Eastern Slavic saints, and the development of diverse positions in the Ruthenian (and Russian) Catholic Church to these questions, whether in theological speculation or liturgical practice. Since similar surveys have not been attempted previously, the proposed summaries have a representational rather than comprehensive character. Nonetheless, their findings offer sufficient material for the task of this study:

to analyze and evaluate the principles and the decisions of the RR Commission in the light of theological and liturgical evidence that the Commission could have known, and should have known, at least partly, if it considered itself competent to take on the project.

Summary of the Main Findings

The inclusion, by the Eastern Congregation, of Slavic saints into an Eastern Catholic calendar, as a liturgical ruling, was the ultimate confirmation of Catholic recognition of these saints. This not only definitively resolved the theological dispute in favor of the saints; in the image of Yves Congar, henceforth the full recognition of these saints ceased to be viewed as a polemical argument *against* the "truth" of the Catholic Church, and became instead an apologetic argument *for* the true "catholicity" of the Catholic Church.

The foremost or basic criterion for the choice of saints was that of communion with Rome. Even when the moral evaluation of a candidate was positive – even eminently so – the candidate was nonetheless disqualified when it was accepted beyond doubt that he or she had lived out of communion with Rome. The category of a "material schismatic," who did not provoke, but inherited the schism in good faith, and therefore carried no responsibility for the schism, was not considered by the Commission as a candidate for the RR sanctorale.

In all the dealings of Rome in the question of the recognition or rejection of Rus' or Eastern Slavic saints, Rome never claimed that it alone had authority in this matter, nor denied this prerogative to the respective Eastern Catholic hierarchical authority. What the RR Commission accomplished, also concerning the Slavic sanctorale, should be seen as having been fully within the competence of the Ruthenian hierarchy.

In appropriating the cult of persons beatified in the Roman Church the RR Commission did not follow the rules of Roman canonization procedure (or ensuing liturgical regulations), but of Eastern liturgical law, both in extending the cults to an Eastern Catholic Church, and in assigning to them the status of regular saints. Likewise in the appropriation of saints from Orthodox sources, the RR Commission recognized that such liturgical sources were fully sufficient to attest valid canonization, without

insisting on verifying the precise canonizing authority, and without requiring a Roman confirmation of the canonization.

In planning the Slavic sanctorale of the RR, the RR Commission distinguished between "Ruthenian" and "Muscovite" saints along political and ethnic lines, rather than ecclesial (the unity of the Kyivan Metropolitanate), which was more typical of Ruthenian calendars. The relation between the RR and RV Slavic sanctorales does not show the two as parallel realities, but reflects the relation of a part to a whole, or a periphery to its center.

Ecclesiologically, the RR Slavic sanctorale on the one hand affirmed the ecclesial maturity of the Ruthenian (Orthodox) Church, as expressed in its capacity to canonize its saints, on the other hand denied ecclesial fullness to the Ruthenian Catholic Church by treating it as little more that a group of dioceses of the Roman Church, to which the cult of certain persons was being "extended."

General Conclusions

The RR Commission, even with the theological (and historical) limitations of the time, demonstrated how Eastern Catholic liturgical practice should function, particularly vis-à-vis the respective Roman norms and concepts. The achievements of the RR Commission are thus an invitation to the Eastern Catholic Churches to champion the Eastern Christian traditions in the Catholic Communion, not simply as exercising their rights, but to fulfill their mission of creating a space, a capacity, in the Catholic Communion, to which the Churches outside that Communion can look without feeling that their Christian heritage is threatened.

In a further sense, the work of the RR Commission, especially in its liturgical and theological implications, challenges us to look beyond and above the division of the Church and formulate a framework that could also enable Churches that are *not yet* in full communion, to share their hagiologic resources – their saints – *as if* they were in full communion, so that a fuller experience of the Communion of Saints might offer the Churches an anticipation of the "eschatological communion" in the fullness of the Holy One.

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Abbreviations

Analecta OSBM =	*Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni* [series 2].
Lviv Minutes =	*Commissione Liturgica Intereparchiale di Leopoli 1930-1935. Protocolli delle adunanze.*
MUH =	*Monumenta Ucrainae Historica.* Comp. Andrei Sheptytsky et al. 14 vols. Rome, 1964-1977.
Osservazioni =	Korolevskij, Cirillo. *Osservazioni allo Sluzebnik del 1929 preso come base per la revisione della recensione rutena.*
RR =	*Recensio Ruthena*
RR Minutes =	*Verbali della Commissione per la revisione e ristampa dei test liturgici ruteni.*
RV =	*Recensio Vulgata*
Voto =	Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale. *La liturgia ed il rito praticati dai ruteni. Voto del P. Cirillo Korolevskij.*

Introduction

I think we should restore to the Ruthenians
their ancient saints.[1]
Cyril Korolevskij

The encounter with the Holy One is what the veneration of saints is ultimately all about. It is often said that human beings have a nostalgia for the Holy[2] (not to be confused with the [impersonal] Sacred), but, as with love, one does not know what it is until one has experienced it. Holiness is the only quality we attribute to God that is not a superlative of some human virtue or faculty. Knowledge of the Holy comes to us from outside the human sphere (or maybe from within) and transcends our capacity to define it, except by associating it with God. Nevertheless, we can *recognize* it (Him/Her/Them) in an event, in a place, or in a person. The first gave rise to religious ritual; the second to the designation of sanctuaries. The third gave rise to giving such persons the extraordinary name "holy." The saints – "holy persons"[3] – are those that mediate for us,

[1] "[...] mi pare che vale la pena di restituire ai Ruteni i loro antichi santi." Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 189.

[2] The theological affirmation holds true in spite of the widespread seemingly contrary empirical reality. "It seems as if humans have long ago lost sight of the meaning of the Holy in their lives. This is true of our ideas of life and death, true indeed of all areas of religious life, and that despite the fact that all rites and liturgies actually have their foundation in the manifestation of the Holy. [...] Today the question of the [loss of the] original font of the human being, whose characteristic includes the Holy, arises with far more threatening intensity than ever before." Gabriele Winkler, "On Angels, Humans, the Holy, and its Perversion: Greetings from Faust," *Studia Liturgica* 34 (2004): 52.

[3] Since the English language lost the terminological continuity between the "saints" and the Holy One, it is always useful to rediscover it. Cf. Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff,

or facilitate, the encounter with God. This they do through the example they have left, and especially through their presence in our lives as eminent beings of prayer,

Communion with saints has a special meaning for the Christian community, at all levels. By honoring saints – in whatever form – a community is primarily manifesting and celebrating its relationship to Christ and the glorified Church. It is witnessing to the fact that the life which Christ came to bring has taken root, that the mystery he revealed was embodied and has brought fruit in that community.

The saints that are fêted, like a veritable continuation of the mysteries of the earthly mission of Christ, are a point of contact with the eternal and universal mystery of Christ, a sacrament of the presence of Christ within the community, a proof of the transformative power of Christ in a given community.

It is no wonder that the saints, or more precisely, the veneration of saints, became in the course of history not only the basis of the spiritual prestige of a particular locality or group or even Church, but also one of the arguments in formal apologetics, not to mention a source of political power and economic gain. Thus the saints, or rather their veneration, have played both a unitive and a divisive role within Christianity. The veneration of saints has produced in the diverse Christian communities a wealth of cultural manifestations which today arouse a lively interest also in researchers of the human and social sciences.[4]

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eds., *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas 1500-1800* (New York, London: Routledge, 2003).

[4] The many dimensions of contemporary theological and secular scholarly interest in sainthood and hagiography are reflected in the recent Societas Liturgica Congress "The Cloud of Witnesses" (2003 Eindhoven). The papers, published in volume 34, no. 1 (2004) of *Studia Liturgica*, include theological, liturgical, ecumenical, interreligious,

The sanctorale of a particular Church, whether originally an eparchy (diocese) or eventually a patriarchate or otherwise defined ecclesial unit, reflects and expresses the relationship of this Church to its own history, to the neighboring Churches and to the Universal Church. It manifests and conveys the theological reflection of the Church on the history of salvation in its own midst, and on the community's role in the history of salvation in the Universal Church.

The history of the sanctorale of the Ruthenian Catholic Church[5] reflects the many complexities of the history of this Church and its relations to: its origins in the Church of Kyivan Rus' (which are also claimed by the Russian Church); its Orthodox Kyivan counterpart (which in the century following the Union of Brest significantly intensified its canonization practice); its immediate neighbors – Roman Catholic Poland (which polemicized against the authenticity of the Rus' saints) and Orthodox Muscovy (which several decades before the 1596 Brest Union boosted its sanctorale as support for its claim to inherit the role as *the* Orthodox empire); and its ultimate Catholic authority – Rome (which required that the Ruthenian Catholic Church conform to the most recent Roman concepts and practice of glorification of saints). In 1929, Ruthenian Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky published in Lviv a Liturgicon, which included six saints of Kyiv of

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semantic, sociological, and anthropological studies. Interesting aspects of recent theological investigation can be found in William M. Thompson, *Fire and Light: The Saints and Theology: On Consulting the Saints, Mystics, and Martyrs in Theology* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987); Elizabeth A. Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets: A Feminist Theological Reading of the Communion of Saints* (Ottawa: Novalis, 1998); *Sainthood: Its Manifestations in World Religions*, ed. Richard Kieckhefer and George D. Bond (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). Considering his past contributions, Lawrence Cunningham's forthcoming *A Brief History of Saints* ("Blackwell Brief History of Religion" series, US publication date 27 December 2004), promises to be a good summary of recent research.

the tenth to eleventh centuries along with three Lithuanian martyrs of the fourteenth century (canonized by the Kyivan Church) as well as St. Josaphat (canonized by Rome in 1867). The Slavic sanctorale of Sheptytsky's Liturgicon reflected the result of the interaction of all these relations.

The *Recensio Ruthena* (RR) is a series of liturgical books edited and published by the Congregation for the Eastern Church[6] in 1940–1952 for the Catholic Churches of the Ruthenian (Kyivan) tradition (Belarusan, Subcarpathian Rusyn, and Ukrainian). A parallel series, the *Recensio Vulgata* (RV), was simultaneously prepared for the Catholic Churches of the Russian and Balkan traditions. In a general revision of the sanctorale the RR (re)introduced into the Ruthenian sanctorale seven Rus' and three other Slavic saints along with two collective commemorations of the Kyivan Caves monks. The importance of these additions goes far beyond the simple list of names added to the calendar. They are a landmark not only in the history of the Ruthenian Catholic sanctorale, but also in Western theological thought about Eastern saints and sanctity, which vacillated between viewing the Eastern saints as a problem in the relation of the Churches, or as an asset – a part of the solution to that problem. Although a seemingly inconspicuous event of limited scope, the RR and RV sanctorales relegate the former theological and apologetic view to a chapter of the past.

In spite of the singular significance of the RR sanctorale, this aspect of the RR was not even mentioned by the head of the RR Commission and the Secretary of the Eastern

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[5] See terminological note below.

[6] In 1967 the name was changed to Congregation for the Eastern Churches. The series consisted of eleven titles, published between 1940 and 1952: A. Raes, "Attività liturgica

Congregation, Cardinal Eugene Tisserant, in his official presentation of the editions to the Ruthenian hierarchy and monastic superiors on 10 September 1941. Indeed, for a variety of reasons, prominent among which was the fact that the Ruthenian Church took no part in the reform of its sanctorale, the additions actually had little or no ecclesiological or spiritual impact on the life and thought of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The possibilities which these additions opened still need to be explored and implemented.

Up to now, sources for our information about the work of the Commission on the sanctorale were an article by Joseph Schweigl and a few paragraphs in articles by members of the RR Commission Cyril Korolevskij and Alphonse Raes, and sporadic information about the *Recensio Ruthena*, the story of which has yet to be told.

The present study researches the motivations, the principles, the methods, and the sources of the work of the RR Commission on the basis of hitherto unpublished archival material – the two principal source documents of the Commission: the *Osservazioni*, or preliminary commentary and suggestions prepared by Korolevskij, and the *Minutes* of the sessions of the RR Commission. These documents will give us a closer and more detailed understanding of how the Commission understood and approached its fundamental theological task: how to select, justify and borrow for an Eastern Catholic calendar saints who were canonized by an Orthodox Church and were principally, and often solely, witnessed in Orthodox liturgical sources. In the course of the Commission's work on the sanctorale, there arose a second, liturgical, task: how to borrow and adapt to

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svolta dalla Sacra Congregazione Orientale," in *La Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese orientali nel Cinquantesimo della Fondazione, 1917-1967* (Rome, 1969), 173-174.

an Eastern Catholic calendar saints who were "only" beatified by the Roman Church. Finally, due to the intertwined history of the Ruthenian and Muscovite Churches, the Commission faced a third, historical, task: how to interpret and represent the relation of the "Ruthenian" elements to the "Muscovite" elements in the sanctorale heritage of the single Kyivan metropolitanate before the time of its division in the mid-fifteenth century.

Understanding the work of the RR Commission on the sanctorale will be of great significance to answering similar questions that face the Eastern Catholic Churches today, especially in the light of the new ecclesiological awareness of their relationships with the Orthodox Churches as sister-Churches with whom communion has become irregular, and to the Eastern Catholic and Roman Churches, also as sister-Churches, with whom they enjoy full communion. In what sense and to what degree can, or should, the Eastern Catholic Churches recognize and venerate the saints who lived and were canonized in the Orthodox Church? Who establishes the criteria of recognition and the modalities of veneration? Does the new ecclesiological vision endorse a common and shared canonization practice, or rather an autonomous one, in consideration of the respective traditions? According to what principles is this decided? Can the traditional Eastern understanding of venerated sainthood be preserved, if the practice of canonization is not? The Eastern Catholic Churches must investigate these and similar questions not only in the categories of their actual relationship to the Roman Church, but primarily to prepare a place within the Catholic Communion toward which the Orthodox could look and not feel that their traditions are threatened.

The RR sanctorale and the process by which it was revised also suggest new views on questions that are being asked today in the Roman Church with the explosion of beatifications and canonizations during the pontificate of John Paul II. Is there today a valid theological justification for the concept of beatification as an intermediate grade of glorification of saints? Can the Eastern Christian tradition, which has a single concept of canonization ("glorification"), but distinguishes local and general veneration, rather than a two-phase process of beatification and canonization, suggest to the Roman Church a model for the glorification and veneration of saints on the local and general levels, better suited to its actual ecclesial and hagiographic situation?

In order to fully appreciate the choices and the work of the RR Commission, the present dissertation surveys both the Western theological discussion on the question of Eastern saints, and the development of diverse positions in the Ruthenian (and Russian) Catholic Church to these questions, both in theological speculation and in liturgical practice. Since similar surveys have not been done previously, our summary of findings has a representational rather than comprehensive character. Nonetheless, these findings offer sufficient material for the task of this study: to analyze and evaluate the principles and the decisions of the RR Commission in the light of theological and liturgical evidence that the Commission could have known, and should have known, at least partly, if it considered itself competent to take on the project.

The work of the Commission will also be examined in the light of the fundamental theological, liturgical and historical principles that were laid down by the Plenary of cardinals of the Eastern Congregation at the outset of the work on 10 January 1938, criteria which were intended to make of the RR not only a superlative expression of the

will of the Roman Apostolic See to safeguard the full liturgical tradition of the Ruthenian Church against all unnecessary and unlawful influence, whether Roman or Russian, but a pledge to the Orthodox Churches that they need not fear from Rome any threat to their authentic traditions.

Terminology and Transliteration

In this study "Ruthenian" is used prevalently as an ecclesiastical term, in reference to the Kyivan metropolitanate (the land of Rus') both before its division in 1458 (in its entirety), and after the division (in its new configuration). In most cases it could be considered a synonym for "Kyivan," used in an ecclesiastical sense (e.g. Ruthenian or Kyivan tradition). In an ethnic or cultural sense "Ruthenian" designates the faithful of that metropolitanate (present-day Ukrainians and Belarusans), in both configurations. The term ceased to be used in the ecclesiastical sense from the middle of the twentieth century, posterior to the time frame of the present study. Korolevskij originally spoke of the "Kyivan" recension, then the term "Ruthenian recension" prevailed.

"Vulgate," or "Slavic Vulgate," in the sense used in this study, is a term coined by Korolevskij to indicate the most recent (Petersburg-Synod) Russian liturgical tradition, as it had come to be codified up to the time of the Bolshevik Revolution. This tradition also influenced to a certain extent the Bulgarian and Serbian Churches, and, to a lesser extent, the Georgian. It was also the usage followed in principle by the Russian Catholic Exarchate. Since it is based on the Nikonian reform of the seventeenth century, which in turn was based on widely received Greek Venetian editions, it also corresponds to a "Greek Vulgate." But in addition to the Nikonian aspect, the tradition is characterized by

developments, especially of a rubrical nature, mandated from the 18th century on by Church authorities in Saint Petersburg. (Ironically, many Ukrainians, stationed in the imperial capital for centuries, worked to create this "Russian" tradition, and in either case, those Ukrainians in Eastern and Volynian Ukraine who were citizens of the Empire, followed this usage.) In most cases, when "Vulgate" is used in the RR and RV documentation, it is a synonym for "Russian" (in the liturgical sense), and except for quotations, will be rendered in this study by "Petersburg-Synod."

"Muscovite," as an ecclesiastic term, is used for those eparchies which were under the jurisdiction of the Moscow metropolitanate (after the division of 1458), then the patriarchate. In a political sense it is used for the sphere of Moscow's political influence, which eventually became "Muscovy," then "Russia."

"Uniate" is used for the eparchies of the Kyivan metropolitanate that joined the Union of Brest in 1596, especially in the first two centuries after the Union. As a historical term it conveys the unique ecclesiological interpretation of the Brest event as in some way analogous to the joining of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania into a single political reality in the Union of Lublin in 1569. The fact that in some circles (mainly Russian Orthodox) the term has been given, and is actively used, in a derogatory sense (similar to "Jesuit" or even "Catholic") does not diminish its original ecclesiological sense. "Catholic" is used for Ruthenian Church history generally for the past two centuries of Ruthenian Church history.

Slavic personal names from the seventeenth century onward are generally transliterated from the Slavic form, unless English forms have gained common usage (e.g. Peter Mohyla). The Slavic names of Ruthenians are transliterated from modern

Ukrainian pronunciation. Names of persons before the seventeenth century (i.e. most of the Slavic saints discussed here) are preferably used in their English (or Latin) form (e.g. John, Theodosius).

Chapter 1: The Background of the *Recensio Ruthena* Sanctorale

The decisions and impact of the RR Slavic sanctorale can be appreciated only in the light of the previous situation, both regarding canonization and liturgical practice, and theological discussion on the topic. The present study cannot include a comprehensive investigation of these fields, but will attempt to summarize existing studies, if available, or to examine representative material as evidence of a general trend.

The historical issues, which will be addressed here, are: i) the process of canonization, ii) the forms of veneration, and iii) the significance of local (native) saints for the life of the community. Since our primary interest is a summary history of the Ruthenian Slavic sanctorale, I include a description of the Kyivan Rus' (pre-Mongolian) period as an integral part of the Ruthenian tradition, but also aspects of the Muscovite sanctorale history (especially of its metropolitan period, 1448-1589) since these events influenced the canonization, liturgical, and theological practice of both the Ruthenian Catholic and Orthodox Churches.

The primary theological issues addressed are: the role of saints and sanctity in apologetic and polemical theology, the recognition of sanctity and saints in Eastern Orthodox Churches, and the inclusion of Eastern Christian saints in Catholic liturgical practice.

1.A. The Ruthenian Sanctorale Prior to the *Recensio Ruthena*

1.A.1. The Christian Tradition of Veneration and Canonization of Saints

Kyivan Rus' inherited from Byzantium the concept and practice of venerating saints. The veneration of saints was one of the most characteristic liturgical developments of the early Church. During the first three centuries the Church quite likely preserved the rhythm of the Jewish liturgical year: a seven-day cycle which had its annual center in the celebration of Pascha, and its ultimate culmination in the feast of Pentecost, the fiftieth day after Pascha. Long before any other Dominical or Marian commemorations entered the calendar, local Christian communities began celebrating the yearly commemoration of martyrs. Martyrdom was seen as the highest expression of fidelity of a disciple of Christ, and therefore the highest ideal of the Christian life.

As early as 165, in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, we see Christians declaring their desire to preserve the body of the martyr as a great treasure:

> [...] we afterwards took his bones, more precious than costly stones and more excellent than gold, and interred them in a decent place. There the Lord will permit us, as far as possible, to assemble in rapturous joy and celebrate his martyrdom – his birthday – both in order to commemorate the heroes that have gone before, and to train and prepare the heroes yet to come.[7]

The grave of the martyr becomes the site of a yearly commemoration which naturally included a narration of his or her life and martyrdom. Such commemorations became for the community an expression of two fundamental aspects of its life and ideals: first, in the retelling of the life and death of the martyr the community had

[7] "The Martyrdom of St. Polycarp" 18:2-3, in *The Didache. The Epistle of Barnabas. The Epistles and the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp. The Fragments of Papias. The Epistle*

occasion to express, re-live and celebrate its highest ideals, and second, in commemorating the martyrs as living persons, persons alive in Christ, it declared and celebrated its belief in eternal life in Christ.

Eventually, communities began to exchange information about their martyrs and, along with the grave of the martyrs, the day of commemoration of martyrs of other communities became the point of reference, the "meeting point" where the community encountered the martyr and celebrated his or her exploits. An example of such conflation of information to form a joint calendar is the fourth-century Syrian calendar.[8]

In this early stage of the commemoration of saints we can see two central elements, which can be fully understood and appreciated only in comparison to later practice. First, the preservation of the memory of the saint is a spontaneous reaction of the community to the martyrdom it witnessed (or "borrowed"). Such a reaction was virtually required by its faith in Christ. The martyrdom was a wondrous deed of Christ within the community, and the community responds by preserving and celebrating the memory of this deed. It is a popular reaction in the sense that the entire local community (faithful and pastors) spontaneously feel the need to do so. The deciding factor, which established the veneration, is the martyrdom itself as witnessed by the community, not a

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to Diognetus (New York: Paulist Press, 1948), 99 [=Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of the Fathers in Translation, ed. Johannes Quasten and Joseph C. Plumpe, no. 6].

[8] Bonaventura Mariani, O.F.M., ed., *Breviarium Syriacum seu martyrologium syriacum saec. IV iuxta cod. SM. Musaei Britannici add. 12150* (Rome: Herder, 1956), 5-9. Cf. also Архиепископ Сергий (Спасский), *Полный месяцеслов Востока* (The full liturgical calendar of the East). (Vladimir, 1910. Reprint, Moscow, 1997) 1:75-87.

special decision of the community's pastors.[9] In time the special role of the hierarchy will take on a more decisive and independent status.

Second, the commemoration of the martyr is incorporated into the liturgical life of the community, that is, into its celebration of its life in Christ. Since the grave of the local martyr (or, analogously, the day of a "borrowed martyr") becomes the "site" of the community's Eucharist, the celebration of the memory of the martyr becomes the locus of the community's celebration of its life in Christ. It is the liturgical event which primarily establishes and defines the new reality in the community: "Saints"[10] are those whose memory has been incorporated into the liturgical life of the community. The liturgical event is the basis of the status of the saint.

Later, as a result of the development of canonical procedures, the liturgical expression will depend on a prior decision of the hierarchy. Only saints declared as such by the hierarchy can be venerated liturgically. In other words, if at the beginning liturgical veneration is what established who was considered a saint, eventually canonization will become a separate factor which establishes who is to be liturgically venerated as a saint.[11]

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[9] Similar spontaneous veneration is amply documented in the lives and histories of Greek Neomartyrs of the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. See: N.M. Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ: Orthodox Christian Neomartyrs of the Ottoman Period, 1437-1860* (Crestwood, NY: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000).

[10] Originally the term "saint" was used, especially in the plural (e.g. Acts 9:13; Rom. 1:3 and similar) – with the singular (Phil. 4:21) as the exception – generally of all members of the Christian community, to specify that this community is the heir of all the promises of the "true Israel," of the "holy nation" of God (cf. Ex. 19:6). In time it became (especially in the singular) a specific designation of those who were considered the most outstanding (deceased) disciples of Christ.

[11] Within this general scheme the Byzantine East and the Roman-Catholic West retained specific particularities, which will be mentioned below.

A primary reason for this development was that from the fourth century persons other than martyrs were introduced into the calendar: confessors, hierarchs, ascetics. Since these did not have the incontestable proof of the highest discipleship, which was martyrdom, the criterion of sanctity shifted towards a virtuous life and miracles that were performed both during and especially after the death of the saint. Since both virtues and miracles are realities that can be differently perceived and interpreted, the need for the hierarchy to be the final arbiter in this matter became universally recognized.

A further stage of coordination of veneration of saints is the unification of such veneration in a wider Church province, for example, in several eparchies. This coordination became the competence of the highest authority of the province, first the metropolitan, then the patriarch, or the pope in the West. This is the extending of a *local commemoration* (in an eparchy or a monastery) to a *general commemoration* in an entire ecclesiastical province. One of the first examples of such an extension in the Eastern Slavic Church were the Synods 1547 and 1549 under Metropolitan Macarius of Moscow (1482-1563), during which many saints of local significance were elevated to the status of general commemoration in the whole Moscow metropolitanate. In the Kyiv metropolitanate such a process took place only a century later when Metropolitan Peter Mohyla (1596/7-2647) elevated the (locally venerated?[12]) saints of the Kyivan Caves Monastery to a general status. Such was also the case with the canonization of Gregory Palamas by patriarch Philotheus Kokkinos and that of Mark Eugenikos by patriarch

[12] There is evidence of previous veneration of only a portion of these saints.

Gennadios Scholarios in 1456.[13] Both were venerated locally before they received a general canonization. This two-step process, however, did not exclude the possibility of a direct general canonization, without going through the "local" phase.

There are two aspects which should be noted at this point, in which the Eastern practice differs from that which came to prevail in the West after the canonization reforms of Urban VIII (1643) and Benedict XIV (1734-38). First, it seems to be the exception rather than the rule, that a higher ecclesiastical authority approves the veneration for only a limited part of his sphere of authority, although it is common for him to he consulted.[14] Second, the approval or establishment of the veneration of a saint (whether local or general) is in the Eastern Churches primarily a liturgical decision, which affirms the legitimacy of addressing these persons in community prayer. It does not place explicit emphasis, as does modern Roman canonization, on the doctrinal aspect (that the faithful are to accept as an article of faith that the canonized person is in heaven) and therefore in the East the question of infallibility or irrevocability is not formulated. In general, in Eastern practice, canonization is a liturgical, not a dogmatic statement. Rather, it has dogmatic significance deriving from a liturgical fact.

> Canonization does not mean that [...] the judgment of the ecclesial authorities that pronounce the canonization is absolutely infallible. [...] The act of

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[13] Cf. C. Harissiadis, "La reconnaissance des saints dans l'Église Orthodoxe selon la procédure du Patriarchat oecuménique," in *Saints et sainteté dans la liturgie: Conférences Saint-Serge: XXXIIIe semaine d'Études liturgiques; Paris, 2-6 juin 1986*, ed. A.M. Triacca and A. Pistoia (Roma: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1987), 120-121.

[14] Thus some of the saints at the Macarian Synods in Moscow were approved, or confirmed, only for local veneration. See E. E. Голубинский, *История канонизации святыхъ въ русской церкви* (History of the canonization of saints in the Russian Church) (Moscow, 1903), 100-101.

> canonization does not claim to decide the eternal destiny of the saint [...] its role is primarily liturgical and pedagogical.[15]

P. Peeters recognizes this character of Eastern canonizations, but interprets it as a defect: "The principle gist of the decree [of the 1547 Macarian synod] is purely disciplinary and liturgical."[16] It is often overlooked that within the Roman Catholic Church it was the Congregation of Rites, a liturgical authority, established in 1588, that possessed the exclusive competence to conduct beatification and canonization processes. This function was transferred to a separate Congregation for the Causes of Saints in 1968.

1.A.2. The Ruthenian Sanctorale before 1596

1.A.2. a) Studies

The study of the development of the East Slavic sanctorale is still in its infancy. Even after the important works by I. Martinov, Archbishop Sergii (Spasskii), and Golubinskii,[17] who have done much to gather and classify information, Loseva points to several key areas which require clarification. "To this day there are many unanswered questions regarding the time and circumstances of the canonization of the first Rus' saints and the status of the new feasts (whether all-Rus' veneration or a local one), an

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[15] "E. Behr-Sigel, *Prière et sainteté dans l'Église russe, suivi d'un essai sur le rôle du monachisme dans la vie spirituelle du peuple russe.* (Paris: Cerf, 1950), 25.

[16] Paul Peeters, "La canonisation des Saints dans l'Église russe," *Analecta Bollandiana* 33 (1914): 397.

[17] Ioannes Martinov, *Annus ecclesiasticus graeco-slavicus* (Brussels, 1863), reprinted in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 59, *Octobris tomus 11* (Brussels, 1864); Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*; Голубинский, *История канонизации.*

official canonization or a veneration not sanctioned by higher Church authorities."[18] Bosley points out that previous studies, centering on the history of canonizations themselves, did not address the most interesting historical questions, such as the nature of the initial cult and its further developments, the meaning of the cult for the local population, etc.[19] Loseva concluded that "The status and level of contemporary research is marked by the lack of comprehensive studies about Rus' feasts, written on the basis of direct research on the entire corpus of manuscript sources."[20] Her study is an attempt to fill that lacuna for the eleventh to fourteenth centuries.[21]

Even so, all of the above-mentioned studies of the Rus' sanctorale have focused primarily on the Novgorod and other Northern Rus' areas, pointing to a lack of sources as a primary obstacle for researching the Southern (Kyivan) area. He explains this by the fact that the Southern areas were devastated by the Mongol invasion, while Novgorod was not.[22] In his presentation of sources for the Slavic sanctorale, I. Martinov associates all seven available tenth- to thirteenth-century Rus' sources with Novgorod.[23] As sources for the Kyivan metropolitanate he mentions only imprints (the 1581 Ostrih Bible) and books described by Ignatius Kulchynskyi, (the Lviv 1643 Anthologion and

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[18] О. В. Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы XI–XIV веков* (Rus' liturgical calendars of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries) (Moscow: Памятники исторической мысли, 2001), 87.

[19] Richard D. Bosley, "The Changing Profile of the Liturgical Calendar in Muscovy's Formative Years," in *Culture and Identity in Muscovy, 1359-1584,* ed. A. M. Kleimova, G. D. Lenhoff (Moscow: Garant, 1997), 30 [=UCLA Slavic Studies, n. s., 3].

[20] Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 88.

[21] Bosley's summary extends to the seventeenth century.

[22] Martinov, *Annus,* 1.

[23] These are (with Martinov's dating): the Ostromir Gospel (1056-57), the Putiatin codex (eleventh century), the Petersburg Menaion fragment (eleventh or twelfth century), the

1679 Typicon) several nineteenth-century editions, and the icon calendar (1628) published and commented upon by Daniel Papebrochius in *Acta Sanctorum*.[24] Besides these, he refers to the Kyivan Caves Patericon[25] and "many descriptions of Calendars which Father David SJ, a missionary to Moscow, copied personally and sent to the Bollandists" in 1680.[26] Unfortunately, Martinov makes no further mention of these calendars in his review of sources, and no data from these sources are included in his appendix of transcripts of the calendars (*Sylloge Kalendariorum*).[27] He mentions another group of manuscripts from the libraries of Berlin, Vienna, Lviv (Ossolineum, St. Onuphrius monastery), and Przemyśl, of which he says only fragments are available. These fragments are recorded in his *Sylloge*,[28] but are not alloted a discussion.[29] Martinov's Annus summarizes a great deal of Russian and Bollandist hagiographical research, and is particularly valuable for his positive theological evaluation of Slavic saints.

Mstislav Gospel (before 1117), the Arkadii codex (between 1156-1163), two Novgorod Menaion fragments (twelfth century), and the Paris Slavic codex IV (no date).

[24] D. Papebrochius, "Ephemerides Graecorum et Moscorum, horum figuratae, istorum metricae, Latine redditae et observationibus variis illustratae" (Liturgical calendars of the Greeks and Muscovites: the latter in illustrations, the former in verse, translated into Latin and with commentaries), in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 14, *Maii tomus 1,* i-lxxvi. Antwerp, 1680.

[25] The text was composed in the early thirteenth century; first printed in Kyiv in 1635 in Polish, then in 1661 in Church-Slavonic.

[26] Martinov, *Annus*, 1. The Moscow metropolitanate is also represented only by printed books. On Georgius David and his cooperation with Papebrochius, see Georgius David, SJ *Status modernus magnae Russiae seu Moscoviae (1690),* edited with introduction and explanatory index by A. V. Florovskii (The Hague: Mouton, 1965), 15-16; 23-24.

[27] Ibid., 329-360. Ibid.

[28] Ibid., 357-358.

[29] Ibid., 12. Actually this list presents a unique source for thesixteenth-century West Ruthenian sanctorale, especially since several of the key texts (the Prologs) have been lost since.

A second major study of the Rus' sanctorale is Archbishop Sergii's *Polnyi mesiatseslov Vostoka* (*Full menologion of the East).* He claims to have examined over 1500 Slavic manuscripts (vol. 1), and documents the principal manuscript evidence about every commemoration in the calendar (vol. 2). His study does not, however, analyze the provenance of the early Slavic manuscripts he uses, and therefore he does not make an attempt to group his findings according to locality; he frequently distinguishes between Southern Slavic (Serbian, Bulgarian) and Eastern Slavic ("Russian") sources, but does not make the effort to differentiate the latter. He observed generally about Kyivan libraries that they are almost devoid of hagiological sources.[30] The earliest Slavic hagiographical source that he found in Kyiv was a Prolog of the seventeenth century.[31] His study does not offer information about specifically Kyivan or southern Rus' practices.

As indicated by the title, Golubinskii's *Istoriia kanonizatsii sviatykh v russkoi tserkvi* (*History of Canonization of Saints in the Russian Church*) deals primarily with canonizations, not the history of liturgical veneration. However, since there are many early saints whose date of canonization is not recorded, he proposes the principle that one cannot consider as saints only those whose canonization date is known; if there is evidence of veneration, it suffices for the recognition of the person as a saint. Therefore, in many cases he offers information about veneration as evidence for the "canonization"

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[30] Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 1:xxii. This pertains less to Greek sources. He uses four important Greek manuscripts of the tenth to twelfth centuries,

[31] Archbishop Sergii, along with other authors, refers to the Mongol invasions as the reason for such a dearth of early Slavic sources in Kyiv. Indeed this may explain this dearth for the period up to the thirteenth, even the fourteenth centuries, but not later.

of a saint. All the same, it is difficult to get a detailed picture of the manuscript base of this study, though as regards the Muscovite imprints, he does give a rather comprehensive picture of the Rus' sanctorale. His choice of Muscovite books is probably pragmatic, since this is a workable range. It also corresponds to the ecclesiastical political reality in that, in his attempts to differentiate saints who were canonized for all-Russian versus local veneration, he claimed that inclusion in Muscovite calendars amounted to a general Russian canonization.[32]

Golubinskii does examine what he calls "the Kyivan saints", by which he means the 118 Kyivan Caves monks and eleven others he classifies as "Kyivan" (i.e. not "Great Russian").[33] They were all canonized in the seventeenth century (and later), beginning with Peter Mohyla's general canonization of the Kyivan Caves monks in 1643.[34]

Loseva's study is a new comprehensive approach to the whole corpus of eleventh to fourteenth century manuscripts. She structured her research according to particular

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Additional important factors would be the transferal of documents to Russian libraries and the great fire in the library of the Kyivan Theological Academy library in 1780.

[32] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 294. Bosley also sees the filling out and unification of the calendar of Muscovy in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries as closely related to the political emergence of Moscow: *The Changing Profile*, 35-38.

[33] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 202-223. Golubinskii's designation of "Kyivan" saints, instead of "Little Russian" or "Southwest Russian" shows that he is operating primarily within ecclesial categories and not political, that is, the Kyivan metropolitan province in comparison to the Muscovite, at least as they looked at the time of their first division in 1448. In the whole section he speaks repeatedly of "Kyivan Rus' and Muscovite Rus'," or "the two Rus's: Kyivan and Muscovite." This is similar to the model which Korolevskij adopted in distinguishing "Ruthenian saints from Muscovite saints," although he does not refer to Golubinskii. Notably, for both of them, as also for Archbishop Sergii, (*Полный месяцеслов*, 1: 383-390, 614), the term "Kyivan saints" refers to the post-1448 period, and not the previous. Everything prior to that is simply Rus' or Muscovite Rus'.

types of sources, namely, the specific liturgical and hagiographical genre. Her study demonstrates that commemorations appeared and spread within each genre in autonomous and unequal rhythms. She also gives a detailed description of the origins and dissemination of the nineteen earliest Rus' commemorations.[35] Although she proposes many interesting explanations of the interaction between Rus' and South Slavic sources, she does not make an attempt to draw a general picture of veneration within particular areas of the Rus' realm itself, except for one or two instances where she is interested in supporting or disputing a question regarding regional veneration. For example, she rejects the claim of Andrzej Poppe that there was little interest in the cult of Borys and Hlib in the Halych-Volyn lands, offering contrary evidence from five twelfth- to fourteenth-century Gospel Books of the Halych-Volyn region which contain the commemoration. Such regional issues, however, are not part of her focus. While she does give exhaustive eleventh- to fourteenth-century documentation[36] about each commemoration in the calendar, she does not chart which commemorations are in each manuscript source. Only a reorganization of her work according to sources and verified descriptions of the provenance of each source can allow one to chronicle a regional history of liturgical commemorations.

The question of the provenance of many of these sources is central to determine the outcome of research. Many authors assume that all the earliest Slavic liturgical

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[34] Most historians refer to this date in a general way, since apparently no documentation survived about this canonization. The question is discussed below in Chapter 4, section A.4.

[35] Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 87-119.

[36] Ibid., 141-420. She thoroughly documents only Gospel and Epistle Books, *obikhodniki* (anthologies with musical notation) and Horologia of the period.

documents are Novgorodian (or Northern Rus'),[37] based on the assumption that nothing in the Kyiv area survived the Mongol invasion, which had spared Novgorod. However, Iakym Zapasko expounds the historical and linguistic arguments of another group of historians who attribute Kyivan origin to many (but certainly not all) of these documents.[38] "Of the thirty-five manuscript books and fragments of the eleventh century and the turn of the eleventh to twelfth centuries known today and partially described by scholars under the general title of Old-Rus' tradition, only eleven can be attributed to the southern and south-western regions [of Rus']."[39] His qualifier "only" can be fully appreciated in light of the "nul" attribution of most Russian historians. A review and application of Zapasko's geographical propositions, along with a reworking of Loseva's detailed documentation, could supply the basis for an early history of the sanctorale in the Kyivan Metropolitanate.

The following summary is offered as an indicative or probable picture of Kyivan sanctorale history. The "probable" character pertains especially to the early period, since it is not based on a full re-classification of the sources as mentioned above.

1.A.2.b) The eleventh to the fourteenth centuries

Loseva designates nineteen Rus' commemorations as belonging to the early Rus' period (eleventh to fourteenth centuries).[40] The following is a brief review of these commemorations arranged according to the time of appearance of each commemoration

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[37] As Martinov and Archbishop Sergii above.

[38] Я. П. Запаско, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва. Українська рукописна книга* (Monuments of the art of bookmaking. Ukrainan manuscripts) (Lviv, 1995). Pages 15-71 discuss documents of the eleventh to the middle of the sixteenth centuries.

[39] Ibid., 15.

in extant documents. This does not necessarily indicate the year of the feast's establishment, which, owing to the loss of many documents, is difficult to determine, but rather it points to a general tendency to postpone the introduction of a feast into written calendars, even after an official canonization.

We have no mention of any Rus' saints in liturgical documents of the eleventh century. There are, however, commemorations closely connected to Rus': the finding of the relics of Pope Clement in Crimea in 861 by Cyril the Philosopher (30 January),[41] and the Dedication of the church of St. George in Kyiv under Iaroslav the Wise (26 November).[42] The latter feast, although not based on a Rus' saint, celebrates the Christian character of the Kyiv (Rus') community as such, imitating similar dedications in other important Christian centers. There are also other Slavic commemorations: Constantine the Philosopher (14 February),[43] his brother Methodius, bishop of Moravia (6 April),[44] and Wenceslas (Viacheslav), prince of Bohemia (28 September).[45]

Twelfth-century documents begin to include Borys and Hlib on 24 July, the date of the death of Borys,[46] and on 2 May, the date of the transfer of their relics in 1115;[47] as well as the dedication of the church of Holy Wisdom (4 November).[48]

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[40] Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 87-116.
[41] In the Ostromir Gospel, the Archangelsk Gospel, and the Glagolitic Assemani Gospel. This and the following references to primary sources are from Loseva's study.
[42] The only witness is the Assemani Gospel, but there must have been a Rus' prototype for this commemoration.
[43] In the Ostromir and Archangelsk Gospels, as also the Assemani Gospel.
[44] In the Archangelsk and Savva Gospels.
[45] In the Archangelsk Gospel.
[46] In the Mstyslav and the Iurievsk Gospels.
[47] The Odessa Gospel (of Halych-Volyn origin). In the twelfth to fourteenth centuries this is the third most frequent Rus' commemoration after 24 July and 26 November: Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 105.

The thirteenth century witnesses the inclusion of Theodosius (3 May),[49] the death of Hlib (5 September), the transfer of the relics of St. Nicholas (9 May),[50] the commemoration of an earthquake in Rus' (5 February) and three commemorations which originated in the Vladimir-on-the-Kliazma and Suzdal regions, in connection with Prince Andrew Bogolubskii: the finding of the relics of Leontius of Rostov (23 May), the Protection of the Theotokos ("Pokrov", 1 October) and the Merciful Savior and Holy Theotokos (1 August).[51]

Rus' commemorations that begin to appear in the fourteenth century are: Vladimir (15 July), Olha (11 July), the transfer of the relics of Theodosius (31 May — a doubling of 14 August), Michael and Theodore of Chernihiv (20 September), the dedication of the church of the Tithe in 996 (12 May), a unique mention of "the consecration of [the church of] Holy Wisdom in Kyiv in the year 6460" i.e. 952 (!) (11 May), and two Novgorod feasts: the Sign of the Theotokos (27 November) and Barlaam of Khutin (6 November).

A distinct feature of eleventh- to fourteenth-century Rus' calendars is the presence of "typically Western" saints and commemorations, meaning, Western feasts not mentioned in Byzantine calendars. These feasts are in the earliest evidence (in every Rus' calendar of the eleventh to early twelfth centuries except the Rheims Gospel

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[48] In the Mstyslav Gospel. Loseva (ibid., 98-100) discusses various disputed questions about the date of the dedication, the day of the commemoration and its coincidence with unique mentions in non-Slavic calendars.

[49] Loseva (*Русские месяцесловы*, 101) indicates that in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries this commemoration is evidenced more frequently in Southern Slav than in Rus' documents. She concludes that the earlier Rus' originals must be lost.

[50] This and other "Western" commemorations will be discussed below.

calendar fragment), which means that they pre-date the Rus' feasts. Loseva traces a variety of liturgical and hagiographic sources of these feasts and claims these are not sporadic influences, but witnesses to an intense program of cultural exchange between Kyivan Rus' and diverse centers in the West, "much more so than in the later period."[52] Besides the widely known feast of the transfer of the relics of St. Nicholas to Bari (instituted by Pope Urban II in 1089 and adopted in Rus' no later than 1093),[53] we find Wenceslas (d. 929 or 935)[54] and his grandmother Ludmila (d. 920)[55] of Bohemia, Perpetua and Felicity, Patrick of Ireland, Christopher, Arnulf of Metz, and many other commemorations (some generally known in the West, some local or little known).[56] Senyk also mentions liturgical texts by Ambrose of Milan and Gregory the Great, a prayer attributed to Cyril of Turaw in which Eastern and Western saints are invoked (Cyril and Methodius, Borys and Hlib, Adalbert [Vojtech], Wenceslas, Magnus, Canute, Alban and the early popes — Linus, Anacletus and Clement) and hagiographic works including Appolinarius of Ravenna, Anastasia and Chrysogonus.[57]

During the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, Loseva observes that only the feasts of Kyiv, Vladimir-on-the-Kliazma and Novgorod achieved general acceptance in all of Rus'. Canonizations in other centers remained local. The feasts most commonly

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[51] Loseva (*Русские месяцесловы*, 106-109) connects all three to Andrew Bogolubskii's striving to establish ecclesiastical independence from Kyiv.
[52] Ibid., 71-72.
[53] S. Senyk, *A History of the Church in Ukraine*. Vol. 1 (Rome, 1993), 366 [=Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 243].
[54] His political murder (929 or 935) is similar to that of Borys and Hlib.
[55] The *Life* of Olha is modeled on that of Ludmila (martyred 920).
[56] Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 72-75. Loseva counts thirty-eight such Latin commemorations (some are Eastern saints on Latin dates) and twenty-six more hypothetical ones.

mentioned in the sources are those from the period of Kyiv's strongest political influence (1015-1240). The earlier period of the beginnings of Christianity (from Olha to Vladimir) is represented much less. The post-Mongol political fragmentation (after 1240) also produced local initiatives, among which those of Vladimir-on-the-Kliazma and Suzdal were more successful than those of Novgorod. Finally, Moscow established itself as a strong center of canonizations.58

As to the role of Church authorities, Loseva assumes

> the existence of a definite mechanism of limitation of canonizations of new saints (the difficulty with the establishment of the cult of Vladimir and Olha). Herein, apparently, lies the reason for the insignificant number of Rus' feasts established in that period as compared with other periods. [...] There seems to be, if not opposition, then at least a lack of interest on the part of the [Kyivan] Greek hierarchs in the glorification of Rus' saints.59

Considering all the unfavorable circumstances for the introduction and systematization of Rus' elements into the calendars, including general conservatism of the manuscript copiers, there must have been, concludes Loseva, a "powerful spontaneous and unsanctioned veneration of a number of Rus' saints embodied in unwritten tradition."[60]

1.A.2.c) The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there is almost no information about canonizations in the Kyiv metropolitanate. Metropolitan Ilarion does not indicate any. I. Vlasovskyi speaks of a "small number" of saints canonized in the fifteenth to

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[57] Senyk, *History*, 375; 399.
[58] Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 115-116.
[59] Ibid., 115-116.
[60] Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 116.

seventeenth centuries, but enumerates only those of the seventeenth century. A. F. Khoinatskii mentions during this period only Theodore of Ostrih (died at end of fifteenth century), canonized "before the end of the sixteenth century."[61] Because of this lack of information, we shall first review the canonization process in the Moscow metropolitanate, then offer some liturgical evidence for the Kyivan metropolitanate.

Canonizations in the Moscow metropolitanate

During the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries Moscow becomes a unique center of canonizations, especially under Metropolitan Macarius (1542-1563). In fact Golubinskii divides his history of canonizations in the Russian Church into periods before the Macarian synods, the Macarian synods of 1547 and 1549, the Patriarchal (ca. to 1700), and the Synodal (to Golubinskii's day) periods.

As for the pre-Macarian period, Golubinskii designates three saints as having received a general canonization in the first three centuries: Borys, Hlib and Theodosius. In the next centuries, still before Macarius, four more were added: Metropolitans Peter and Alexis, who were formally canonized; and Sergius of Radonezh and Cyril Belozerskii, canonized by spontaneous acceptance. A *Vita* of Metropolitan Jonas, written at the time of Macarius, enumerates fifteen more individuals as having been granted general veneration, but Golubinskii argues that these are to be counted as part of

61 Митрополит Іларіон, *Канонізація святих в Українській Церкві,* Part 4 of *Українська Патрологія* (Winnipeg, 1965), 40-45; І. Власовський, *Нарис Історії Української Православної Церкви* (History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church), (Kyiv, 1990. Reprint), 2:272-275; А. Ф. Хойнацкий, *Православие на Западе России в своих ближайших представителях, или Патерик Волыно-Почаевский* (Orthodoxy in Western Russia in its most prominent representatives, or the Volyn-Pochaiv Patericon) (Moscow, 1888. Reprint, Zhytomyr, 1997), 133.

Macarius's canonizations.[62] Since during this time and even later, the idea of a general canonization (i.e. for the whole metropolitan province) is still quite fluid, Golubinskii suggests a general principle that saints venerated in Moscow could be considered as having a general canonization and veneration. He quotes a Moscow Psalter of the 1520's-30's which includes seventeen Rus' saints, though Olha is not among them.[63] On the whole, besides the seven mentioned above who were "formally" canonized, Golubinskii lists sixty others whom he classifies as venerated locally before Macarius.[64]

Metropolitan Macarius instructed the bishops under his jurisdiction to come to the 1547 synod in Moscow with full documentation about all the saints that are venerated locally in the individual eparchies. At the synod fourteen were canonized for general veneration in the whole metropolitanate, and nine were confirmed as local saints. Of this total, altogether five were new canonizations (four general, one local). The same process was repeated two years later, and at the 1549 synod sixteen saints were canonized, of which four were new. The records do not specify as to the breakdown between general or local canonization. As part of this intense canonization activity Metropolitan Macarius initiated another monumental project, namely, the gathering of all available hagiographic materials into an immense collection, later called the "Reading Menaion" (*Chet'i-Minei*) of Macarius. It is a veritable library of all that was available of hagiographic material in the Moscow sphere of influence. It was never recopied, but was

[62] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 90-92.
[63] Ibid., 91.
[64] Ibid., 43-85.

consulted by many important scholars, among whom was Dmytrii Tuptalo,[65] who used it when he was writing his *Lives of the Saints* (Kyiv, 1695-1705).

Golubinskii points to the political position of Moscow as one of the major factors which led to the numerous canonizations at that time. In his view, the idea of Moscow as Third Rome had ripened, and on 16 January, 1547 Grand Prince Ivan IV (the Terrible), with the backing of Metropolitan Macarius, received the imperial crown,[66] which made Muscovy the sole Orthodox empire, the heir of Byzantium. Such a development required that the new Orthodox empire be properly represented also in the heavenly Church, in the choir of saints. At the Moscow Stoglav Synod of 1551, where the canonizations were again confirmed, Ivan IV declared that he desired these canonizations to take place "so that the immense heritage [of sanctity] of our forefathers remains not hidden or forgotten."[67]

In spite of the official and repeated character of the Macarian canonizations, it is surprising that a considerable amount of time elapsed before these saints started appearing in liturgical books. The 1564 Moscow Epistle Book, the first book printed in Moscow, included only Borys and Hlib on 24 July; a second edition, of 1597, contained eight Rus' saints. Only in the 1602 Moscow Liturgicon does a more complete number of Rus' saints appear systematically in the liturgical books.[68] Golubinskii opines that initially (after the canonizations) the new saints were celebrated only in the cathedrals of

[65] Later metropolitan of Rostov.
[66] The Slavic *tsar* was the designation of the Byzantine emperors.
[67] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 94; cf. ibid. 93-95 and 105-106.
[68] Ibid., 225.

each eparchy, and since the number was still small it was possible to keep the dates in memory.[69]

During the period from the Macarian synods to the establishment of the Holy Synod under Peter I (1721), which coincides roughly with the period of the patriarchate, Golubinskii counts fifty-six saints of whom the date of canonization is known and approximately 146 for whom the date is not known.[70] The number of the second group is uncertain because it came to include also many non-canonized deceased who were nonetheless venerated.[71] Even so, Golubinskii establishes a wide criterion for the authenticity of saints, based on liturgical evidence:

> A canonized or real saint is a person for whom a yearly commemoration has been established and is celebrated with a [liturgical] service, to whom prayer services [*molebens*] are sung and to whom prayers are directed. An uncanonized or non-authentic saint is such as is venerated by the [common] people as a saint, but for whom a feast has not been established and is not celebrated, to whom prayer services are not sung, and the memory of whom is celebrated, in the expectation and hope of his glorification, by commemorations at Liturgies and memorial services [*panikhidas*].[72]

Difficulty in distinguishing the two groups existed not only in liturgical practice, but also in popular and scholarly works, and Golubinskii saw his basic task as introducing some criteria for certainty in this matter.[73] Fully aware that in several aspects this

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[69] Cf. Ibid., 225-227.

[70] There was also one "cancellation of a canonization" (the case of Anna Kashinskaia) discussed by Golubinskii, ibid., 159-168.

[71] Their grave and portraits were the object of quasi-liturgical cultic expressions, but prayers continued to be offered *for* them.

[72] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 138.

[73] In his extensive and severely critical review of Golubinskii's work, P. Peeters (*La Canonisation*) scoffed at the very idea of distinctions like canonized and non-canonized, or authentic and non-authentic, saints, or the cancellation of canonizations, overlooking the fact that these were similar to the situation in the West prior to and during the canonization reforms of Urban VIII in the seventeenth century.

remained unaccomplished, he insisted that clarity could only be achieved through a new act of the Holy Synod, namely, the publication of a comprehensive and properly classified list of Russian saints, officially confirmed by the Synod. This suggestion in part resembles the steps toward centralization taken by Urban VIII in 1624-1634. During the Synodal era (to Golubinskii's day: 1721-1903) there were only five general and fourteen local canonizations. Three venerations were annulled.[74]

Golubinskii devotes separate attention to a group he calls "the Kyivan saints," among whom he includes primarily the 118 monks of the Kyivan Caves monastery, along with twelve others also buried in the Caves, and eleven other saints "of Kyivan Rus'."[75] He explains that by "Kyivan saints" he means first of all "saints of the Kyivan Caves Lavra, and secondly, saints of the city of Kyiv or generally of Kyivan Rus', understood in the wider sense of all of South-western Rus'."[76] But since all the more renowned saints of pre-Mongolian Kyivan Rus' were already in the Muscovite calendars, this designation practically means saints of local Kyivan veneration, or saints who were canonized by Kyiv after 1448 (the date of the separation of the metropolitanate of Moscow from that of Kyiv), but who had not entered into Muscovite menologies immediately after 1686 (the date of the inclusion of the metropolitanate of Kyiv into the patriarchate of Moscow) but only at a later date.

The most obvious reason why Golubinskii discusses the Kyivan saints separately is that (except for the pre-Mongolian saints) they were never treated by the Northern

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[74] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 169-201. Even in this period, Golubinskii admits, there is a lack of thorough documentation.
[75] Ibid., 217.
[76] Ibid., 202.

Rus' (or Muscovite) authorities: they were canonized independently of the whole process described by Golubinskii. Another reason, deriving from the first, is that these saints entered quite late into the official Muscovite calendar. "The official recognition of Kyivan saints on the part of the Church authorities did not follow very quickly [after 1686]. Only in 1762 did the Holy Synod publish a decree which allowed the inclusion of the Kyivan saints into the common [i.e. Russian] calendars and the printing of their services in the Service Menaia. The decree was confirmed twice, in 1775 and 1784."[77] What is surprising about this delay is that Moscow was not "eager" to increase its hagiographic ranks, even with such prestigious saints as those of the Kyivan Caves. Even after the 1762 decree, there seems to have been a hesitancy, which necessitated a reiterating of the decree. This is all the more surprising since during a major part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Kyivan scholars and churchmen played a key role in the development of Muscovite academic and ecclesiastic life. Also, for a long time, the *Lives of the Saints* of Dmytrii of Rostov, which contained many lives of the Kyivan saints, was among the most popular and authoritative hagiographic works in the entire Slavic East.

In view of such factors, which should have facilitated the introduction of Kyivan saints into Russian calendars, we could presume that at this time Moscow was intent on imposing its own traditions on Kyiv. This can be seen also in other aspects of Church life: the theological controversies with the Kyivan theologians (and their formal condemnation) at the end of the seventeenth century; the ban on the printing of liturgical books which differed from the Nikonian reform; the reworking of Dmytrii's *Lives* from

[77] Ibid., 202.

the second edition on to conform to the Muscovite recension of Church Slavonic. Kyiv and its saints were to remain a local, "provincial" phenomenon until Moscow was ready to assimilate them.

The Ruthenian sanctorales

Most of Golubinskii's information on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries concerns the Muscovite Church; the Kyivan or Ruthenian Church of this period remains less researched. Below is a description of a few representative Ruthenian sources, offered as a tentative sketch of the pre-1596 sanctorale.

The liturgical calendars of the fifteenth to early seventeenth centuries are diverse, with different images of the Slavic sanctorale presented by the various genres.[78] In the Gospel Books there is a striking predominance of Sava and Simeon of Serbia, with extremely few other Slavic or Rus' commemorations.[79] Two manuscripts are

[78] The following information is gathered mainly from Alexander Naumow, Andzej Kaszlej, *Rękopisy cerkiewnosłowianskie w Polsce. Katalog.* Cracow, 2002. The manuscripts represent primarily the Pzremyśl, and partially the Chelm, Ruthenian eparchies.

[79] In the over eighty manuscript Gospel Books of the fifteenth to early seventeenth centuries in Naumow's Catalog, the Slavic sactorale is as follows:
4 manuscripts include Sava of Serbia
5 – Simeon of Serbia
1 – Simeon and Arsenius of Serbia
50 – Sava and Simeon
2 – Sava, Simeon and Parasceve of Tarnovo
1 – Sava, Simeon and Borys and Hlib
1 – Borys and Hlib
1 – Parasceve
18 include no Slavic saints

exceptions.[80] By mid-seventeenth century there is a substantial influx of Muscovite saints.[81]

In the Anthologia we see a similar picture, but with the Bulgarian Parasceve of Tarnovo as the stable feature in twelve of the thirteen full Anthologia.[82] Of Rus' saints there are only Borys and Hlib in four of these Anthologia, every time with Parasceve,[83] and the Lithuanian martyrs once. The only Anthologion without Parasceve also has no other Slavic saints.[84] The manuscript groups of these two liturgical books fairly consistently show a hesitancy to include Rus' saints unless some other Slavic saints are present.

A sixteenth-century manuscript Epistle Book in the Lviv Stefanyk Academic Library[85] contains only Borys and Hlib (2 May) and Abraham of Galich (20 July).[86] A note at the end of the calendar indicates that "In the Typicon you will find other saints

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[80] No. 166 (sixteenth century) has Sava, Simeon, Arsenius, Cyril of Moravia, Borys and Hlib, and Peter of Kyiv. No. 198 (early seventeenth century) has these plus Parasceve of Tarnovo, Vladimir, and Theodosius, but without Cyril.

[81] For example, no. 265, in addition to the saints of no. 198 (note above), (but without Arsenius, Parasceve, and Theodosius), adds single commemorations for the Metropolitans Peter, Alexis, and Jonas, and a joint memory for all three, also Cyril Belozerskii, Barlaam of Khutin, and Sergius of Radonezh.

[82] The earliest of these, no. 543 of the late fifteenth or earlysixteenth centuries, lacks the section where Parasceve would have been.

[83] Supposing Parasceve was in no. 543, mentioned above.

[84] No. 570 of the mid-seventeenth century; it does have the Slavic feasts of Pokrov and of the Transfer of the relics of Nicholas.

[85] Manuscript MB 142 (Basilian collection).

[86] This is not the Halych south of Lviv that was the first see of the Halych (Galician) metropolitanate. Galich is a town in the Kostroma province, northeast of Moscow. Abraham was a contemporary of Sergius of Radonezh (fourteenth century). The similarity of the name (the spelling in Church Slavonic is identical) may have favored Abraham being introduced into a Galician calendar from a manuscript of Northern Rus' provenance.

that are celebrated [...] We have chosen to describe these briefly." Another sixteenth-century Epistle Book of the same collection (MB 422) contains no Slavic feasts.

The Slavic sanctorales of the Typica of this period are of two types. One group is quite conservative,[87] similar to the Gospel Book calendars, and well into the seventeenth century contain only a handful of Slavic saints in various combinations: Borys and Hlib, Vladimir, Anthony, Theodosius, Metropolitan Peter, Parasceve of Tarnovo, Sava, Simeon, and Arsenius of Serbia, John of Rila, Cyril of Moravia etc. Among these are also sanctorales with only Rus' saints.[88] A second group borrows much more generously, especially from Muscovite sanctorales.[89] In these calendars, besides the saints of the previous group, we find Olha, John of Suchava, the Lithuanian martyrs, Metropolitans Alexis, Jonas, Cyprian, Photius; Leontius and Isidore of Rostov, Stephen of Perm, Cyril Belozerskii, also Marian icons: of Vladimir, Smolensk.[90]

The basic reason for the difference between the sanctorales of the various genres is the rhythm of the liturgical services at which they were used. Books involved in the Divine Liturgy (Liturgicons, Gospel and Epistle Books) rarely had entries in calendars for every day, but only on the days a Liturgy was prescribed. Consequently, even borrowings were scarcer. On the other hand, Typica, Horologia and Menaia implied a daily service, so the calendars had entries for every day, and this favored more intense borrowing. For the same reason Prologs, which contained readings also about saints

[87] For example, Naumow's entries 945, 947, 953, 956, 958, 960, 961, 962.
[88] For example, Naumow's entries 944, 965.
[89] For example, Naumow's entries 946, 964, 966.
[90] I have not been able to identify Yoakim Sarandaporski/Osogowski, who figures on 16 August in Typica nos. 959, 964, and 966 (with proper kontakion), Nicholas Koczanow

whose liturgical commemoration was not foreseen, included saints rarely found in the other liturgical calendars.[91] In fact, it is probable that many saints entered the liturgical books through the Prolog and other hagiographic-edificatory literature (for example, even the Kyivan Caves monks),[92] or were retained in this literature after their liturgical cult was interrupted.[93]

Calendars in imprints of the time held to an intermediate measure. The 1491 Krakow Horologion, the earliest East Slavic imprint, contains Borys and Hlib (2 May and 24 July), Vladimir (15 July), Theodosius (3 May), Constantine the Philosopher (14 February), and Parasceve of Tarnovo (14 October).[94] The 1575 Vilnius Gospel Book has only Vladimir and Borys and Hlib (24 July). The 1581 Ostrih Bible, although not a liturgical book in the strict sense, does contain a liturgical calendar, which includes Borys and Hlib, Vladimir, Theodosius, Metropolitan Peter (21 December), Arsenius and Sava of Serbia, the transfer of the relics of Nicholas, and the Protection of the Theotokos. Noticeably, missing in all three sources, as in most of the manuscripts, are

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of 27 July (with troparion and kontakion), and Theodore Orowienski of 8 August, these last two in no. 964.

[91] For example, Martin of Turaw (27 June), found in several Prologs (Naumow, nos. 744, 746, 748). He is not to be confused with the Martin of Tours in fourth-century Gaul (12 October). This Martin was a twelfth-century monk who was cook for the bishops of Turaw. He is not included now in the normative Russian calendar. Cf. Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:193. The Slavonic spelling of the adjective for Turaw and Tours may be identical.

[92] For example, Kyivan Caves monks Eustrathius (28 March) and Alypius (17 August) in a Przemyśl Prolog (Naumow, no. 746) prior to 1608.

[93] For example, Ludmila and Wenceslas of Moravia (16 and 28 September) in a Chelm Prolog (Naumow, no. 743) dated 1584.

[94] In the Lviv National Museum copy Metropolitan Peter (24 August) and the Vladimir Theotokos icon (26 August) are added in the margins in an early hand.

Anthony of the Kyivan Caves, and Olha, who were among the latest to enter into Rus' liturgical books.

The above brief survey of Ruthenian pre-Brest calendars suggests that indeed the Ostrih Bible calendar appears to be quite representative of the period.

1.A.3. Developments after 1596 in the Kyivan Uniate Church

1.A.3.a) The Seventeenth Century

As with general liturgical practice, the Uniate sanctorale in the early decades of the seventeenth century did not differ much from the Orthodox sanctorale. From the middle of the century, since the Orthodox Ruthenian publications intensively began introducing Slavic saints, the question started to become acute. While there is evidence of a cult of the Slavic saints by the Uniates, liturgical books published by their metropolitans by the end of the century were devoid of all Slavic saints except Josaphat.

One of the earliest Uniate liturgical publications was the 1612 Ostrih Horologion (with Calendar). Although Prince Constantine Ostrozkyi was an opponent of the Union as it was realized at Brest, the internal evidence of the Horologion suggests that the publishers identified with the Union.[95] The sanctorale is somewhat similar to the Ostrih

[95] Pages 301r-302r contain a brief chronology of ecclesiastic history (beginning from Adam), which enumerates the seven (Ecumenical) Councils, naming the pope and the patriarch of Constantinople (starting from the Second Council) for each, followed by the Council of Florence (giving only the date, with no ordinal number). The chronology closes with the death of Constantine Ostrozkyi in 1608, his burial in the Cathedral of Ostrih, then: "During his age there were two synods in Brest of Lithuania, of all the bishops and the Metropolitan; the first in 1590 and the second in 1596." The Brest synod that the Metropolitan took part in in 1596 was the one that ratified the Union with Rome.

Bible. It includes Borys and Hlib (2 May and 24 July), Metropolitan Peter, Theodosius, Vladimir, John of Rila, and Arsenius of Serbia.

The second Uniate liturgical publication, the 1617 Vilnius Liturgicon printed by Mamonych,[96] does not include a calendar, but the *Proskomidē* and the *Litē* commemorations include no Slavic saints. This is still rather typical of the Kyivan metropolitanate at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as is evidenced by the Orthodox 1604 Striatyn Liturgicon. The Mamonych Liturgicon printed in 1598 contained several Muscovite saints but Huculak surmises that this edition may have been printed for Muscovy.[97]

The next Uniate liturgical book that we have notice of is the Horologion printed by Metropolitan Havryil Kolenda in 1670.[98] Kolenda notes that he petitioned Rome "which of those in the lists [he] sent [to Rome] were saints."[99] This may have been a technical query as to whether the named persons should be considered "saints" or "beatified," according to the new regulations introduced by Urban VIII several decades earlier. But Kolenda appears to have had serious doubts about whether the named persons should be venerated at all, and called it a superstition to view the uncorruptedness of the bodies as

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[96] To be distinguished from the non-Uniate 1617 Vilnius Liturgicon printed by the Holy Spirit Brotherhood.

[97] L. D. Huculak, *The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in the Kievan Metropolitan Province During the Period of Union with Rome, 1596-1839* (Rome, 1990), 386 [=Analecta OSBM, Opera, 47].

[98] Kolenda mentions this in a 1671 report to Rome, but no copies of this publication have ever been described or found. Cf. I. Praszko, *De Ecclesia Ruthenica Catholica sede metropolitana vacante 1655-1665* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1944), 274-275.

[99] Augustinus Theiner, ed. *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum Historiam illustrantia*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1860-1864), 3:598-599; quoted in Praszko, *De Ecclesia*, 275.

(a sign of) sanctity of soul. Nonetheless, he did not want to be responsible for the decision. His suggestion in the matter is as dogmatically unsound as it is pastorally impracticable: "It does not seem a good idea to grant these persons a conditional cult, as if they were [real] saints; it is preferable that the decision on this matter remain perpetually suspended, rather than that the definitive sentence of the Holy See be made public."[100] Praszko does not inform us of Rome's answer, but information about the result claims that in the Horologion Kolenda "eliminated the Ruthenian Kyivan saints which were unknown to the Holy Roman Church."[101] This certainly meant all except Josaphat.

Some time before 1680 Polycarp Ohilevych, the Basilian provincial, wrote to the Bollandist Daniel Papebrochius that because of a lack of their own printing houses, the Ruthenian Catholics were forced to use the Orthodox publications. Ohilevych said this made the Catholics apprehensive when they encountered saints not found in the Greek calendars, lest they celebrate as saints those who were schismatics.[102]

On the other hand, the author of an *Elogium* of Iakiv Susha (1610-1687), Uniate bishop of Cholm, who calls Susha "a hierarch Blessed without beatification and a Saint without canonization (*sine ulla Beatificationis et Canonisationis ope, ver[us] Beat[us] et Sanct[us]*)," and whom the Orthodox honored as "a saintly soul, a great hierarch,"

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[100] "Concedere autem cultum illorum sub conditione, nempe quatenus sunt Sancti, et hoc non videtur: satius aeterna suspensio decisionis circa hoc maneat, quam decisiva Sanctae Sedis propaletur sententia." Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta* 3:599; quoted in Praszko, *De Ecclesia*, 275.

[101] Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta* 3:598-599; quoted in Praszko, *De Ecclesia*, 274-275. This cannot be verified, since, as noted above, there are no known copies of this Horologion.

[102] Papebrochius, *Ephemerides*, iii.

attests that Susha "recommended the invocation of the Holy Fathers Anthony and Theodosius of the Kyivan Caves, saying they lived at a time when the Union flourished in Rus', and the Churches were not in disagreement among themselves."[103]

The 1692 Vilnius Liturgicon of Metropolitan Zhokhovskyi

The 1692 Vilnius Liturgicon printed by Uniate Metropolitan Kyprian Zhokhovskyi is the first Uniate liturgicon printed after that of Vilnius 1617. It incorporated many of the liturgical changes that the Uniates had adopted during the seventeenth century. Because of its importance Zhokhovskyi's Liturgicon was the object of several studies.[104] Praszko offers the most information that concerns the sanctorale.

The sanctorale of Zhokhovskyi's Liturgicon includes no Slavic saints[105] except Josaphat, who is commemorated twice.[106] The metropolitan consulted with both the Warsaw Nuncio Pallavicini and Cardinal Francis Nerli (who carried the title "Protector

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[103] Demetrius Zankiewicz, "Elogium Jacobi Susza," *Analecta OSBM* 7 (13) (1971): 230; 236; 241.

[104] Praszko, *De Ecclesia*, 274-281; М. Ваврик, "Служебник Митр. К. Жоховського (Генеза й аналіза) (The Liturgicon of Metropolitan K. Zhokhovskyi. Genesis and analysis)," *Analecta OSBM* 12 (18) (1985): 311-341; Huculak, *The Divine Liturgy*, 90-98; See also П. Галадза, "Літургічне питання і розвиток богослужень напередодні Берестейської унії аж до кінця XVII століття (The liturgical question and liturgical development on the eve of the Union of Brest and to the end of the seventeenth century)," in *Берестейська унія та внутрішнє життя Церкви в XVII столітті. Матеріали четвертих "Берестейських читань" Львів, Луцьк, Київ, 2-6 жовтня 1995 р.*, ed. Борис Гудзяк and Олег Турій (Lviv: Institute of Church History of the Lviv Theological Academy, 1997) 19-20.

[105] It is not clear why Schweigl specifies that [only] the saints after the eleventh century are omitted, since he was able to check the copy in the Oriental Institute in Rome: J. Schweigl, "De menologio Graeco-slavico post annum 1054," *Periodica de re morali, canonica et liturgica* 30 (1941): 224.

[106] The main commemoration is on 16 September. This is a newer date. The original commemoration, 2 November, is also noted, with reference to the service of 16 September. For the history of the dates of the feast of Josaphat, see M. Wawryk, "De festo S. Josaphat in Ecclesia Rutheno-Ucraina," *Analecta OSBM* 6 (12) (1967): 171-183.

of the Ruthenian Church") about several aspects of the Liturgicon he planned, and also about which Rus' saints to retain and which to omit.[107] We do not have the responses to these consultations, but when the metropolitan was describing the finished Liturgicon to the cardinal, he claimed "the martyrology is in full conformance with [that of] Your Eminence."[108] This may mean simply that it is in conformance with the calendar of the Rome 1683 Liturgicon, which Nerli composed for the Greek-Rite Basilians in Italy. Praszko, however, concludes not only that Nerli gave the metropolitan definite instructions regarding the calendar, but also that the latter received them with a heavy heart, since the Ruthenian Catholic Church had been including these saints for some time in its manuscript liturgical books.[109]

1.A.3.b) Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries

Synod of Zamość 1720

In liturgical matters one of the basic tasks of the Synod of Zamość was to coordinate the practice of the recently united eparchies (Przemyśl, 1692; Lviv, 1700; Lutsk, 1702) with that of the older eparchies. Regarding Slavic saints, liturgical practice even within the latter was not uniform. Huculak describes the situation well: the 1709 Basilian Chapter encouraged its monks not to neglect the celebration of Anthony and Theodosius, Metropolitans Peter and Alexis, John of Suchava and "all those who lived in the Rus' Church in the time of Union with Rome." In 1711 Metropolitan Lev Kyshka

[107] Praszko, *De Ecclesia*, 276.
[108] Ibid., 277.
[109] Ibid., 278-279.

criticized the monks of Supraśl for not commemorating these, but in 1715 he censured the newly united eparchies for commemorating "schismatic saints."[110]

In spite of this, the Synod does not discuss or legislate on the question, or even on the whole liturgical calendar as such. In Title XVI it establishes the major feasts which were to be "of obligation," that is, requiring a formal dispensation from work by the civil authorities. This was an important issue in the practical life of the populace because of the combinations and interferences of the Roman, the Ruthenian, and the Armenian calendars.

Of the twenty-seven "immobile" feasts in the list the only Slavic saint is Josaphat; only "in Lithuania" Roman and David (Borys and Hlib) are added as "particular saints," as Panteleimon is in Volyn.[111] This should not be understood as reducing Borys, Hlib, and Panteleimon to locally venerated saints. The point of the distinction is to indicate which feasts are prescribed as canonically obligatory. No explanation of the ruling is offered, but the fact may be evidence that the tradition of venerating Borys and Hlib had already begun to wane in other parts of the Kyivan metropolitan province.

In contrast to this, the general prescription of the feast of Josaphat for the newly-united eparchies had the function of manifesting the full adoption of the total ecclesial reality of the Uniate Church: theological, spiritual, liturgical and canonical. The

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[110] Huculak, *The Divine Liturgy*, 180.

[111] "Festa Seorsiva" (Feasts proper to some part): *Synodus provincialis ruthenorum habita in civitate Zamosciae anno 1720: Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Benedicto P.P. XIII dicata*, 2d ed. (Rome: Typis S. Congr. De Prop. Fide, 1858), 149-151.

introduction of the feast of Josaphat, opposed vehemently by the Orthodox, was tantamount to a Uniate confession of faith.[112]

Since for almost a century the three new eparchies had been celebrating dozens of Slavic saints borrowed from Kyivan and Muscovite books, and saints who were not celebrated in the original Uniate eparchies and were sometimes objects of polemical debates, it could have been expected that this would need to be regulated at the Synod. In fact, in Title XVII there was an explicit ruling against the veneration, and even the naming, of Gregory Palamas,[113] but not a word about the Slavic saints. In this the Synod continued the policy which was applied at the time the three new eparchies were received into Union (and the policy at the Brest Union itself), namely, that there was no objection to any venerated saints, but Josaphat was prescribed as a visible sign of Union.

On the other hand the Synod did legislate that liturgical books should not be printed without the approval of the ordinary, and the liturgical books in use should be reviewed. The Synod appointed the Basilians Polycarp Fylypovych and Iakiv Sokolowskyi to do the revision.[114]

The Review of Stauropegial Books by Polycarp Fylypovych (1727)

In 1722 Atanasii Sheptytsky, the bishop of Lviv, complained to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide that in the Lviv Dormition Confraternity print shop he cannot enforce the prescription of the Synod of Zamość, namely, that any liturgical book

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[112] This is demonstrated by the twenty-fourth canon of the 1693 Synod of Przemyśl. See Carolus de Clercq, ed., *Decreta Viginti Synodorum Eparchialium Orientalium Catholicorum* (Rome, 1970), 15.

[113] *Synodus provincialis ruthenorum habita in civitate Zamostiae*, 152.

needed the approval of a local bishop before it could be printed.[115] The difficulty lay in the fact that when the Confraternity joined the Union in 1709 (nine years after the eparchy) Rome confirmed its status as exempt from the authority (and control) of the local bishop.[116] Sheptytsky was asking that the exemption be limited or withdrawn altogether.

Since the situation of such a printing press was very different from what was established in the Roman Church after the Council of Trent, the acts of the General Congregation of Propaganda Fide record the matter in drastic terms: "[...] the members of the Confraternity are a handful of merchants of common stock [*di vile condizione*], printers by profession, who without the review of anyone print breviaries, missals, liturgies, and all other sorts of books replete with errors and heresies."[117] The Congregation authorized the Warsaw nuncio (V. Santini) to decide the matter. In 1725 the nuncio's tribunal decided in favor of the bishop, expressing doubt about the ecclesiastical status of the Confraternity. Sheptytsky confiscated the unsold stock of the print shop, with the aim of correcting the books.[118] The Confraternity appealed the

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[114] "Fathers Polycarp Fylypovych and Iakiv Sokolowskyi, archimandrite of Kobryn monastery, were appointed to correct the Liturgicons, Horologia, and other Church books." A.Welykyj, *Congregationes Particulares,* 1:173; idem, *Litterae,* 3:199.

[115] *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica.* Comp. Andrei Sheptytsky et al. 14 vols. (Rome 1964-1977), 5:346. For a summary of the conflict of Sheptytsky with the Confraternity, and Fylypovych's role in it, see Huculak, *The Divine Liturgy*, 98-103. My information for this and the next section, unless otherwise noted, is from there.

[116] Previously the Confraternity was under Constantinopolitan patriarchal jurisdiction, now, analogously, it would be directly under Rome. Patriarchal exemption is the meaning behind the term "Stauropegion."

[117] *MUH* 5:348. Sheptytsky claimed that the members were five in number. Sheptytsky mentioned "errors and heresies" in his previous complaint to the nuntio, but not in his letter to Rome.

[118] Cf. *MUH* 5:356.

decision to Rome. In 1727 Sheptytsky charged Fylypovych to review the Confraternity's books as quickly as possible[119] to further discredit the Confraternity before Rome reached a final decision.[120] On 11 June of that year Fylypovych wrote the Congregation about a subsidy that was promised him for the printing of a book on moral theology, and mentioned that he had just arrived in Lviv.[121] This may be the time Fylypovych started the review. The Acts of the review also mention that it was carried out in 1727.[122]

Fylypovych carried out the review single-handedly. He examined a dozen books,[123] and the results constituted a 43-page document entitled "Revisio librorum ecclesiasticorum typographiae Leopoliensis nationis Ruthenae existentis sub cura arciconfraternitatis [...] Assumptae [...]."[124] The main target of his criticism were doctrinal errors, or liturgical practices that had doctrinal consequences. These ranged from the relatively "obvious" (the Confraternity was still printing the commemoration of the Eastern patriarchs, omitting the Roman Pontiff), to the exclusion of the *Filioque*, the commemoration of Palamas and many "finer" points. For example, the nineteenth error of the Euchologion: before the service of burial of a priest the Euchologion quotes canon

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[119] Fylypovych describes that he was working "day and night." *MUH* 5:415.

[120] The Nuntio expressed this expectation to the Congregation on 29 October, 1727, and indeed, the Congregation replied to him on 13 December, 1727 that the decision was reached before the Congregation saw the results of the revision: *MUH* 5:416-418; 419-420.

[121] Polycarp Fylypovych was known to an older generation in Rome, since he was previously the Procurator General of the Basilians (1692-96). He was later appointed Apostolic Vicar of the Mukachevo eparchy, and nominated bishop, but never ordained. See *MUH* 5:38, n.2. In 1727 he was archimandrite of Lishchynsk monastery.

[122] *MUH* 5:372.

[123] The 1712 Liturgicon, the 1719 and 1720 Euchologia, the 1694 Anthologion, the 1717 Lenten Triodion, the 1701 Pentecostarion, the 1700 Oktoichos, the 1719 and 1726 Horologia, a 1710 "Molitwoslow" (Precarium quotidianum), the 1699 Akathist Collection and the 1719 Apostol.

66 of "a schismatic Kyivan synod, which even if it contains nothing bad [...] indicates communion with schismatics and subjection to laws made by them."[125] The general tone of the criticism is intensely ultramontane, strongly critical of anything that is not consonant with Roman doctrine and Roman soteriological exclusivity. For example, the seventeenth error of the Euchologion: during the Annointing of the Sick, the priest asks the sick person:

> [...] do you believe about the articles of faith in such manner as is taught by the holy, catholic, orthodox Eastern Church? [...] The reason of the error is that [the text] [...] considers the Eastern Church which is now schismatic and even heretical [...] to be catholic and to be the rule of faith. It attributes to it the notes of the true Church of Christ, which belong only to the holy Roman Church.[126]

The Anthologion which Fylypovych examined is undated in the report, but could only have been the 1694 edition, the only one printed by the Brotherhood after 1651, of which it is a "line for line" reproduction.[127] This was one of the editions Korolevskij used in the RR Commission. There he had no complaint about any of the numerous Slavic saints, but he objected to the mention of Mark of Ephesus before the Royal Hours of Theophany.[128] Similarly in the Liturgicon, he found no fault with the mention of the Kyivan metropolitans Peter, Alexis and Jonas, along with the martyrs John of Suchava, the Lithuanian martyrs and the hieromartyrs Kuksha and Pimen of the Kyivan Caves, as also with seven other monks of the Caves, besides Anthony and Theodosius of the

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[124] *MUH* 5:371-415.
[125] Ibid., 5:388.
[126] Ibid., 5:387-388.
[127] Запаско-Ісаєвич, *Пам'ятки*, 1:107.
[128] *MUH* 5:392.

Caves,[129] all of whom are commemorated in the *Proskomidē*. Many of these are again repeated in the petitions of the *Litē* and at festal Matins.[130]

In the 1726 Horologion Fylypovych found six Slavic commemorations he objected to. He cites John the Recluse (18 July) — "some Kyivan monk who suffered much [...], who buried himself up to his shoulders with his own hands and died there. The reason of the error is that it counts among the saints one who killed himself."[131] He also objected to inclusion in the calendar of Anthony the Roman of Novgorod (3 August) as fictitious.[132] He then indicated a group of "dubious saints" that should be cancelled: Pimen of the Kyiv Lavra, "a man of great piety and austerity" (7 August), Theodore and Basil of the Caves (11 August), Maximus, "the fool for Christ, the Muscovite wonder-worker" (13 August) and Abraham, archimandrite of Smolensk (21 August). In spite of the praises for Pimen, he pronounces them all "saints of the same dough" as the previous, that is, the suicide John and the fictitious Anthony.[133]

Finally, in the 1699 Akathist Collection Fylypovych objected to the liturgical service to

> [...] the holy Fathers of the Kyivan Caves [...] about whom we may justly doubt not only their sanctity, but even their Catholic faith, since they all lived after the rise of the schism of Photius in the East, from whence the Ruthenians took their faith under Vladimir, their prince, who was the first to accept the sacred Christian [faith]. After having received it, they continued to be dependent on the patriarchs of Constantinople, from whom they absorbed,

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[129] Nikon, John the Much-suffering, Isaac, Macarius, Moses the Hungarian and Agapetus the unmercenary physician.
[130] Liturgicon, Lviv 1712, f. 61v-62v; 19-19v; 43v.
[131] *MUH* 5:410.
[132] Ibid., 5:410. His *Life* narrates that he floated on a rock from Rome to Novgorod.
[133] Ibid., 5:411.

> besides the faith, also hatred toward the Latin Church and the Roman Apostolic See.[134]

The verdict, naturally, was to suppress the whole akathist.

Fylypovych's treatment of the Slavic saints totals to about one page of his report and contains at least two contradictions. First, while he shows Vladimir as having received the true faith, he doubts the faith of all the Caves Fathers, since they lived after the schism of Photius. Second, he condemns the Cave Fathers as a group in the Akathist Collection, but only those between 18 July and 21 August in the Horologion, and none at all in the Anthologion and the Liturgicon. This indicates Fylypovych's fundamental indecision about the topic, and as such, this discourse is quite different from the rest of his critique, which follows the unswerving logic of classical polemicists. It almost seems the criticism of the Slavic saints is simply added for good measure.

The inconsistencies may be partly due to the haste of the project,[135] but more likely because it was not an issue that had already been on his polemical agenda. He quotes no authorities for this criticism (while he frequently followed Allatius[136] for other topics) and he was not ready to develop a fully structured polemical stance. It was not among his priorities, even if, supposing that one of the main aims of the review was to discredit the books, this topic could easily have added many arguments to his report. The indecisiveness of Fylypovych's criticism is also an indication that there was not a generally developed position on the matter among the Ruthenian clergy, which he could

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[134] Ibid., 5:413.

[135] Hypothetically, Fylypovych might have been working on the review since his appointment at the Synod of Zamość (1720).

[136] Leo Allatius (1586-1669) was a Greek Catholic theologian who devoted much effort to making the Greek theological and liturgical tradition more familiar to the West.

appeal to. Indication of this is the extensive list of Ruthenian saints Kulchynskyi proposed in his *Specimen* in 1733. Fylypovych's unstructured criticism of the Rus' and Slavic saints also casts doubt on whether Ohilevych's description of the clergy's shunning of these saints was general, or a private opinion.

Correction of Liturgical Books by Atanasii Sheptytsky (1738)

Fylypovych's report reached Rome after the Congregation had decided that Sheptytsky should return the Confraternity its books, but that he should also take measures to ensure that only those would be sold that had been "corrected."[137] In 1730 the new nuncio (C. Paulucci-Merlini) forms a commission of six Latins and two Ruthenians to review the books.[138] Their conclusion (1731) was that some books should be corrected, and the rest burned.[139] The nuncio demanded a more detailed conclusion, and enlarged the commission to ten Latin theologians and two Ruthenians. This time Fylypovych was included. The commission examined twelve books in sixteen sessions, and in 1733 produced their results according to which the books were corrected.

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[137] *MUH* 5:419-420.

[138] Even after the Congregation saw Fylypovych's report, it recommended to Santini to form a commission of Latin theologians: A. Welykyj, *Congregationes Particulares*, 1:143; quoted in Tylavskyi 312-313. Santini argued against, saying that such could hardly be found that know the language, let alone the intricacies of the texts (meaning that the errors are sometimes artfully hidden). Santini considered Fylypovych's report sufficient: *MUH*, 5:417. Rome agreed to include in the new commission some Ruthenians to help with the language: A. Welykyj, *Litterae*, 3:304-305; quoted in Tylavskyi 313. Tylavskyi suggests that the Congregation desired a second, independent revision, because Fylypovych was working for Sheptytsky.

[139] Santini had recommended burning them all: *MUH*, 5:417.

In 1735 the Confraternity is accused at the Nunciature tribunal of selling uncorrected books in the eparchy of Lutsk and this resulted in another confiscation and emendation of the books.[140]

In order to bring uniformity to the books that were already in use, Atanasii Sheptytsky, now metropolitan, published in 1738 a circular letter addressed to "the hegumens and protopresbyters of our dioceses," containing a list of emendations that must necessarily be made, under pain of demotion, in the liturgical books (of the churches) under their jurisdiction, within eight weeks of receiving the letter.[141]

In the single introductory paragraph Sheptytsky states that both the Synod of Zamość and the Holy Apostolic See designated him to correct all Ruthenian liturgical books in use "if any slip or error would be found in them, according to the thought and judgment of theologians, appointed by the same Holy See." Other than that there are no explanations of the gist of each indicated error, as there had been in Fylypovych's report. The instruction treats fifteen books,[142] with a list of corrections to be made in each book. The language is quite graphic: "instead of [...] write [...]; erase [...]; erase

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[140] Я. Ісаєвич, *Українське книговидання. Витоки, розвиток, проблеми* (Ukrainian book-printing. Beginnings, development, problems) (Lviv, 2002), 267-268.

[141] The original was printed at the Confraternity print shop in 1738. The text of the letter was republished in 1905 by the Pochaiv Monastery with the intent to ridicule and discredit Uniate liturgical policy and practice. The accompanying annotation claims the letter was secretly circulated. Since the addressees are only higher ranking clergy, it is imaginable it might not have been publicly distributed. Certainly the operation itself could not hope to remain secret, since the authority of the metropolitan (who in turn invokes synodal and papal authority) needed to be clearly evidenced.

[142] Eleven from Fylypovych's list, Fylypovych's 1701 "Molitwoslow" was substituted by the 1720 edition, plus the Confraternity's 1715 Oktoichos and 1720 Reader ("Bukvar"), for the prayers included. To these the 1683 Univ Akathist Collection was added.

and delete [...]; throw out [...]; throw out and erase [...]; take out and throw away [...]" etc. The offending text could be a word, a whole introductory text, or a whole service.

The corrections prescribed by Sheptytsky partly followed the indications of Fylypovych, but were also further elaborated. As to Slavic saints, Sheptytsky repeated from Fylypovych, besides the group of the Fathers of the Caves, five saints (four commemorations): Anthony the Roman, Theodore and Basil of the Caves, Maximus of Moscow, Abraham of Smolensk, but not John the Recluse and Pimen of the Caves. To these Sheptytsky added eight saints (ten commemorations): the Metropolitans of Kyiv Peter (21 December; 24 August) and Alexis (12 August; 20 May), the fools for Christ Isidore of Rostov [14 May] and Basil of Moscow (2 August), Nikita the Stylite (24 May), Euthemius of Suzdal, John of Suchava and Moses the Hungarian, of the Caves (26 July). Only two of the saints Atanasii Sheptytsky deleted from the Anthologion (Basil and Maxim of Moscow) would end up being omitted from Kulchynskyi's list as well.

While generally the corrections concerning the Slavic saints occupy a more prominent place in Sheptytsky than in Fylypovych (a total of twenty-eight of the 125 corrections), they still have a sporadic and inconsistent character. Peter is cancelled in the Anthologion but not in the Horologion, Alexis conversely; both remain (along with Jonas) in the *Proskomidē* of the Liturgicon. Again, on the one hand, the general commemoration of the Caves Fathers was cancelled (in three books); on the other, of the many saints of the Caves in the Anthologion only Theodore, Basil, and Moses the Hungarian were singled out for deletion.

Thus not only the inconsistencies, but also the precise prohibitive instructions of the document leave open the question, whether the numerous other Slavic saints (e.g. in the Anthologion) were acceptable or not. This uncertainty continued at least for several more decades.

As in the case of metropolitans Havryil Kolenda and Kyprian Zhokhovskyi, in this case also Rome played a central role in the decisions about the formulation of the Slavic sanctorale. While in the first two instances the role of Rome was indirect but highly personal (through particularly influential cardinals), in this case it was more direct, but intended to be more objective, through a commission of theologians. Metropolitan Atanasii presented himself as essentially fulfilling the instructions of Rome, expressed in the conclusions of the commission appointed by Rome. Such an exaggerated disclaimer of responsibility for the corrections was certainly intended to rebuff accusations that the corrections were motivated by his conflict with the Confraternity.

However, it should be noted that in Sheptytsky's case, even more so than with Kolenda and Zhokhovskyi, the participation of Rome was not only provoked by an invitation from the Ruthenian authority, but was in a way determined in its quality by the critical attitude of the Ruthenian authority to the Slavic sanctorale. In turn, this critical attitude should be seen as a result of the theological formation of higher Ruthenian clergy in Western Catholic schools, of centuries-old polemics (especially with Polish theologians) about the whole Ruthenian liturgical tradition, and, not least of all, of the channeling of the canonization process in the Ruthenian Church through Rome.

The Pochaiv 1761 Menaion

Since the 1738 Instruction of Metropolitan Atanasii explicitly mentioned only a part of the Slavic saints that were currently in the Ruthenian Catholic liturgical books, it might have been supposed that the rest were to remain. On the contrary, the process of elimination progressed and by the time of the printing of the first (and only) full Menaion of the Ruthenian Catholic Church in the Basilian Pochaiv Lavra in 1761, only a handful of Slavic saints were left: Anthony, Borys and Hlib, Theodosius, and Vladimir. While the first three services are with Small Vespers, these services customarily follow the Greek service. The service of Vladimir, while without Small Vespers, is an innovation: it is the sole service printed for that day, the Greek service being printed on the previous day. Olha is not included.

Tylavskyi suggests two circumstances that may explain the heavily Latinized form of the publications of the Pochaiv press, in spite of the fact that the local ordinary, Theodosius Lubetskyi-Rudnytskyi was known as a liturgical traditionalist. The first is the fact that Metropolitan Atanasii was able to compel the Lviv Brotherhood press to conform to his corrections, especially after 1738. Since the Pochaiv press started its activity in 1733,[143] and had to compete with the Lviv Brotherhood press and the Univ monastery press, in order to establish itself on the market, it needed to fully conform to the metropolitan's requirements, maybe even anticipating them.

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[143] There are almost two dozen publications erroneously attributed to the Pochaiv press prior to this date. See I. Тилявський, *Літургійні напрямки Почаївського монастиря під час унії (1712-1831)* (The liturgical policies of the Pochaiv monastery in the time of Union, 1712-1831) (Rome, Lviv, 1997) 49-59.

The second circumstance was directly monastic. In 1743 the two Basilian provinces (the Northern Belarus'-Lithuanian Province and the Southern, the Galician, or "Polish," Province) joined to form a single Order. The founding Chapter of 1743 stressed the need for a unified liturgical practice, which practically meant that the younger Southern Providence was to conform to the practice of the older Northern Province.[144]

Tylavskyi does not analyze the Pochaiv Menaion itself, but mentions that a commission appointed by the Congregation examined the Pochaiv 1737 Anthologion between 1760 and 1763. He does not give the results of the review, except that "no serious error was found." Nor does he explain what relation this review had to the contemporary printing of the Pochaiv Menaion.

Tylavskyi also speaks of a short-lived renewal of the traditionalist ritual position in the Pochaiv publications in the 1770s and 1780s.[145] During this time Pochaiv printed an Anthologion (1777) which differed only slightly from the Menaion, but with a greater number of Slavic saints. In addition to the commemorations in the 1761 Menaion, we find Nikon of Radonezh (17 November)[146] and additional secondary commemorations for Borys and Hlib (5 September and 2 May) and Theodosius (14 August). Jòsaphat is not mentioned on 2 November, only on 16 September. All of these, except Nikon, are of

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[144] Ibid., 300-321.

[145] This was occasioned by a general traditionalist renewal in the Ruthenian hierarchy after the publication of the Euchologion of Benedict XIV in 1754. See Ibid., 322-337.

[146] Nikon was included in the Lviv Anthologia (1638 et al.), as was Sergius of Radonezh (25 September). It is not clear why the Basilians of Pochaiv would have included Nikon, and not Sergius, who was far more popular, at least in the Russian Church, especially since the Lviv caption mentioned that Nikon was a disciple of Sergius. I have not found Nikon in any other Ruthenian Catholic edition.

the highest rank, with *Litē*. Borys and Hlib, Josaphat, and Vladimir also have a Synaxarion reading in the appendix of the book. Olha is not included. Since this renewal was only temporary, the sanctorale of the Pochaiv Menaion, and not that of the Anthologion, practically remained the norm for almost two centuries (with the addition of Olha), up to the publication of the RR.[147]

1.A.3.c) 20th century

The Sanctorale of Sheptytsky's 1929 Liturgicon

The Lviv 1929 Liturgicon represented at the time the fullest results of the efforts of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky (and his collaborators) to reclaim the authentic and unadulterated Ruthenian tradition.[148] It appeared in the third centenary of Peter Mohyla's first reformed Liturgicon, and Sheptytsky surely hoped it would be a turning point in current Ruthenian liturgical practice. The success of the editors in this hope can

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[147] The 1773 Conference of Greek-Catholic hierarchs of Hungary debated the question "about the commemorations of the disputed Ruthenian Saints, which occur in many places [in the liturgical books]." They agreed to submit the question to Rome and follow Rome's decision. In the meantime, since liturgical books were immediately necessary, they agreed to follow the Slavic sanctorale of the Lviv and Pochaiv editions, which probably meant the most recent ones, after the circular of A. Sheptytsky. See Олександр Баран, "Синод Мукачівської, Фогаграшської і Свідницької єпархії у Відні 1773-го року" (The Synod of the Mukachiv, Fogagrash, and Svidnitsa eparchies in Vienna in 1773), *Analecta OSBM* 3 (9) (1960): 398-402 and A. G. Welykyj, "Congressus Hierarchicus in Transcarpathia (1773-1973)," in *Analecta OSBM*, 8 (14) (1973): 155; 157.

[148] There was even an attempt to return to a form of Church Slavonic text considered to be more representative of the early Rus' tradition. For a review of the more important features of the Liturgicon see Peter Galadza, *The Theology and Liturgical Work of Andrei Sheptytsky (1865-1944)* (Rome, Ottawa, 2004) 328-331 [=Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 272]. Galadza does not comment on the sanctorale.

be seen in the fact that, at Korolevskij's enthusiastic proposition, this text was chosen as the basis for the RR revision.[149]

The sanctorale of this Liturgicon included nine Rus' commemorations (ten saints) and four other Slavic commemorations (three saints). Josaphat is alone in having the highest rank (service with *Litê*). Five commemorations are allotted the intermediate rank (with polyeleos): Borys and Hlib (24 July), Theodosius (3 May), Vladimir, Anthony, and Cyril and Methodius (5 July). Seven commemorations have the lowest rank (without polyeleos); of these Parasceve of Tarnovo (14 October) has a "great doxology," the others are simple: Olha, the Lithuanian martyrs, Cyril (14 February), Methodius (11 May), and the second commemorations for Borys and Hlib (2 May) and for Theodosius (14 August).

A characteristic of this Slavic sanctorale is that the saints of the "*polyeleos*" group are listed as the first and main commemoration, with the older Byzantine saints relegated to a minor service (Compline) or to another day. This can already be seen in some previous Galician liturgical calendars, such as the 1899 Lviv Typicon (of I. Dolnytskyi) and the popular 1914 Lviv Anthology (*Zbornyk*), but not in the *in folio* 1888 Lviv Horologion. While the previous practice of "appending" the Slavic commemoration after the full service of the Byzantine saints set the former apart as special additions to the calendar, the newer practice of giving the Slavic saints first place is clearly an attempt to fully "inculturate" them into the Byzantine calendar, or rather to inculturate the Byzantine calendar into the Slavic sphere. It is also an indication that the authorities

[149] C. Korolevskij, *Osservazioni allo Sluzebnik del 1929 preso come base per la revisione della recensione rutena* (Rome, 1940) 13-21. Unpublished manuscript.

behind the calendar saw the Slavic heritage of sanctity as on par with that of the original (Byzantine) stratum of the calendar.

The 1929 calendar has the fullest Slavic calendar of the three above-mentioned publications (which have seven, seven, and thirteen Slavic commemorations respectively),[150] but in the case of the Lithuanian martyrs or Parasceve of Tarnovo, it does not mention any geographical identification to the saints which would identify them as Slavic commemorations. This shows that the editors intended to use to the maximum the possibilities offered by the recent Ruthenian tradition, but did not venture to add Kyivan saints which were not found in post-Zamość Ruthenian Catholic calendars, such as the monks of the Kyiv Caves or Cyril of Turaw, not to mention Northern and Eastern Rus' or Balkan saints. The result was evidently acceptable even to the Latinizing Galician ordinaries Josaphat Kotsylovskyi and Hryhorii Khomyshyn, who strongly criticized the 1929 Liturgicon, since the same calendar appeared in the 1930 Lviv Liturgicon which the three Galician ordinaries agreed upon.[151]

The Lviv Intereparchial Liturgical Commission

The Lviv Intereparchial Liturgical Commission (16 June 1930 – 15 June 1935) devoted sessions 11 and 13–15 to the calendar (as part of the Liturgicon) and sessions 62 and 64–68 to the Menaion. The related studies and proposals were prepared by Ivan

[150] The 1929 Liturgicon has thirteen also, but includes the Lithuanian martyrs, where the 1888 Horologion counts a second minor commemoration for Josaphat 2 November).
[151] Kotsylovskyi and Khomyshyn subsequently revoked their signatures, but this was more likely due to other features of the Liturgicon, rather than the calendar. See Galadza, *Theology and Liturgical Work,* 332.

Lutsyk and Stefan Rud respectively. The Commission did not develop or discuss any special stance towards the Slavic saints, but several cases were examined.[152]

During the discussion on the *Proskomidē*, Domet Sadovskyi proposed to add the names of Anthony and Theodosius of the Caves after the saint of the day.[153] The proposal is unusual, as the traditional place to add native saints in the *Proskomidē* is in the enumeration of saints according to categories at the placing of the particles of the third prosphora loaf. Havryil Kostelnyk supported the proposal but the other members were against it. There is no mention of a discussion or motive for the objection.

Clement Sheptytsky proposed to move the commemoration of Josaphat to 2 November "the day of his death."[154] The proposal is interesting since usually documents recorded Josaphat's death as taking place on 12 November. The reasoning behind the proposal was that if 12 November was the Gregorian date,[155] in the seventeenth century

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[152] The only source for the following information is the Italian version of the Lviv Commission Minutes, a copy of which is in the contemporary Lviv Archeparchy Archive. They generally record only the topic discussed and the results of the voting, often without documenting any motivation. Frequently even the topics are indicated only by numbers in the prepared reports which were the basis of discussion. Although the *RR Minutes* mention that each of the members of the RR Commission received a Ukrainian and an Italian copy of the Lviv Commission minutes for their reference, the Ukrainian original of the Minutes and the reports concerning the calendar and the Menaion are neither to be found in Rome (the Eastern Congregation and the Basilian Curia archives) nor in the Lviv archives (the Central State Historical Archive of Lviv, which contains the bulk of the Ruthenian Catholic Lviv Archeparchy archives prior to the Soviet occupation).

[153] *Lviv Minutes*, 12.

[154] Ibid., 56. 2 November was the date Josaphat was commemorated in the 1692 Vilnius Liturgicon, the first to be printed after the beatification of Josaphat in 1643. In the authoritative 1888 Lviv Horologion the principle memory of Josaphat is on 16 September, but the brief hagiographical note says that he died on 2 November. On that day there is a reference to the Death of Josaphat, with the troparion and kontakion.

[155] Polish King Stephan Batory introduced the Gregorian calendar on 5 (15) October 1582. This also obliged his Orthodox and Armenian subjects. Cf. Borys A. Gudziak,

this was actually 2 November according to the Julian calendar, which was the liturgical calendar of the Ruthenian Church in continuous use from the seventeenth century to the twentieth. Strictly speaking, this was more reasonable than a proposal at the 1891 Lviv Synod, which suggested commemorating Josaphat on 31 October, since *in the nineteenth century* this was the Julian date that corresponded to the Gregorian 12 November. That calculation would have immediately required a shift to 30 October in 1900, and similar shifts in the following centuries.[156] The Commission supported the proposition unanimously.

Tyt Myshkovskyi presented to the Commission a request from the Mukachiv ordinary (whose delegate he was) to comment on the possibility of approving for use the service of St. Wenceslas (d. 935), the prince-martyr of Bohemia.[157] He argued that this is appropriate since Podcarpathian Rus' is currently in the Czechoslovak Republic and there are indications that Wenceslas was of the Eastern Rite. Rud' added that Archimandrite Sergii[158] documented Wenceslas's office in twelfth-century Slavic Menaia. Reference was made to Nilles[159] who also claimed Wenceslas was of the Eastern rite, as were St. Ludmila (d. 921), his grandmother, and St. Procopius (d. 1053),

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Crisis and Reform. The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest (Cambridge, Mass.: Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, 1998), 37.

[156] For a history of the different dates that have been proposed and in use for Josaphat see Wawryk, *De festo*.

[157] *Lviv Minutes*, 286-87.

[158] Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:301.

[159] Nicolaus Nilles, SJ. *Kalendarium manuale utriusque Ecclesiae Orientalis et Occidentalis: academiis clericorum accommodatum* (Innsbruck, 1896) 1:289.

abbot of the Sázava monastery near Prague[160]. Sadovskyi, Rud' and Kostelnyk did not support Myshkovskyi's proposal, even though they had no objection to the office being used by the Ruthenian faithful in Czechoslovakia. The decision was relegated to the Conference of the Ruthenian bishops.[161] The reluctance to recommend the service of Wenceslas for Galicia should probably be explained by the fact that he was basically perceived as a Western saint, and the Commission did not consider itself authorized to raise the question, especially after its rejection at the Synod of Lviv in 1891.

Myshkovskyi also proposed not to include in the Menaion the office of Olha but only a reference to her commemoration, "The Death of Blessed Princess Olha." Myshkovskyi's reason was that "historical evidence is not favorable to the opinion of sanctity of Princess Olha." Martyniuk supported the proposal, while the other four members backed the (contrary) proposal of Rud'.[162]

Lutsyk had proposed to eliminate several commemorations on historical and theological grounds. An example of the first was the double commemoration of the Seven Youths of Ephesus (22 October and 4 August). He proposed to remove these "as the Western Church had done, since the fact was not historical." Clement Sheptytsky opposed the proposition: "I am absolutely against the principle of taking pseudo-scientific results as a criterion for performing amputations on our Menaion."[163] An

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[160] This Benedictine monastery was of the Latin rite, but maintained a Slavic liturgy, and was involved in intense ecclesial and cultural exchanges with Kyivan Rus' in the eleventh century. See Senyk, *History*, 365; 399.

[161] This last comment – superfluous since all decisions belonged to the bishops's Conference – may have been occasioned by the fact that three (out of seven) members of the Commission were absent at that session: Reshetylo, C. Sheptytsky, and Martyniuk.

[162] *Lviv Minutes*, 296.

[163] Ibid., 60.

example of Lutsyk's theological grounds was the proposal to eliminate Patriarch John the Faster (2 September) who appropriated the title "Ecumenical Patriarch" against the protests of the pope.[164] Neither of these proposals passed.

Thus, although key issues and representative cases of a calendar reform were raised, as far as we can see from the available documentation they remained isolated episodes rather than part of a wider discussion of the sanctorale. While the Commission refused to engage in any further "theological purges" of the sanctorale, it apparently never considered the possibility of reexamining the results of the previous purges (e.g. that of Metropolitan Atanasii Sheptytsky in 1738). The only exception, in terms of a more comprehensive plan, was Clement Sheptytsky's proposal for the inclusion of some second-millennium saints of the Western Church into the Ruthenian calendar. This will be examined below in section B.5.d of this chapter.

1.A.4. Developments after 1596 in the Kyivan Orthodox Church

Compared to the sixteenth century, the seventeenth saw a revival of the question ofcanonizations in the Kyivan Orthodox Church. It did not compare to Moscow in terms of numbers, and it differed from Moscow in the absence of a political authority to stimulate the canonizations. In the Kyivan Church it was surely the apologetic motive that was the primary stimulus, and the Muscovite calendars were undoubtedly points of reference and emulation.

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[164] Ibid., 56-57.

1.A.4.a) The Kyivan Anthologion of 1619 and Kopystenskyi's Palinodia

The Anthologion of 1619 was the third book the Kyivan Caves Lavra printed since the founding of the press in 1617. Although since 1596 there was only a Ruthenian Catholic hierarch of Kyiv until the renewal of the Orthodox hierarchy in 1620, the Caves Lavra always opposed the Union, and therefore the Anthologion should be seen as an Orthodox publication. Much attention was put into this publication. The Preface mentions the names of three eminent scholars and churchmen of the time who worked on the edition: Iov Boretskyi,[165] Zakhariia Kopystenskyi,[166] and Pamvo Berynda.[167] The Slavic translations of the services were checked against a Greek text and many sections were translated anew.

For the Kyivan Church the sanctorale of the 1619 Anthologion was quite a novelty, in at least two respects. First, an additional Greek calendar was consulted and a versed Synaxarion (usually two verses per saint) was borrowed from it. The additional saints were not added to the usual list at the beginning of each service, but at the sixth ode of the canon, the customary place of the Synaxarion. This seems to imply that the saints are there for commemoration, but not for singing their full service. This system discontinues in the month of December.

Second, the sanctorale has about one hundred Slavic commemorations. At 7 September (saint John, Archbishop of Novgorod), the second Slavic commemoration in the Anthologion (after the Death of Hlib at 5 September), there is reference to "the

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[165] Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyiv, 1620-1631.
[166] Theogian and polemicist. Studied in Lviv, settled in Kyiv in 1617, archimandrite of the Caves Lavra from 1624 until his death in 1627.
[167] Lexicographer. Worked in Lviv and Kyiv. Died 1632.

Typicon of Great Russia."[168] This probably refers to the 1610 Moscow Typicon (Ustav), since this was the first Muscovite printed Typicon, and therefore would have commanded authority. The Typicon had a record number of Slavic (in fact all Rus', no Balkan or Czech) saints — seventy-three, as compared to the forty-five in the first Muscovite printed Liturgicon of 1602.

The Kyivan Anthologion borrowed most of these, adding eight Balkan commemorations, and about two dozen Rus' saints not in the Muscovite list, including fifteen monks of the Kyivan Caves. Since there are separate days for the Caves saints, they might have had a local veneration, most likely in the Lavra, but their inclusion in the Anthologion, as in a book for wider use, would normally have required some sort of hierarchical authorization in the form of a general canonization. Ievhen Kabanets views this lack as a breach of authority by the Lavra printers.[169]

Kopystenskyi seems to agree with this in his *Palinodia* of 1621,[170] even though he was one of the editors of the Anthologion. The work is a polemical response to the

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[168] The full text of the rubric reads: "According to the Typicon of Great Russia the service of Sozont martyr is sung at compline, or whenever the superior will decide. But since the service of the hierarch [John] is not printed here, [sing] first the *troparion* of the hierarch, then that of the martyr, [and after] the 'Glory...now...' [the troparion of the] Forefeast [of the Exaltation]. If the Forefeast comes on a Sunday, leave one of the saints for another day, when the ecclesiarch will decide." Thus the Slavic saint had precedence over the Greek.

[169] Є. Кабанець, "Петро Могила і печерська канонізація 1643 року (Peter Mohyla and the [Kyivan] Caves canonization of 1643)," in *П. Могила: богослов, церковний і культурний діяч* (Kyiv, 1997), 152,

[170] A full English translation is available in *Lev Krevza's "A Defense of Church Unity" and Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj's "Palinodia,"* Part 1: Texts. Translated with a Foreword by Bohdan Strumiński (Cambridge, Mass., 1995) 157-911 [=Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Translations, 3/1]. 1621 is the planned date of publication, as it appears on the manuscripts, but Kopystenskyi continued to write until 1624: ibid., 157; xviii.

Uniate Lev Krevza, and the abundant list of second-millennium Eastern saints that he quotes[171] has primarily an apologetic function — to prove the spiritual fecundity of the Eastern Orthodox Church after the separation with Rome. Nevertheless, while Kopystenskyi quotes post-schism Greek, Moldavian, Serbian and Bulgarian saints in a formal list, as liturgical commemorations, when he speaks of Kyiv, after naming Metropolitan Macarius (died 1497), whose relics lie in the church of Holy Wisdom, and princess Juliana Olshanska (died before 1540), whose relics were transferred to the Lavra's Dormition cathedral in 1624,[172] he mentions in general "a great many saints" in the caves of Anthony and Theodosius, but he does not name them separately, except for "their pioneers" such as Anthony, Theodosius, Sergius, Barlaam, Cyril, Demetrius, Dionysius, Abraham and Paul.[173]

On the other hand, speaking of "Great Rus'," Kopystenskyi quotes in full an extensive calendar, which clearly is a liturgical document.[174] The list of Rus' saints in this calendar, which he quotes as a separate document, apparently making no additions, differs from the Anthologion list; notably, there are no Caves saints (besides Theodosius; not even Anthony), and much fewer Serbian and Bulgarian saints.

It is not clear why Kopystenskyi did not quote the Slavic commemorations from the calendar of the 1619 Anthologion, which would have bolstered his argument by a

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[171] Ibid, 609-624.
[172] Ibid, 614, n. 1046.
[173] Kopystenskyi does refer the reader to the Kyivan Patericon (which was not yet printed): ibid., 610-615.
[174] Golubinskii surmises that Kopystenskyi borrowed a Muscovite list of saints similar to the 1621 manuscript Typicon of the Moscow Dormition cathedral which he published in *История канонизации*, 412-424; 427. Strumiński agrees on the Muscovite origin of Kopystenskyi's source: ibid, 616, n. 1051.

greater number of Rus' (including Kyivan) and Balkan saints, and at the same time upheld the authority of the Lavra publication. By not doing so he indirectly admitted the less official character of the spontaneous Kyivan calendar vis-à-vis the Muscovite calendar, evidently approved by (Muscovite) patriarchal authority.[175] The list of Slavic saints of the 1619 Anthologion was never repeated in its entirety in liturgical editions of the Kyivan Church, with the 1680 Kyiv Common Menaion, and some Lviv publications (the Anthologia and the 1642 Horologion) listing the most.

1.A.4.b) The Kyivan Orthodox Canonizations of the Seventeenth Century

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Kyivan Orthodox Church was impressed with the Muscovite canonizations of the past century, probably especially by the apologetic possibilities, and took measures to renew its own canonization practice.[176] Vlasovskyi is probably correct to question Golubinskii's explanation that Polish rule on Kyivan territory was a primary obstacle to native canonizations.[177] Instead he describes the Ruthenians as having a liturgical piety "more interior" than the Russians, and therefore being less attached to the external glorification of their saintly heroes.[178] Whatever else Vlasovskyi may have had in mind, this is true in the sense that the Ruthenian Church did not enjoy the active ("external") support of the political authorities, as did the Russian Church. This certainly was an important factor in the difference of canonization practice between the two.

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[175] Kopystenskyi's preference does not necessarily imply a recognition of superiority of Muscovite patriarchal authority over Kyivan metropolitan authority: it might be the recognition of a lack of official approval of Kyivan authorities for the 1619 list.
[176] Іларіон, *Канонізація*, 42-43.
[177] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 221-223.

Metropolitan Ilarion counts four Kyivan Orthodox canonizations of the seventeenth century (besides the Mohylan canonization of the Caves monks): Iov, hegumen of Pochaiv (died 28 October 1651, canonized 28 August 1659 by Metropolitan Dionysius Balaban), Atanasii, hegumen of Brest (martyred by Poles 5 September 1648, canonized 20 July 1666, commemorated on both these dates), Macarius, hegumen of Ovruch (martyred by Turks 7 September 1678, canonized 1688, commemorated 7 September), Athanasius, former patriarch of Constantinople, who died (1654) near Lubny (Poltava) while returning from Moscow to Moldavia (canonized 1662 or 1672, commemorated 2 May).[179] To these Vlasovskyi adds: Juliana Olshanska, young noblewoman (reposes in the Nearer Caves of the Lavra, canonized in the seventeenth century) and Macarius, metropolitan of Kyiv (martyred by Tartars 1497, canonized 1621 or 1622, commemorated 1 May).[180] Although Metropolitan Ilarion and Vlasovskyi give dates of commemoration for almost all of them, and speak of their veneration, they are not included in seventeenth century Ruthenian Orthodox calendars.

1.A.4.c) The Mohylan Canonization of the Caves Saints

Metropolitan of Kyiv Peter Mohyla[181] is credited with taking a global approach to the question of the Kyivan saints, especially the Caves monks. At his initiative two important books appear about the Caves saints: the first printed edition of the Kyivan

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[178] Власовський, *Історія,* 2:271-272.
[179] Іларіон, *Канонізація*, 47-49.
[180] Власовський, *Історія,* 2:274-275.
[181] Archimandrite of the Caves Lavra (1627-1633), Metropolitan of Kyiv (1633-1647).

Caves *Patericon* (1635) and *Teratourgema* (1638), [182] a description, by the Lavra monk Atanasii Kalnofoiskyi, of sixty-four miracles of the past four decades associated with the Kyivan Caves. Golubev points out the apologetic aim of both publications, which addressed the criticisms of "two types of enemies of the Orthodox Church: Rationalists and Latino-Uniates,"[183] arguing the trustworthiness and the spiritual import of the saints and their miracles. Shortly before his death in 1647, Mohyla also ordered from Athos a copy of Symeon Metaphrast's *Menologion* (Lives of the Saints), possibly intending to create a Ruthenian Menologion, analogous to the Muscovite Macarian Great (Reading) Menaion.[184]

Many authors take it for granted that Mohyla canonized a large group of the Caves saints in 1643. Golubinskii claims as much, on the basis of Mohyla's commissioning the writing of the liturgical service for the saints with Meletius Syrigos, exarch of the Patriarch of Constantinople and noted theologian of his time.[185] Metropolitan Ilarion also speaks of a collective canonization of the Caves saints at the "Kyivan Synod of 1643," and adds that Mohyla invited the patriarch of Constantinople, who sent his exarch, Meletius Syrigos.[186] Curiously, no one is able to quote any documents of the

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[182] Both appeared in Polish. This is explained by the fact that even in Ruthenian circles, both Catholic and Orthodox, Polish was one of the current languages of educated circles, but also by the desire to make the books more accessible to non-Orthodox readers.

[183] С. Голубев, *Киевский митрополит Петр Могила и его сподвижники (опыт церковно-историческоаго изследования)* (Metropolitan of Kyiv Peter Mohyla. An ecclesial-historical study), 2 vols. (Kyiv, 1883-1898), 2:298.

[184] Є. Кабанець, "Петро Могила і печерська канонізація 1643 року" (Petro Mohyla and the Caves canonization of 1643), in *П. Могила: богослов, церковній і культурній діяч* (Petro Mohyla: theologian, ecclesial and cultural activist), 154. (Kyiv, 1997).

[185] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 210. It was Syrigos that revised Mohyla's Orthodox Confession before it was approved by the Synod of Iasi in Romania (1642).

[186] Іларіон, *Канонізація*, 46.

canonization. Golubev, in his extensive discussion of Mohyla's activity, does not speak of a canonization.[187] Neither does Ivan Vlasovskyi, when he discusses canonizations and saints of the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries.[188]

Kabanets rejects the possibility that a canonization took place under Mohyla, and suggests that the above-mentioned publications and even the writing of the service were *preparatory* stages for the canonization. By this he certainly means a patriarchal canonization. Kabanets is probably mistaken in attributing to Mohyla the assumption that *any* canonization needed to be effected by the patriarch of Constantinople.[189] However, Mohyla may have specifically intended to procure a patriarchal canonization for the Caves saints, not because he believed he lacked authority to canonize, but because a patriarchal canonization would be more prestigious and far-reaching.[190]

Kabanets concedes that the Kyivan event of 1643 must have been a local canonization ("within the boundaries of Ukraine"),[191] in the sense of an authorization to print (and to use) the liturgical service written for the occasion. On the other hand the event is unlike a canonization in that it lacked the indication of a date for the commemoration. Instead, it had the unusual indication that the service is to be sung

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[187] Голубев, *Киевский митрополит Петр Могила.*
[188] Власовський, *Історія*, 2:271-280.
[189] Кабанець, *Петро Могила,* 152.
[190] This is not unlikely, since the approval of Mohyla's *Orthodox Confession* in 1642 and in 1643 (by all the Orthodox patriarchs) gave Kyiv a general renown in the Orthodox world. A second reason, for which I have no evidence, might have been that Josaphat was beatified by the pope in 1643. Not knowing of the difficulties the Ruthenian Catholics would *later* have with Josaphat's canonization, Mohyla may have viewed this as a "patriarchal" canonization, and appealed for the same for his candidates.
[191] Кабанець, *Петро Могила,* 153.

"whenever and wherever one wills."[192] Indeed the service appeared immediately in Kyivan liturgical books, but since it was undated it was included only in those books not based on a calendar: in a Psalter (1643-1644), in Akathist collections, (1663, 1677, 1693, and 1731) and finally in a Horologion (1753).[193] Mohyla did not include it in his influential Euchologion (1646), the calendar of which is noticeably sparse in Slavic saints, including, besides Borys and Hlib, Vladimir and Olha, Anthony and Theodosius, only Moses the Hungarian of the Kyivan Caves, and Sava the Serb.

The form Mohyla chose for the Caves saints' canonization raises two questions: first, why did he choose to establish one commemoration instead of ratifying, for example, the fifteen individual commemorations already printed in the 1619 Anthologion? The reduction to a single feast appears almost anti-climactic to the impressive image offered by the *Patericon* and the *Teraturgema.* Second, why was the collective commemoration established without a date? As we have seen, this fact itself became an obstacle to having the feast introduced into the liturgical calendars.

There is hardly enough evidence to venture an adequate answer to these questions without the canonization documentation, but there is an aspect that the two may be interrelated, and therefore may somewhat explain each other. If a patriarchal canonization is what Mohyla aspired to obtain, he possibly calculated that the patriarch would sooner agree to a single extraordinary commemoration, than to a dozen (or several dozen) individual commemorations. Kabanets surmises that the aim of the request for an influential Greek to author the (collective) service was to enlist his

[192] Cf. Іларіон, *Канонізація*, 46.
[193] Кабанець, *Петро Могила*, 154.

authority for the request.[194] If the patriarch did, in fact, refuse – which is something that cannot be verified – then Mohyla did not change the formulation of the canonization, which remained a collective canonization of all those mentioned in the office: forty-one monks of the Lavra, twenty-six general and local Rus' saints, and seven not usually found in calendars (e.g. Metropolitan Hilarion).[195] Thus the service became a "common" office which could be used for any of those mentioned therein, at least until a specific service would be written. In this way "...whenever one wishes" would also mean "for *whomever* [of the Rus' saints] one wishes," according to the dates in use locally in the Lavra, presumably those printed in the 1619 Anthologion. By 1680, the *Common Menaion* printed in Kyiv again had fifteen Caves saints (although not the same as those of 1619), of a total of about seventy Rus' and Slavic saints.

Kabanets states that dates for the two Synaxes, or collective liturgical celebrations of the Caves saints were finally established by Metropolitan Varlaam Iasinskyi (1690-1707) "on the basis of long-standing custom."[196] From this it seems that the veneration of these saints must have indeed been firmly established even outside the Lavra, at least in the Kyiv area, since after the annexation of the Kyivan metropolitanate to the patriarchate of Moscow (1686), the latter took great care to suppress any Kyivan

[194] Ibid., 153.
[195] Ibid., 154.
[196] Ibid., 154. The dates were the Saturday after 22 September (the Leave-taking of the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross) for the saints of the Nearer Caves, and 28 August for the saints of the Farther Caves. The mobile date in September was changed to 28 September in 1886: С. В. Булгаков, *Настольная книга для священно-церковно-служителей: отдел историко-статистический* (Handbook for clergy and Church ministers. Historical-statistical section) (Харьков, 1900), 389.

liturgical (and even linguistic) particularities that distinguished them from Muscovite liturgical publications.

1.A.4.d) After the Annexation of the Kyivan Metropolitanate to the Patriarchate of Moscow (1686)

After Mohyla's unsuccessful efforts for a patriarchal canonization, work on the Ruthenian Menologion continued. Lavra archimandrite Innokentii Gisel published two Slavic editions of the Caves *Patericon* (1661 and 1678) and hegumen Varlaam Iasynskyi commissioned Dmytrii Tuptalo, the future Metropolitan of Rostov, to start work on a monumental *Lives of the Saints*.[197] Both of these hagiographic works enjoyed an exceptional popularity in the entire Slavic East. Tuptalo's *Lives*, borrowing mainly from Symeon the Metaphrast's *Menologion,* Macarius's *Menaia,* and the *Acta Sanctorum,* also include many Caves saints.

After the annexation there were no separate canonizations by the Kyivan metropolitan:[198] all subsequent canonizations of saints, including those of Ruthenian origin were effected by the Moscow (and later Petersburg) authorities.[199] After that time the Ruthenian Orthodox sanctorales conformed even more to the Russian sanctorales.

In general, the Russian Church was slow to incorporate the Kyivan Caves saints into its calendar. Golubinskii speaks of a 1762 "permission" and a 1775 "ruling"

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[197] Published in Kyiv in four volumes 1689-1705.

[198] Except probably Macarius of Ovruch, canonized in 1688; cf. Іларіон, *Канонізація*, 48.

[199] For example, Dmytrii Tuptalo, archbishop of Rostov, died 1709, canonized 1757; Innokentii Kulchytskyi, bishop of Irkutsk, died 1731, canonized 1504. Metropolitan Ilarion points out that Feodosii Uhlytskyi, archbishop of Chernihiv, who served in a Ukrainian eparchy, encountered the greatest obstacles: died 1696, canonized 1896: *Canonization*, 49-52.

(repeated in 1784) to include the Kyivan saints into the general (i.e. Muscovite) calendars.[200] This reticence may be due to a preference to keep the Kyivan saints (except for the tenth- to eleventh-century saints) a "provincial" phenomenon, rather than allotting them the general ("patriarchal") canonization Mohyla had hoped for, which, due to their large number, would have given them too prominent a place in the Russian calendar. However, by the end of the eighteenth century Kyiv was no longer an ecclesial competitor with Moscow, and the Kyivan saints could be incorporated into "Russian Orthodoxy."[201]

1.A.4.e) The Slavic Saints in Lviv

Lviv was not a center of canonization. It was, however a strong center of Slavonic book printing and Lviv printers thus showed their support for the Slavic canonizations of other centers. They extensively borrowed Slavic commemorations from both Kyivan and Muscovite sources, but with their own criteria. The sanctorale of the Lviv Anthologia (1632, 1638, 1643, 1651, 1694)[202] included about forty commemorations of a variety of Slavic saints. This was more moderate than the 1619 edition (the only commemoration of the Kyivan Caves saints are Anthony, Theodosius, and Theodore and Basil), but also more balanced than the calendar in *Palinodia* (including more Bulgarian and Serbian

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[200] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 202. Ohienko (*Canonization*, 51; 141) interprets this as a mutual reluctance, but this view is not tenable, seeing the large number of Muscovite saints in the seventeenth-century Ruthenian calendars.

[201] Surprisingly, Golubinskii still treats "Kyivan saints" as a separate group, *after* his full description of the four periods of Russian Orthodox canonizations, but without explaining his reasons for doing so: *История канонизации*, 202-223. Peeters also points out the inconsistency of this topographic addition to the general chronological structure of the study: *La canonisation*, 384

saints). The largest group is that of the Northern Rus' and Muscovite saints. Commemorated metropolitans of Kyiv are Peter, Alexis, Cyprian, Photius, and Jonas.[203] In addition to Borys and Hlib, Anthony and Theodosius, and Vladimir and Olha, the Kyivan metropolitanate is represented by Michael and Theodore of Chernihiv and the Lithuanian martyrs. It is curious that the Lviv Anthologia reveal no response to the 1643 Mohylan canonization: from 1638 to 1694 there were no changes in the Slavic sanctorale.

Another curious fact is that the sanctorale of the Lviv 1642 Horologion, also printed by the Brotherhood, has a significantly more extensive list of Slavic saints than the Anthologia, including fifteen Kyivan Caves saints—*before* the 1643 Mohylan canonizations. These fifteen only partially coincide with those of the 1619 Anthologion. This apparent lack of coordination between Lviv and Kyiv is difficult to explain, especially since in the 1640s the Brotherhood appealed to Mohyla to support them in their efforts to limit the activity of Michael Sliozka, an independent printer in the Lviv area.[204]

This brief description shows two characteristics of the Ruthenian Orthodox sanctorale after 1596. First, the formation of the sanctorales in seventeenth-century Ruthenian Orthodox printed liturgical books was still very much a spontaneous

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[202] All printed by the Dormition Brotherhood. The 1643 edition is the one Kulchynskyi used, and the 1694 edition is the one Korolevskij referred to.

[203] Metropolitan Jonas, who was the first hierarch of the newly-formed metropolitan see of Moscow (1448), is designated as metropolitan "of Kyiv." Bulgakov explains that this remained standard practice for Jonas, since in 1443 he was indeed appointed for the see of Kyiv: *Настольная книга,* 225.

[204] Isaievych, *Ukrainian Book-printing*, 213

phenomenon, hardly regulated by the hierarchy—as such, it could include saints not formally canonized, or fail to include those already canonized.[205] Second, printers in Kyiv and in Lviv found it natural to borrow saints from Muscovite sanctorales, even when these included hardly any Ruthenian saints. This could be seen as an indication that in the question of the sanctorale the Ruthenian Church of the time felt a common heritage with the Muscovite Church, which was not the case vice versa.

1.B. The Theological Discussion on the Validity of Post-Schism, especially Slavic, Eastern Christian Saints

When Raes explained the list of Russian saints that had been preserved in the Liturgy in the RV,[206] he commented that "many will find that in this area [the inclusion of these saints] Rome went to the extreme limit [of condescension]."[207] Such an expression suggests that there was a recognized set of norms governing this question and that the RV (and RR) project recognized reasons to stretch these norms to the limit. For further explanation Raes refers the reader to an article published in the same year by Joseph Schweigl,[208] who may have been a member of the RV Commission. The article indeed appears to be a summary presentation of the sanctorale policies adopted by the

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[205] Golubinskii similarly speaks of the "arbitrary" character of Muscovite sanctorales until the Typicon edited by Patriarch Yoakim in 1682: *История канонизации*, 227; 257; 223-243.

[206] Reference is to Nikita of Novgorod (d. 1108), Leontius of Rostov (d. 1077), Barlaam of Khutin (d. 1192) and Sergius of Radonezh (d. 1392), who in the RV are commemorated in the *Proskomidē* of the Liturgy.

[207] Alphonse Raes, "La première édition romaine de la Liturgie de Saint Jean Chrysostome en staroslave." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 7 (1941): 520.

[208] Schweigl, *De menologio*.

RR-RV commission. I will first present and briefly discuss the content of Schweigl's article, and then examine the wider background of Schweigl's analysis.

1.B.1. Shweigl's Summary

Schweigl begins his article by pointing out that the veneration of saints is one of the points that unite the Eastern and Western Churches. Nonetheless, there are differences. The question of these differences is not only a theoretical one but also a practical issue as regards union with the Christian East:

> Is it permitted, one may ask, for faithful returning into the bosom of the Catholic Church to follow the liturgical calendar of the dissident Church? Is there any objection for them, after their conversion, to retain images of icons of the saints who were canonized by the dissident Church, e.g. St. Seraphim of Sarov (died 1833), St. Sergius of Radonezh (died 1392)? Is there anything that prohibits the faithful to light lamps in honor of these saints and offer prayers before them?[209]

Schweigl points out that these questions are relevant not for some distant future, but immediately, namely, in the context of the Holy See's publishing liturgical books for the Eastern Catholic Slavs. His answer to these questions is both simple and complex. The simple aspect is that the norms to apply in such cases have been developed extensively in treatises of dogmatic theology, Church history and canon law, and in documents of the Holy See, and "can easily be collected."[210] Unfortunately, Schweigl does not do his readers the favor of indicating this material, but proceeds to address six points that he says need to be considered. It may be that his reference to the "ease" of illustrating the Roman Church's position in the matter was intended as light sarcasm

[209] Ibid., 221.
[210] Ibid., 222.

against facile solutions, because what follows actually indicates the complexity of the question.

1) First is the issue of the orthodoxy (correct faith) of the Rus' Church to the time of the 1439 Council of Florence.[211] This question, he insists, requires further investigation. He reviews a handful of authors and classifies them according to their opinion in this matter. Papebrochius and Kulchynskyi[212] are the most generous, claiming Rus's orthodoxy, including the hierarchy's (with a few exceptions) until Florence. On the other end of the scale are Julian Pelesz and Bernard Leib,[213] who state that from the beginning of the twelfth century, with a few exceptions, the Church of Rus' was separated from Rome. There are two intermediate positions: Stiltingus and Martinov view some metropolitans of the twelfth century as Catholic, while many were "of dubious faith," along with all of those of the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.[214] With the division of the Kyivan metropolitanate (1458), "one part [the southern, Kyivan part, which accepted the Florentine Union] remains Catholic to the year 1520, the other [the northern, Muscovite part, which rejected Florence] persists in schism." Mikhail A.

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[211] Ibid., 222-23. Schweigl uses the term "russi' in a comprehensive way, which includes also "rutheni." In my summary and comments I use the correspondent *Rus'* in this comprehensive sense.

[212] Papebrochius, *Ephemerides*, i-vi and Ignatius Kulczynski, *Specimen Ecclesiae Ruthenicae ab origine susceptae fidei ad nostra usque tempora in suis capitibus seu primatibus Russiae cum S. Sede Apostolica Romana semper unitae.* (A portrait of the Ruthenian Church, which in its leaders or primates was, from the time it received the faith was until our times, always united to the Holy Apostolic See of Rome) (Rome, 1733). These and the following references are Schweigl's.

[213] J. Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union der Ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom von den ältsten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (Würtzburg, 1881), 1:169 ff., 418 ff., 571 ff. and Bernard Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XI siècle: rapports religieux des latins et des gréco-russes sous le pontificat d'Urbain II (1088-1099)* (Paris, 1924).

Taube and Joseph H. Ledit, on the other hand, along with Nicholas P. G. De Baumgarten and Albert M. Ammann,[215] see the dividing point, near the middle of the thirteenth century, primarily as a political estrangement, with consequences for ecclesiastical matters. Schweigl does not report Orthodox opinions in the matter, but refers to the *Theologia dogmatica* of M. Jugie and to E. E. Golubinskii.[216]

Schweigl himself does not take up a position regarding these different theories, but by specifying that the question still requires study he indicates that he does not consider any of these authors to have given a satisfactory answer. does not directly explain how he understands the orthodoxy of the hierarchy to be related to the question of sanctity, but the following issues he raises illustrate the complexity of the issue.

2) Schweigl then addresses the theological-canonical aspect, pointing out that the question of the calendar and sanctorale was never an issue in the major unionistic events of the Universal Church (Councils of Lyons and Florence) and neither in the Ruthenian Union of Brest.[217] For all these unionistic events, the policy of Rome in liturgical matters was to confirm the liturgical rite and usage in its entirety, except those elements that were clearly contrary to the faith. Schweigl insists that for Rome the veneration of saints is not normally included among "matters contrary to the faith" and therefore

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[214] I. Stiltingus, "Dissertatio de conversione et fide Russorum," in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 42, *Septembris tomus II*, i-xxvii. (Antwerp, 1748); Martinov, *Annus*.

[215] М. А. Таубе, "Рим и Русь перед татаро-монгольским вторжением" (Rome and Rus' before the Mongolian invasion), *Католический Временник* (1928): 131-81; J. H. Ledit, "Russie," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*. Works of Baumgarten and Ammann in *Orientalia Christiana*.

216 M. Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica Christianorum orientalium ab Ecclesia Catholica dissidentium*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1931), 1:374-93; 417-24; Е. Е. Голубинский, *История русской церкви* (History of the Russian Church) (Moscow, 1904), 1, pt. 2:795-826.

[217] Schweigl, *De menologio*, 223.

concludes that "the silence about the menology and the express approbation of the [whole of the liturgical] rite means that the veneration of the [Rus'] saints was implicitly and indirectly approved [by Rome]."[218]

After stating Rome's position, Schweigl claims that it was "the individual bishops in their eparchies, after Union with Rome, [that decided whether to] retain or change the original calendar of saints."[219] He adds also that it is difficult to follow precisely "for what reasons and to what extent" this happened, because the Ruthenian Uniates did not print liturgical books of their own until almost a century later (1692, in Vilnius), but used the editions of the Orthodox. In this first Uniate liturgical book, he informs us, there were no Rus' saints post-dating the eleventh century.[220]

While Schweigl's presentation of Rome's position is clear, his understanding of the Ruthenian follow-up is inadequate. It is understandable that he may not have had access to materials demonstrating Rome's role in the elimination process, but his confusion of Archbishop Sergii's information about the sixty saints (in the Muscovite sanctorale) with the Ruthenian Church is surprising. Such confusion and conflation of the Kyivan and Muscovite Churches was not usually a trait of the RR Commission, but it reveals to us that *he* (and maybe the RR Commission) thought that the Kyivàn Church prior to the Brest Union had these sixty saints. If the idea of a Ruthenian sanctorale with sixty Rus' saints is what stimulated the RR Commission to "restore to the Ruthenians

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[218] Ibid., 224.

[219] Schweigl quotes Archbishop Sergii that the "Russian Church" had added to its calendar sixty native saints before the Union of Brest.

[220] Actually, there are no Rus' saints in the 1692 Liturgicon except for two commemorations of Josaphat, 16 September and 2 November.

their ancient saints,"[221] it is possible the Commission may not have embarked on the project had it known that the Ostrih Bible, with its five Rus' saints, was more typical of pre-Brest Ruthenian sanctorales.[222]

What Schweigl could have mentioned, if he had wanted an example of an ecclesial body coming into Union with a large number of indigenous saints and later reducing them, was the (Kyivan) eparchies of Pzremyśl, Lviv and Lutsk, which joined the Union in 1692, 1700 and 1702 respectively. For over half a century they included several dozen indigenous saints in their liturgical books, almost all of whom were eliminated soon after the 1720 Zamość Synod, and especially after the 1738 circular of Metropolitan Atanasii Sheptytsky.[223]

3) A third issue is a liturgical one:[224] the "extent" of the cult of a saint, or the difference between general (universal) and local veneration of a saint. Schweigl claims that the distinction in the Greco-Slavic calendar is "similar" to that of the Roman Martyrology. In it one must distinguish: a) saints (before 1054) common to the Greco-Slav and the Roman calendars; b) saints venerated in all the Byzantine Churches, but only in them; c) saints venerated in the whole of the Church of Rus', and d) Rus' saints venerated locally, in a town or province. Again, referring to Archimandrite Sergii, Schweigl notes that since the 1054 schism about 795 saints were glorified in Rus', but

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[221] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 189.
[222] The RV retained the commemoration of several Rus' saints in the RV *Proskomidē* because they figured in the recent Petersburg-Synod texts. Such commemorations were not added to the RR *Proskomidē* because they were not in the early seventeenth-century Ruthenian texts (e.g. Striatyn Liturgicon). However, neither the *Osservazioni* nor the *RR Minutes* mention the sixty saints as a deciding motive.
[223] See above, section A.3.b.
[224] Schweigl, *De menologio,* 224-25.

only 130-150 are venerated liturgically, whether generally or locally.[225] He then directly addresses the question of the Slavic calendar in the Roman editions:

> It should be noted that even if [a Catholic] ecclesial authority should decide to retain some [of these] saints in the Catholic calendar of the books to be corrected and published, their veneration will not extend to the universal Church, but will be valid only within the limits of the Byzantine rite as a cult for certain localities.[226]

Schweigl touches on several issues that invite comment. First, he compares, at least generally, the concept of local and universal veneration as it is in the Greco-Slavic calendar with Roman practice, which also includes a distinction between local veneration (or, beatification) and universal veneration (or, canonization). Such a statement shows him, at least in this question, to be more liturgically than dogmatically minded, since there are both liturgical and dogmatic differences between beatification and canonization. Authors who stress the first, more easily see the analogy between the Eastern and the Western processes;[227] those who accentuate the doctrinal aspect more often put emphasis on their divergence.[228]

Second, the description of the liturgical effect of the inclusion of the saints into Eastern Catholic editions, namely that their veneration will be only local, not universal, corresponds generally to the Roman category of beatification. However, in Roman practice it was understood that beatification is a preparatory or intermediate, and hence

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[225] Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, (1901 ed.) 1:607-615.
[226] Schweigl, *De menologio*, 225.
[227] E.g. J. Bois, "Canonisation dans l'Église russe," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 2: 1672.
[228] E.g. Peeters, *La canonisation*, 404-405.

incomplete, stage leading to canonization as its completion.[229] Here Schweigl apparently intentionally omits the use of the term beatification, which would naturally evoke the question of the ultimate canonization of these saints. In avoiding the term "beatification"[230] the Slavic saints retain a local veneration without implying a preparatory or intermediate status.

Korolevskij also insisted that the decision to include in the RR-RV editions saints who were not included previously "has no connection, whether direct or indirect, with the canonization of saints."[231] One reason Shweigl and Korolevskij might have preferred to omit explicit mention of beatification or canonization was that if it were truly a question of beatification or canonization, even an "equivalent" beatification, the matter would most likely require the intervention, at least nominal, of the Congregation of Rites, which was the exclusive Curial authority in the matter, also for the Eastern Catholic Churches.[232] By keeping the matter a "liturgical issue," that is, not mentioning beatification or canonization, the RR-RV commissions were able to proceed on their own authority.

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[229] O. Ortolan, "Béatification," in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique,* (Paris, 1932, 3d printing), 2:493-94.

[230] This would be called "equivalent beatification" (or confirmation of cult) if there were continuity of cult; in the case of interruption of cult, it would be called "renewal of cult." Equivalent ("aequipolent") beatification was the form that was used to give papal authority to a cult authorized previously only by a bishop. Cf. Ortolan, *Beatification*, 493.

[231] C. Korolevskij, "Liturgical Publications of the Congregation for the Eastern Church," *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, 6 (1946), 394.

[232] Since its creation in 1588 the Congregation of Rites dealt with both liturgical matters and the canonization of saints. The latter function was entrusted to a separate Congregation for the Causes of Saints in 1969. Concerning canonization in the Eastern Catholic Churches, see Michael W. Dziob, *The Sacred Congregation for the Oriental*

Third, Schweigl's statement that such veneration "will be valid only within the limits of the Byzantine rite" offers an inaccurate view of the Catholic Byzantine East, since the calendar in question does not pertain, for example, to the Melkites. This inaccuracy is directly related to the then current terminology that spoke of the whole East as a single "Eastern Church."[233] On the other hand, the comparison of the cult for the Slavic Churches (according to the Ruthenian or the Vulgate Recension) to "a cult for certain localities," as distinct from the "universal Church," shows that the Slavic Churches were viewed as "certain localities" of the "universal Church."

4) The fourth issue Schweigl addresses is the state of hagiographic research.[234] Schweigl mentions recent key works in the field, by both Catholic and Orthodox authors, including studies of archival sources,[235] historical-critical[236] and psychological analyses,[237] as well as the history of the process of canonization.[238] All of this allows the reader to understand that although research into Rus' hagiography may not be as extensive as it is in the West, it is not virgin territory. These references may also be an indication of the principal sources and authorities that the RR-RV commissions used.

Church (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1945), 110-111. The Roman and Eastern Catholic practices are reviewed in the following section (1.B.2).

[233] As in the name of the "Congregation for the Eastern Church."

[234] Schweigl, *De menologio*, 225-26.

[235] Николай Барсуков, *Источники русской агиографии* (Sources of Russian hagiography) (St. Petersburg, 1882).

[236] Martinov, *Annus* (Brussels, 1863); Голубинский, *История русской церкви*, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1917), 169-184, 184-184, 585-595.

[237] А. П. Кадлубовский, *Очерки по истории древне-русской литературы житий святых* (Notes on the history of ancient Rus' literature on the Lives of the saints) (Warsaw, 1902).

[238] В. Васильев, "История канонизации русских святых," *Чтения Московского университета*, (III, 1893): 1-256. Голубинский, *История канонизации*; Peeters, *La canonization,* 33 (1914): 380-420; 38 (1920): 172-176; Bois, *Canonisation*, 1659-1672.

5) A crucial issue, from the point of view of a Catholic looking at Rus' saints, is whether indeed these saints are basically of the same stuff as Catholic saints, or not. Schweigl chooses his words specifically to communicate categories that are most authoritative in Catholic hagiography: "[...] many excel in true and profound piety and in heroic virtues; tradition claims they were glorified both in their life and after death by miracles." Schweigl does not remain at a superficial descriptive level, but grounds these indications of sanctity:

> One may ask about these saints, by what principles and means did they attain such sanctity? It seems the answer must be that they are the same principles and the same means by which, in the time of the undivided Church of Christ, great and celebrated saints such as John Chrysostom and John Damascene and others rendered Byzantine lands glorious.[239]

But this is not the whole story. Besides those who attained the reputation of sanctity by these authentic means, there are those who spuriously enjoy these honors. Schweigl, following S. Tyszkiewicz, lists three false criteria, which may have been key factors in the canonization of certain Orthodox saints: "the spirit of opposition to Rome, excessive liturgical splendor, and subservience to the Tsars."[240] Schweigl continues: any Catholic authority that evaluates these saints must be able to recognize whether a saint belongs to the authentic or spurious category. While in some cases such a distinction might be difficult to establish, the fact that these categories of spurious sanctity are clear, allows one to suppose that there are saints who could be indeed authentic.

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[239] Schweigl, *De menologio,* 226.

[240] Ibid., 227. He refers the reader to two articles by S. Tyszkiewicz, "Spiritualité et sainteté russe pravoslave," *Gregorianum* 15 (1934): 349-376; "La sainteté de l'Église," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* (1936): 449-479.

By "opposition to Rome" Schweigl probably meant doctrinal or ritual polemics, rather than political opposition. It should be noted that he speaks not only of "engaging in acts of opposition to Rome," but of the "spirit of opposition." This may be interpreted to mean a suspicion of opposition where outward acts are not so clear, but it may just as well excuse a saint who may have acted against Rome, but without a "spirit of opposition." Tyszkiewicz's category of subservience to secular authority is certainly a familiar Catholic accusation against the Orthodox, but "excessive cultic splendor" is more difficult to identify as a criterion of spurious sanctity.[241]

Schweigl does not discuss an apparent inconsistency between the second point (Rome's implicit theological acceptance of the Rus' saints in the act of Union) and the fifth point (Rome's differentiation of acceptable and not acceptable saints for the RR). Schweigl (and the RR commission) may have reasoned that the present situation was different. At Florence or Brest (in the act of Union) there was no objection to the saints because there was (supposedly) a continuity of cult; whereas for the RR editions a review was necessary as it was renewing a veneration which had been interrupted.

6) The sixth and final issue that Schweigl addresses is also related to the evaluation of saints, showing that specific categories of saints have specific ways in which whey would pass or fail the Catholic evaluation.[242] *Fools for Christ* may be a category Western Catholics are not quite familiar with, but he quotes at least one

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[241] Tyszkiewicz discusses this at large in his *Spiritualité.* For him this means the vain outward pomp he identified with Byzantine caesaropapism, which not only disregards true inner spirituality, but often enters into conflict with it, as in the conflict between Joseph of Volokolamsk and Nil of Sora, both canonized in the Russian Orthodox Church.

[242] Schweigl, *De menologio,* 227-28.

Western study that examines it as a theologically authentic path to sanctity.[243] *Secular rulers* may have heroically defended the Christian populace against pagan oppression or even suffered martyrdom, but "it is not rare that political and national motives played a role in establishing their cult."[244] Many *bishops* were exemplary in their missionary and pastoral efforts, but among them the *metropolitans*, who came mostly from Greece, raised the most suspicions about their faith. *Simple faithful* (generally monks), far from the snares of secular or ecclesial offices, often followed Catholic principles of the saintly life, even if unawares.

Without further discussing the issues he raised, Schweigl presents his conclusion: although in these matters we can sometimes arrive at only a moral certainty, and not a "strictly scientific one" – also due to the inaccessibility of much documentation in Soviet repositories – "a sufficient foundation is established to retain in a Catholic edition of liturgical books of the Slavic recension some prudently chosen saints."[245] As additional support for the reasonableness of this conclusion Schweigl points to the fact that even in the Roman Martyrology there are "many saints" about whom there is only moral, and not scientific, certainty about their sanctity. He finishes the article with a *desideratum* which expresses the true spiritual and ecclesial motivations for striving to establish a commonly recognized sanctorale among the Churches: "May the times return when the East and the West will with one voice, although in different forms, bless God in his saints."[246]

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[243] N. Gorodetzky, *The Humiliated Christ in Modern Russian Thought* (London, 1938).
[244] Schweigl, *De menologio,* 228.
[245] Ibid., 228.
[246] Ibid., 228.

1.B.2. Excursus: Development of Canonization Procedures in the Roman Church

At this point we include a review of the development of canonization procedures in the Roman Church because this forms the immediate context, and often the basis of the theological discussion, concerning Slavic saints.

The early stages of the canonization process, what is sometimes referred to as "episcopal canonizations," is fairly similar in the East and in the West. In the West, however, patriarchal (i.e. papal) canonizations began several centuries earlier than in the East. The earliest evidence of a papal canonization is that of Ulric, bishop of Augsburg, in 993. Although bishops continued to canonize saints for local veneration for quite some time, papal canonizations were sometimes sought for the additional prestige and more widespread cult it conferred to a saint. By 1172 we see the first claims for exclusive papal authority in the matter. Although such claims were reiterated at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and in the Decretal collection of 1234, episcopal canonizations continued. Actually, Rome only gradually achieved control over the canonization process, by what André Vauchez described as a "silent rejection" of popular and local sainthood.[247] At the same time papal canonization procedures developed in thoroughness, notably placing more and more emphasis on the virtues and writings of the candidate than on his or her record of miracles. Even martyrdom, which continued to be a reality in missionary territories, was a less prominent motive for canonization than virtue.[248] When the Congregation of Rites was established in 1588 it was charged also with the task of overseeing canonizations.

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[247] André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1997), 413.
[248] Ibid., 415-417.

Episcopal canonizations finally ceased in the West only after Urban VIII strictly forbade any veneration of persons not yet beatified or canonized by Rome.[249] According to these decrees, any cult prior to 1534 (100 years preceding his decree) –the decrees actually speak of a cult "from immemorial times" (*ab immemorabili*) – may remain a local veneration by episcopal authority or may be submitted for papal confirmation. Any veneration of saints established within the previous century was to be considered illicit unless it underwent papal scrutiny. Consequently, it became the norm that no cause would be opened in Rome until it had been proven that no public veneration was being offered to the candidate.[250] These decrees also clearly designated which aspects of public veneration were *not* permitted to a beatified person, as opposed to a canonized saint. The restrictions also applied to publications. It was canonically required that any books discussing the lives or miracles of such persons include a *protestatio auctoris,* a disclaimer in which the author declares that any discussion and any use of the title "saint" intends to respect the teaching and prerogatives of the Roman See in the matter, according to the decrees of Urban VIII.[251]

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[249] Especially the decrees of 13 March 1625 and 2 October 1634 (*Coelestis Jerusalem cives*): see *Bullarium Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum,* vol. 13 (Torino, 1868), 308-311; 436-40.

[250] This is the meaning of the requirement of the decree "De non cultu" as a *sine qua non* for initiating the canonization process.

[251] An example of such a *protestatio* can be found in Kulchynskyi's *Specimen:* "In narrating the history of the Ruthenian saints, even while I did not depart in the least from Catholic authors in Lithuania, I declare that all that is narrated in this work needs to be understood according to the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of the Universal Inquisition, dated 13 March 1625 and 5 July 1634, and the declaration of Our Most Holy Lord, Urban III in 1634. To this effect I declare that all [in this work] is to be received as based on human authority. I submit it all to the judgment of the Holy Apostolic See, subjecting also my whole self totally, as a son most obedient in all things." Kulczynski, *Specimen*, xi.

When seen within the context of the Roman patriarchate, centralization of canonizations by the papacy appears as analogous to the centralization in the Eastern patriarchates, or even in the metropolitanates of Kyiv or Moscow, even though in the East such centralization occurred several centuries later, and with different modalities. The position of the Eastern Catholic Churches in regard to papal centralization of canonizations presented both similarities and dissimilarities with the average Roman Catholic diocese or regional group of dioceses. On the one hand, the Eastern Churches were required to conform to the Roman concept and practice of canonization in a canonical and dogmatic sense, that is, channeling canonizations through Rome alone and accepting as a matter of faith the papal pronouncements about the heavenly glory of canonized saints, just as any Latin diocese of the Roman Church. On the other hand, liturgically the Eastern Catholic Churches were only partially obligated: they needed to conform to the requirement *de non cultu* but were never required to enter into their calendars any saints canonized by papal canonization "for the Universal Church" as was required of dioceses of the Roman Catholic Church.

1.B.3. Early Theological Reflection (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries)

Schweigl claimed that the question of the validity of the veneration of saints who had entered the calendar after 1054 was not discussed at the Councils of Church reunion at Lyons and Florence, nor even on the occasion of the Union of Brest. As we have seen, he interpreted this to mean that the question did not pose a problem for Church

reunion.[252] Thus, according to Schweigl, each of the partners was ready to recognize the right of the other to venerate its own saints. Nonetheless, in the second half of the sixteenth century, with the consolidation of a polemically-oriented post-Tridentine theology in the Roman Church, the clash of Polish (Roman Catholic) and Muscovite (Orthodox) expansionism in Slavic territories, and the escalation of Latin missionary work among the Christians of the Near East, the former attitude of mutual recognition of saints gave way to exclusivistic ecclesiologies, both in the West and in the East, and ultimately, to the negation, — as an apologetic argument — of the possibility of true sanctity outside of one's own Church. The following is a brief review of that development.

1.B.3.a) Antonio Possevino SJ

The writings of Antonio Possevino, papal envoy to Tsar Ivan IV in 1581-1582 with the mission of negotiating peace between Muscovy and Poland and discussing the possibility of Church union, bear eloquent witness to the degree to which mutual ignorance and suspicion dominated the relations between Rome and the Eastern-Rite Slavs, concretely, the Church of Muscovy. Thus, it became easy for one side to construct and maintain a strongly distorted view of the other, even during a personal visit.

The *Moscovia* of Possevino describes several of the doctrinal discussions he held with the tsar. Both Possevino and the tsar enumerate long lists of errors they see in each other's Church, many of which, on both sides, are plainly fictitious. The veneration of saints is not explicitly an item on the list, but Possevino mentions that the Muscovites

[252] Schweigl, *De menologio*, 224.

refused to venerate the Latin saints. For his part, Possevino observes that the saints venerated by Muscovites, especially the native saints, are for the Muscovites among the main buttresses of their resistance to any innovations in their religious system.

> A palpably ridiculous circumstance, but one which would make it extremely difficult to detach the Muscovites from the schism, is their triumphant conviction that the bodies of certain Schismatics are preserved intact and frequently perform miracles; they steadfastly assert that these relics restore sight to the blind and cure the sick. In view of their belief, it is obviously very risky for anyone to deprecate the sanctity of these corpses or to inquire in a skeptical way whether these people really were saints and martyrs.[253]

Possevino should not have been surprised at the claim about the incorrupt state of the bodies of the saints. Although less common in the West, it was not unheard of there.[254] He actually tried to verify the Muscovites' claim: he asked the archbishop of Novgorod to show him one of these incorrupt bodies, and declares that what he saw was not a body but a carved wooden form, painted and vested to resemble a body.

Likewise his doubt about the miracles was not about miracles as such, but a more fundamental doubt about the relics themselves, or the saints. His basic doubt was how these people could be real saints if they lived and died in schism and in heresy. Although part of his argument for urging the tsar to Union with the pope was that the faith of the West and the East are one,[255] the greater part of the discussions was about the differences of faith between Rome and Moscow. Possevino was misinformed about the

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[253] Antonio Possevino. *The Moscovia of Antonio Possevino, SJ.* Trans., annot., and intro. Hugh F. Graham (Pittsburg, 1977), 58 [=UCIS Series in Russian and East European Studies, 1].

[254] Cf. Joan Carroll Cruz, *The Incorruptibles: A Study of the Incorruption of the Bodies of Various Catholic Saints and Beati* (Rockford, Ill.: Tan Books, 1977).

[255] Possevino was referring to the agreement of Florence: one of the gifts Possevino brought for the tsar was a luxuriously bound copy of the acts of the Council of Florence, printed in Rome. Cf. Possevino, *Moscovia*, ch. 2 (Graham, 52).

historical chronology of when Rus' received Christianity and therefore considered the faith of the Muscovites as corrupt from the very beginning, since it was received from schismatics and heretics.[256]

This basic assumption negates for Possevino any possibility of admitting that those native saints venerated by Muscovites can be true saints. It is important to note that this is less a direct judgment regarding the saints themselves (about which he knew almost nothing), rather than a consequence of the belief that outside of communion with Rome there can be no salvation, and consequently no true sanctity or even miracles. In Chapter 4 of *Moscovia*,[257] after the usual list of errors, Possevino concludes:

> However, by far the most egregious and palpable error held by Greeks and Muscovites alike is their assumption that they can achieve eternal salvation outside the Roman Catholic Church."[258]

For their part, the Muscovites thought much the same about the Roman Church, its saints, and its claim to means of salvation. In both cases the question of whether the other Church could have saints was dependent on the question of whether that Church was living in the true faith. On both sides a decidedly negative answer to the second question precluded anything but a negative determination as to the first.

The native Rus' saints that Possevino mentions in *Moscovia* are "Boris and Gleb, the Metropolitans Peter and Alexei, whose bodies are supposedly preserved in Moscow,

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[256] Ibid., ch. 2 (Graham, 46), ch. 4 (Graham, 80).
[257] The full title is "The Chief Points on which the Greeks and the Muscovites Differ from the Latins in the Faith after the Greeks Seceded from the Catholic Church. A Document Presented by Antonio Possevino, S.J., to Ivan Vasil'evich, Grand Prince of Muscovy, before a Large Assembly of Nobles, in the City of Moscow, on 3 March, 1582, Containing a Brief, Clear and Firm Refutation of the Errors of the Greeks and the Muscovites." Ibid., (Graham, 80)
[258] Ibid., ch. 4 (Graham 92).

and a certain monk Sergii who died nineteen years ago and is preserved in the Holy Trinity monastery."[259] In *Moscovia* he also announced the publication of a full *Kalendarium Ruthenorum* which finally appeared in his *Apparatus Sacer* in 1606.[260] Possevino reports that the original calendar from which he copied this *Kalendarium* "was in use both in Muscovy and in the rest of Russia." He also explains that besides "some saints that the Catholic Church always commemorates [...] there are many which we do not recognize, either because they were schismatics or because their life is not at all known to us."[261] Actually, the only Slavic saints that can be identified in the text that Possevino offers are "S. Patri Sabae" on 14 January (surely St. Sava of Serbia[262]), "S. Patris Vorlama" on 7 November (probably Barlaam of Novgorod, usually on 6 November[263]), and "S. Borisij et Klebae" on 24 July.[264] In comparison with these three Slavic commemorations that we can identify, Possevino's reference to "many" saints in

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[259] Ibid., ch. 2 (Graham 58). Clearly a reference to Sergius of Radonezh. Possevino was mistaken about the date by 170 years.

[260] A. Possevino, *Apparatus sacer ad scriptores Veteris et Novi Testamenti...* 3 vols., (Venice 1603-1606), 3:174-78.

[261] "[...] in eodem Kalendario sunt multi, quos non agnoscimus, siue quoniam fuere schismatici, siue quòd eorum vita nobis haud innotuit." Possevino *Apparatus sacer*, 3:173. Despite Possevino's irenic attitude in the article on Ruthenians, I think his "non agnoscimus" is rather a declaration ("we do not recognize as saints") than a statement of factual limitation ("we do not know").

[262] Archbishop Sergii documents this date by the Macarian Minea and some Serbian sources, but sets the preferred date at 12 January: *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:12; 14.

[263] Some calendars also give Barlaam, hegumen of St. Demetrius monastery in Kyiv on this day. Possevino's "S. Mart. Iulacij" on 5 November is difficult to identify.

[264] This, however, is not necessarily conclusive regarding the number of Slavic saints that might have been in the calendar Possevino copied from, because customarily in Slavic calendars the local saints were recorded after the saints of the original Greek calendar, and Possevino evidently copied only one or two names for each day of what may have been a longer list. For example, Possevino records only St. Cyrus for 28 June and the Emperor Constantine for 21 May, whereas it is highly unlikely these saints were without their respective pairs – John and Helen.

the calendar who were *unknown* to him (and possibly "schismatics") is understandable because of the utterly confused and inaccurate form in which Possevino recorded the greater part of the names, so that even names of saints known to Possevino were unrecognizable.

Possevino's final word about Slavic saints (in his later works *Apparatus Sacer* and *Bibliotheca selecta*)[265] is neither a full rejection nor a full acceptance. Possevino had his doubts, but also was willing to refrain from a univocal rejection;[266] he was willing to give the Slavic saints the benefit of the doubt, at least until further information about the lives of the saints was available.

1.B.3.b) The Early Bollandists

The *Acta Sanctorum* was conceived as both a monumental collection of all important hagiographical material from Western and Eastern sources, and a critical evaluation of this material according to new concepts of historical study. The medieval tradition of the collections of the *Lives* of the saints (the *Legenda Aurea* and others) were primarily oriented to an edificatory purpose, but often more in the sense of validating the miraculous powers of the saint than offering a realistic model for emulation. Even the

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[265] A. Possevino, SJ, *Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum ad disciplinas et ad salutem omnium gentium procurandam...* 3 vols. Cologne, 1607.

[266] He recognizes that one of the main reasons for the differences of the Greeks and Ruthenians from the Romans is the fact that they no longer have the full academic potential they once had and therefore are not able to correct the errors they inherited - this, he says, is especially true of the Ruthenians. Therefore when he polemicizes with them, it is rather to "help" than to combat them.

closer predecessors of the *Acta*, the collections of Lippomanus (1500-1559) and Surius (1522-1578)[267] were not very far from their previous models.

Heribert Rosweyd, SJ (1569-1629), is credited with the idea of applying new concepts of historical criticism to the *Lives* of the saints, probably in order to respond to polemical accusations of the Reformers. Joannes Bollandus, SJ (1596-1665), then realized Rosweyd's idea in a concrete project. The *Acta* were therefore planned first of all as a rigorous historical analysis and assessment of all available hagiographic literature. In explaining the general methodology of the *Acta*, Bollandus clarified two points: first, the work does not claim the assent of faith to what is said about the saints; it proposes only scholarly credibility and should be received and evaluated as such. Second, it does not claim any authority in the question of the veneration of any particular saint, that is, the authorization or rejection of such veneration.[268]

The appearance of the first volumes of the *Acta* in 1643 coincided with the legislation of Urban VIII about canonizations, and Bollandus stressed that the project intended to conform fully to papal norms in the matter. In other words, the *Acta Sanctorum* would document and speak of persons as "saints" strictly in a conventional way, reflecting the received tradition. In no way did it intend to contradict or anticipate papal pronouncements in the matter. This was explicitly formulated in the required *Protestatio auctorum* in the first and all subsequent volumes.

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[267] Aloysius Lippomanus, *Sanctorum priscorum Patrum vitae...* (Venice, 1551); Laurentius Surius, *De probatis Sanctorum historiis ab Aloysio Lipomano olim conscriptis nunc primum a Laurentio Surio emendatis et auctis,* (Cologne, 1570-1577). Surius's work was enlarged and republished several times.

[268] Joannes Bollandus, "Praefatio generalis in vitas Sanctorum", in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 1, *Januarii tomus 1* (Antwerp, 1643) xxvi, xxxii-xxxiv, xli-xlii.

Nevertheless, a central aspect of the project involved an evaluation of the status of the cult of a saint. Studies about saints who had received official (i.e. papal) recognition or whose popular cult was long established were printed as main entries in the text. Those whose cult was poorly evidenced were listed in a sort of appendix as "*praetermissi.*"[269] While in the investigation of the saint the titles of "Saint' or "Blessed" are carefully documented and appropriately used, the persons in the *praetermissi* list are generally not titled Sancti or Beati. The distinction between names in main entries and those among the *praetermissi* is also clearly maintained in all of the Indices of the *Acta*.

Thus, while theoretically it was the documentation, not the editors, which decided whether a saint would be in the first group or in the second, in many cases, where the documentation was open to divergent interpretation, the decision of the editors "labeled" the saint. In this regard, however, it should be noted that the authors never presumed that their choice was infallible or could not be modified. Often they will say about a saint among the *praetermissi* that he or she is placed there until fuller documentation is available. Or sometimes what had been said about a saint in a main entry was retracted in a subsequent volume.[270]

As to sources, the policy of the authors was that hagiographic works were standard sources for the history of the saint, but not legitimization of the cult itself. In addition to papal pronouncements, it was only liturgical books or calendars which were acceptable evidence of a truly existing veneration. Bollandus therefore gives a list of the liturgical

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[269] Ibid., xxvi. The term does not imply a negative judgment, only the absense (inavailability) of documentation about a (legitimate) cult.

books that he had at the time: for Western saints these are usually Breviaries and other regional or monastic collections of Offices,[271] and for the Greek saints he refers to the Venetian ["Great"] Menaia, a compendium of which was published by Matthieu Rader, who, having examined them, "asserted there was nothing schismatic or heretical in them."[272] All the more, an indisputable Greek source (for authenticity of cult) was the 1598 *Anthologion Graecorum,* approved by Clement VIII, in which Antonius Arcudius, who prepared it, recommends it to Catholic priests and monks.[273]

The only Slavic source (of the Byzantine tradition) which the Bollandists started with was the *Kalendarium Ruthenorum* of Possevino. Bollandus drew attention to Possevino's assertion that "there are many [saints] that we do not recognize, either because they were schismatics or because their life is not at all known to us," and immediately comments: "He [Possevino] could have added: 'or because the manuscript from which it was copied was quite faulty,' because many of the names are full of mistakes." He then states that the calendar generally[274] corresponds to the Greek calendar, and provides a list of the entries for January as proof of his statement. In view of how carefully he pointed out papal approbation for the Greek calendar, we may suspect that Bollandus in his comment about the correspondence of the Slavic to the

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[270] Unrealistic as it may seem today, the authors expected their readers to be able to follow a line of thought intersparsed among many thousands of pages and decades or centuries apart.

[271] Bollandus, *Praefatio generalis*, liv-lv.

[272] Ibid., lvi. Mathhieu Rader, SJ (1561-1634), a leading Greek philologist of his day, wrote several hagiographic works, of which the most popular was his *Vividarium Sanctorum ex Menaeis Graecorum lectum, translatum et annotationibus similibusque passim historijs, Latinis, Graecis, editis, ineditis illustratum*, (Augsburg, 1604 and 1607), later augmented to three volumes (Munich, 1614 and 1627).

[273] Bollandus, *Praefatio generalis*, lvi.

Greek was implying that the Ruthenian Calendar also enjoyed a similar official approbation.[275]

But, strictly speaking, such approbation could apply only to those saints who were found in the *Anthologion* approved by Clement VIII. Bollandus evidently steers clear of the question of the specific Slavic additions to the *Kalendarium Ruthenorum.* In fact, he ignores or conceals the question by his explicit suggestion that the "unknown names" of Possevino's calendar are probably Greek names that the Ruthenian original deformed. The suspicion that he ignored the issue intentionally suggests itself also by the fact that in the list of saints for January (which he offers to his readers as confirmation of his suggestion that the Ruthenian calendar corresponds to the Greek), there is the name of "S. P. Sabae" for 14 January, which is not found in the Greek and is certainly not among the more deformed entries. He comments on this entry, adding "certainly [meaning:] in Sinai," implying that this entry is really the same as the Greek entry: "the venerable Fathers who were martyred in [the monastery of] Sinai and Raitha." Such a comment proved his point (that the unrecognizable names are surely Greek), but he chose to prove the point at the cost of not having mentioned "Borisius et Kleba" later in the *Kalendarium* (which he could not have explained away), or the Metropolitans Peter and Alexis and the monk Sergius, whom Possevino mentions in *Moscovia.*

The question is all the more intriguing since in Volume 2 of the *Acta,* published in the same year, when he expounds on the *Vitae* of the saints of 14 January, Bollandus prints, among the main entries, the Life of St. Sava the Serb (d. 1237), written by

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[274] Or "in everything" ("*in plerisque*").
[275] Bollandus, *Praefatio generalis,* lvi.

Joannes Tomcus Marnavitius, who later became bishop of Bosnia. The life was published by Marnavitius in Rome in 1630.[276] In this Life St. Sava is presented as an undoubtedly Catholic saint.[277] What is also surprising, seeing how often the *Kalendarium Ruthenorum* will be quoted in later volumes, is that the cult of Sava is extensively discussed by Marnavitius according to Serbian (and Illyrian) sources, but Bollandus adds no reference to the Saba of 14 January in Possevino's calendar.

Whatever Bollandus's motives may have been for his particular way of presenting the *Kalendarium Ruthenorum* (i.e. in what he suggested and what he did not mention), it is evident that he achieved two results: first, the *Kalendarium Ruthenorum* is to be considered a Catholic document, in the sense of containing saints approved by Rome — at least until the contrary is proven. Second, Possevino's credibility as a source for information about the Ruthenians (Muscovites) is preserved intact, while the onus of all the absurdities in his transcript of the calendar is laid on the Slavic original.

The significance of the first position may be seen in the simple desire on the part of Bollandus to postpone the discussion of the Catholic status of Slavic saints to a later time when more documentation would be available. This is understandable in view of the fact that Bollandus may have felt he needed more time to understand the import of the new legislation of Urban VIII in the matter. But at the same time it possibly reveals in Bollandus an openness to recognize *a priori* the legitimacy of the Ruthenian calendar (and maybe saints) — an openness which Possevino certainly did not have when he published *Moscovia* (though, as stated above, Possevino's later works moved in that

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[276] "Vita S. Sabbae, Archiepisc. Serviae," in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 2, *Januarii tomus 2*, 262, note a.

direction). Such an openness will be explicit and outspoken in Bollandus's later collegue D. Papebrochius, who claims to have inherited it from his teachers.

Godfriedus Henschenius, SJ (1601-1681)

Volume 5 (*Februarii tomus II*) of the *Acta Sanctorum* (1658) includes the *Life* of "Alexis, Metropolitan of Kyiv in Rus'."[278] The introductory *Historical Commentary* is by Godfriedus Henschenius, the first of the future Bollandist company to join Bollandus on a steady basis. Henschenius bases his commentary primarily on information supplied in his *Miscellanea Lituaniae* by Albertus Wiiuk Kojalowicz, professor and rector at the Vilnius Jesuit College. Apparently Henschenius considered Kojalowicz's work sufficiently solid and convincing in that he simply presents him as an authority and sums up his information, without entering into discussion on any particular point. It is evident that Henschenius is interested in presenting and answering fundamental questions about Rus', something that Bollandus had not yet been ready to do.

The picture of the Kyivan Church[279] that Henschenius presents is thoroughly Catholic:

- The first Metropolitan of Kyiv, Michael, a Greek, who baptized St. Vladimir, was sent to Kyiv by Patriarch Nicholas Chrysoberg, who was in communion with Rome.[280]

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[277] St. Sava was included in Kulchynskyi, but not in RR or RV.
[278] G. Henschenius, "De S. Alexio, metropolita Kijoviensi in Russia," in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 5, *Februarii tomus 2* (Antwerp, 1658), 639-641.
[279] A phrase that Henschenius uses, possibly from Kojalowicz.
[280] "Ecclesiae Romanae adhaerebat," Henschenius, *De S. Alexio,* 639F.

- The family of Vladimir was intermarried with the Byzantine court, and the Polish and French royal families.
- St. Hyacinth of the Order of Preachers established a monastery in Kyiv in 1226.
- The line of the Metropolitans of Kyiv who were "truly orthodox"[281] extends from the beginning (Metropolitan Michael) to 1520, when Metropolitan Jonas (a Muscovite) introduces the schism. This line of Catholic metropolitans was interrupted briefly by Dionysius, a Greek, consecrated as a rival to St. Alexis (about 1330), and by Photius, also a Greek, consecrated 1407 but deposed in 1415.

Kojalowicz confirms that Metropolitans Peter and Alexis are designated as saints in the "Menologia Russorum," and that Alexis is considered among the patron saints of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In addition to Kojalowicz's information, Henschenius received from Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius, also a Jesuit professor in Vilnius, manuscript Lives of "several saints of Livonia and Lithuania," which were probably from a Prolog,[282] from which he reprints a brief *Life* of Alexis.

Along with Alexis and Peter, Henschenius refers to Vladimir, Borys and Hlib ("Hlebus et Borysius") as "Saints" and to Josaphat as inscribed among the "Blessed Martyrs," about whom the entry (in the *Acta*) is promised for 12 November. He also mentions that he has bronze icons (tabelli) representing other Rus' and Lithuanian saints. This surely refers to the set of icons that were later published in reproduction and commented on by D. Papebrochius in his *Ephemerides*.

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[281] "Vere orthodoxos, et cum Romana Ecclesia consentientes," G. Henschenius, *De S. Alexio,* 640A.
[282] "Quasi ad usum officii Ecclesiastici contracta," G. Henschenius, *De S. Alexio,* 640E.

It is surprising that in the entire commentary and in the *Lives* themselves there is not a single mention of Moscow or Muscovy. This is remarkable because both Metropolitans Peter and Alexis were major figures in the establishment of the residence of the metropolitans of Kyiv in Moscow. The *Life* of St. Alexis notes that the metropolitan was buried in Kyiv in the burial place he had built for himself (in the church of St. Michael). From the *Lives* one has the impression that Alexis had never abandoned Kyiv. The only use of the name "Muscovite" in the whole of Henschenius's commentary is in relation to Jonas of Muscovy ("natione Moschus"), who, on becoming metropolitan, "introduced schism, which lasted until metropolitan Michael Rahoza". This silence about Moscow and Muscovy must have been a characteristic of Kojalowicz's work which presented the Lithuanian view on these saints. Incidentally, the Union of 1596 is called "subscribing to the orthodox faith" and it included "promulgating the customary Church excommunication against those who remained steadfast in the schism,"[283] but the terms heresy or heretical is not used in reference to the Kyivan Church in whatever phase.

Among the *Lives* that the Bollandists received from Sarbievius in Vilnius were also those of the Lithuanian martyrs John, Antonius and Eustachius. These were published in the *Acta Sanctorum* as a main entry under 14 April.[284] The introduction was written by Henschenius. He explains that the Acts of the martyrdom were collected (and translated into Latin) from ancient Livonian and Ruthenian manuscripts, and their

[283] "[Michael Rahoza] fidei orthodoxa subscribit, atque in eos, qui pertinaciter schismatic inhaererent, solitam Ecclesiae excommunicationem promulgavit," p, 640C.
[284] G. Henschenius, "De SS. Joanne, Antonio et Eustachio, martyribus Vilnae in Lithuania," in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 11, *Aprilis tomus 2* (Antwerp, 1675) 265-266.

publication was authorized[285] by Georgius Tyskievicius, suffragan[286] to the bishop of Vilnius, later himself bishop of Vilnius. Kojalowicz in his *Miscellanea Lituaniae* speaks of the "Patron [saints] of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, of which some are of the Latin rite, and some of the Greek," and among them are these three martyrs.[287] Kojalowicz states that the martyrs are buried "in the church of the Most Holy Trinity, of the Greek-Rus' Uniate ("uniti") Rite, and that they were included among the saints during the time of Alexis, the Uniate metropolitan of Kyiv. Henschenius adds that these martyrs are venerated "not only by Lithuanians, but also by Muscovites," and refers to the presence of these saints on the "Muscovite icon-calendar." [288]

Two aspects of Henschenius's presentation of Rus' saints are noteworthy. First, the picture he proposes of the Ruthenian Church is radically different from Possevino's picture of Muscovy (for which the latter often uses the term "Ruthenian"). In the former, the Kyivan Church is presented as Catholic in its origins and as remaining so until 1520. This means concretely that there could be no doubt as to whether any saints of this period were to be considered Catholic. Second, Henschenius takes all his information about the Rus' Church and her saints from Kojalowicz and Sarbevius. This is not surprising, since these were fellow Jesuits, and Kojalowicz enjoyed a reputation as a

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[285] "[...] ut edi possent [Acta Martyrii] muniverat [Tyskievicius] chirographi sui sigillique fide publica," Ibid., 265A.

[286] Presumably Latin-rite, because although the Uniate metropolitans of Kyiv resided in Vilnius, there was no Ruthenian Episcopal see in this city.

[287] The Acts describe the martyrs as Lithuanians, who converted to Christianity, which was perceived as a characteristic of the Rus' population of the realm.

[288] For a fuller picture of the ecclesial and political role of the veneration of the martyrs in Lithuania and Muscovy, see John Meyendorff, "The Three Lithuanian Martyrs: Byzantium and Lithuania in the Fourteenth Century" *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 26 (1982): 29-44.

good historian. What is surprising is that Henschenius does not consult, nor even mention, the primary ecclesial authority in the matter, the Ruthenian Uniate hierarchy. It is true that at the time the Ruthenian Uniate leadership was under intense political pressure from the Poles and from the (Orthodox) Cossacks, but matters concerning the saints were very much on their agenda.[289] Henschenius acts as if he were in the same position as Possevino, when there was no Rus' Catholic authority to consult. This oversight appears all the more irregular as Kojalowicz states that the Lithuanian martyrs are buried in a Ruthenian Catholic church, suggesting actual veneration, while the authorization for the publication of their Acts is given by the Latin, not Ruthenian, bishop. More so than a bias on the part of Henschenius, this implies the inferior role played by the Ruthenian Catholic Church in the Lithuanian and Polish reality.

Daniel Papebrochius, SJ

Daniel Papebrochius was the second colleague, after Godfridus Henschenius, to join the hagiographic project of Joannes Bollandus, and he continued to collaborate in the following eighteen volumes, until Volume Four of June, published in 1709. Many authors agree that these volumes are among the critically most sound in the whole collection. While Papebrochius authored several individual entries, the *Ephemerides Graecorum et Moscorum* was his most significant contribution to Slavic hagiography.

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[289] The beatification process of archbishop Josaphat Kuntsevich, 1623–1647; bishop Iakiv Susha publishes in Rome a *Life* of Meletius Smotrytskyi in view of his beatification (the first edition is quite rare; reprinted by I. Martinov in Brussels in 1864); the same bishop Susha spends three years in Rome to promote the cause of Josaphat's canonization, in view of which the hierarchy also organizes an intense campaign of petitions to solicit Josaphat's canonization, 1660–1676. See I. Praszko, *De Ecclesia* 213-219; also Іриней Назарко, "Яків Суша — єпископ холмський (1610-1687)," *Analecta OSBM* 7 (13) (1971): 56-60.

This was a commentary on an icon-calendar, that the Bollandists received several decades previously from an Amsterdam book and art collector, Laurentius van dem Hem.[290] The icon-calendar is a series of twelve icons, corresponding to the twelve months. Each icon depicts in succession the persons and events commemorated on each day of that month. The individual days are numbered and each has an inscription identifying the saints or event of the day. Papebrochius had bronze engravings made of the icons, which were reproduced along with the commentary.

Trusting that the painter portrayed the various classes of Saints with attention to the diversity of the apparel according to the different ranks of hierarchy and different types of saints,[291] Papebrochius, while not knowing any Slavonic, intended to comment on the icons, gleaning what information he could from the images themselves. For the inscriptions he worked from a translation,[292] but sometimes he ventured his own conjectures, based on the similarity of the Cyrillic alphabet to the Greek. Even with such limitations, he proposed, at least, to individuate those saints not found in Greek sources, thereby arriving at a list of saints who were proper to the Ruthenian Church.

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[290] The Bollandists first received the icons for January to April. Subsequently, at the request of the Bollandists, van den Hem ordered the rest "from Muscovy." In spite of this double origin, the icons, as reproduced in the Acta Sanctorum, show a consistent style throughout. Archbishop Sergii indicates a Kyivan origin to the icons, ascribing their authorship (without distinguishing the two groups) to Pambo Berynda, the Lviv and Kyivan lexicographer, according to the clear inscription at 13 January, "Pambo, who is Pavel Berynda, hieromonk and protosyncellus of Jerusalem." He dates the icons according to the inscription at 23 September, which other commentators overlooked – "зрлѕ" i.e. (year from creation) 7136, which is 1628 A. D.: *Полный месяцеслов*, 1:361.

[291] Cf. *Ephemerides*, 2.

[292] A translation was made by Joannes Gabriel Baron von Sparwefeld, who had been on a diplomatic mission to Moscow, and also published a Russian dictionary.

For a general historic background of the Slavic East Papebrochius refers primarily to Albertus Kojalowicz,[293] a Jesuit historian in Vilnius, and the classical descriptions of Sigismundus Herbersteinus.[294] He also consulted Polycarp Ohilevych, Provincial of the Ruthenian Basilians, a "Roman theologian," probably sending him a first draft of his conclusions, requesting his comments. He also asked Ohilevych to send him "from the Ruthenian Synaxarion, in use in his Order, a Latin translation of the praises of those saints which were added in Russia to the ancient saints received from the Greeks."[295] Ohilevych sent Papebrochius comments which helped to identify many of the Slavic (including Muscovite) saints in the icon-calendar, but instead of the list of Rus' saints Papebrochius had hoped for, he responded that, "because they lacked [the means to print] their own books, the Ruthenian Catholics in Lithuania used schismatic Synaxaria, but were wary to commemorate saints they did not find in the Greek calendars, so as not to [unwittingly] come across schismatics instead of saints."[296]

Besides the comments of Ohilevych, most of Papebrochius's additional conjectures about the Slavic saints fell wide of the mark. Nonetheless, it was the general view of Ruthenian Church history, which he borrowed from Kojalowicz, which was Papebrochius's most important contribution to the theological interpretation of Slavic hagiography in the West. He not only corrected Possevino' erroneous assertion by insisting that Rus' had received perfectly orthodox faith from the Greeks, but maintained

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[293] Adalbetus Kojalowicz, SJ, *Historiae Lithuaniae*, part 1 (Danzig, 1650); idem, part 2 (Antwerp, 1669); idem, *Miscellanea rerum ad statum ecclesiasticum Magni ducatus Lithuaniae pertinentium* (Vilnius, 1650).
[294] *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarius,*(Basilea, 1571).
[295] *Ephemerides*, iii.
[296] Ibid., iii.

that Rus' remained in union with Rome until 1520,[297] and then renewed that union at Brest in 1596.[298] He also rejects the objection that the Rus' Church could not be considered to be in communion with Rome since it canonically depended on Constantinople, which had manifestly severed this communion. His reply is that the Greeks themselves were often changing their position regarding Rome and it cannot be imagined that Rus' was even aware, in every instance, whether there was communion between the Greeks and Rome or not. "Are the Muscovites [to be considered] schismatics every time and however often the Greeks fell from union with Rome? I don't think so."[299] This inclination to recognize a Catholic status for Rus' leads him also to accept at face value the reality of the virtues claimed for these saints by this Church and the authenticity of their miracles, as divine confirmation of their sanctity. Papebrochius accepts these claims (of virtue and miracles) the same way he accepts them within his own tradition, until arguments can be proven to the contrary.[300]

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[297] Papebrochius was aware that in his time there were Ruthenians (in Lithuania) in Union with Rome and Ruthenians (in Muscovy) who were not, but he poorly distinguished between the histories of the Kyivan and the Muscovite metropolitanates, and often simply interchanged the names *Ruthenian* and *Muscovite.*

[298] Before Papebrochius Henschcenius had also adhered to this view, but it was Papebrochius's exposition, in the context of the *Ephemerides*, that was most often quoted.

[299] *Ephemerides*, iv.

[300] "[...] it seems, therefore, that there should be no doubt that all those that Muscovy (however schismatic she may be) now venerates as Saints, should be considered as truly Saints, and Orthodox and placed beyond all responsibility (*culpam*) for the schism. Because the whole people would never have claimed this opinion (of sanctity) for them (the Saints), if they were not compelled to do so by the renown of excellent and singular Christian virtues, supported by certain and unquestionable miracles even after death." Ibid., vi.

The Slavic sanctorale of the icon-calendar displays a remarkable balance between saints of the Kyivan and Muscovite metropolitanates.[301] Besides three Dominical and Marian feasts,[302] there are twelve Kyivan commemorations,[303] and twelve Muscovite commemorations.[304] There are also six other Slavic commemorations.[305] The commemorations that are allotted a larger space (indicating highest liturgical rank) are those for metropolitans Alexis (twice) and Peter, Theodosius of Kyiv, Barlaam of Novgorod, Leontius of Rostov, and Sergius of Radonezh. Only in these six large commemorations are the names of the Rus' localities mentioned; in the others there is no indication they are Slavic commemorations Most surprising are the commemorations of the Caves monks Nikola Sviatosha and Prochorus, pre-dating the 1643 Mohylan commemorations. This is a strong argument for the Kyivan, rather than Muscovite, origin of the icons, or at least of the sanctorale in the icons.

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[301] The following information is from a verification of the icons themselves and other calendars, since several of the entries in Papebrochius's concusive list are hypothetical or inaccutate: Ibid., lxvii.

[302] The Holy Cross (1 August), the Protection of the Theotokos (1 October), and the Vladimir icon (26 August). While the origin if the third is clearly Muscovite, the origin of the first two are connected to Andrew of Bogoliubovo (Bogoliubskii), prince of Vladimir-on-the-Kliazma (1155-1174), who energetically led a policy of political and ecclesiastic rivalry with Kyiv: Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 107-109; Senyk, *History*, 119-121.

[303] Besides Anthony and Theodosius, Vladimir, and Borys and Hlib, there are metropolitans Peter and Alexis (12 February and 20 May), the Caves monks Nikola Sviatosha and Prochorus, Chernihiv martyrs Michael and Theodore, the Lithuanian martyrs, and Smolensk saints Theodore and sons. Noticeably missing is Olha.

[304] The largest group is of Rostov saints: Abraham, Ignatius, Isidore, Isaias, and Leontius. In addition, there are Barlaam of Novgorord, Cyril of Belozersk, Demetrius of Pryluka, Dionysius of Glushitsa, Nikita the Stylite of Pereialsav-Zaleskii, Sergius of Radonezh, and Stephen of Perm,

[305] Cyril the Philosopher, Hilarion of Mogleha, John of Rila, John of Suchava, Parasceve of Tarnovo, and Simeon of Serbia.

After the *Ephemerides* Papebrochius authored two Slavic "main entries" in the *Acta Sanctorum*. For 1 June he entered Agapetus, monk of the Kyivan Caves, and Dionysius of Glushitsa.[306] He offers no biographical information, except for the year 1095 for Agapetus, since his only sources are the icon-calendar and calendars sent to him by Georgius David and Sparwenfeld.[307] Papebrochius concludes with the remark that in the future such saints (about whom there is no biographical information), will be listed among the *praetermissi*.[308]

The second entry is at 15 June, for Jonas, Metropolitan of Kyiv.[309] Papebrochius identifies this Jonas with Metropolitan Jonas Hlezna of Kyiv (1489-1494), excluding *a priori* that this could be the Jonas who introduced the schism in the Kyivan Metropolitanate in 1520.[310] His reasoning was that if he merited the title "miracle-worker, he must truly have performed many convincing miracles, since no-one can deceive a whole nation in this matter for long: "Let Jonas be considered orthodox and even a Saint, as presented; [all the same] we desire to know his life and miracles and writings, if they are extant."[311]

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[306] "De sanctis monacis Ruthenis Agapito et Dionysio. Ex gentis Synaxariis," in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 21, *Junii tomus 1* (Antwerp, 1695), 131-132.
[307] Georgius David was a Jesuit missionary in Moscow. The calendar of Sparwenfeld is a 1679 calendar printed in Moscow.
[308] *Acta Sanctorum,* vol. 21, *Junii tomus 1,* 132.
[309] "De S. Jona Thaumaturgo, metropolita Kioviensi in Russia. Ex Triptycho et Synaxario Russorum," in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 23, *Junii tomus 3* (Antwerp, 1701), 577.
[310] Actually the commemoration is of Metropolitan Jonas (d. 1461), who carried the title of Kyiv, but who, after the rejection of the Union of Florence, separated the Muscovite eparchies from Kyiv, creating in 1448 the separate Muscovite metropolitanate.
[311] "De S. Jona Thaumaturgo, metropolita Kioviensi in Russia. Ex Triptycho et Synaxario Russorum," in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 23, *Junii tomus 3* (Antwerp, 1701), 577.

Papebrochius's treatment of Jonas is a case that illustrates well that lack of historical information cannot be corrected by even the best theological projections. Nevertheless, in spite of all the historical shortcomings of this commentary, Papebrochius showed himself to be in the company of the best of proto-ecumenical theologians when he expressed his principle:

> [...] if, therefore, we believe that true and frequent miracles are brought about by a religious invocation to the Mother of God, Saint Nicholas and all the other Saints and Patrons that we know [...] why then should we suspect error or deception about those things which are claimed to happen at the graves of these "native heroes," as long as no other arguments, which might overturn such credulity, are not brought to the contrary [...]. Why should we, in this matter, where we can ascertain nothing to the contrary, place a stumbling block [*scandalum*] for the simple people, which would be an almost insurmountable obstacle to the desired union, by commanding them to renounce part of the religion that they received from their ancestors?"[312]

1.B.3.c) Ignatius Kulchynskyi

Ignatius Kulchynskyi (1696-1747),[313] a Basilian monk, studied six years at the Propaganda Fide College in Rome. He is listed among the participants of the Synod of Zamość (1720) as Doctor of Theology. He served as General Procurator of the Ruthenian Church in Rome (1729-1735), during which time he published several works.[314] The most important was *Specimen Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, published in 1733.[315] This work was reprinted after his death in Pochaiv in 1757, and again in Paris by J.

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[312] *Ephemerides*, 20. Kulchynskyi also quotes this in the preface to his *Specimen* (xxvi-xxvii). Similar to this is also the principle expressed by Korolevskij, about Churches coming into union with Rome retaining their calendar: Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications*, 394.

[313] Many publications mistakenly give 1707 as the date of birth.

[314] Kulchynskyi also published *Il diaspro prodigioso di tre colori, ovvero narratione istorica delle tre immagini miracolose della B. V. Maria* (Rome, 1732) about Marian icons; Martinov mentions a book about Josaphat, *Jaspis prodigiosus*.

Martinov in 1859, who pointed out that the author had shortcomings as to critical historical work, but praised him as a hagiographer. Another posthumous hagiographic publication was *Menologium Basilianum* about ancient and recent monastic saints, printed in 1771.

The title of *Specimen* described the intent of the author — to present a hagiographic image of Rus', of the Ruthenian Church. In his introduction Kulchynskyi explicitly refers to Papebrochius's appeal some fifty years earlier, which was often repeated in the *Acta Sanctorum*, for the Ruthenians to offer information about their saints. The introduction also presents a key theme of the book, which is also in the title — that the Church of Rus' was from its beginnings always (except for a brief interval) in union with Rome. To this end Kulchynskyi presents four versions of the Christianization of Rus', all of which agree on the Catholic origins of the Church of Rus'. In this he is clearly intent on authoritatively refuting the version that Possevino offered in his *Moscovia,* that Rus' received the faith from schismatic and heretical Greeks. In all this he refers to the most important Catholic historians (of the region) of his time: Joannes Aloysius Kulesza, Joannes Kviatkowicz, Adalbertus Kojalovicz and Nicholas Cichovius

Specimen consists of three parts. Part One is a series of descriptions, of varied length, of fifty-six commemorations (sixty-three saints) which are "proper to the Ruthenian Church." This means those that are not in the general Greek (and Roman) liturgical calendars. The saints are mostly from Kyivan Rus', but also from Muscovy, Serbia, and Bulgaria. He informs the reader that his primary sources for this list are two

[315] Kulchynskyi, *Specimen.*

Lviv liturgical books: the 1643 Anthologion[316] and the 1679 Horologion or Typicon ("Ustav").[317] Both books were printed by the Lviv Dormition (Stauropegion) Brotherhood at a time when the eparchy of Lviv was not yet in Union with Rome. This explains the stark contrast in the number of Rus' saints between Kulchynskyi's list and that of other Uniate calendars of the period (e.g. the 1692 Vilnius Liturgicon with a nil count, besides Josaphat). Sources for biographical material about the saints are the *Patericon* of the Kyivan Caves Lavra, but also the *Acta Sanctorum.* Kulchynskyi did not use the twelve-volume *Lives of the Saints* of Dmytrii Tuptalo, Metropolitan of Rostov. In the few cases where Kulchynskyi has no biographical information, he at least offers a translation of the troparion and kontakion from the liturgical books.

Part Two is a commentary on Papebrochius's *Ephemerides,* especially those sections where the Bollandist was grossly mistaken about Rus' saints because of a lack of knowledge of the Slavic language or simply a lack of information. It is evident from Kulchynskyi's tone that his intent is not to criticize the work, but to correct and

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[316] The Dormition Brotherhood printed five editions of the Anthologion in the seventeenth century: 1632, 1638, 1643, 1651, and 1694. The Slavic sanctorales of the last four are virtually the same. This presents a formidable witness to the identity and unity of the Slavic sanctorale in the Western eparchies of the Ruthenian Orthodox Church. On the other hand in the Gospel and Epistle Books, and even Liturgicons, of the same Brotherhood, the Slavic saints were scarcer. Only the Horologion sanctorales (e.g. 1642) also presented numerous Slavic saints, although not identical to those in the Anthologia.

[317] The catalog of Zapasko and Isaievych of old imprints published in Ukraine lists no such publication. For 1679 there are two Horologia (Kyiv [Lavra] and Novhorod-Siverskii) and two Horologia with Calendars (Kyiv [Lavra] and Univ). The closest similar Dormition Brotherhood publication is the 1670 *Устав молитвенний*, which I was unable to consult, since the three known copies are in Russia and Sweden: Яким Запаско, Ярослав Ісаєвич, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва. Каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні* (Monuments of the art of bookmaking. Catalogue of

complete it, so it may be a more convincing foundation for the favorable theological postulates Papebrochius offers about Rus' and its saints.

The third part gives historical descriptions of the fifty-four "Archbishops of Kyiv and Metropolitans of All Rus'" (from Michel to the contemporary Atanasii Sheptytsky), and of the nine eparchies that comprised the Kyivan Uniate metropolitanate at the time.

An extensive Appendix offers diverse liturgical, historical and canonical material that together presents a multifaceted image of Rus' as a nation with a mature Christian culture. We find here a Latin translation of the full liturgical services of Vladimir and of Borys and Hlib,[318] ecclesiastic selections from the "constitutions" of the Grand Princes of Kyiv Vladimir, and that of his son Iaroslav, and of the Grand Prince of Moscow Basil Dimitrovich,[319] and selections from Synods of Kyiv,[320] of Novgorod,[321] and of Kobryn.[322] Of particular interest are materials concerning St. Josaphat: a sermon by Thomas Xenicepulos, a student of the Greek College, pronounced at the Jesuit Collegium Romanum on 12 September 1624, and epistolary exchanges (ten letters) of 1623-1624 between Ruthenian (Metropolitan Veliamyn Rutskyi, the Ruthenian episcopate), Polish (King Sigismund III) and Roman authorities (Urban VIII, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide) about the martyrdom and beatification of Josaphat. The third part finishes with annotated lists of the Princes of Muscovy, and selected

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old imprints published in Ukraine) (Lviv, 1981), 1:94, 84 (catalog numbers 573, 576, 574, 575, 474).

[318] These are taken from the 1643 Anthologion.

[319] Kulchynskyi refers to the source for these constitutions as an "ancient manuscript *Rituale Ruthenicum*" (*Specimen*, 148).

[320] Under Metropolitan Cyril III.

[321] Documents concerning the deposition of Metropolitan Photius in 1415.

"Metropolitans of All Rus'."[323] While there is no trace of a *political* antagonism to Muscovites (which is surprising in view of the recent wars between Poland and Peter I and the bloody persecution of the Uniates by the latter),[324] Kulchynskyi clearly attributes the *ecclesial* separation of Moscow from Kyiv (the creation of the separate metropolitanate) to the rejection of Metropolitan Isidore (i.e. of the Florentine Union). For him, this is the beginning of schism.[325] Kulchynskyi accuses "the impious Mark of Ephesus" of being the one who instigated (*dementaverat*) the Muscovites to reject Isidore. This generally irenic attitude to Muscovy, in which even the actual schism is presented as almost temporary, serves to enhance Kulchynskyi's impressive picture of the Christian (and even Catholic) culture of all Rus'.

The hagiographic image of the Ruthenian Church that Kulchynskyi presents is varied and yet well-proportioned. The largest group of saints is that of the monks of the

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[322] Held in 1626 under Metropolitan Iosyf IV Veliamyn Rutskyi, confirmed by Urban VIII in 1629.

[323] Here Kulchynskyi is commenting the lists in a work recently published in Vienna by Bernardus Ribera, OP, *Echo Fidei.* Apparently following Ribera, after Vladimir II Monomakh (d. 1130) the line transfers to princes of Vladimir and Moscow. Kulchynskyi contradicts Ribera that George Dolgorukii (1130-1158) built Moscow, suggesting rather that he restored and amplified it, "because it is generally accepted by indigenous authors that Moscow existed from immemorial times," (*Specimen,* 277). The sack of Kyiv in 1169 by George's son Andrew Bogoliubskii is not mentioned. About Metropolitan Peter, Kulchynskyi notes that he transferred to Moscow not the metropolitan see, but only his personal residence. Special attention is devoted to the deposed Metropolitan Photius, venerated as a saint by the Muscovites.

[324] Kulchynskyi closes Part Three with the *desideratum*: "May Lower Rus' be joined by its more extensive and more notable part, namely, Upper Rus' (Utinam Russiae inferiori sua pars amplior et notabilior, Russia nempè superior, *uniatur*), so that there be one fold under one supreme pastor, the Roman Pontiff," (*Specimen*, 141). The "more notable" probably refers to political renown.

[325] "All Muscovy with its bishops was subordinate to [*obediebat*] the metropolitans of Kyiv up to Isidore[...] From this time a new metropolitan see was founded in Muscovy,

Kyivan Caves: besides Anthony and Theodosius there are Agapetus the unmercenary doctor, Alipius the icon-painter, Athanasius the recluse, Barlaam, hegumen of St. Demetrius, Damian and Matthew, Erasmus the Black-robed, Eustrathius, Euthymius of Suzdal, John the Much-suffering, Laurentius, Moses the Hungarian, Nikola Sviatosha, Nikon, Prochorus, Spiridon, and Theodore and Basil.

Others directly related to Kyiv are: the metropolitans Alexis, Cyprian, Jonas and Peter, and the nobles Borys and Hlib, Olha, and Vladimir. Belonging to the Kyivan metropolitanate (in the post-1458 configuration) are saints of Chernihiv (Michael and Theodore), of Lithuania (Anthony, John and Eustathius), of Polatsk (Euphrosyne, Josaphat and Parasceve), and of Smolensk (Abraham, Mercurius, and Theodore with sons David and Constantine).

Other Rus' saints are: Barlaam of Novgorod (Khutin), Demetrius of Pryluka, Dionysius of Suzdal, Macarius of Calazin, Nikita the Stylite of Pereiaslav-Zaleskii, Savvatii of Solovki, Sergius and Nikon of Radonezh, Stephen of Perm, saints of Rostov (Isaia, Isidore the Fool for Christ, and Leontius). Other Slavic saints are: the Bulgarian Hilarion of Moglena, John of Rila, and Parasceve of Tarnovo, and the Serbian Arsenius, Sava, and Simeon. To these can be added Cyril and Methodius. These groupings, incidentally, are not used by Kulchynskyi, he simply calls the whole group "saints proper to the Ruthenian Church."

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along with the schism (which up to then was always abhorrent to the Ruthenians)." Kulczynski, *Specimen*, 301.

Kulchynskyi does not argue or defend his choices. His primary sources are the Lviv liturgical books (the Anthologion and Horologion);[326] and the fact that they were printed by non-Uniates does not present a difficulty. He seems to be working from the principle which Korolevskij expressed two hundred years later: "When a dissident Eastern Church comes into the Catholic Church she brings into it all her rites and all her liturgy; so also her menology or liturgical calendar. Only what is directly or indirectly against faith is excluded [...]."[327] Of the eight Slavic commemorations omitted by Kulchynskyi from the Anthologion, only the Metropolitans Photius (deposed by the 1415 Synod) and Jonas (1443-1461), who were commemorated with Cyprian (d. 1406) on 27 May could have been dogmatically objectionable.[328] It is not clear on what basis Kulchynskyi, following Papebrochius, identifies the "Metropolitan Jonas" of 30 March in the Lviv Anthologion with Metropolitan Jonas I Hlezna (1489-1494),[329] instead of with Jonas (IV) of the 27 May commemoration, whom he rejected.[330] Indeed why did he

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[326] Three saints are taken from the Kyiv *Patericon,* and seven from Papebrochius's *Ephemerides.*

[327] Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications*, 394.

[328] The other omissions are: 5 September (death of Hlib), 26 November (the Dedication of the Church of St. George in Kyiv), 26 May (George the New Martyr, of Bulgaria), 25 June (Peter and Febronia of Murom), 23 July (Bulgarian martyrs), 2 and 13 August (Basil and Maxim, fools of Moscow), 24 August (transfer of relics of Metropolitan Peter, for whom Kulchynskyi retains the commemoration at 21 December). There appears to be no systematic reason for their omission. It could have been an oversight. Kulchynskyi mistakenly quoted the Anthologion for some of his other choices.

[329] Kulchynskyi, *Specimen,* 14; 124-125

[330] The normative 1891 Russian Orthodox Calendar lists 31 March as the death of "Metropolitan Jonas." General Russian Orthodox practice (cf. Булгаков, *Настольная книга,* 114) identifies this date with the Jonas IV who effected the separation of Moscow from the Kyivan metropolitanate in 1448, who died in 1461, and whose relics were revealed in Moscow on 27 May 1472, along with Metropolitans Cyril and Photius. The 30 March date in Kulchynskyi's Lviv Anthologion probably derives from the first

even presume that Jonas Hlezna was venerated as a saint.[331] Josyf Slipyj (1892-1984) contests Kulchynskyi's interpretation about Jonas Hlezna.[332]

Kulchynskyi's ideal image of the Ruthenian Church, in which the saints of Rus' occupied a central role, was in sharp contrast with the picture offered by the sanctorales of Metropolitan Kyprian Zhokhovskyi's 1692 Liturgicon, and the liturgical publications after 1738, where Rus' and Slavic saints all but disappeared. On the other hand, the deletions proposed by Fylypovych in his 1727 report on the correction of the Stauropegion books, and the 1738 circular letter of Metropolitan Atanasii Sheptytsky on the correction of liturgical books, suppressing seven and thirteen commemorations respectively, can be seen as moderate, considering that Kulchynskyi lists fifty-six commemorations.

The favorable commendations Kulchynskyi received as he left Rome[333] and his further ecclesiastical career in the Basilian Order[334] attest that *Specimen* did not incur any disapproval. Indeed, as Kulchynskyi wrote in 1733 there had not been any official statement about the elimination of any Slavic saints. Nonetheless Joseph Simon

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printed Moscow *Ustav* of 1610, reprinted with the same date in 1639 (cf. Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:92).

[331] Kulchynskyi might have deduced that since the liturgical books mentioned "Jonas [...] Metropolitan *of Kyiv*," this could not have been the Jonas he rejected, who should have been titled (after 1448) "Metropolitan *of Moscow*." Of the four Jonases on the Kyivan throne, Kulchynskyi considered that only Jonas Hlezna could have been the saint. Bulgakov explains that the Jonas who died in 1461 used the title of Kyiv to his death and is customarily titled so (*Настольная книга,* 225).

[332] Патріярх Йосиф Сліпий, *Історія Вселенської Церкви на Україні* (The history of the Catholic [Universal] Church in Ukraine), vol. 4, pt. 1, *Від Флорентійської до Берестейської Унії (1439-1596)* (From the Union of Florence to the Union of Brest, 1439-1596) (Rome, 1996), 82 [=Opera Omnia Josephi Patriarchae et Cardinali, 18].

[333] *MUH,* 46-47; 58-64.

[334] Elected archimandrite of Grodno monastery in 1736; *MUH,* 63.

Assemani narrates in his *Kalendaria Ecclesiae Universae* that Kulchynskyi was in a hurry to publish his work, not only because he was soon to finish his tenure in Rome, but also because he anticipated criticism of his view on Slavic saints, and possibly the obstruction of the publication.[335]

Especially when Kulchynskyi's Basilian monastic status and office of General Procurator is taken into account, as well as circumstances like the publication of *Specimen* in Rome and the dedication to Clement XII (with the opening image of the procession of Kyivan metropolitans and Rus' saints to the See of Peter), these contrasting views on Slavic saints suggest that there was a lively difference of opinion on the matter within Ruthenian ecclesiastical circles.

1.B.3.d) Ioannes Stiltingus, SJ

The optimism of Papebrochius about the Eastern-Rite Slavic saints did not last long among the authors of the *Acta Sanctorum*. Peter and Febronia (25 June) were presented in 1709 as a main entry, with a short *Vita* probably from a Prolog, but Anthony, Olha, Vladimir, and Borys and Hlib (volumes published 1723-1727) were placed only among the *praetermissi*. To some extent this can have been due to a simple lack of information, which the Bollandists were always complaining about, but Ioannes Stiltingus saw it rather as a sign of hesitancy concerning the orthodoxy of the Rus'

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[335] "[Kulchynskyi] anticipating that other learned men supported the opinion of Possevino and Ohilevych as to the newer Ruthenian Saints, rather than his own and that of Papebrochius, and suspecting therefore that for this reason his work might be suppressed, or at least that many of the choir [*albo*] of saints, whose *Lives* he had rendered into Latin from the Ruthenian books, would be expunged, he hastened to publish his *Specimen* [...]." Joseph Simon Assemani, *Kalendaria Ecclesiae Slavicae, sive Graeco-Moschae*. Vol. 1 of *Kalendaria Ecclesiae Universae* (Rome, 1750) 158.

saints. The latter addressed the question directly and at length in 1748 in his "Dissertation about the Conversion and the Faith of the Russians,"[336] in which he accuses both Papebrochius and Kulchynskyi of hiding and evading the difficulties of the issue, instead of answering them.[337] Stiltingus sees the faith of Rus' as being Catholic in the tenth and eleventh centuries, but progressively ceasing to be so: he claims that in the twelfth century several of the metropolitans were of dubious faith, that this became the norm in the thirteenth century, and that in the fourteenth century there were no metropolitans that could be considered Catholic.[338]

Stiltingus takes it upon himself to answer the question which of the Rus' saints can be "recognized [according to Roman regulations] as true saints."[339] He points out that in all the documentation received by the Bollandists from Poland and Lithuania, he has found no evidence that either Olha or Vladimir were ever venerated by [Rus'] Catholics.[340] Similarly he rejects Kulczynski's claim that Metropolitan Peter should be considered a saint, and retracts the inclusion of Metropolitans Alexis and Jonas in the *Acta*. One will recall that Henschenius and Papebrochius respectively had included them.[341] For the metropolitans his criteria are quite strict: whereas Kulchynskyi argued Metropolitan Peter's catholicity from his good relations with the Latins and his receiving

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[336] I. Stiltingus, "Dissertatio de conversione et fide Russorum," in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 42, *Septembris tomus 2*, (Antwerp, 1748) i-xxvii. Stiltingus usually speaks about *Russi*, but those who were in union with Rome are often called *Rutheni.*
[337] Ibid., i-d.
[338] Ibid., xvii-xxiii.
[339] Ibid., xvi-f.
[340] Ibid., vi-e; xii-e.
[341] Ibid., xxii-b-c; xxiv-e-f.

of papal legates, Stiltingus says this may lead us to *suspect* Peter's correct faith, but does not prove his *obedience* [to Rome].[342]

In some respects Stiltingus's criterion is similar to Papebrochius's in that sanctity is directly dependent on catholicity. Nonetheless, their approaches are diametrically different: Stiltingus almost presumes non-catholicity until the contrary is proven. But Stiltingus's intent is not simply to accuse of schism, but to strictly abide by the regulations of recognition of sanctity, according to available evidence:

> We desire to have these [Metropolitans Peter, Alexis and Jonas] considered as eliminated [from the *Acta Sanctorum*] until we can be more certain about their Catholic faith and about their being venerated by Catholics. I would not wish the scholarly reader to infer from this that we consider the three metropolitans schismatic. This is not what we are saying, only that we doubt their due obedience to the Roman Church [!]. Rus' Catholics have in many instances [shown that they] consider Peter and Alexis to be good men and Catholics. This may be true, because they may have abstained from communion with the [schismatic] patriarchs of Constantinople, but I do not find that this has been sufficiently proven.[343]

Unlike Papebrochius, who was followed by Kulczhynskyi, Stiltingus correctly distinguishes between Metropolitan Jonas Hlezna, whom he admits to have been a Catholic, and the Metropolitan Jonas commemorated in the calendar. He therefore counters Papebrochius's inclusion of Jonas Hlezna among the saints (in the *Acrta Sanctorum*), since he finds no evidence of the latter ever being venerated a saint.[344]

Stiltingus promised the reader of his *Dissertatio* that it would help distinguish "which of those whom the Russians consider saints were certainly Catholics, and which

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[342] Ibid., xxi-e.
[343] Ibid., xxii-d.
[344] Ibid., xxv-d-e.

were suspect of schism or surely schismatics."[345] In fact he examines in detail only the hierarchs, and Vladimir and Olha. The silence about the other saints (e.g. Theodosius and the other Kyivan Caves saints, or the early Northern and Eastern Rus' saints) leads us to suppose that Stiltingus was not inclined to give these non-hierarchical persons the benefit of the doubt, as Papebrochius had done, at least until convincing evidence could be examined. The only exceptions, and consequently the only saints Stilingus recognizes for Rus', are Borys and Hlib.

The article Stiltingus writes for Borys and Hlib is not only a main entry, but the longest entry that the *Acta* carried about Rus' saints to date.[346] While Stiltingus states that there can be no doubt that the princes were Catholics, for him "this does not mean that we can consider them saints, unless it is also proven that they were venerated and considered saints not only by Schismatics, but also by Catholics, from immemorial times."[347] Stiltingus considers sufficient proof of Catholic veneration certain descriptions of Ruthenian Catholic liturgical practice, which he received from Poland and Lithuania, and other historical sources.[348] He accepts Kulchynskyi's claim that the veneration of the brothers was established (in early Kyivan Rus') by Catholics, not schismatics, and is willing to grant that they are properly titled "martyrs," even if he had

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[345] Ibid., i-e.

[346] Joannes Stiltingus, "De Ss. Romano et Davide alias Boriso et Glebo aut Hlibo," in *Acta Sanctorum,* vol. 42, *Septembris tomus 2*, (Antwerp, 1748) 633-644.

[347] Ibid., 633F.

[348] Borys and Hlib are also mentioned by Jesuit Franciscus Molitor in 1723 in a list of Polish saints derived from a Rome 1601 publication by Christophorus Varsevicius, and Kojalowicz lists them in his *Miscellanea* among the patron saints of Lithuania, and mentions that many churches are dedicated to them, even among the Uniates. Ibid., 634AB.

his doubts.[349] Finally, Stiltingus publishes several *Elogia* and *Acta* of Borys and Hlib, especially the *Acta* derived "from trustworthy archives and ancient manuscripts" and authorized for publication in 1621 by the bishop of Vilnius, Georgius Tyskevicius.[350] He even takes the trouble to prove that these *Acts* contain the most precise information about the year of the death of Vladimir, Borys and Hlib, against the opinion of several important historians.[351]

To all effects, Stiltingus gives Borys and Hlib a full presentation in the *Acta Sanctorum* according to standard Bollandist methodology, and this is the first such presentation that Rus' saints received, given the lack of available documentation for the other saints. But he gives the impression that he considered only these two of the Rus' saints to qualify for such a presentation.

1.B.4. The nineteenth century

1.B.4.a) Ioannes. Martinov, SJ (1821-1894)

The last of the Bollandists to write in the *Acta Sanctorum* on the Rus' saints was Ioannes Martinov. Born Russian Orthodox, prior to becoming a Jesuit he began his scholarly career as a historian of Russian literature. This allowed him to make use of an extensive source base for his study of the saints, as the discussion of the sources and bibliography to *Annus Ecclesiasticus* shows.[352] He authored only three Slavic entries in the *Acta Sanctorum* (Arethas, monk of the Kyivan Caves and Simeon, bishop of

[349] Ibid., 634CE.
[350] Ibid., 634F; 639-643.
[351] Ibid., 636-639.
[352] Martinov, *Annus*, 1-21.

Vladimir-on-the-Kliazma [24 October]; Abraham of Rostov [29 October]; and a brief entry for James of Borovichi [24 October]), primarily because he started contributing in the last volumes of October, and the series never started the month of November.[353] He did, however, contribute the largest study on the Slavic saints that the *Acta Sanctorum* carried — the *Annus Ecclesiasticus Graeco-Slavicus.*[354]

Martinov had a particular interest in Ruthenian hagiography. Besides authoring an apologetic biography of Josaphat[355] and two short studies on Euphrosyne and Parasceve of Polatsk,[356] he reprinted several of the most important and original works on Ruthenian hagiography, which had become bibliographical rarities. These were: Kulchynskyi's *Specimen* (1859), Bishop Iakiv Susha's biography of Josaphat, written after Josaphat's beatification, and Susha's biography of Archbishop Meletius Smotrytskyi, written in preparation for Meletius's beatification process, and another work related to Meletius, his *Apologia.*[357]

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[353] From 1882 the Bollandists began publishing their research as *Analecta Bollandiana.*
[354] Martinov, *Annus,* 1-388. The work was also published separately (Brussels, 1863) to commemorate the millennium of Saints Cyril and Methodius.
[355] I. Martinov, *Saint Josaphat et ses détracteurs* (Lyon, 1875).
[356] I. Martinov, "Sainte Euphrosyne, princesse de Polotsk, fondatrice et abbesse du monastère de la Transfiguration du Sauveur, morte le 23 Mai 1173. D'après les Ménées et les Synaxaires Slavons," *Précis historiques* (Brussels) 1861, 230-241; idem, "Sainte Parascève, princess de Polotsk, supérieure du monastère de Saint-Sauveur, près de Polotsk," *Précis historiques* (Brussels) 1863, 289-296, 389-394.
[357] *Cursus vitae et certamen martyrii B. Josaphat Kuncevicii, archiep. Polocensis, ep. Vitebscensis et Mstislaviensis, ordinis D. Basilii Magni. Calamo Jacobi Susza, episcopi Chelmensis et Belzensis cum S. R. E. uniti, ordinis eiusdem, adumbratum. Editio nova, emendatior et auctior, curante Ioanne Martinov, pres. S. J.* (Paris, 1864); *Saulus et Paulus Ruthenae unionis sanguine B. Josaphat transformatus, sive Meletius Smotriscius, archiepiscopus Hieropolitanus, Archimandrita Dermanensis ordinis S. Basilii M. per Jacobum Suszam episcopum Chelmensem et Belzensem cum S. R. E. unitum, ejusdem ordinis ex tenebris in lucem prolatus. Editio nova, emendatior et auctior curante Joanne*

Martinov did not present, as did Stiltingus, an extensive description of his view of the question of Rus' catholicity, saints, and sanctity,[358] but the Preface to the *Annus Ecclesiasticus* reviews the status of the study of the question and concludes that different views have been expressed, and indeed are possible, because the question needs more extensive investigation, especially in Slavic sources. Generally, Martinov tried to follow a middle path between the "exaggerations" of Stiltingus and of Papebrochius.

As mentioned, the first contribution of Martinov to the *Acta Sanctorum* about Rus' saints was the article on Arethas, monk of the Kyivan Caves.[359] Martinov took the occasion to also present the Kyivan Caves Patericon as a hagiographic document, since, he says, in the discussion of Rus' saints it will be frequently referred to. Although the Patericon was published by non-Catholics, in a time of opposition to Rome, the publisher, Archimandrite Innokentii Gisel, was "not so much hostile to Rome, as leaning toward Protestant doctrine."[360] But these details about the publishing of the Patericon, Martinov insisted, were no reason to exclude all the Caves monks from the catalog of saints or not include them in the *Acta*, especially since the text of the Patericon basically existed about two centuries earlier, and described persons and events from the eleventh

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Martinov, presb. S. J. (Brussels, 1864). A second printing, also in Brussels 1864, was entitled simply *Vita Meletii Smotriscii...*
A Russian translation (from Polish) of the *Apologia* was published as *Апология моему путешествию на Восток...* (Paris, Leipzig, 1863).

[358] Martinov discusses only the twelfth century: idem, "De B. Aretha monacho Cryptensi, Kioviae in Russia; [...] Disquisitio de auctore Paterici et Vita B. Simonis episcopi Vladimiriensis et Suzdaliensis," in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 58, *Octobris tomus 10*, 868-870.

[359] Ibid., 863-883.

[360] Ibid., 865A.

and twelfth centuries. Martinov also referred to Kulchynskyi, who used the Patericon as a hagiographic authority, and who expressed no reservations in its regard.

About the life of Arethas himself Martinov says very little beyond the Patericon material itself, but discusses the issue of his veneration. Martinov asserts that there was no evidence of a Catholic veneration of Arethas, and that the earliest non-Catholic testimony was the 1643 service commemorating all the Kyivan saints. Since this would disqualify Arethas from Catholic acceptance according to the 1634 regulations of Urban VIII, Martinov explained that the Kyivan Church very rarely proceeded with the canonization of saints (evidently with extreme caution, canonizing only the most eminent), and that Arethas's inclusion in the 1643 service was proof that his veneration must have started much earlier. Finally, Martinov argues, at the time of the (Brest) Union, the Catholics expressed no rejection of the Kyiv Caves saints. While in both of these arguments from the absence of evidence Martinov's position can be called tenuous, as a reversal of Stiltingus's "guilty until proven innocent" policy, he may have wanted to demonstrate the insubstantiality of the latter.

Martinov's article about Abraham of Rostov is the last Rus' entry in the *Acta Sanctorum*.[361] In it Martinov gives us his idea of a global approach to the study of Slavic saints, including not only a discussion of the historical issues, based on printed and manuscript material, but also of the liturgical texts, iconography, and places of worship dedicated to Abraham. In effect it is an answer, even if only incipient, to the

[361] I. Martinov, "De B. Abramio, Rostoviensi Abbate," in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 61, *Octobris tomus 13*, 36-51.

methodological *desiderata* about the study of Slavic saints that Papebrochius expressed in 1680, and which Kulchynskyi attempted to answer in 1733.

The *Annus Ecclesiasticus* is a summary presentation of the saints in the Greek and Slavic calendars, with brief historical and hagiographic commentaries, especially on the Slavic saints. Martinov's presentation of the sources for Slavic hagiography shows his familiarity with most of what was published in Russia and the Balkans on the subject.[362] The author of the introductory *Monitum hagiographorum*[363] promises that the work intends to help distinguish those saints generally recognized as Catholic from those about whom there is little evidence, and those who were clearly schismatic. He was also careful to distinguish this question from the issue of whether a particular saint should be included among Catholic saints and which should be excluded.[364] Martinov repeats this in the customary *Protestatio auctoris* preceding the work and an additional *Monitum* before he discusses the first Slavic saint.[365] In other words, he does not claim to promote or discourage the veneration of a particular saint, but intends primarily to let the Slavic sources speak for themselves.[366] Therefore Martinov does not establish chronological or other parameters which would *a priori* endorse or deny the acceptability of a saint, but intends to discuss the matter case by case. Generally his descriptions of the saints,

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[362] Martinov, *Annus*, 1-21.
[363] Ibid., i-vii. The author speaks of Martinov in the third person.
[364] Ibid., iv-v.
[365] Ibid., 24; 27.
[366] The *Monitum hagiographorum* cautions the reader that the Slavs do not have historically trustworthy *Lives* of the saints, such as would be acceptable to the Latins, and that the miracles described generally appear either fictitious or merely natural; in particular the incorruptednessof corpses is rejected as anything miraculous, unless the body would have remained soft and supple, and continued to be so for at least four or five decades: Martinov, *Annus*, v.

following the sources, are positive; sometimes, presenting conflicting sources, they are simply neutral;[367] but a clearly negative opinion is rather rare.[368] In this irenic approach to the Slavic saints Martinov clearly sided with the view of Papebrochius rather than of Stiltingus, and attempted to demonstrate that even after a thorough examination of the evidence, the former was more justified.

1.B.5. The twentieth century

While for many of the Catholic authors up to the nineteenth century the question of the validity of the Slavic saints not canonized by the Roman Church remained on a theoretical level, at the beginning of the twentieth century, with the creation of the Russian Catholic Church[369] the question became concrete and pressing. Some of the early priests in the Russian Catholic communities had their hesitations about the type or style of liturgical practice that should be followed. When Pope Pius X was consulted personally, he unofficially gave the norm that was to remain decisive: Russian Catholics were to follow the St. Petersburg Synodal (Orthodox) rite in all, "adding nothing,

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[367] For example, about "Muscovite" Metropolitan Jonas, about whom Martinov relates that Pope Pius II called him *filius perditionis*: "for Catholics he is hardly acceptable, but greatly venerated by his own (*catholicis quidem parum gratus, suis vero summe venerandus*)." *Annus*, 141. Pius II, ["Bulla provisionis Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Kioviensis in persona Gregorii et nova circonscriptio eiusdem provinciae ecclesiasticae, Romae, 3.IX. 1458"], in *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historia Ucrainae illustrantia*, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj OSBM. Rome, PP. Basiliani, 1953, 1:145 [=Analecta OSBM, Documenta, 3], with reference to *Archivium Secretum Vaticanum, Registra Vaticana,* vol. 468, fol. 155v-156v.

[368] For example, about two fifteenth-century persons added to the "Fathers of the Kyivan Farther Caves," Theophilus, bishop of Novgorod, and Theodore, prince of Ostrih: "men of utterly dubious sanctity, even hostile to Catholic religion, and to be cancelled from the catalog of saints." *Annus*, 209.

omitting nothing, and changing nothing."[370] In a way this expression was a modern version of the toleration that Rome had expressed to the Eastern Churches in liturgical matters on the occasion of the Unions of Florence and Brest.[371] It was understood at this time, and asserted in similar contexts later, that this meant the preservation of everything "except that which was contrary to Catholic faith or morals."

1.B.5.a) The Velehrad Conferences (I-III, 1907-1911)

Soon the question of the commemoration of the saints of the Russian Orthodox Church needed a more precise answer. The question arose at the **First Velehrad Unionistic Conference** in 1907. Jan Urban[372] presented a paper about the Church in which he commented on Vladimir Soloviev's tenet: "The attempts at [Church] union are a vain illusion, and will even be a source of new evils, until [we] recognize the essential unity of the Eastern and Western Churches as inseparable, in their foundation, parts of the Body of Christ."[373] Urban thereby proceeds to speculate on how the various "notes"

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[369] See Cyril Korolevsky, *Metropolitan Andrew (1865 — 1944),* translated and revised by Serge Keleher (Lviv: Stauropegion, 1993), 249-334.

[370] "Nec plus, nec minus, nec aliter." The phrase, which was to become a maxim in Russian Catholic circles, was expressed orally by Pope Pius X to Mlle. Natalie Ushakova at an audience in 1911 (see Korolevskij, *Metropolitan Andrew*, 272) but also by the Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Merry del Val in a letter to the Roman Catholic authorities in Russia (see Диякон Василий, *Леонид Федоров: жизнь и деятельность* (Leonid Fedorov: life and work) (Rome: Studion, 1966), 216a; 177).

[371] The Roman side preferred to express this as a privilege or concession.

[372] Jan Urban (1874-1942) was a Polish Jesuit who was involved with the Petersburg Russian Catholic community from the early years.

[373] "[...] donec essentialis ecclesiarum orientalis atque occidentalis tanquam inseparabilium in suo fundamento partium corporis Christi unitas agnoscatur." I. Urban, "De iis quae theologi catholici praestare possint ac debeant," in *Acta I Conventus Velehradensis theologorum commercii studiorum inter Occidentem et Orientem cupidorum* (Prague, 1908), 25. Urban summarizes a whole paragraph of Soloviev's "Великий спор и христианская политика," in *Собрание сочинений Владимира*

of the Church apply to the Eastern Church.[374] Regarding the *apostolicity* of the Eastern Church, there can be no doubt. However, there are more difficulties with *catholicity* and *unity*. As to *sanctity*, "there is nothing that requires us to deny them this note in its entirety,"[375] since they have the sacraments and it would certainly require quite an effort to find a criterion that would enable us to compare in which of the two there are more good works or more of the grace of God.

> Neither *a priori* nor *a posteriori* may one deny the Eastern Church [the note of] sanctity, as is commonly done, because of a supposed lack of saints. Not *a priori* because of theological principles that are certain: if the sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato* in those that do not voluntarily obstruct it, why may they not elevate a person to a grade of sanctity higher than the common? Has the hand of God become shortened? Not *a posteriori*, because of experience, since we see that the Greek, and much more so the Russian Church, has, after its separation from Roman communion, produced a whole multitude of saints. Now whether all those thus canonized were truly saints is not for me to affirm, but the value of all human testimony would be at stake, if we should relegate to fantasies all that is said of the Eastern saints, being motivated by the persuasion that it is impossible that among heterodox there could be extraordinary sanctity of life. Surely, such a mode of reasoning would be a begging of principle, as the experts of logic say, if we first deny sanctity to the Orientals, because they are schismatics, and then infer from this lack of saints that they are not members of the Church but schismatics.[376]

Urban quotes an author of the *Acta Sanctorum* (without naming him), who "after describing many examples of sanctity among dissidents from the Roman communion, does not hesitate to conclude:"

> If someone who lived after the beginning of the schism was included in the catalog of saints [*beatorum*], it does not seem that he should for this reason [schism] be eliminated [from the catalog], because it is certain that whenever in

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Сергеевича Соловьева 14 t. in 7 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1911. Reprint, Brussels, 1966-1970) 4:108.

[374] Soloviev's text spoke of "Eastern and Western Church(es)" as the two sides of the division, and Urban used the same terms.

[375] Urban, *De iis quae theologi catholici praestare possint ac debeant*, 27.

[376] Ibid., 27.

> councils the matter of the accord [*concordia*] between the Latin and the Eastern Churches was dealt with, and solutions were proposed about controversial questions, there was never a question about reformulating the calendar or the liturgical office of the saints."[377]

Finally, Urban refers to Cardinal Manning, who "affirms that even among the Anglican Protestants many can be found who have shown a true and obvious (*omnino conspicua*) sanctity."[378]

Such an explicit and unconditional acceptance by a Catholic theologian of the existence of sanctity (and therefore true saints) in the "dissident" Churches was quite uncommon at the time, but it seems that the argument did not receive particular attention or follow-up at the First Conference, and no practical consequences were considered. A general description of the events of the Conference notes that Lezhohubski, Antonio Palmieri, Leonini, Urban, Halushchynskyi, Sokolowski and others discussed "the Oriental liturgy and the saints, who are venerated by the Orientals," but no further details of this discussion were recorded.[379]

At the **Third Velehrad Conference** (1911) Leonid Fedorov, the future exarch of the Russian Catholic Church,[380] returned to the question, calling the previous discussion a "Platonic" treatment of the matter and suggesting a more concrete approach. He did not himself present a paper on the topic, but the Acts of the Conference record a detailed

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[377] Ibid., 28; reference is to *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 58, *Octobris tomus 10*, 166.
[378] Ibid., 28
[379] Ibid., 9. The summary was signed by A. Špaldák and L. Fedoroff.
[380] Leonid Fedorov (1879-1935) began theological studies in the St. Petersburg Theological Academy. After conversion to Catholicism in 1902 he continued his studies in Italy and was ordained in 1911. He was elected Exarch of the Russian Catholic Church at the Petersburg Council (*Sobor*) of 1917. A full biography was commissioned by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky (printed in Rome in 1966: диякон Василий, *Леонид*

discussion of the matter.[381] Fedorov is careful to note immediately that he does not have in mind discussing which of the Russian saints could be recognized as such canonically.[382] This, he assures, belongs to the authority of the Church. He makes a point of this because someone at the First Conference had objected that he (supposedly) wished "to define who should be declared a saint, and who should not."[383]

Fedorov maintains that even after the Russian Church formally began to alienate itself from Rome in the fourteenth century, and up to the present, there have been saints in this Church. He is aware that the Catholic Church recognizes as saints only those possessing an extraordinary degree of virtue, but he would like to establish some principle (*ratio*) according to which the Russian saints could be considered as more than just "good persons living in good faith."[384] Since they have the same sacraments as the Catholics, and since God, it seems, does not wish to leave a Church without his grace, it is reasonable to think that there do in fact exist in the Russian Church persons (*viri*) who are (true) saints.[385] "If this be the case, it seems to me absolutely necessary for us to inquire into this matter, in order to ascertain what kind of sanctity this is, and how we are to receive it."[386]

Федоров) in view of his canonization. He was beatified as a martyr by John Paul II in Lviv in 2001.

[381] *Acta III Conventus Velehradensis theologorum commercii studiorum inter Occidentem et Orientem cupidorum* (Prague, 1912), 30-34.

[382] "[...] ex sanctis Russorum sancti agnosci possint." Ibid., 30.

[383] Ibid., 30.

[384] "sed tamen velim ratio habeatur alicuius, ut ita dicam, circumstantiae, propter quam sancti ecclesiae russicae non sunt tantummodo boni homines in bona fide versantes." Ibid., 30.

[385] "qui sanctitatem habeant."

[386] "ut enucleetur qualis haec sanctitas sit et quomodo a nobis apprehendi possit."

Fedorov mentions that the Bollandists deal with questions of the saints most aptly, but that the Slavic saints were dealt with only (!) by Martinov, and this question requires elaboration. He also mentions a study (*opusculum*) by Kulchynskyi. By referring to these works as a minimum, and calling the previous discussion "Platonic," that is, too general and without practical consequences, Fedorov was trying to demonstrate the need for more specific theological designations ("*what kind* of sanctity this is") and, especially, practical application of the results ("*how* we are to receive it"). Fedorov offers two points as methodological suggestions for these two areas of research; first, in view of the fact that the canonization process of the Russian Church is not as elaborate as the Catholic, whatever can be gleaned from the official documents must be taken with caution, but on the other hand it cannot all be dismissed as absolutely false. A serious historical study, he is confident, "will remove this greatest impediment [doubt about true virtue] to the retention of the cult of the Russian saints."

Fedorov's second methodological suggestion deals precisely with the cult of the Russian saints. He points to an analogy: "several saints are recognized by the Catholic Church solely for French territory (*pro regione gallica*)." This, he suggests, may be the best "format" for the Russian saints within the Catholic Church, namely, to recognize the legitimacy of their veneration within the Russian Church, without burdening the matter with the difficult question of the veneration of these saints in the Roman Church as well. He seems to imply that Russian Catholics do not necessarily ask for more. He carefully repeats that the matter is not within the competence of academics, such as the participants of the present conference, but of the Church. He closes with an expression

of his desire for the Bollandists, among whom there are scholars knowledgeable in Russian, to prepare a specific work about Russian saints.

Several important points are to be noted in Fedorov's first comment. First, he speaks not of the Orthodox Church in general, but only of the Russian Church. He is primarily interested in establishing guidelines for this aspect of the liturgical bond between the nascent Russian Catholic Church and the Russian Church of the Holy Synod, a bond which was fundamental to Fedorov's concept of Russian Catholicism. Second, while he indicates the weakness of the canonization *process* of the Russian Church (to establish the virtues of the saints), and urges remedying that weakness, he does not question the *authority* of the Russian Church to canonize and, consequently, grants validity to the results of the Russian canonizations, which, he insists, cannot be dismissed. Third, he wants to see the results of a theoretical acceptance of Russian saints translated into liturgical terms – the "retention," not the "introduction" or "permitting" — of the liturgical veneration of these saints.

In Fedorov's second suggestion there are also two notable points: first, when he suggests the "French" model for the legitimization of the Russian saints, he is working strictly within the traditional Eastern distinction between "saints venerated locally" and "saints venerated universally." He suggests that the Russian saints can be locally venerated within the Russian Catholic Church. In this he omits reference to the specifically Roman term for this, namely, beatification, since the latter, aside from the "local" connotation, also specifically denotes a "permissive" and "preparatory" character, oriented to full canonization, and consequently, not yet enjoying "the fullness

of the apostolic authority" of canonization, such as the character of infallibility.[387] Fedorov would be content with "locally venerated saints" but evades the terminology or the limitations of "beatification." He therefore always speaks of Russian (and in his analogy, even French) "saints."

Second, when he speaks of the French saints, he states that they are recognized by the "Catholic Church." Both times in this short discussion when he speaks of the recognition of the Russian saints, he says simply "Church." We cannot conclude whether Fedorov was thinking in terms of the Russian Catholic Church having authority in this question, but evidently it did not come naturally to him to say the Russian saints needed the recognition of the "Catholic Church."

After Fedorov's introduction there followed an intense discussion, which touched on at least three important aspects of the question. Although these were only sporadic and spontaneous comments, and no consensus was reached, Fedorov considered it worthwhile to record in the procedings of the conference these typical attitudes and approaches to the question.

The first question was whether persons who had lived in schism could be *practically* considered saints, that is, to be venerated as such. A. Palmieri suggested the precedent of Vincent Ferrerus, who during the Avignon crisis had sided with the antipope and is nonetheless a canonized saint. But, as M. Jugie pointed out, while Ferrerus doubted who the true pope was, he did not deny the primacy of the pope. In the case of many Russian saints there is a doctrinal error. Fedorov agreed with this but

[387] Cf. Ortolan, *Béatification*, 494-95.

indicated that many Russians reject the doctrine of the primacy for irrelevant or misinformed reasons.

A second difficulty mentioned was that while good faith may be supposed in many of the Russian saints, in the Catholic concept of sanctity it is *heroic* virtue that needs to be proved. Palmieri believed this is particularly difficult to prove, *inter alia*, because of lack of documentation. According to him, even the copious literature on the nineteenth-century Russian saints is more rhetorical than scholarly. It is one thing to speak of pious persons, but if it is a question of veneration, their heroic virtue must be proven. Jugie saw a more fundamental problem: if we distinguish between eminent sanctity, which is that of the Church, and ordinary sanctity, which is that of men and women of good faith, the first "is never found in dissidents: God surely does not give it."[388] Palmieri declared that he cannot easily agree with such a statement, and offered the example that many Russian saints have lived a life of asceticism rarely found among Catholics; but he does have doubts whether such asceticism should be considered a sign of eminent sanctity or not. Jugie resolves his doubts: "Ascetic practices do not constitute full sanctity. The ascetics of old, whom the Church venerates, are not canonized saints properly speaking: their veneration is permitted. The Church is infallible in a canonization, while it is not so in the case of a veneration simply tolerated."[389]

This opened the third question, that of the type of veneration which is offered to the saints. Palmieri suggested: "Just as the Church permits the veneration of the ascetics

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[388] "Apud dissidents numquam inveniemus similes virtutes: Deus certe non dat." *Acta III Conventus,* 33. Further in the discussion he also expressed the certainty that none of the alleged miracles quoted in connection with Russian saints would prove true in a Catholic canonization process: ibid.

of old, it can permit the cult of the Russian saints. This is something the Church decides. Indeed the [Catholic] Ruthenians have some Russian saints whose cult is tolerated by the Church."[390] This last comment refers to the fact that the Kyivan saints in the Ruthenian Catholic calendar, except for Josaphat, had never been the object of canonization by papal authority. Their liturgical veneration was "permitted" according to the decrees of Urban VIII in 1634, since their cult was older than the hundred year limit established by the decrees. Such a cult was permitted as "local," unless it would pass the full Roman canonization process.[391] This was the status of many ancient local cults in the West, such as the "French saints" Fedorov referred to above.

Another participant, Schneider, supported such a formula for allowing the Russian Catholics to venerate their saints, but pointed out that it cannot suffice for the (Roman) Catholics.

> In order for us to venerate someone as a saint, we need to know for sure whether he stood firmly in the faith, so as to exclude all possible error in the faith, so that no bad example might [arise from this cult and] become a peril to religion. But, I think, we need to refrain from rejecting a cult accepted among the Russian people, who are in good faith [about the matter]: if the people accept someone as spiritually advanced, let it be so for them [*si accipit... habeat*]. But we cannot allow ourselves to accept such persons as saints.[392]

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[389] Ibid., 33.
[390] Ibid., 33.
[391] Canonically this is called an "equivalent (equipollens) beatification," and, according to Benedict XIV, implies a lesser degree of certainty (about the sanctity of the person) than a "formal beatification," (that is, with a full canonical process) because a formal evaluation was not involved. Cf. Ortolan, *Béatification*, 493. The notion is still being discussed: see Antonius Crnica, "De canonizatione aequipollenti," *Monitor Ecclesiasticus* 86 (1961): 258-80 and F. Veraja, "La canonizzazione equipollente e la questione dei miracoli nelle cause di canonizzazione," *Apollinaris* 48 (1975): 222-45, 475-500.
[392] "[...] ne nos ipsi eos ut sanctos recipiamus. *Acta III Conventus*, 33.

Schneider's comment touches a central problem that most Roman Catholics have not been used to dealing with for almost a millennium: the mutual recognition by Churches in the same Communion of each other's saints. His comment is justified inasmuch as he expresses the right of every Church (even within the Catholic Church) to decide which saints it wants and which it does not want in its calendar, i.e. for liturgical veneration. The Eastern Catholic Churches have always practiced this freedom in regard to saints canonized in the Roman Catholic Church. It is difficult to comprehend how he understands that any Church within the Catholic Communion can claim the right to not "accept [...] as saints" those venerated by another in the same Communion.

Michel d'Herbigny also saw a contrast in the Western and Eastern perception of venerated saints: "When the [Catholic] Church inscribes someone into the canon of saints, it intends to propose that person as an example, and therefore insists that the faith [of the person] be [rigorously] examined, but also their hope and love [i.e., their virtue]." As to the Eastern martyrs, their faith and heroic virtue could possibly be accepted, but for the non-martyrs (*confessores*) the difficulty is "very great," because of a lack of rigorous investigation.

Hadzsega thinks the two concepts of sanctity cannot be reconciled in a single common practice: "[To speak about these persons as] saints in the Catholic sense is an idle (*vana*) matter. [The Catholic Church] alone has the power to canonize. We cannot promote the [liturgical] cult of Russian saints, but we can suggest that they be honored in some way."[393]

[393] Ibid., 34.

The last contribution that is recorded finishes on an upswing. Antonín Dostál suggested that the matter, both as to the saints and to the possibility of their veneration, be studied according to the methodology of the Bollandists: "Indeed, not all those whose life is presented by the Bollandists are canonized. These are attempts, from which, with the passage of time, the question will become clearer."[394] By "attempts" (*tentamina*) Dostál possibly means trying to reconcile or at least give space to different and even divergent images of sanctity.

This brief discussion, though spontaneous and unsystematic, is emblematic in several ways: it was occasioned by the appearance in the Catholic communion of a "new" Eastern Catholic Church, for which its Orthodox liturgical experience was still fresh in mind. It would be hard to imagine Ukrainian or other Eastern Catholics bringing up the issue in this way, because these were already tempered by centuries of Roman theological and canonical pressure.[395] It illustrates the kind of exchange that should naturally have been occurring in the Catholic communion. Unfortunately, as the war and the Russian Revolution interrupted further communication with the Russian Catholic Church, this "fresh start" in the East-West Catholic exchange about saints was interrupted.

The discussion also demonstrates well the many layers of difficulties in the encounter of Eastern (both non-Catholic and Catholic) and Western ideas of sanctity.

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[394] Ibid., 34.

[395] The Lviv 1929 Liturgicon, which represented the farthest achievements of Sheptytsky's Easternizing liturgical policies, and as such became the basis of the RR revision, did not reclaim a single additional saint proper to the Kyivan tradition. We shall see later how the issue is mentioned, not suggested, in the sessions of the Lviv Intereparchial Liturgical Commission.

Even if both parties might agree to use the same term "saints" for the same persons (which certainly is not always the case), there were still divergent and conflicting ideas regarding their role as models and regarding the type of veneration they should receive, and whether this role and veneration could be common for the two traditions. Incidentally, it can probably be said that the same reservations expressed by Roman Catholic theologians in this discussion would have been expressed (regarding Catholic saints) by Orthodox theologians, and maybe even more strongly. Indeed, the fact that in this company the "good faith" of the Russian Orthodox saints was soon practically taken for granted, and that the discussion was about their role as models and their veneration, could best be appreciated if it could be compared to an analogous discussion in an Orthodox group of theologians about Catholic saints.

1.B.5.b) The Saint Petersburg Russian Catholics and Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky

When Fedorov raised the question of the recognition and the veneration of the Russian saints at the Third Velehrad Conference, it was because there was a pressing practical need to answer these questions. Although there was some initial wavering among the Russian Catholics at Saint Petersburg as to their liturgical loyalties, by 1911 they had again received clear indication from Rome that they were to follow the liturgical norms of the Russian Orthodox Church, "with no additions, no omissions, and no changes."[396] Strictly speaking, it was evident that this rule pertained to ritual questions, that is, the general liturgical tradition. But within the realm of liturgical matters, one was immediately faced with the question of the calendar and of the

sanctorale. It was all the more natural for Russian Catholics, who, as all of the Byzantine traditions, experienced the saints primarily as a liturgical, rather than a doctrinal, reality,[397] to interpret this rule to apply also to the veneration of saints.

In 1913 the group started publishing a monthly bulletin, *Slovo Istiny* (The word of truth), which included, on the back cover, a short calendar of the prominent religious commemorations of that month. The calendar contained the major traditional Byzantine feasts (observed also by other Byzantine Catholics), some new feasts borrowed from the Roman calendar,[398] and a selection of saints of the Russian Orthodox Church.[399] In the course of 1913 the bulletin included several articles on Roman popes who were in the Byzantine calendar, and an article on St. Therèse of Lisieux. That same year a formal complaint was sent to Rome (evidently by the Roman Catholic ecclesial authorities in Russia, who had been striving to assert canonical authority over the group) about several aspects of their activity, and also about the calendar. Metropolitan Andrei received a letter from the Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Merry del Val requesting an explanation.

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[396] See note 366.

[397] See Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 263, and note 11.

[398] Those in use in the Greek Catholic Church in Galicia: the feast of the Most Holy Eucharist, of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and of the Immaculate Conception.

[399] Besides the Kyivan saints Borys and Hlib, Vladimir, Olha, and Anthony and Theodosius of the Caves, whom the Catholic Ruthenians had in their calendar, there were: Peter, Alexis, Jonas, and Phillip, metropolitans of Moscow; Theodosius of Totemsk, Stephen of Perm, Tykhon of Zadonsk, Alexander Nevsky, Sergius of Radonezh, Dmytrii of Rostov, Abraham of Rostov, and Gregory Palamas; the eleven specifically Russian saints had a total of fourteen commemorations. There were also eight Dominical and Marian commemorations particular to the Russian Church, many of which have a patriotic significance, usually connected with Moscow.

In his lengthy reply of 10 January 1914,[400] Sheptytsky addresses five accusations against "the group" that published the journal,[401] including the accusation that their calendar included "saints of the schismatic Church, some of which even defended the schism against Rome." About the saints, he pointed out, first of all, that the calendar in question contained not only liturgical commemorations, but also the birthday and the patronal feast (nameday) of Pius X,[402] as also the patronal feasts of the Russian Imperial family (nine in all), which were civil holidays, by which, apparently, the editors intended to give the calendar a non-liturgical character. On the other hand the group explicitly declared in the programmatic editorial in the first two issues: "we honor[403] our sacred heritage and our saints," and "love our saints." They explain, Sheptytsky continues, that the inclusion of these saints was for the Russian Catholics the logical application of the "*nec plus, nec minus, nec aliter*" rule: "If we had omitted on our own authority all the offices of the Russian saints, and their commemoration in the services, we would have disobeyed this rule. We did have doubts about celebrating these saints, and we had written to Rome asking what we should do, but we had not received any reply."[404]

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[400] Юрій Аввакумов, Оксана Гайова, eds., *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький і Греко-Католики в Росії* (Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and the Greek-Catholics in Russia) (Lviv: Ukrainian Catholic University, 2004) 1:603-617. Deacon Vasilii (*Леонид Федоров,* 217-235) published a Russian translation of the letter, which he made from a copy of the letter made in 1936 by P. M. Volkonskii. The original uses "saints" in quotation marks more often than the Russian, but by far not universally.

[401] Sheptytsky was careful to specify that he was discussing, and offering suggestions about, the matter at hand, that is, the group publishing the journal, and not policies applicable to the Russian Catholic Church in general.

[402] Also the day of his enthronement.

[403] Russian *почитать* has a general meaning of "honor" and is the same word used for liturgical "veneration."

[404] Аввакумов, *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький,* 1:610.

All the same, aware of Rome's apprehension in the matter, Sheptytsky advises: "It seems to me that in this case it would be useful to notify them of the desire or the suggestion of Your Eminence – to discontinue printing that calendar, and I do not doubt that they will comply."[405] This, however, does not mean, in Sheptytsky's view, that Russian converts should be forbidden categorically to venerate the Russian saints: "I do not believe that this is the opportune moment to decide this matter."[406] His reasons are the following:[407] (1) such a ban would give the matter publicity, and the Russian Orthodox could accuse the Catholic Church of being against Russian patriotism and the Russian Rite; (2) it would be difficult to decide which saints can be venerated and which should be omitted[408] without a lengthy study of the question – which has not been done; (3) many of the Russian saints are venerated also by Churches in union with Rome; (4) the only study of the Greco-Slavic calendar is Martinov's *Annus Ecclesiasticus*, in which Martinov has "only words of praise" for these saints, along with hundreds of others. The only exceptions are Gregory Palamas and Seraphim of Sarov. As to the latter, he had not yet been canonized (when Martinov wrote his study), but he was an "utterly simple hermit, who was apparently very pious." As to the former, Sheptytsky expresses agreement with Leo Allatius's extremely severe condemnation of him, and does not defend the editors' decision to include him in the calendar. All the same, Sheptytsky notes, the error is understandable in view of the fact that Rome had tolerated Palamas's commemoration in the Ruthenian Church until the Zamość Synod of 1720, "and the

[405] Ibid., 1:610. The Russian text omits the last phrase.
[406] Ibid., 1:610. In the Russian: "the time for this [ban] has not yet come..."
[407] Ibid., 1:610-612.
[408] The Russian text says simply: "it would be difficult to execute [the ban]..."

practice of the Church in this matter is my final argument."[409] Sheptytsky dwells on the point to suggest a policy for the current situation:

> After the Union of the Ruthenians in 1596 all the liturgical books [of the Ruthenians] remained without alteration. There was no decree by which the Holy See forbade to honor the saints, which the Ruthenians venerated prior to the Union. The task of purging the calendar and the Church books was left to scholarship, to the bishops and to [liturgical] practice.[410]

In conclusion Sheptytsky recommends that it will be more effective "not to forbid the converted Russians to venerate their saints, but to let them decide *in their own debates*[411] whether it is necessary for them to omit this or that saint, and wait for them to present a request in this matter." He also proposes that it might be suggested to them to proceed with prudence in order to avoid unnecessary controversies and criticisms.[412]

Sheptytsky's answer is clearly first of all pastorally oriented, and it is a typical combination of his remarkable realism and unfailing idealism. He is fully aware of Rome's reservations (or rather suspicions) in this matter, and therefore does not make the calendar in question the issue on which the Russian Catholic community should stand or fall. He senses perfectly well what the issue means to the Russians, and does not ask them to sacrifice it, but only be prudent by not printing the calendar. Most notable is the fact that he draws a parallel between this small community in Petersburg and the whole of the Ruthenian Church (the Kyivan Metropolitanate minus three eparchies) at the time of Union with Rome. On one level he is suggesting to Rome to offer them the guarantees it offered the Ruthenians, but on another, in these suggestions about the

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[409] Аввакумов, *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький,* 1:611.
[410] Ibid., 1:611.
[411] Sheptytsky stresses this point by using the Latin "disputationibus eorum."
[412] Ibid., 1:612.

Russians, he is giving Rome a practical demonstration of how he would like to see Rome deal with the Eastern Churches in such matters: "not to ban," "let them decide," "wait for their request."

Sheptytsky was suggesting to the Vatican Secretary of State to do something uncommon in Catholic East-West history: to trust the Eastern Catholics against whom Roman Catholic bishops had raised the suspicion of (a tendency toward) schism. He indicated that his confidence in making such a suggestion rested on his interpretation of Russian society and Church as desirous of reform, and on his conviction that the Russian Catholics had the answer to that desire in their "well-formulated, clear and simple program, expressed in a single term: *Catholic Orthodoxy*!"[413] For Sheptytsky and the Russian Catholics, maintaining the veneration of the Russian saints in Catholic Orthodoxy was a most eloquent expression of their program; nonetheless their attitude was not inflexible, and could alter as the situation required.

In 1917 the Russian Catholic Church held its first Council (*Sobor*), with Metropolitan Andrei presiding. The question of the Russian saints was evidently important for the Russian Catholic community, because among the sixty-eight resolutions, articles five to eight concerned Russian saints.[414]

> 5. We recognize and venerate all the saints canonized by the Western Catholic Church, especially the heavenly patron of Holy Union, the Hieromartyr Josaphat, archbishop of Polatsk.
>
> 6. Until the time of a decision of the Roman Apostolic See we do not forbid the brothers who join us to invoke those Russian saints who have traditionally enjoyed a popular (*vsenarodnyi*) veneration, since such long-term popular

[413] Ibid., 1:610.

[414] The first resolution was a recognition of papal primacy, and articles two to four treated general liturgical policies.

> veneration was for many centuries the only form of canonization in the Universal Church, and is still considered in the Western Church equivalent to beatification.
>
> 7. We consider it our sacred duty to present without delay the deeds of these saints[415] to the judgment of the Holy Roman Church, and to lobby[416] for the introduction, as soon as possible, of their liturgical veneration.
>
> 8. Prior to the decision of the Roman Apostolic See we do not offer these saints (*ugodnikam Bozhiim*) liturgical veneration. [417]

From these resolutions we can suppose that there had been some form of injunction from Rome regarding the Russian saints. As Sheptytsky was always wont to do, the Council complies fully with Rome's requirements, but also expresses its own understanding and intent: it agrees to abstain from a liturgical veneration, but clearly would prefer to continue with this cult and intends to take the legally appropriate steps toward that goal. Private or individual expressions of piety toward these saints are not forbidden. Whatever the form of Rome's ban may have been, the Russians see it as a temporary decision, which hopefully will be changed. In other words, the Russians see the matter in traditional liturgical terms — albeit involving canonical regulations — but certainly not as a dogmatic problem.

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[415] "Угодники Божии" can have a general meaning such as "servants of God" or a specific meaning of "saints." It does not have any canonical implication such as the Roman Catholic "Servants of God" as candidates toward beatification. Since it is used in parallel to "Russian saints" in the previous article, we can suppose that the same meaning is intended here.

[416] "Ходатайствовать" is more than the simple placing of a request: it implies some additional effort toward its fulfillment. It is the typical term for the intercession of the Theotokos and the saints.

[417] Василий, *Леонид Федоров*, 323-24. A full English translation of the resolutions is published in Serge Keleher, *Passion and Resurrection – the Greek Catholic Church in Soviet Ukraine* 1939-1989 (Lviv, 1993) 198-206.

1.B.5.c) Non-Catholic Saints in Western Catholic Theological Thought

The following brief overview intends to give an illustration of Western Catholic theological thought about non-Catholic saints, as discussed in various areas of theology. In the scope of the present work we can give only a sampling of authors. While some of the more interesting developments are from the middle of the century, our selection does not go beyond the 1930s, that is, those works that could have been known to the members of the RR Commission.

Canonization: J. Bois and P. Peeters

In 1905 J. Bois published an article on canonization in the Russian Church in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*,[418] as an addition to the general article on canonization. The article is essentially a summary of Golubinskii's *Istoriia kanonizatsii sviatykh v russkoi tserkvi* (History of the canonization of saints in the Russian Church),[419] with the addition of a detailed description of the recent (1903) canonization of Seraphim of Sarov, on the basis of the official *Gazette ecclésiastique,* as Bois calls it.[420] Bois sums up Golubinskii's presentation of the history and his periodization of canonization (repeating, for example, the latter's claim that in the course of the ten centuries of canonization there have been no essential differences in the canonization process), the bases of canonization, the authorities involved, and the previous inquest about the candidate. It is only in this last area that Bois expresses some concerns, especially regarding the seriousness of the inquiry into the life and doctrine of the

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[418] Bois, *Canonisation*, 1659-1672.
[419] Голубинский, *История канонизации.*
[420] *Церковныя ведомости*, St. Petersburg, 1903 (issues of 1 February, 14 June and 21, 26 July).

candidate. However, he is content to conclude that the official requirement that every canonization be accompanied by the publication of a *Vita* permits one to suppose that "the inquiry regarding the life should, therefore, exist, – even though possibly less rigorous and less detailed than those of the Roman inquirers. As to the question of the ideas and the doctrines of the person under inquiry, I am not able to say to what point and in what measure a suspicion about their orthodoxy could influence the final decision."[421] Bois's closing remark is quite neutral, reminiscent of Papebrochius's favorable neutrality regarding the Slavic saints:

> It is quite evident from the preceding that the Russian Church has, regarding the question of the canonization of saints, well defined principles, usages and ceremonies; a comparison of these with the principles, usages, and ceremonies of the Latin [!] Church in this matter allows one to discern, amid many similarities in the principal questions, real differences, which it would be well to study more precisely.[422]

This final recommendation, as well as the recommendation of the discussion at the Third Velehrad Conference in 1911 to have the Bollandists examine the question, may have occasioned P. Peeters's article on Russian canonization in 1914.[423] The article is a lengthy and devastating review of Golubinskii's work, but also a profound criticism of the Russian Orthodox canonization process itself.

Peeters criticizes Golubinskii for continually confusing historical facts and their interpretation, but then admits that Golubinskii can hardly have done otherwise, since the Russian Church has formulated precious little about its canonization process and

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[421] Bois, *Canonisation*, 1669.
[422] "...bien dignes d'être relevés et précisées." Bois, *Canonisation*, 1672.
[423] Paul Peeters, "La canonisation des Saints dans l'Église russe," *Analecta Bollandiana* 33 (1914): 380-420; and idem, "La canonisation des Saints dans l'Église russe. Note complementaire," *Analecta Bollandiana* 38 (1920): 172-176.

criteria, leaving the historian to arrive at some generalizations only after having seen and interpreted *all* the facts, which at this (or any) stage of research is hardly imaginable.[424] Golubinskii claimed that the Russian Church had basically preserved the ancient practice according to which the veneration of saints begins with the initiative of the people and then is confirmed and authorized, following certain stages of verification, by Church authorities. But in Golubinskii's presentation, Peeters argues, it is almost impossible to distinguish the limits of what exactly the faithful do or can do, and at what point Church authorities need to intervene and in what way. In fact, Peeters concludes, it seems that "the approbation of the Church [authorities] does not establish or modify anything: it confirms the cult, it does not institute it."[425]

In this fluid and evolutionary process Peeters also sees little clarity as to the nature of the cult offered to the deceased at any particular stage. He perceives a contradiction in the fact that even in recent official documents there is no demarcation between "two aspects of pious memory offered to the dead: one prays for the deceased and [at the same time] implores his prayers."[426] On the one hand "the basic meaning of the [canonization] decree is purely disciplinary and liturgical"[427] rather than doctrinal, but on the other hand very often the canonized saints were entered into liturgical books only after a considerable interval and then usually at the discretion of the individual printers

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[424] Peeters, *La canonisation*, 380-381.
[425] Ibid., 389.
[426] Ibid., 390. Peeters exaggerates the confusion. Golubinskii admits that there might have been abuses in the matter, but insists that the general rule is that "the honoring of the venerated deceased consists of funeral services [*панихиды*] and funeral Liturgies [*заупокойныя литургіи*]" instead of "prayer services [*молебны*] as to real saints." Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 278.
[427] Peeters, *La canonisation*, 397.

of liturgical books. Indeed, in his study, Golubinskii examines the liturgical evidence *after* making all of his conclusions about canonization chronology.[428]

The canonical status of a saint that Golubinskii proposes is basically a liturgical one. "Without exception, [Peeters quotes Golubinskii] those saints are to be considered canonized, whose feasts are celebrated, whether generally or locally, and recognized by the Church."[429] This means that even "if there was some irregularity as to the institution of a commemoration (not regarding its essence)," by the fact that the Church ratifies it, it becomes regular.[430] While this is actually very close to the Roman concept of "equipollent beatification," Peeters sees this as fundamentally flawed, and concludes scornfully:

> This does not exclude the possibility that the "canonization" of this or that saint may be due to a mistake or a willful act. But since the Church did not notice this vice of origin and prescribes the fabricated cult, these saints "remain what they are. [...] In conclusion this is clear: regarding the cult [of the saints], possession means right [*possesion vaut titre*]. A feast celebrated according to the rite and within the liturgical forms, is presumed to be approved by the Church and a valid canonization until further notice [*jusq'à nouvel ordre*]. In other words, the quality of the saint can be at the same time both authentic and provisional.[431]

Indeed, a canonization may even be recalled, as Golubinskii notes regarding several individuals.[432] The basic distinction between a locally venerated saint and a generally venerated saint pertains strictly to the extension of the cult, not to any difference in what the Church recognizes in the saint, as it is in the Roman distinction

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[428] Ibid., 384. One of the basic tenets of Bollandist methodology is that the ecclesial status of a saint is evaluated according to liturgical evidence, as opposed to simply hagiographical texts.
[429] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 263.
[430] Ibid., 262.
[431] Peeters, *La canonisation*, 405-406.

between beatified persons and canonized saints. Therefore a saint may be universal according to one author, and local according to another. Peeters points out that there are even contradictions on this point between the first and second edition of Golubinskii's work.[433]

On the one hand in some of these observations and criticisms Peeters is justified in showing the defects of Golubinskii's hagiographic methodology; there are certainly many points that have become fundamental in the Bollandist approach that would contribute much to tackling the problem. On the other hand, Peeters's analysis bears the shortcomings of early twentieth century ahistorical Catholic apologetics, since most of what he criticizes is simply different from the actual Roman system of canonization. He not only makes almost no effort to see the situation within its specific historical circumstances, but seems to overlook the fact that much of what he sees as unreasonable and confused in the Russian system was also a part of the Western system prior to the relatively recent papal centralization.

Who are Members of the Church: A. Malvy, C. Journet

Peeters's focus was primarily (the study of) the canonization process itself; he does not address the question of the Catholic recognition of the sanctity of these persons, much less the question of their admission to Catholic veneration. Nonetheless Peeters effectively conveys to the reader an image of the Russian canonization process as so undoubltedly inferior to that of the Catholic Church, that the recognition of these persons as saints (on the basis of the Russian process itself) seems absolutely

[432] Ibid., 406-408.
[433] Ibid., 385-386.

unimaginable. Indeed, after Fedorov, prompted by the concrete need of his community, brought up the question of their veneration in 1911, it seems that no one in mainstream Roman Catholic theology approached the question from that point of view until Schweigl's article, inspired as it was by the concrete needs of the Vulgate and Ruthenian editions. An exception is Clement Sheptytsky's comment in the Lviv Liturgical Commission, which had yet another perspective – the mutual recognition of saints as a factor in the spiritual reconciliation of Churches.[434]

Most of the other authors in the West who treated the question of non-Catholic saints did so in the context of ecclesiology: during this time the notion of the Church in Roman Catholic theology was undergoing significant changes, and, in the context of the nascent ecumenical consciousness so was the evaluation of those who were traditionally considered outside the Church. Newly established journals dealing with "unionistic" questions – *L'Union des Églises* (Constantinople, 1922-37), *Stoudion* (Rome, 1923-29), *Russie et Chrétienté* (Paris, 1934-50) – make it a policy to avoid the use of terms such as "schismatics," favoring rather to call especially Eastern Christians "separated" or "dissidents."[435]

A lively discussed topic, which was also closely related to an expanding concept of the Church, was that of membership in the Church. To the question whether

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[434] This will be examined below: 1.B.5.d).

[435] Cf. M. Jugie, "Terminologie unioniste," *L'Union des Églises,* 2 (1923): 129-131. Charles Journet later summed up this discussion in his chapter "Un conflit de deux terminologies. Sa solution par l'analyse du concept de dissidence," in *L'Église du Verbe Incarné,* vol. 2, *Sa Structure interne et son unité catholique,* (Paris, 1951), 708-763. See also Josif Alexandrov, "Le mouvement actuel pravoslave catholique," *L'Union des Églises* 4 (1925): 392-97, which makes explicit reference to the *Слово истины* bulletin

"dissidents of good will" are members of the Church, Antoine Malvy argued that on the basis of Baptism they are to be considered members not only of the "invisible soul" of the Church, but also in a real way of its body. This pertains not only to "children baptized validly by a heretical or schismatic minister," but also very probably, in his estimation, to "adults baptized in a heretical sect who have not formally adhered to a heretical doctrine, or who have adhered without knowing its malice."[436] Malvy is careful to specify that his considerations are primarily theoretical, and that any practical deductions need necessarily to take into consideration canonical directives, but he feels free even to suggest, on the basis of past ecclesial practice, a review of some canonical restrictions regarding *communicatio in sacris.*[437]

Charles Journet, partly responding to Malvy's position,[438] was much more cautious. He accepts the traditional postulates that "a member of the Church is a person in whom the soul of the Church is present" and "that the notion of member of the Church admits degrees" (p. 91); and adds that "all the just, in effect, are neither separated from the visible Church nor are outside salvation."[439] Nonetheless, after displaying a capacity for nuanced distinctions, he finishes on a tone which leaves little room for ambiguity: "Christianity, to put it briefly, is Catholicism. The distinction, which is today in frequent use, between Catholics [...] and non-Catholics, corresponds

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of the St. Petersburg Russian Catholics. Such has also been the policy of the *Stoudion* journal.

[436] Antoine Malvy, "Les dissidents de bonne foi sont-ils membres de l'Église?" *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 17 (1927): 31.

[437] Ibid., 34.

[438] Charles Journet, "Qui est member de l'Église?" *Nova et Vetera. Revue Catholique pour la Suisse Romande* (1933): 103.

[439] Ibid., 93.

to a distinction between, on the one hand, actual Christians, [...] and, on the other hand, virtual or possible Christians."[440] Yet even this position, as his later writings show, can be interpreted inclusively or exclusively.[441]

Hagiographic Literature

During the interwar period the theme of the sanctity of non-Catholics started to become a constant and growing feature of Western European religious and theological literature. This was stimulated by publications of the Russian Orthodox emigration, which for the first time made accessible to a wide range of Catholic theologians a first-hand knowledge of Orthodox spiritual literature. Although not many may have had access to publications in Russian,[442] the journal *Irénikon* was particularly active in offering such material in a Western language, by both Catholic and non-Catholic authors.[443] As to the canonical restriction for the use of the term "saints" in Catholic

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[440] Ibid., 102.

[441] See his *L'Église du Verbe Incarné,* vol. 2, *Sa Structure interne et son unité catholique,* (Paris, 1951) 708-763.

[442] Г. Федотов, *Святой Филипп, митрополит московский* (Saint Phillip, Metropolitan of Moscow) (Paris, 1928); idem, *Святые древней Руси* (The saints of ancient Rus') (Paris, 1931); idem, "Трагедия древне-русской святости" (The tragedy of ancient-Rus' sanctity), *Путь* 27 (1931): 43-70.

[443] A. Sipiaguine, *Aux sources de la piété russe,* pt. 1, *La Lavra des caverns à Kiev* (Irénikon-Collection No. 2) (Prieuré d'Amay sur Meuse, 1927); idem, (suite) "L'Etat actuel de la Lavra des Cavernes à Kiev," *Irénikon* 3 (1927): 146-149; Hiéromoine Lev, "Une forme d'Ascése russe. La follie pour le Christ," *Irénikon* 3 (1927): 14-19;
E. Laurent, "La canonization du despote Stevan Lazarevic Vissoki," *Irénikon* 3 (1927): 321-26; T. Becquet, *Sancta Maria Antiqua*. Chap. 3. "Saints Oecuméniques" (Irénikon-Collection, No. 8) (Prieuré d'Amay sur Meuse, 1928); E. Behr-Sigel, "Études d'hagiographie russe," *Irénikon* 12 (1935): 241-254, 571-598; 13 (1936): 25-37, 297-306; idem, "Nil Sorskij et Joseph de Volokolamsk," *Irénikon* 14 (1937): 363-77.

publications, the editors prefaced a 1927 Orthodox contribution[444] to their *Irénikon-Collection* series by a note to the readers:

> This study will certainly contribute to help us love and know our separated brothers of Orthodoxy [...] We note, however, for Catholic readers, that the title "saint," in order to be authorized, must be sanctioned by the authority of the Holy See (according to the decrees of Pope Urban VIII).

This note was preceded, on the same page, by the quotation of Pius XI which became famous:

> It is not sufficiently known how much there is that is good and precious in the remnants of ancient Christendom. Detached fragments of a gold-bearing rock also contain the precious ore. The ancient Churches of the East retain so true a holiness that they deserve not only our respect, but our sympathy.[445]

Such a clear papal declaration of "true sanctity" in the Eastern Churches gave impetus to the recognition of sanctity among non-Catholic Easterners. Subsequent publications in *Irénikon* about non-Catholic saints rarely had the *protestatio* about the term "saint."

Apologetics: M. Jugie, G. Philips, A. Michel

This increased talk of sanctity in the Orthodox Church (usually Russian) made dogmatic theologians, however, generally uneasy. Traditionally, sanctity as one of the four "notes" of the Church was a cardinal apologetic concept. G. Philips describes its import thus:

> Among the essential and easily recognizable characteristics which permit one to identify the Church [which is] desired by God, the foremost one is that of

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[444] Georges V. Tsébricov, diacre de l'Église Orthodoxe, *L'Esprit de l'Orthodoxie* (Irénikon-Collection, No. 7) (Prieuré d'Amay sur Meuse, 1927).

[445] Pope Pius XI, Address to the Federation of Italian Catholic Universities, 9 January 1927. The translation above is from M. J. Congar, O.P., *Divided Christiandom: A Catholic Study of the Problem of Reunion,* trans. M. A. Bousfield (London, 1939), 245. I would prefer to translate "sanctity" for "santità," and "understanding" for "simpatia", instead of "holiness" and "sympathy," as in the above text.

> sanctity. This note, unlike the other three [unity, catholicity, apostolicity]. constitutes in itself a sufficient distinctive sign, since it fulfills a set of conditions: it implies the existence of a truly transcendent moral virtue; this virtue must be present in a continuous and abundant manner; this virtue must be inspired by the doctrine and the practice of the Church, and be, as it were, its direct and natural result. The first two conditions prove that sanctity, on the whole, surpasses the powers of human nature, and constitutes a true moral miracle; the third proves that this miraculous quality is proper to a specific Church, which displays it as a brilliant emblem of its divine origin.[446]

The strict and seemingly flawless logic of this argument had its appeal and was, in fact, used almost identically by both Catholic and Orthodox theologians. Evidently the argument required a negation, in some way or in some measure, of the presumed sanctity of the opposing party. Michel d'Herbigny invoked the authority of the Fathers for this tactic. The Fathers, he observes, would sooner attribute [some aspects of] sanctity to heathens than to heretics, not only because excellent virtue in heathens was truly more noteworthy, but for strategic reasons (*ob oeconomicum modum agendi*), for whereas other "notes" of the Church, which the heretics presumed to have, were easily refuted, sanctity proposes itself "more by examples than by theory" and thus captures the attention of the simple.[447]

Jugie discussed this question directly and extensively, first in an article in *Dictionnaire Apologetique*, then in the course of his *Theologia dogmatica Christianorum orientalium*.[448] The two studies are quite similar, except that in the first he treats primarily the Russian Church and in the second the Greek as well. Given the

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[446] G. Philips, "La Note de Sainteté et l'Église Russe," *Revue Ecclesiastique de Liège* 21 (1929-30): 372-373.

[447] Michael d'Herbigny, *Theologica de Ecclesia*, vol. 2, *De Deo Catholicam Ecclesiam organice vivificante seu De hodierna Ecclesiae agnitione.* 3d ed. (Paris 1928), 66.

influence of Jugie as a generally recognized Catholic authority on the Christian East, a closer look at his argumentation will help illustrate the theological thinking of the period.

Jugie was one of the authors who eloquently supported the new "dissident/separated" terminology, stressing that "only God can [...] discern dissidents of good faith from formal schismatics. For us, with rare exceptions, the triage is usually impossible." On the authority of St. Augustine he insisted: "A material schismatic [i.e. who is not directly responsible for the schism] is not a true schismatic, but a separated Christian, who lives with peace of conscience within his sect, which he takes in good faith to be the true Church."[449] On the other hand Jugie rejects the thesis of Henri Dominique Lacordaire (favored also by Ivan Gagarin, S.J.) that "Russia is unconsciously (*à son insu*) Catholic, it is not and has never been schismatic by choice, as was the Eastern Church [meaning the Greek Church proper]."[450] According to Jugie, while the great mass of Russian faithful cannot formally be called schismatics, the Church that they belong to, which refuses union with the Catholic Church, and teaches doctrine formally condemned by the Catholic Church, "merits not only the name *schismatic,* but also *heretic.*"[451]

Jugie speaks about three meanings or dimensions of sanctity: regarding the *means* the Church has for sanctifying (that is, *real* or objective sanctity), regarding the *members*

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[448] M. Jugie, "(Églises) Slaves Dissidents," in *Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique,* (Paris, 1931) 4:1343-1397; idem, *Theologia dogmatica Christianorum orientalium*, 4:547-565.
[449] Jugie, *Terminologie unioniste*, 130, 131.
[450] Jugie (*Slaves Dissidents,* 1375) quotes H. D. Lacordaire in *Revue des Églises unies d'Orient*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1887), 462.

that are sanctified (*moral* sanctity), and regarding *miracles* as signs of the presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church (*charismatic* sanctity). As for definitions, he notes that many dissidents refer to the sanctity of the Church in terms similar to those of Catholic authors, while others speak only of the sanctity of means and still others stress primarily the sanctity of members.

Regarding the means of sanctification, Jugie admits that the Eastern Orthodox Church retains some of the most important means, such as revealed truth, the sacraments, liturgical worship, monastic life etc. But there are also serious shortcomings: the lack of a common infallible magisterium does not allow the Orthodox Church to accommodate Church discipline to the needs of the times, to adopt new forms of worship and piety, and to arrive at clear ideas in theology instead of a "vast field" of theological opinions (*theologoumena*). Subjection to the state does not allow the Church to exercise full moral influence on the faithful, and indeed to operate fully. The recognition of divorce, the negation of temporal punishment for sin, and compliance with the state requirement to reveal in some instances the secret of confession undermine moral effort. The married state of the priests, instead of being tolerated, as the Council of Trullo intended, "is obligatory". According to Jugie, even the means of sanctification which they possess are used poorly, as can be seen when comparing the Greco-Russian Church to the Catholic Church: preaching and religious instruction is a rarity, as is regular confession and communion, and the promoting of prayer and pious exercises among clergy and the faithful.[452]

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[451] Ibid., 1375-1376.
[452] Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica Christianorum orientalium*, 4:544-547.

> The list of these deficiencies is far from complete. One should examine in comparison the incessant flourishing of great Catholic devotions with the rigid conservatism and the fixity of primitive forms in the Russian Church. One should notice within the latter the predominance of exterior cult to the detriment of the interior life. One should put in relief the glaring superiority, under every aspect, of Catholic monasticism over Russian monasticism.[453]

As to the sanctity of persons, Jugie first distinguishes (in *Slaves Dissidentes*) between Russian saints before the schism, which he sets at the twelfth century, and those that came after. About the first group, which he will not deal with, he says succinctly: "[This is the group] the Ruthenian United Church recognizes and its list is always susceptible to review." This is his only statement about this group; in *Theologia dogmatica* he does not mention them at all. Several observations are apropos: first, on the one hand, since he does not discuss them in this apologetic context, this would mean he finds no fault with them; all the same they are not among the brilliant Catholic saints to which he compares the Orthodox saints.[454] Indeed he does not state that the group is recognized by the Catholic Church (which presumably means Rome), but by the Ruthenian Catholic Church.[455]

Second, the fact that these saints are presented as being in the Ruthenian, not Roman, calendar is not incidental, but relates directly to what Palmieri stated at Velehrad in 1911: "The Ruthenians have some Russian [i.e. Rus'] saints whose cult is

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[453] Jugie, *Slaves Dissidents*, 1379.

[454] In the detailed overview of the history of the Kyivan Rus' period in *Slaves Dissidentes* (cols. 1358-62) Borys and Hlib are not mentioned. Theodosius is referred to as a saint; Olha, Vladimir, and Antonius are not.

[455] Unlike, for example, Nicolas Baumgarten: "[Saint Vladimir's] cult was always recognized by the Roman Church, even after the decree of Pope Urban VIII in 1634." Idem, "Saint Vladimir et la conversion de la Russie," in *Orientalia Christiana*, vol. 27,1 (1932) No. 79, p.124. Such recognition of Vladimir was only implict.

tolerated by the Church [meaning Rome]."[456] On that occasion, as we saw above, Jugie commented: "The Church is infallible in canonization, but not so when it simply tolerates a cult."[457] Obviously these Ruthenian saints were on a different level than those canonized by Rome.

Third, Jugie's reference to this list being reviewed means that it could be either lengthened, shortened, or otherwise altered. If he had any serious doubts about any of these saints — for example, Theodosius and the anti-Latin literature attributed to him — Jugie would have expressed them, so it is reasonable to suppose he was thinking about the list being expanded.

Jugie concedes that in the past the "Dissident Churches" had many eminent saints, but he insists that an impartial history illustrates how after the schism this spiritual fecundity declined or disappeared altogether. This is evident, he claims, if one examines the process by which saints are recognized and venerated: if one were to compare the officially canonized saints of the Russian and Catholic Churches, one would encounter in the former the difficulty of a confused system. There are hundreds of saints who are venerated but not canonized, and saints who are canonized but not venerated, or about whose biography nothing is known. Even when the Holy Synod reformed its canonization process (after 1721) the inquiry came to focus on miracles, especially the incorruptedness of the bodies, rather than virtues. Many are called martyrs improperly, simply because they died a violent death (often with political motivation). A review of

[456] *Acta III Conventus,* 33.
[457] *Acta III Conventus,* 33.

the Greek neomartyrs (under Turkish rule) shows that in most cases their martyrdom was reparation for a previous apostasy from Christianity.[458]

> From what was said it is evident that Russian saints cannot compare with Catholic saints in eminence of sanctity, heroic virtues or supernatural influence on society. The absence of all serious inquiry into their private lives, the lack of knowledge about the deeds of most of them, and about the motive itself for which their cult has been established, does not allow one to establish any parallel [between the two]. The virtues of some Russian ascetics, even if real and approaching a certain heroic degree, cannot be compared to the brilliance of sanctity which radiates from our great Catholic heroes. [459]

Similarly, an assessment of "other visible indications of sanctity," such as works of charity, the status of clergy and religious, and even miracles, reveals an indisputable superiority of the Catholic Church in every respect.

Jugie had declared that he did not want to engage in polemics or "slander apologetics," that is, to concentrate on the humanly bad, which occurs wherever there are people, but to compare the good, the virtuous.[460] However, while the results impress the reader with formidable dogmatic argumentation and vast research, they actually constitute convincing and lasting proof of the shortcomings of confessional bias. In several areas Jugie was able to point to aspects of non-Catholic sanctity (and ecclesial life in general) that were, incidentally, also criticized by Orthodox authors (which he took pains to cite), such as subjection to the state, lack of social involvement, lack of clarity in the canonization process, a culpable credulousness of the people and of ecclesial authorities regarding miracles, etc. However, his ecclesiological bias prevented

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[458] M. Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica Christianorum orientalium*, 4:547-53.
[459] Jugie, *Slaves Dissidents*, 1382-1383.
[460] Ibid., 1378.

him from viewing sanctity in the Eastern Church as anything but inferior to its Western counterpart.

While he may not have intended not to indulge in slander and caricature, his "comparison of the good and virtuous" consisted in systematically showing the superiority of one over the other. In the picture he draws, it is almost impossible to salvage any elements of a positive evaluation of Eastern sanctity. In a way, he extended to the whole of Eastern hagiography the fundamental criticism that Peeters had applied to the Russian canonization process.[461] If we transpose these two studies back to the discussion at the Third Velehrad Conference and the query that Fedorov brought forth about the veneration of Russian saints, these studies can be seen as an elaboration of the negative answer that Jugie had given then. It is significant that here he does not even theoretically consider the question of liturgical veneration.

Today his juxtaposition of the two spiritual worlds, always to the detriment of the non-Catholic, may be perceived as artificial and manipulative, almost hypocritical, and renders his comparison useless. The one-sided outcome of his comparison is not, however, the result of insincerity on his part. We may take his respect for the dissident position, which he expressed in *Terminologie unioniste*, to be truthful. In fact, as he says in the conclusion to that article, avoiding all insult, he wants to help the dissidents come unhindered to a knowledge of the integral truth. All the same, probably the single most important factor that did not allow him to avoid predetermined results was the traditional understanding of sanctity as an apologetic argument. No matter how sincerely he tried to find the good in non-Catholic sanctity, to admit that it could be in any way equivalent to

or better than what was in the Catholic Church would have meant a negation of the "fuller" truth of the Catholic Church. On the other hand, presuming he was writing not only for Catholics, but also for non-Catholics, he believed such an unwavering presentation of Catholic superiority was an absolute necessity.

Several authors followed Jugie in this attempt at a "comparison of the virtuous." Gérard Philips's article of 1930[462] is a short summary of *Slaves Dissidents,* and may have been a reaction to the type of Orthodox hagiographical material that was being published in *Irénikon.* He insists on the apologetic role of the note of sanctity and recommends Jugie's "comparative" method, while admitting nonetheless that it is "a more or less delicate operation."[463] Like Jugie, he was captivated by what he saw in the Catholic Church and simply did not see anything comparable in the Russian Church. He concludes: "The spectacle of the inexhaustible vitality of Catholicism, the supernatural ardor and heroism of a remarkable number of its faithful, cannot fail to impress the gaze and inspire salvific thoughts of every well disposed soul. Nothing is so beneficial as contact with the Roman [!] Church, the prolific inspirer of so much sanctity."[464]

Anton Michel shows an attempt to make the apologetic use of the note of sanctity more flexible.[465] He claims that the note of sanctity as an apologetic argument is best understood dynamically. Just as it is clear that "the complete realization of absolute sanctity is not possible for any generation of the Church," because "Christianity

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[461] "Rien de plus confus que l'hagiographie russe." Ibid., 1381, n.1.
[462] Philips, *La Note de Sainteté*, 372-378.
[463] Ibid., 373.
[464] Ibid., 378.
[465] A. Michel, "Sainteté dans les autres confessions. 2. Les Églises chrétiennes orientales dissidents," in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris, 1939), 14:864.

represents an eternally unrealizable ideal,"[466] so one should "avoid exaggerating sanctity as an [achieved] property of the Catholic Church."[467] While he generally agrees with Jugie that a comparison shows the standards of dissident saints to be inferior to those of the Roman [!] Church, and that such factors as divorce, schism, and subjection to the state weaken the potential for sanctity in non-Catholic Churches,[468] he does not fix his attention on how much "less" sanctity there is in dissident saints, but on the fact that it is there. Just as "the axiom that 'Outside the Church there is no salvation,' does not allow us to negate the possibility of salvation to those who appear to live outside the Church, such also [should be] our idea about sanctity [outside the Church] which, in its different degrees, is an essential condition of salvation."[469]

Michel does not deny that superior or even heroic sanctity can or does exist outside the Roman Church. He quotes Pius XI's metaphor of the fragment chipped off the gold-bearing rock and develops it, with an accent on what *is*, instead of how much is *not*: contrary to appearances, he explains, if it is "heroic sanctity [it] is not outside the true Church;" "this sanctity is, therefore, formally, a Catholic and Roman sanctity."[470] He feels comfortable to apply this principle to a concrete example: "The sanctity of a Seraphim of Sarov is a borrowed sanctity, its parentage is Catholic sanctity;" therefore "a Catholic believer can almost say: 'It is all ours!..'"[471] While such expressions can be interpreted in an exclusivist way ("What you have is really ours"), the association with

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[466] Michel quotes Otto Karrer, *Le sentiment religieux dans l'humanité et le christianisme* (Paris, 1937), 249.
[467] Michel, *Sainteté*, 869.
[468] Ibid., 864.
[469] Ibid., 866.
[470] Ibid., 866.

Pius XI's metaphor invites an inclusive interpretation ("What you have is the same as what we have"). Therefore the accent of Michel's concrete example that Seraphim of Sarov's sanctity is really "Catholic" sanctity, lies not in dissociating Seraphim from Eastern or Russian sanctity, but in affirming that it is "true, authentic" sanctity.

While Michel demonstrates the grounds for recognizing non-Catholic *sanctity*, he does not consider the questions of any formal recognition of non-Catholic *saints*, or of their liturgical veneration — questions which for Eastern Catholics like Leonid Fedorov needed to be addressed if any concrete significance were to be given to the recognition of non-Catholic sanctity. What Michel did achieve in the context of Western apologetics was to demonstrate of how sanctity can remain an apologetic category, even as proof of the unique truth of the Catholic Church, without having to use it *against* anyone — without having to deny its authenticity or fullness in the "dissident" Churches.

Spirituality: S. Tyszkiewicz, SJ

The research on Orthodox spirituality and sanctity, which probably had the most influence on the RR-RV project, was that of Stanislaus Tyszkiewicz, SJ, published in 1934.[472] Tyszkiewicz lectured on questions of Orthodox dogmatic theology in Rome, but his approach to the matter of Orthodox saints is noticeably different from that of Jugie, in that he does not burden his argument with the apologetic function of the note of sanctity. Tyszkiewicz works from the basic assumption that Russian Orthodox sanctity (i.e. after the schism and up to today) is a reality (even if he opens the article with the

[471] Ibid., 869.
[472] Tyszkiewicz, *Spiritualité*, 349-376.

traditional disclaimer that his use of the term "saint" has purely "relative, historical" meaning), and he does not engage in a discussion about its "possibility."

Another important difference from Jugie is that Tyszkiewicz does not attempt a comparison of Catholic and Orthodox sanctity. His basic comparison is between several different currents of spirituality within the Russian Orthodox sphere, as they are presented by Orthodox authors, with only secondary references to Western realities.

Tyszkiewicz describes Russian Orthodox sanctity as having a double origin: the early Christian ascetic tradition that flourished in Egypt, Mount Sinai and Syria, which is generally the source of the positive aspects, and "the spirit of Byzantine religiosity, caesaropapist and anticatholic, the distinctive sign of which is the splendor of external cult."[473] This Byzantine influence, which can be summed up as subjection of the Church to secular political powers, and excessive ritualism (at the cost of pastoral and spiritual care), is evidently the factor which undermines the spiritual potential of the ascetic tradition. In fact, a great part of the history of Russian sanctity is marked by the struggle between the two.

Tyszkiewicz describes the spirituality of several saints of the recent centuries, whom he sees as not being tainted by the suspicion that they were canonized for their achievements in the political realm, as were Alexander Nevskii or "certain high ecclesial dignitaries."[474] Thus he has only words of praise for Nil Sorskii (fifteenth century), who struggled to maintain a contemplative ideal for Russian monks against Joseph of

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[473] Ibid., 349.

[474] Ibid., 350. Tyszkiewicz probably had in mind metropolitans Peter, Alexis, and Jonas, who have many commemorations during the year, and which were key figures in the ecclesial contribution to the political rise of Moscow.

Volokolamsk, who would rather see monks as primarily socially involved, but also practically on the payroll of the state. Similarly Tyszkiewicz praises Metropolitans Phillip (sixteenth century), murdered by Tsar Ivan IV, and Dimitrii of Rostov, who resisted the secularization of the Church by Tsar Peter and whose spiritual and doctrinal teachings included many elements of [Roman] Catholic thought.

For the eighteenth century, Tyszkiewicz admires Paisii Velychkovskyi, who was a great restorer of Eastern Slavic monasticism; but he also expressed reservations about Paisii's placing of liturgical prayer in a clearly secondary position to contemplative prayer. As to the nineteenth century, Tyszkiewicz extols the virtues of Theophan the Recluse and Seraphim of Sarov, pointing out that they were far from the subservience and ritualism which plagued the official Russian Church, and thus earned their immense popularity among the faithful.

Without entering into other aspects of Tyszkiewicz's admirably balanced study, for our purposes it is important to note two aspects: first, that he examines, and commends, personages from a period in which the Russian Church is beyond any doubt in schism with Rome. He points out that the schism burdens the Russian spiritual tradition, but does not hint that it renders impossible, or improbable, authentic sanctity, based on genuine Catholic principles. Second, his study is clearly about Russian spirituality and sanctity as such, describing the positive and negative factors which influenced it, and the common traits of its eminent representatives, without entering, or even hinting at the question of the possibility of their liturgical veneration.

Tyszkiewicz published the study in the same year that the project for the Russian liturgical publications was announced in *Quam sollicita,* and therefore may not have

foreseen the imminent necessity to consider the liturgical question. Nonetheless it is more than likely that he was aware of the discussion at the early Velehrad Conferences, which placed the liturgical question in the forefront, and may have decided to fashion his argument so that the reality and the fundamentally Catholic character of at least some Russian saints would appear beyond a doubt, leaving the liturgical question to be considered *after* the reality had been established.[475] Finally, although Tyszkiewicz makes no reference to Jugie, his study is a potent refutation of his principles, his methodology, and his conclusions in the matter. As such, it gave the RR and RV Commissions both the dogmatic foundation and the hagiographic criteria to procede with the inclusion of (new) Slavic saints in the RR and RV calendars.

1.B.5.d) Hegumen Clement Sheptytsky

Within the context of the Lviv Intereparchial Liturgical Commision,[476] hegumen Clement Sheptytsky, brother of Metropolitan Andrei, presented a proposal for the inclusion of several saints of the Western Church, especially of the second millennium into the Ruthenian liturgical calendar. Hegumen Clement submitted his proposal at Session 13 (25 November, 1931), but apart from four generally unsupportive reactions, it received no follow-up.[477] He again raised the question at Session 62 (29 January 1935) and this time most of the session was devoted to his proposal. While Hegumen Clement's paper itself is not available, the Minutes record the discussion in great detail,

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[475] In fact the liturgical application was summed up by J. Schweigl in his *De menologio* (1941), after the elaboration of the RR-RV calendars.
[476] See above, Chapter 1, section A.3.c.
[477] *Lviv Minutes*, 56.

including entire sections of submitted written contributions.[478] In the discussion it was mentioned that a similar proposal had been raised, heatedly discussed, and rejected at the 1891 Lviv Council. We need not examine the whole question here, except for two details which are theologically and liturgically important.

Hegumen Clement's fundamental theological motivation for such a controversial proposal was that "such a compenetration in this matter of the veneration of Western and Eastern Saints [is] most desirable and helpful for bringing the Christian East and West closer [to each other] spiritually."[479] This proposal would also require a response: "The Commission asks the [Ruthenian] episcopate to use its influence so that gradually also in the Western Church the thesis of the cult of Eastern Saints might take a good turn."[480] For Hegumen Clement the proposal is a response to a problem: the spiritual estrangement of the Christian East and West. Several dimensions of this concept are important. First, according to Clement, amid the many ways that the East-West rift can be treated, the spiritual dimension has great potential, and recognition of saints can be a powerful aspect thereof. Saints are naturally the spiritual pride and glory of every Church, and mutual recognition of each other's saints is the recognition of the spiritual core of that Church, which cannot but bring these Churches closer together. Aside from the fact that there are problematic aspects in this matter, he sees the saints, inasmuch as they would be mutually venerated, as a unifying factor, rather than a polemical weapon to be aimed at the opponent.

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[478] Ibid., 247-68.
[479] Ibid., 248.

Second, the fact that he proposes such a "compenetration" of the cult of saints first of all among Eastern and Western Catholic Churches means that also here there is a particular dimension of estrangement that requires attention. Formally the Eastern Catholic Churches have conformed to the theological and canonical requirements of the Western Church, but they have continued to be distrusted and regarded by the latter as second-class Catholics. For any Ruthenian Catholic in Galicia in the 1930s, the spiritual estrangement between Polish (Roman-Rite) and Ruthenian (Greek-Rite) Catholics, with the former claiming preeminence over the latter, was not something that needed substantiation. Hegumen Clement was calling attention to the fact that neither side should be content to actively or passively perpetuating this situation; and he was suggesting that his Church take the initiative in this spiritual *rapprochement*.

Third, Hegumen Clement's hope that "in the Western Church the thesis of the cult of Eastern Saints might take a good turn," especially as it is something the bishops are asked to influence, seems a clear reference to the question of the liturgical veneration of Russian Saints, raised by Leonid Fedorov at the Third Velehrad Conference of 1911, and by the St. Petersburg Russian Catholic Synod of 1917. Thus, it seems clear that Hegumen Clement could not have been referring only to the general popularization of Eastern (non-Catholic) saints in Western Catholic theological literature — a phenomenon that had already started (in spite of the negative attitude of some

[480] Ibid., 248. It seems Hegumen Clement had not suggested a concrete list of names, but also clearly did not favor adding the entire group of forty-one saints that had been proposed at the Synod of Lviv in 1891.

theologians) and was bringing promising fruit[481] — because this was happening without the input of the bishops. Although by 1935 there was visibly nothing left of the Russian Catholic community in Russia itself, Hegumen Clement was hoping to call attention to the fact that the program of "Catholic Orthodoxy" that they had endeavored to embody was still worth striving for, because its meaning went beyond the factual existence of Russian Catholicism.

After the profoundly negative picture that apologetic theologians like M. Jugie painted of Orthodox saints, it may have seemed that there was not much that even a bishop's intervention could achieve. Here Hegumen Clement shows his optimism and common sense. Ultimately, he seems to be saying that the veneration of these saints is a matter decided by the hierarchy, not by individual theologians. Thus, he encourages the Ukrainian hierarchy to take a stand in this matter, a stand which may not yet see a clear solution, but which will be a powerful factor toward that solution. Clement seemed to be saying that while individual theologians will express their own convictions about this or that question, convictions that will come and go, an official stance of the hierarchy on the other hand, especially within the wider context and effort to take the (unpopular) initiative to adopt Western saints, is a step which will have a lasting impact on healing the wounds between East and West, both within the Catholic Church and among the Churches of Christ.

It may be argued that the above comments are an undue stretching of the meaning of Clement Sheptytsky's proposal to include the (liturgical) recognition of Eastern saints

[481] An example is the frequent publication of Eastern Christian hagiographical material in *Irènikon*.

by the West. However, coming from a man who for several decades followed these matters closely — vitally, not academically — and who was nominated by Metropolitan Andrei five years later as Exarch of Greater Russia and Siberia, the words "[that] also in the Western Church the thesis of the cult of Eastern Saints might take a good turn" can hardly mean less. In fact, since his proposal was the introduction of a *liturgical* cult for the Western saints that were already not only recognized but honored by the Ruthenian Church, the point of his argument is that the West needs to respond to this not only with a general honor or recognition of Eastern saints, but also with (the inclusion of) a liturgical cult. Presumably, he did not mention liturgical cult explicitly and did not enter into all the practical difficulties involved, because it would have bogged down the transparent simplicity of his argument — the saints can help bring us together spiritually, if there is a conscious effort to venerate them in each other's traditions.

Only two Lviv Commission members supported this proposal of Hegumen Clement[482]. The Ruthenian bishops may never have seen it,[483] and it remained otherwise unpublished. But Korolevskij read it when he was writing his Voto, as did the other members of the RR Commission, each of whom at the first session received a Ukrainian and Italian copy of the Lviv Minutes.[484] This group of people, who were possibly the only ones to study this text for the next seven decades, though not bishops themselves, were in a position to implement these intuitions in a uniquely influential way. And

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[482] Rud' and Sadovskyi. Myshkovskyi, Martyniuk and Kostelnyk were against.
[483] Bishop Ivan Buchko, the president of the Commission, closed the last session with a mention that in the following weeks the Minutes will be translated and "submitted" to the Eastern Congregation, while the Ruthenian bishops will be "notified" of the conclusion of the work of the Commission: *Lviv Minutes,* 323.
[484] *RR Minutes*, 6.

paradoxically, the second part of Hegumen Clement's proposal (a wider recognition of Eastern saints), which he hesitated to state explicitly, was realized much more fully than the first, even if only in the sphere of the Slavic Catholic Churches.

Chapter 2
The *Recensio Ruthena* Commission

In the present chapter I will examine several areas which are necessary to understand the nature and the work of the RR Commission. First, a brief presentation of the members of the commission and their qualifications will illuminate the human factor of the project. Second, questions related to the creation of the Commission will suggest how the members understood the project, both in the light of the relations (in liturgical matters) of the Ruthenian hierarchy to Rome, and the relation of this project to other projects closely associated with it. Third, I will briefly present the principal documents which formed the basis of the present study in order to establish that they are sufficient for this study.

2.A. The Members of the *Recensio Ruthena* Commission

2.A.1. Cardinal Eugène Tisserant

Eugène Tisserant (1884-1972) was born in Nancy, France, into a family with a tradition of veterinary service.[485] During his early schooling and seminary training he showed a propensity for languages and an interest in biblical studies, especially the Old Testament. After his basic theological formation he studied at the École Biblique in

[485] Short biographical accounts can be found in *Eugène Tisserant, cardinal de la sainte Église Romaine* (Rome, 1964) and A. Raes, "In memoriam: Eugène cardinal Tisserant," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 45 (1972-1973): 3-9. C. K. Mattom, *Cardinal Eugène Tisserant (A Brief Sketch of His Life)*, with a foreword by Joseph Mar Severios, Bishop of Tiruvalla (Tiruvalla [India], 1953) is almost hagiographical in style. See also "Bibliographie de son Éminence le Cardinal Eugène

Jerusalem, which provided an opportunity for close contacts with the Eastern Churches. He completed his studies at the Institut Catholique and other Parisian schools, specializing in five Semitic languages: Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopian and Assyrian. His first assignments in Rome involved use of these languages, both as a member of the Pontifical Biblical Commission and as Curator of Oriental manuscripts at the Vatican Library.

During World War I he was called to perform military duties in Paris, where his knowledge of Oriental languages was again appreciated. There he came into contact with Russians and learned their language. After the war his responsibilities at the Vatican Library grew. He worked on several important acquisitions for the library, helped restructure the library to solve problems of space; and in 1923, along with Cyril Korolevskij, was commissioned by the pope to travel to the Balkans and the Near East to acquire manuscripts and imprints for the Vatican Library and the newly established Pontifical Oriental Institute. In 1926 he made a tour of major libraries in the United States to observe new approaches to library science; in particular he studied the newest methods of incunabula conservation. His American colleagues were impressed with this "thoroughly modern man."[486]

While Tisserant continued his research of the Bible and the ancient Orient, his scholarly interest in the Eastern Churches also continued to grow: in 1931 he published a lengthy article on the Nestorian Church in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* and another in 1942 on the Syro-Malabar Church. In 1926 he began his involvement with the

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Tisserant (1907-1964)," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*. Vol. 1. *Écriture Sainte. Ancient Orient* (Vatican, 1964) [= Studi e Testi, 231].

Congregation for the Eastern Church as consultant. In 1931 he was nominated president of the Congregation's newly-formed Liturgical Commission, charged with publishing the Chaldean Pontifical. An indication of the esteem he enjoyed in Rome is that he was named cardinal in 1936, a year before being nominated and consecrated bishop.[487] In 1936 Tisserant was appointed to direct the Eastern Congregation,[488] which was soon involved in the revision and publication of liturgical books for every one of the Eastern Catholic Churches. Between 1937 and 1969 thirty-seven titles (more than one per year) were published, several of them being multi-volume books. Only three titles were reprints, the rest were in various ways reviewed and revised.[489] It is in connection with his appointment to direct the Eastern Congregation that Alphonse Raes remarked on Tisserant's personality as "prompt in making decisions and vigorous in their implementation," thus giving all the Eastern Churches "a new impulse in their organization and their apostolic works."[490] Tisserant directed the Eastern Congregation until 1959.

Although his new duties in the Congregation did not allow him to develop extensive scholarly activity, his work as an orientalist and as the Vatican Librarian continued to be widely recognized. When in 1947 Princeton University conferred on him an honorary degree, he was acknowledged as "[helping] to make the Biblioteca

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[486] Mattom, *Cardinal Eugène Tisserant*, 12.
[487] *Eugène Tisserant,* 78.
[488] The Eastern Congregation is one of four Congregations that formally were directed by the pope himself, and therefore the highest officer was the Secretary of the Congregation.
[489] A. Raes, "Libri liturgici pubblicati dalla S. C. Orientale," in *La Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese orientali nel Cinquantesimo della Fondazione, 1917-1967* (Rome, 1969), 171-176.

Apostolica Vaticana the most cooperative of all institutions of learning."[491] A seven-volume *Festschrift* for Tisserant's eightieth birthday, published by the Vatican Library in its series *Studi e Testi,* is also evidence of a wide appreciation for his scholarly work.[492]

Tisserant's personal enthusiasm for things Oriental led some to perceive him as a charismatic personification of Rome's positive attitude towards the Christian East. At the first Eucharistic Congress of the Near East in 1939, at which Tisserant presided, he impressed many with his address in Arabic. During his visit to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch they "embraced each other in sportsmanship fashion — a fact which was appreciated by all."[493] Indeed, some Eastern Catholic prelates saw him as "more Oriental than the Orientals themselves in keeping the purity of the original rites". Tisserant frequently repeated to the Orientals the dictum of Benedict XV, "If any harm has been done to those rites, it is not to the Holy See that it can be ascribed."[494] We shall see further that this formulation of the relation of Rome to Eastern liturgical matters, frequently repeated by Korolevskij but of dubious historical accuracy, played a key role in the policies of the RR Commission.

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[490] Raes, *In memoriam*, 6.
[491] Mattom, *Cardinal Eugène Tisserant*, 19.
[492] *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*. Vol. 1, *Écriture Sainte. Ancient Orient*; vol. 2-3, *Orient Chrètien*, 1-2; vol. 4-5, *Archives Vaticanes. Histoire Ecclesiastique*, 1-2; vol. 6-7 *Bibliothèque Vaticane*, 1-2, (Vatican, 1964) [= Studi e Testi, 231-237].
[493] Mattom, *Cardinal Eugène Tisserant*, 18.
[494] Joseph Mar Severios, Bishop of Tiruvalla, foreword to Mattom, *Cardinal Eugène Tisserant*, 19.

2.A.2. Alfonse Raes, SJ

Alfonse Raes (1896-1983) was a Belgian Flemish Jesuit. His theological training and ordination were in the Roman Catholic Church, but included a year of teaching at Vilnius, and which he identified as the beginning of his association with the Christian East and its liturgy. He came to Rome in 1930 and studied liturgy at the Oriental Institute under Jean-Michel Hanssens, SJ, a fellow-Belgian, completing his dissertation on matrimonial consent in the Eastern rites in 1932, and becoming "the first professor of liturgy [at the Oriental Institute] to receive his formation at the Oriental Institute itself."[495] He remained professor of liturgy until 1971.

His liturgical research was wide and varied, touching almost all of the Eastern Rites.[496] One of his most important initiatives was the series *Anaphorae Syriacae*, begun in 1939. Besides his own research, his most intense liturgical work was, from 1933, in connection with the Liturgical Commission within the Oriental Congregation, created in 1931. Before work began on the Slavic liturgical books, the Commission published an abbreviated service of Anointing of the Sick for the Copts and a Horologion for the Greeks.[497] His most important studies on the Slavic liturgy, evidently in connection with his work on the RR, was on the Ruthenian Liturgicon and Euchologion, and on the

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[495] Gabriele Winkler, G. "The Achievements of the Pontifical Oriental Institute in the Study of Oriental Liturgiology," in Robert F. Taft, SJ and James Lee SJ, eds., *Congresso internazionale per il 75. anniversario della fondazione del Pontificio Istituto Orientale (1992: Roma). Il 75° Anniversario del Pontificio Istituto Orientale: atti delle celebrazioni giubilari 15-17 ottobre 1992,* 118 (Rome, 1994) [=Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 244].

[496] J.-M. Sauget, "Bibliographie du R. P. Alphonse Raes, SJ. (14.8.1896 – 25.6.1983)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 50 (1984): 5-17.

[497] Raes, *Attività*, 166.

relation of the Russian and Ruthenian liturgical traditions.[498] Many of the special reports that he prepared while working on the RR, including his studies on the Ruthenian sanctorale, however, were not published and are as yet inaccessible in the Oriental Congregation Archives. Also unpublished are the numerous and important reports and position papers (*Vota*) he contributed for several decades to the work of the Oriental Congregation.[499]

In addition to researching liturgy, he served as prefect of the library of the Oriental Institute (from 1932 to 1957, when he was nominated president of the Institute) and prefect of the Vatican Library (1962).[500] Sauget describes his personality as that of "a modest laborer, simple and reserved, not at all striving for easy success or the popularity of spectacular manifestations. He was rarely to be seen at [scholarly] congresses or colloquia."[501]

2.A.3. Cyril Korolevskij

Cyril Korolevskij (1878-1959) is the name adopted by Jean François Charon, born in Caen, France.[502] An early fascination with history and literature soon developed into a

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[498] A. Raes, "Le Liturgicon ruthène depuis l'Union de Brest," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 8 (1942): 95-143; idem, "Le rituel ruthène depuis l'union de Brest," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 1 (1935): 361-392; idem, "De forma liturgiae slavae, ruthenicae et russicae," in *Acta VII conventus Velehradensis 1936* (Olomouc, 1937), 83-90. Of interest are also his brief contributions in the *Enciclopedia Cattolica* (Vatican, 1949-1954): "Russia. Rito" (10: cols.1467-1468); "Ruteni. Rito ruteno" (10: cols.1492); "Santorale. Nei riti orientali" (10: cols. 1882-1883).

[499] Sauget, *Bibliographie*, 8-9.

[500] Ibid., 6, 8.

[501] Ibid., 7.

[502] Short biographical sketches can be found in "In Morte del Padre Cirillo Korolevskij," *Servizio Informazioni Chiesa Orientale (S.I.C.O.)* No. 222 (15 May 1959): 21-24; V.

priestly vocation. In 1893 he chanced upon a Greek liturgy in Paris, which impressed him deeply, and when the following year he read Pierre Michel's *L'Orient et Rome*,[503] his vocation took the form of a desire to become a Catholic priest of the Byzantine rite."[504] Although at first he intended to prepare for the priesthood within the Eastern Church, he finally decided to enter the seminary of the Sulpician Fathers in Paris. He preferred, however, not to receive ordination in the Roman Church, since he foresaw the difficulties that a priest would have in transferring to the Eastern Rite. He therefore left for Damascus where he revealed his intentions to the Melkite Patriarch. The patriarch first assigned him to teach at the Patriarchal College in Beirut, then ordained him in 1902. At his ordination Charon changed his name to Cyril (in honor of Cyril of Alexandria). He immediately began researching Melkite history and publishing historical documents, but in this he encountered some reservations from the patriarch. In 1906 he visited Jerusalem and during a service at the Russian church he renewed his resolve to work for Russia. That same year he traveled to Galicia and met Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, who shared with him his own plans for developing an apostolate in

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Selvaggi also offers a bibliography in idem, *Padre Cirillo Korolevskij (1878-1959): bio-bibliografia* (Bari, 1964); a longer text is in E. Tisserant, "Father Cyril Korolevsky," in *Metropolitan Andrew (1865 — 1944)*, trans. and rev. by Serge Keleher (Lviv: Stauropegion, 1993), 17-36.

[503] Pierre Michel, *L'Orient et Rome: étude sur l'union*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1895).

[504] Tisserant says that at this time "he made up his mind [...to] become an Eastern Catholic priest to serve in the East," *Father Cyril*, 19. Korolevskij himself, speaking of his later decision to seek release from the Melkite Patriarchate, says "it was clearly understood from the beginning that I would not stay all my life in that country [...] I was tormented by nostalgia for the Slav countries, particularly for Russia," Korolevskij, *Metropolitan Andrew*, 38. His obituary by the Eastern Congregation says: "at eighteen his vocation was clear: to become a priest of the Eastern rite for Russia," *S.I.C.O.*, 21. It seems that Korolevskij himself preferred to have his vocation seen as oriented to Russia

Russia. Upon being canonically released by the Melkite Patriarch, he was incardinated by Sheptytsky into the eparchy of Kamianets-Podilskyi, which at that time was within the Russian Empire.[505] The third and second volumes of the *Histoire des Patriarcats Melkites*, published in 1909 and 1910 respectively, were signed "Cyrille Karalevskij, prêtre du rite byzantino-slav".[506]

Since it was not yet possible to have Korolevskij work in Russia, Sheptytsky assigned him to Rome to collect historical documentation, first of all for the beatification process of Metropolitan Iosyf Veliamyn Rutskyi (1613-1637), and then in general about the Kyivan Church. By 1914 there was a sizeable collection on Rutskyi ready for publication, but the outbreak of war interrupted the project. After the war Korolevskij also began working at the Vatican Library, and in 1923 accompanied Tisserant on the mission to Eastern territories to acquire Eastern Christian literature. During this trip he also wrote detailed reports to the pope about Eastern-Rite Catholics in Bulgaria and Romania. After his return he was again sent to Bulgaria in 1924 to follow up on his reports. On the basis of these, the pope sent Mons. Angelo Roncalli (the future Pope John XXIII) to Bulgaria as Apostolic Visitator.

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from the beginning, possibly, not least of all, so as not to appear unstable in his decisions.

[505] This particularity of Korolevskij's incardination allowed both Sheptytsky to legally have clergy of his jurisdiction assigned to territories "within Russia," and Korolevskij to refer to himself as "a Russian, not a Ukrainian, priest." See editor's note in Korolevskij, *Metropolitan Andrew*, 26-27.

[506] The "a"s in this spelling are a phonetic imitation of Russian pronunciation. Korolevskij later adopted the more common practice of transliterating the written Russian form. The spelling used in opur study is the one Korolevskij used most systematically.

Korolevskij's historical research touched on almost all of the Eastern Churches, with particular attention to the publishing of historical documentation, especially regarding the relation of Rome to these Churches. In 1919, writing about the question of the revision of Georgian liturgical books, he formulated for the first time the argument which would become the key postulate of Rome's policy in Eastern Catholic liturgical matters: "the line followed by the Holy See for the defense of Eastern rites has always been uniform, and the Latinisms which have filtered into their liturgies must not be attributed to the Holy See, but to other causes."[507] He wrote a series of articles about Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, defending his approach to apostolic and unionistic work in Russia.[508]

One of the central issues of his idea of work for the union of Churches, especially where Eastern Catholic Churches were involved, was the removal of what he considered to be a major obstacle for the Orthodox Churches in considering Union with Rome, namely, the Latinized liturgical practice of Eastern Catholics. Almost every Eastern Catholic Church added elements of the Roman Rite to its liturgical practice, and this was the cause of great indignation among the Orthodox. In their view this Latinization of the Eastern Catholic Churches was proof that Union with Rome necessarily resulted in the loss of one's tradition. Korolevskij expounded his ideas in a lengthy article in *Irénikon-Collection*,[509] which aroused a heated debate, but which ultimately became the principal

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[507] *In Morte del Padre Cirillo Korolevskij*, 22.
[508] C. Korolevskyj, "Le Métropolite André Szeptickyj: son action pastorale, scientifique et philénotique," *Roma e l'Oriente* 17 (1919): 23-36; 19 (January-June 1920): 10-26, 128-148; 20 (July-December 1920): 37-49; 21 (1921): 20-47.
[509] Cirillo Korolevskij, *L'uniatisme: definition, causes, effets, étendue, dangers, rèmedes* (Prieuré d'Amay sur Meuse, 1927) [=Irénikon-Collection, No. 5-6].

guideline that the Eastern Congregation would follow in all its revisions of Eastern Catholic liturgical books.

By the late 1920s his involvement in projects of the Eastern Congregation became more intense: he was appointed consultor of the Eastern Congregation (1926), of the "Pro Russia" Commission (1927), of the Commission for the Codification of Eastern Canon Law (1929) and of the Liturgical Commission of the Eastern Congregation (1931). In all of these fields he not only played an important role in the preparation of the immense number of publications these commissions published in the following decades, but he was also invited to write numerous reports and position papers (*Vota*) that formulated the policies underlying these publications. Serge Keleher is certainly correct when he states that both through his writings and through his participation in all of these projects "Korolevsky had an incalculable effect on the direction of the Eastern Churches in this [twentieth] century."[510]

In view of Korolevskij's central role in the development of the policies of the RR Commission and its actual work, it is useful to take a glimpse at some aspects of his theological thought, especially ecclesiological. Just as intransigent as he was in the question of ritual, fiercely defending the idea that liturgical latinisms should in no way be tolerated in Eastern Catholic practice, so also he was adamant in expounding a centralist understanding of the papacy's role.

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[510] Brian R. Keleher, "Sheptyts'kyj and Three Converts from the West," in *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptytskyi,* ed. Paul Robert Magosci and Andrii Krawchuk, intro. Jaroslav Pelikan (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989), 227-243.

In his unpublished autobiography Korolevskij notes that he visited the Russian Orthodox cathedral in Paris only once, and that this was fortunate. "I was not versed at that time in the mysteries of '*communicatio in divinis*,' but the thought itself that these Churches were not at all Catholic estranged me from them."[511] According to Croce, in Rome Korolevskij "was constantly preoccupied to avert suspicion about his own Roman orthodoxy, and to watch over that of others [e.g. when he reported some Melkite students of the Greek College who were reading Protestant literature]."[512]

An early episode, which Korolevskij later described in his autobiography, illustrates this. In 1909 Metropolitan Andrei, along with Korolevskij, Vladimir N. Zabughin and Father Serge C. Verighin,[513] intended to start publishing a journal which would treat Byzantine theological topics. Zabughin drew up a draft for a "program" for the group, but Korolevskij insisted on modifying Zabughin's vision of the unity of Churches. For Zabughin, in Korolevskij's words, "the Church is like the German

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[511] К. Королевский, *Книга бытия моего* (The book of my life). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 15192-15196 (1940-1954) [Three typewritten volumes in five books] I-1, 39, quoted in Giuseppe M. Croce, *La badia greca di Grottaferrata e la rivista "Roma e l'Oriente": Cattolicesimo e ortodossia fra unionismo ed ecumenismo (1799-1923).* 2 vols. (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1990), 2:60-61[=Storia e attualità, 12/1-2].

[512] Croce, *La badia greca*, 2:62. Tisserant also mentions this episode with the students: *Father Cyril*, 24.

[513] Vladimir N. Zabughin was a young Russian humanities scholar from St. Petersburg; Father Serge C. Verighin was a Russian Orthodox priest of the prestigious "Clergy abroad." Both became Catholics of the Eastern Rite in 1907 at the Grottaferrata monastery near Rome. Zabughin continued an academic career in Rome and Verighin, after separating from his wife, continued as a priest in Rome until his death in 1938. Cf. Croce, *La badia greca,* 2:28-32

Empire: a federation of practically independent states."[514] Korolevskij's reaction was clear: for him Zabughin's understanding was tantamount to

> [...] relapsing into the Byzantine pentarchy, the theory which for a moment seduced me in my youth – that of a semi-gallicanism which I combatted so energetically by word in the Orient! I replied to him most vigorously that the Catholic Church was a monarchy fashioned [temperée] by divine law, but [in] which theoretically and practically the pope, the Vicar of Christ and Visible Head, had full and complete authority over each bishop and faithful, whether these bishops were patriarchs or metropolitans, or synods in convocation.[515]

Korolevskij insisted that this vision be embodied in canon law:

> At a distance of twenty years, after having taken part in the deliberations of the Commission for the Elaboration of the Code of Eastern Canon Law, and having defended there, in the question of the intervention of the Holy See in Eastern bishops' elections, a resolutely affirmative opinion, but in a more acceptable form than that of the two constitutions *Reversus* and *Cum ecclesiastica,* I see nothing that should be retracted. [516]

In a passage about Dom Maur van der Mennsbrugghe, a Benedictine who became Orthodox, Korolevskij comments on the relation of the ritual aspect of the Eastern Churches to that of canonical structure.

> Unfortunately [in spite of notable intellectual capacities] he did not persevere. There must have been in this complex soul an abundance of unrestricted pride which brought him to ruin. Shortly after having returned to his monastery, he left it and passed to schism. The Eastern Rite is so captivating that when it takes hold of a soul, it possesses it entirely, and woe betide that soul if reason not have the necessary primacy over sentiment.[517]

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[514] Croce, *La badia greca*, 2:60.

[515] Королевский, *Книга*, II-2, 453-454; quoted in Croce, *La badia greca*, 2:62. Tisserant also mentions this episode: he speaks of Korolevskij as having a "deep Roman sensitivity," and therefore refusing to collaborate with Zabughin "for doctrinal reasons" since "he was as thoroughly Catholic as he was thoroughly Eastern. He had very solid doctrine."(*Father Cyril*, 23-24).

[516] Croce, *La badia greca*, 2:61.

[517] Королевский, *Книга*, II-2:207; cf. Croce, *La badia greca*, 2:61. About Mennsbrugghe see also S. Keleher, *Sheptyts'kyj and Three Converts.*

These examples illustrate how difficult it was in the Catholic mindset of the time to hold together an appreciation of authentic Eastern liturgical forms with a theology and spirituality congenial to those forms.

2.A.4. Iosyf Zaiachkivskyi, OSBM

Iosyf (Ivan) Zaiachkivskyi (1889-1952) was born in Bilobozhnytsia, a small town in Western Ukraine.[518] He entered the novitiate of the Ukrainian Basilians at Krekhiv at age seventeen and after his initial formation held several teaching positions in the Order. During World War I he served in the medical corps, but the vicissitudes of war brought him first to Rome where he studied for a year at the Gregorian University, then to Innsbruck, where he finished his studies and was ordained. Zaiachkivskyi was of an activist and practical bent, and back in Ukraine he held mostly administrative positions in the Order, specifically, secretary of the Galician Basilian province. He also briefly held a pastoral assignment, during which he was active in political life, as was then common for Ukrainian clergy in Galicia.

In 1931 Zaiachkivskyi returned to Rome, having been appointed general secretary and treasurer of the General Curia of the Order. His administrative responsibilities, which included canonical visitations of Basilian monasteries in Ukraine and Central Europe, did not allow him to devote himself to scholarly work, but he frequently contributed to Basilian popular publications in Ukraine. When in 1935 the Basilian Superior General was asked by Tisserant, as President of the Commission for the

Codification of Eastern Canon Law, to recommend a Basilian who could take part in the work of the Commission, he suggested Zaiachkivskyi. Although the latter did not have extensive scholarly experience, his contribution to the Canonical Commission, of which both Tisserant and Korolevskij were members, must have been appreciated and led to an invitation to participate in the RR Commission. In 1948 his work in the RR Commission was cited in his nomination as consultor of the Liturgical Section of the Eastern Congregation. In the same year he was also confirmed as rector of the Ukrainian Pontifical Seminary of St. Josaphat in Rome. The additional responsibilities overburdened his failing health, but Atanasii Welykyi relates in his obituary that to the very end he worked assiduously at revising the liturgical books, and that he died with unfinished galley proofs on his desk.

2.B. The Creation of the RR Commission

A full account of the origins of the RR Commission has yet to be written, and this study cannot attempt to do so, especially as certain archival materials are still inaccessible. All the same, the published accounts of protagonists of the RR Commission, E. Tisserant, C. Korolevskij and A. Raes,[519] give sufficient resources to draw up a basic overview of the events.

Although not a member of the RR Commission, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky was among the central characters of the events that led to the RR project, especially the

[518] Biographical information was collected from his personal file and from obituaries in the Archives of the General Curia of the Ukrainian Order of St. Basil the Great (OSBM) in Rome.

Conferences of the Ruthenian bishops (1927-1932) and the Intereparchial Liturgical Commission (1930-1935) that evolved from them. This is why studies about him often include a discussion of the RR project.[520] Up to recently almost no archival material was available on the subject. Peter Galadza[521] has recently provided valuable information about Sheptytsky's involvement in the preparatory stages of the RR project from Lviv archives and documents collected for the Sheptytsky beatification process.[522] In addition, Korolevskij's *Voto*, which was prepared in 1936 as a position paper for the creation of the RR project, summarizes many archival documents and the events preceding the RR project, but it naturally does not describe the actual creation of the Commission. Some additional material is found in Peter Skrincosky's "The Formation of the Byzantine-Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Typical Liturgy."[523] The RR Commission documentation itself (*Osservazioni* and *RR Minutes)* provides only marginal information about the genesis of the RR project and Commission.

The question of the origins of the RR project is important for understanding the sanctorale reform of the RR, since both these aspects (liturgical reform and sanctorale

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[519] Letter of Tisserant to the Ruthenian bishops, 10 September 1941. Raes, *Liturgicon,* 136-37; Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications;* Raes, *Attività.*

[520] Korolevskij, *Metropolitan*; Victor J. Pospishil, "Sheptyts'kyi and Liturgical Reform," in Paul Robert Magosci, Andrii Krawchuk, eds., *Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptytskyi,* intro. Jaroslav Pelikan, 201-225 (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989).

[521] Galadza, *Theology and Liturgical Work.*

[522] *Documenta Beatificationis. [Dioecesis] Romana seu Leopoliensis. [Documenta] Beatificationis et canonizationis Servi Dei Andreae Szeptyckyj Archiepiscopi Leopoliensis Ucrainorum Metropolitae Haliciensis Vols. 1-5* [The Postulator's Office of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, Lviv].

[523] Peter Skrincosky, "The Formation of the Byzantine-Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Typical Liturgy." *John XXIII Lectures. Volume One. 1965 Byzantine Christian Heritage.* New

reform) involve canonical and cultural-historical issues central to the identity of the Ruthenian Church: the canonical authority of the Ruthenian bishops (particularly vis-à-vis the authority of the Congregation), and the interpretation of Ruthenian ecclesial history (particularly in relation to neighboring Churches, especially the Russian Church). A full discussion of these issues of the liturgical reform is beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, after a brief overview of the genesis of the RR project, I will focus on two specific areas, and particularly what they reveal about the basic policies of the RR Commission and how these relate to the sanctorale question. These three areas are: a) the documents relating to the establishment of the RR project; b) the relation of the RR project to the work of the Ruthenian Intereparchial Liturgical Commission of 1930-1935.

2.B.1. Brief overview

The basic sequence of events relating to the RR project's establishment can be summarized thus: 1) the Conference of Ruthenian bishops petitions Rome for help in publishing liturgical books; 2) after consultations with the bishops and advice from experts, on 10 January 1938, a plenary meeting of the cardinals of the Eastern Congregation establishes criteria for the project and a commission is created; 3) the results of this meeting are approved by Pius XI on 15 January 1938; 4) 15 March 1938 the RR Commission begins its work.

York: John XXIII Center for Eastern Christian Studies, Fordham University, 1966. Pp. 165-178.

This simple sequence of events has received diverse interpretations, even from the three key persons involved in the RR reform. Since the discrepancies touch upon canonical and cultural-historical issues mentioned above, they deserve a closer examination.

Chronologically, the earliest account is Tisserant's, in his official presentation of the RR editions to the Ruthenian hierarchy and the Basilian superiors. In it he speaks of three conferences of the Ruthenian Episcopate (1927, 1929, 1932) at which the bishops discussed innovations in the liturgy, discussions that also touched upon the four points formally approved by the Synod of Zamość and Title V of the 1891 Lviv Synod. The bishops decided to submit these matters to the Holy See, asking it to publish a *typical edition* of all the liturgical books. In 1933 the Congregation presents the bishops with a questionnaire regarding rubrical questions, examines the results of the Intereparchial Liturgical Commission that had been working on the question since 1930, and asks the opinion of experts in canon law, Eastern liturgies and the Church Slavonic language. On 10 January, 1938 the basic criteria for the task are drawn up, and the RR Commission is formed. There is no mention of the RV editions.

As an official presentation, Tisserant's account suggests an orderly and harmonious seguence of events: the Ruthenian bishops begin the process (1927), turn to Rome (1932), Rome consults the parties (1933) and ends by establishing the criteria for the task (1938).

Korolevskij's account, published in 1945,[524] not only adds more details, but provides a different perspective, with more loose ends. In his narrative, intended for a

general readership, he explains the origins of RR and RV as interrelated. He presents Pius XI's motu proprio *Quam sollicita* of 1934[525] as Rome's response to the pastoral needs of the Russian Catholics, specifically – the need for liturgical books. Those outside Russia could no longer obtain them from the homeland and it was "practically impossible" for them to use the Ruthenian Catholic books owing to the latter's "hybridisms." The Holy See had addressed this dearth of liturgical books already in 1923-24, when the expedition to Eastern Europe to purchase old and rare editions for scholarly use also procured multiple copies of current publications for liturgical use. As this could be "only a palliative," the Holy See decided in 1934 to sponsor the publication of new books.

But Korolevskij also indicates a parallel sequence of events. He claims that in 1927 the Ruthenian episcopate requested the Holy See "to undertake the preparation of a typical edition [...] and set up a first commission to prepare the work." This first commission was soon replaced by a second, larger group, "and all the proceedings were sent to Rome."[526]

In Rome, when "the purification of the Ruthenian rite" was finally "decided in principle [...] the hope was once more entertained of being able to compile a single edition." Korolevskij may be referring to the program expressed in *Quam sollicita*. "A single edition" would mean one for both Russians and Ruthenians. Korolevskij immediately adds that "this scheme had to be abandoned," and continues to explain at

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[524] Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications,* 390-94; see also *Metropolitan*, 431-36.
[525] Pius XI, pope, motu proprio "Quam sollicita." *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 27 (1935): 65-67.
[526] Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications,* 391.

length that the Ruthenian tradition, without the present hybridisms, carries legitimate and ancient differences from the Russian (Nikonian) tradition, and the Holy See realized it should not sacrifice these particularities, even for the formal and material convenience of publishing a single recension of Slavic books. Korolevskij continues: "All these considerations, which gradually came to the fore, slowed the execution of the measure prescribed by Pius XI in 1934."[527] This "gradually coming to the fore" probably refers to Korolevskij's own work on his position paper (*Voto),* dated 21 December 1936, but it might also imply the continuing controversy within the Ruthenian episcopate about liturgical policies. This must have shown Rome that the "decision for the purification of the Ruthenian rite" was not at all unanimous, or at least not unambiguous, and that the "single edition" solution would not quell the storm. Korolevskij mentions no other decisions or interventions until the 10 January 1938 meeting.

The new information that Korolevskij offers here is that: a) the *typical edition* was requested in 1927, with the Lviv commission charged with doing preparatory work; b) Rome initially hoped that a single unified edition of Slavic liturgical books would satisfy the needs of both the Russians and the Ruthenians (probably a reference to the program of *Quam sollicita*); and c) Rome decided on a separate edition for the Ruthenians in order to show respect for the Ruthenian tradition as independent of and older than the Russian.

Korolevskij's more extensive 1936 version,[528] which was not intended for publication, offers another perspective. Here he states that in 1927 the Ruthenian

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[527] Ibid., 393

Conference of bishops "asked the Holy See to give its approval to a *typical edition* of all liturgical books [...] and nominated a commission *ad hoc*."[529] In other words, the request was for an approval of the decisions of the Ruthenian hierarchy, as, for example, at the Synod of Zamość. The request was reiterated in 1929. Rome did not respond to either the 1927 or the 1929 request, and not even to a special appeal (1931?) of Metropolitan Andrei to the pope to declare papal policy in the matter. Instead, Rome asked to examine all of the work of the Lviv Commission. At their 1932 conference the Ruthenian bishops, evidently finally aware that they could not come to an agreement, submitted the materials of the Lviv Commission to the Congregation without having made any decisions about their contents. Korolevskij mentions that on 24 March, 1933, he was notified of the decision of the Congregation to convoke a commission for examining the work of the Lviv commission.[530] As to the question about when the RR project was finally decided on, Korolevskij does not mention any decision before 10 January, 1938; in the *Voto* (1936) he is still arguing that the Holy See does indeed need to intervene in the matter[531] and that it should not do so in the form of official approval of any books with even the slightest traces of liturgical "hybridisms."[532]

Thus Korolevkij's accounts are less "orderly" than that of Tisserant: there is divergent information about whether the Ruthenian bishops initially asked to *approve* (earlier version) or to *prepare* (later version) a typical edition, and consequently, about

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[528] C. Korolevskij, *La liturgia ed il rito praticati dai ruteni. Voto del P. Cirillo Korolevskij*. Rome: Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, [1936], 115-32.
[529] Korolevskij, *Voto*, 117; see also idem, *Metropolitan,* 431.
[530] Korolevskij, *Metropolitan,* 433.
[531] Korolevskij, *Voto,* 139.
[532] Ibid., 146. He is presenting Sheptytsky's suggestion.

the role (constitutive or consultative) of the Lviv Commission; it shows that it took Rome eleven years (1927-1938) to work out a policy and strategy in the matter, and that Rome finally decided for unconditional support of the Easternizing tendency in the Ruthenian Church once Korolevskij convinced the Congregation that Rome's reputation was on the line.

Raes published his brief account in 1969. In it he states that the 1934 program regarded liturgical books for (only) Russians, and the RR story starts with an appeal of the Ruthenian bishops in 1937, "after they attempted without avail to agree upon an edition of their *Liturgicon.*"[533] His 1937 starting point creates a chronological inconsistency when he implies that one of the specialists consulted, C. Korolevskij, prepared his report *after* the petition of the Ruthenian bishops. Following the 10 January 1938 meeting, the RR Commission worked alongside[534] the RV Commission, established in 1934 for work on the Russian books. Such divergent views on the origins of the RR call for a closer look at *Quam sollicita.*

2.B.2. Documents Related to the Establishment of the RR Project

Quam sollicita

In the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, the papal document, *Quam sollicita*, dated 21 December 1934, carries the caption "Motu proprio about the *Commissio pro Russia* and about liturgical books of the Slavic rite to be published." The first part of the letter announces administrative changes: the *Commissio pro Russia*, established in 1925 as

[533] Raes, *Attività,* 167.

part of the Eastern Congregation to deal with all matters of Russian Catholics (both in Russia and outside), had been in 1930 rendered autonomous and directly responsible to the Holy Father. *Quam sollicita* announces that the Commission will now deal only with Russian Catholics in Russia, whereas those outside, along with all other Eastern Slavic Catholics, will belong to a new section of the Eastern Congregation, created for the benefit of "all, wherever they may live, who practice the Slavic (called also the Slavic-Byzantine) Rite." The second half of the letter reiterates the Holy See's desire that it be plain to all, even "those who stray from the paternal home," that it is the *tradition* of the Catholic Church that each [Church] preserve the splendor of its own rite. And since the faithful of "the Slavic-Byzantine rite" are in need of liturgical books, the pope commissions the publication of such books, for the preservation of this rite. In this way, not only Eastern Slavic Catholics, but also those who are still separated from Rome, will benefit from the Catholic Church's benevolence.

It is clear that the first (administrative) part of the letter addressed matters pertaining to Russian Catholics alone. Its point is to present them (those outside Russia) as being on an equal ecclesial footing with all other Byzantine Slav Catholics. The second (liturgical) part then speaks of all Eastern Slavic Catholics, whom it groups together under a single name designated "the Slavic (called also the Byzantine-Slavic) rite." On the other hand it speaks of *each* [Church] — when it comes into union with Rome — being able to preserve "its *own* rite." Finally, it is to those Catholics who use "this [Byzantine-Slavic] rite," that the publication project is addressed since they are in

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[534] Raes speaks of the RV Commission working "in accord with" the RR Commission.

need of liturgical books. This collage of one and many Churches, and one and several rites, undoubtedly opens the document to diverse interpretations.

Whereas both Raes [535] and Korolevskij[536] explicitly name *Quam sollicita* as the basis for the Eastern Congregation's project for liturgical books for Russians, neither mentions a public papal document announcing or explaining the analogous project for the Ruthenians, even when speaking specifically about the RR publications. Apparently such a public document never appeared. By contrast, both authors refer to the 10 January 1938[537] "plenary meeting" of the cardinals of the Eastern Congregation as the founding meeting for the RR.

That the Holy See would embark on a large-scale project of reviewing and publishing liturgical books for the Slavs of the Byzantine rite, envisaged in fact as a double project in order to do justice to the two major traditions among Byzantine Catholic Slavs, and announce only one of them publicly, is a procedure that invites questions. The questions become all the more pressing when one notes how it was later stressed that the double recension, although incurring almost double the effort and costs, was a proof of Rome's desire to preserve legitimate liturgical traditions of particular Churches.[538] Why, one might ask, was this not advertised from the start? Was the RV the only project planned in 1934, the RR coming as an "afterthought"? If so, why was a

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[535] Raes, *Premièr,* 518 and *Attività*, 167
[536] Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications,* 391
[537] Ibid., 393, mistakenly has 10 February. Korolevskij's Voto, xxx carries the correct date, confirmed by all other sources.
[538] Letter of Tisserant to the Ruthenian bishops, 10 September 1941. Raes, *Liturgicon,* 137.

second document not published at the time of the second decision, to publicize such a praiseworthy policy?

Metropolitan Andrei interpreted *Quam sollicita* as an announcement of books for Ruthenians also. Less than four months after the date on the *motu proprio*[539] he published a commentary on the papal document in his *Arkhyieparkhiialni Visti* (Archeparchial News).[540] There Metropolitan Andrei welcomes the letter enthusiastically as a mandate from the Holy Father "that liturgical books for our Rite be published as soon as possible." Sheptytsky immediately adds the reason why this is good news to him: "This publication will establish once and for all that which pertains to the essence of our rite; that which absolutely may not be altered."

Galadza points out that the whole weight of the Metropolitan's commentary lies in his support for the Holy See's notion that Eastern Catholic Slavs belong to a single Rite. This would have been important for Sheptytsky's liturgical as well as unionistic agenda. Indeed Korolevskij reports that Sheptytsky had appealed to the pope to make an authoritative statement to solve once and for all the controversy in his Church surrounding Easternizing liturgical reforms.[541] Sheptytsky clearly understood, or wished

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[539] J. Creusen, SJ, in his commentary on *Quam sollicita*, (in *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 62 [1935]: 509-10) claims specifically that the document was not published before 1 March 1935, the date it appeared in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*. Even if Sheptytsky were aware of the letter before its promulgation, he waited only eight days to publish his commentary (dated 9 March 1935).

[540] An English text of Metropolitan Andrei's full commentary is provided by Galadza (*Theology and Liturgical Work,* 368-369). Quotations of the commentary are from this text.

[541] Korolevskij, *Voto,* 125. The date of Sheptytsky's letter is not mentioned, but its place in the sequence of events indicates 1931.

to interpret, the papal letter as a reply to his request.[542] This papal declaration of a "single Rite" had crucial unionistic implication for Sheptytsky since it would counter the fundamental objection that the Ruthenian Church cannot take part in unionistic work among the Orthodox because of its Latinized "Ruthenian rite."

However, the question remains whether Sheptytsky understood this to mean a unified recension for all adherents of the Byzantine-Slavic Rite, or several (different) recensions, one of which would be for the Ruthenians. The text of the Metropolitan's commentary in this matter is as ambiguous as the original. If Sheptytsky understood a single recension, he must have been aware that this would sooner follow the Russian Synodal tradition (which was prescribed by Pius X for Russian Catholics) than the current Ruthenian tradition. This, possibly, would not have caused him difficulty personally, since his 1929 Liturgicon, "was almost perfect," according to Korolevskij, "even for a Russian accustomed to the Synodal rite."[543] Sheptytsky was hoping papal authority would convince the Latinizing party. He expresses this in a letter (20 March 1935) to Cardinal Sincero, Secretary of the Eastern Congregation, in which "he [...] notes that Rome's decision to publish the Byzantine-Slav editions will resolve the problems that plagued the Intereparchial Liturgical Commission."[544]

All the same, important as this single recension would have been for his liturgical and ecumenical aims, Sheptytsky felt it necessary to state that he accepted it with a

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[542] That there was no obvious reason in the text of *Quam sollicita* that the Metropolitan should have understood the liturgical program as applying only to Russians is confirmed by Creusen's commentary which also reported the project as promising liturgical books "for Byzantine Slavs," not "for Russians." *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 62 (1935): 510.
[543] Korolevskij, *Voto,* 122.
[544] Galadza, *Theology and Liturgical Work*, 370.

caveat: "Certain provincial differences may be practiced in various churches or provinces of our Rite, but they may not change anything of that which is of substance in the Rite."[545] The Metropolitan may have mentioned this provision for permitting provincial particularities to neutralize in advance accusations of a wholesale Russianizing of the Ruthenian Rite, but also as an expression of the Metropolitan's own concern that his Ukrainian flock, while clearly included in the family of the Byzantine-Slavic Rite, also maintain its own liturgical particularities.

Regarding the question of the original decision for the RR project, we may conclude first of all that the publications program in *Quam sollicita* was not intended for Ruthenians, that the generic wording of the document was an oversight, and that the unified recension for Russians and Ruthenians was considered only after Sheptytsky's response suggested this option. It is also certain that a separate recension for Ruthenians was not ultimately decided upon until after Korolevskij's *Voto.* As Korolevskij pointed out, while it was relatively easy for the Congregation to produce books for the Russian Catholics[546] – particularly in view of Pius X's *nec plus, nec minus, nec aliter* rule – the Ruthenian recension required the Congregation to rethink its whole history of liturgical relations with the Ruthenians.

Although the question of the relation of *Quam sollicita* to the RR may seem marginal as the document contains only the most general guidelines, in fact it enunciates one of its essential principles: to produce liturgical books that will reassure the Orthodox

[545] Ibid., 369.
[546] Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications,* 393.

that union with Rome will not mean sacrificing their liturgical tradition — something Benedict XIV had strived to achieve in the eighteenth century!

Criteria of 10 January 1938.

The Congregation commissioned Korolevskij's *Voto* expressly "to determine the criteria which, in [his] opinion, need to guide the Holy See in its intervention in this matter."[547] His historical account of recent Ruthenian liturgical history in fact culminates in the presentation of nine criteria,[548] which he collects from the official responses of Metropolitan Andrei, Bishop Dionysii Njaradi of Kryževci (Croatia), Bishop Mikolai Charnetskyi, Apostolic Administrator for Lemkivshchyna and Volyn, and Emil Herman, President of the Pontifical Oriental Institute. The principal policies for the RR were finally ratified at a plenary meeting of the cardinals of the Eastern Congregation on 10 January 1938. The decisions were confirmed five days later by Pius XI.[549] Although the minutes of this meeting are not yet accessible, we know the text of the criteria as presented to the three members of the RR Commission at the first session:

> 1. Those rites are to be preferred which correspond more to the ancient tradition. I understand[550] the ancient tradition in this case not as today's usage of the dissident Ruthenians, but the usage which existed before the return of the Ruthenians to the Catholic Church, or [*vel*] the ancient Byzantine Rite. It does not seem that dissuetude is of itself sufficient reason for omission. On the other hand, if there are serious and just reasons for abolishing a rite, its preservation should not be insisted on, even if the dissidents have retained it.
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> 2. Those rites are to be preferred which are observed in all Churches of that Rite.

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[547] Korolevskij, *Voto*, 1.
[548] Ibid., 139-48.
[549] Korolevskij, *Metropolitan*, 433.
[550] The text of the five points was evidently taken verbatim from E. Herman's suggestions.

> 3. In minor elements it seems certain differences and freedom should be conceded.
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> 4. Those rites are to be preferred which have their origin in the Rite itself and are not borrowed from an alien Rite.
>
> 5. According to the decision made by the Sacred Congregation, only in major elements [*in maioribus saltem*] should a certain uniformity be established. The rest are proposed [as] facultative.[551]

Tisserant remarked to the members that these criteria are basically those that Emil Herman had submitted.[552] At a later date Raes stated that the cardinals' meeting established four criteria, and curiously added immediately that "they were not drawn up by Korolevskij."[553]

The circular letter of 10 September 1941 of Tisserant to the Ruthenian bishops,[554] the purpose of which was to explain the RR editions and indicate norms for their use, does not reproduce the criteria literally but describes the "results" of the RR Commission. These may be translated into the following methodological points: 1) the legitimacy of the Ruthenian recension, which is older than the Petersburg-Synod (Vulgate) recension, the latter having been corrected according to early seventeenth-century Greek editions; 2) additions after the second half of the seventeenth century — except the four changes of the Synod of Zamość — were not approved by the Holy See, and therefore must be eliminated; 3) among the [illicit] alterations the most important are the changes in the rubrics of the Eucharistic Liturgy, especially the introduction of a

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[551] *Lviv Minutes*, 4.

[552] This actually pertains to the first four: Korolevskij presented and commented them in his *Voto* (141-44) giving them his absolute support.

[553] Raes, *Attività*, 167. This comment suggests that Raes presumed that for some (Ukrainian Catholic?) circles the association of the fundamental criteria of the RR with Korolevskij was detrimental to their (the criteria's) authority. This is understandable, in view of the opposition provoked by Korolevskij's "*Uniatisme*" in 1927.

[554] See Raes, *Liturgicon,* 136-39.

Recited Liturgy; 4) the oldest Ruthenian texts (i.e. which reflect the liturgy at the time of the Brest Union) are given priority, keeping as closely as possible to the text of Benedict XIV's Euchology, especially in the area of rubrics.

These guidelines for the RR can be summarized as follows: a) the *historical* norm sets as the ideal the liturgy at the time of the Union; b) the *juridical* norm rejects any alterations that were not confirmed by the Holy See; c) the *cultural* norm seeks for the liturgy of the Ruthenian Church to express a balance between universal and particular elements, between original developments and borrowed solutions.

Although the approved RR criteria do not mention the question of saints, we may ask what these criteria offered as guidelines for the reform of the sanctoral? Clearly, neither the historical nor the juridical norm would allow the reintroduction (addition) of any Slavic saints. Historically, as we have seen in Chapter 1, section A, the Kyivan metropolitanate on the eve of Brest[555] had barely as many Slavic saints as were currently in the Ruthenian books; and juridically, the only Kyivan saints approved by Rome at Zamość was Josaphat.[556] The circular of Atanasii Sheptytsky of 1738, which claimed to follow directives from the Holy See, eliminated thirteen Slavic saints, besides the entire

[555] For example, the 1581 Bible of Ostrih, which is among the most complete, commemorates seven Slavic saints, but notably lacks Olha and Antonius of the Caves. Information about the Ostoh Bible's sanctorale was available to the RR Commission in Martinov's *Annus*, 348-50.

[556] *Synodus provincialis ruthenorum habita in civitate Zamostiae*, 149-51. It should he noted that the point of the Synodal list of feasts was to establish which were to be "of obligation." The feast of Borys and Hlib is mentioned as obligatory (only) "in Lithuania."

group of saints of the Kyivan Caves, all of which were in the liturgical books of those eparchies that had recently embraced the Union.[557]

On the other hand, what we have dubbed the cultural norm offered general but nonetheless explicit guidelines for the new sanctorale: it should manifest what is common for the whole of the Byzantine-Slavic family (and in some way to the whole of the Eastern Catholic family), while evidencing the particular heritage of the Ruthenian Church. How this was concretely envisioned and what was achieved by the RR Commission will be examined in Chapter 4.

Although the Criteria of the RR did not mention it, there was in fact one criterion that was invoked almost exclusively for the question of the sanctorale, namely, the *theological* or dogmatic criterion. Korolevskij, in speaking about the RV, put it thus:

> From the point of view of dogma, no serious correcting of the [Russian liturgical books] has had to be done. Apart from a very few passages, the entire liturgy of the Russian Church, as has already been said, is Catholic, with the exception, naturally, of a certain number of commemorations of persons whose sanctity the Catholic Church does not recognize.[558]

In considering the inclusion or exclusion of saints, the RR (and RV) Commission looked primarily to this dogmatic aspect. Nonetheless, as we have seen in Chapter 1, while there was a wide range of opinion, and almost no official statements, about the sanctity of those whom the "Catholic Church" did or did not recognize, in the face of the concrete liturgical need — and unionistic considerations — the Commission made its

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[557] Of those eliminated by Metropolitan Atanasii, Nikita the Stylite of Pereiaslav-Zaleskii was included in the RR and RV, and Abraham of Smolensk only in the RV. The Eparchy of Przemyśl joined the Union in 1692, Lviv in 1700 and Lutsk in 1702.

[558] Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications,* 394.

choices, which henceforth became a point of reference for all subsequent considerations, including dogmatic ones.

2.B.3. The Relationship of the RR Commission to the Lviv Intereparchial Commission

The question of the relation of the work of the Lviv Intereparchial Commission to the RR Commission is important because it answers the question to what degree the RR considered itself an independent project versus a continuation of the Lviv project. This relation in turn is significant because it touches on the question of how the Eastern Congregation saw its (liturgical) authority in relation to the authority of the Ruthenian bishops.

In his *Voto* Korolevskij first summarizes the genesis of the Lviv Commission,[559] then devotes all of Part Four to a discussion of its members, a description and critique of the work of the Commission, and recommendations on its usefulness for the RR project.[560] Korolevskij commended the Lviv Commission for the effort it put into its seventy sessions. Nonetheless, notes Korolevskij, several liturgical books and themes were not dealt with. He doubted whether the Ruthenians had specialists to deal with all the fields – he specifically mentions the *synaxaria* (brief biographical notes about the saints). He comments that the Commission tended to focus on rubrical details, intending to establish obligatory prescriptions for all details, which he judged to be contrary to the spirit of the Byzantine Rite. Likewise, according to Korolevskij, the expertise of the

[559] Korolevskij, *Voto,* 117-26. On the Lviv Intereparchial Commission see also Galadza, *Theology and Liturgical Work*, 332-334, 353-355.
[560] Korolevskij, *Voto,* 165-85.

members of the Commission is limited to a narrow scope of Slavic liturgical texts and studies, and is inadequate as regards usages of other ethnic or territorial groups in the Byzantine family. Generally it is the members of the "purifying" tendency that were better prepared and gave sounder contributions. Korolevskij calls the Lviv Commission a "great advance" over the analogous 1891 Commission of the Lviv Synod.

There was much to be learned from the work of the Commission, Korolevskij suggested, but it needed to be used critically, the most important new criteria being a) recapturing the usage at the time of the Union, and b) the elimination of all unauthorized hybridisms. It is evident, therefore that since the Lviv Commission did not have these criteria as a starting point, most of its work and deliberations were of limited usefulness to the RR Commission.

At the very outset of his evaluation of the Lviv Commission Korolevskij peremptorially declared its "juridical status": "The Lviv Intereparchial Commission was charged not with the task of making decisions, but only of offering opinions; the decisions, according to the intent of the Ruthenian episcopate, belongs to the Holy See."[561] This statement was important for Korolevskij as part of his argument to the Congregation that the RR needed to be considered as an independent project, not at all bound by the results of the Lviv Commission. However, even according to Korolevskij's descriptions, it was only partially true.

It is common practice that the task of any such commission is to study the matter and produce proposals which are confirmed (or not confirmed) by a higher authority. By insisting on the obvious, Korolevskij's comment about the nature of the Lviv

Commission's mandate not only reduces it to a mere compiler of opinions, but in addition seems to eliminate altogether any legislative role for the Ruthenian bishops. He is able to propose this interpretation by manipulating the meaning of the Ruthenian bishop's insufficiently specified original (1927) "request for an approved edition." While the 1927 document speaks of "approved edition" and "prototypon," Korolevskij rephrases this as a *typical edition*: "The first Bishops' Conference asked the Holy See to give its approval to a typical edition of all liturgical books, which all would be obliged to follow."[562]

The 1927 Bishops' Conference, seeking a way to guarantee liturgical uniformity, decided to ask Rome to "give its approval" to liturgical texts that the bishops were to prepare. The wording was similar to that of the (Roman) Code of Canon Law, with the difference that the bishops added that they will prepare the text to be confirmed.[563] This would be a *typical edition* in the sense that all new editions would need to follow it.[564]

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[561] Ibid., 278.
[562] *Voto,* 117
[563] Par. 12: "We ask the Sacred Congregation to grant (*ut tradat*) us liturgical editions approved by Apostolic Authority as a prototype (*prototypon*) for all future editions." Par. 13: "A Commission of four bishops (of Lviv, Krizevci, Mukachiv and Przemyśl) is formed, which will present (*proponet*) to our next Conference the text of the liturgical books, which shall be transmitted to the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern church for confirmation (*ad confirmationem*)." Par. 22: "We hope, however, that once the Sacred Congregation has given its approval to [the] liturgical texts, the bishop of Stanyslaviv will voluntarily revoke the alterations which he has introduced into liturgical texts in his diocese." Translated from *Documenta Beatificationis*, 3: 219, 220, 223 (Letter of sheptytsky to Cardinal Aloysius Sincero, Secretary of the Eastern Congregation, 6 December, 1927. The last translation is of P. Galadza (*Theology and Liturgical Work*, 319).
[564] *Editio typica* is the canonical formulation that liturgical books were given in the reform of Pius V and in subsequent years. The 1917 Code of Canon Law spoke only of the necessity for liturgical books to conform to books "approved by the Holy See" (c. 1390), but did not mention "typical editions." The latter designation appeared on the

This plan of the bishops seems intentionally to refer back to a provision of the Synod of Zamość (1720), which also strove to curtail innovations in private (even episcopal) liturgical publications by requiring that all future publications conform to those editions prescribed by the Synod and approved by the Holy See.[565] Meletius Solovey commented that the fragmentary fulfillment of this decree was a major cause of subsequent liturgical anarchy.[566] Thus, in 1927 the Ruthenian bishops were trying to return to unfinished business.

At the 1929 Conference the bishops say they have "not yet managed to propose the text of the Liturgy to the Congregation for approbation (*ad probandum proponere*), and [therefore] they establish an Intereparchial Liturgical Commission charged with preparing the text (*cui officium parandi textus... incumbet*) both as to rubrics and as to the philological part of the Old-Slavonic language."[567] The prepared text was to be presented (*proponetur*) to the Bishops' Conference, then to the Congregation.[568]

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liturgical books themselves. "Approved editions are: first, what is called the *editio typica*, examined by the S[acred] C[ongregation] of Rites itself and bearing the attestation that it is the model edition; and second, *editiones iuxta typicam,* that is, editions which bear the attestation of the Ordinary that they conform to the original." T. L. Bouscaren, SJ and A. C. Ellis, SJ, *Canon Law. A Text and Commentary*. 2d rev. ed. (Milwaukee, 1951) 774.

[565] The 1720 decree speaks of the Synod *prescribing* (jusserit) and the Holy See *approving* (probaverint). *Synodus provincialis ruthenorum habita in civitate Zamostiae,* 147; I. Bilanych, *Synodus Zamostiana an. 1720: eius celebratio, approbatio et momentum*. 2d ed. (Rome: PP. Basiliani, 1960), 51 [=Analecta OSBM, Opera, 11].

[566] Michael Solovey, "Latinization in the Byzantine Ukrainian Liturgy," in *The Romanization Tendency*, ed. Elias Hayek et al. (Kottayam, 1975), 29 [=The Syrian Churches Series, 8]; cf. Huculak, *The Divine Liturgy*, 97-98.

[567] Letter of Sheptytsky to Cardinal Sincero, 28 October, 1929. *Documenta Beatificationis,* 3:257-258.

[568] Ibid., 258

Sheptytsky made no mention of Rome's role (or editions, or authority) in the 1931 pastoral "On Ritual Matters"[569] which suggests that the question was only an internal deliberation of the bishops. On the contrary, he insists in the pastoral that only a new provincial Council can abrogate the decisions of Zamość and Lviv councils.[570]

The bishop's Conference of 1932 expressed its expectation that the disagreement over the Liturgicon will be resolved when "a new one is published with the approval of the Apostolic see on the basis of the work of the Intereparchial Liturgical Commission."[571]

In his 1935 comment on *Quam sollicita,* as we saw above, Sheptytsky greeted the initiative of the Vatican to publish books for the Byzantine-Slavonic Rite, which he interpreted to mean also for the Ruthenians. Sheptytsky fully welcomed the common nomenclature used, and there is no indication he saw the question of the preparation and approval of liturgical books differently than what was expressed at the 1932 conference

Korolevskij's comments in the *Voto* indicate that in 1936 the Congregation was still uncertain as to what form its intervention should have. Even within the *Voto* one can observe the progressive clarification of the nature of the RR project.[572] At first Korolevskij agrees with Sheptytsky that it would be detrimental to the authority of the Holy See to formally approve a Latin practice in an Eastern Rite.[573] Korolevskij points

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[569] For full translation of the pastoral and discussion see Galadza, *Theology and Liturgical Work*, 341-350.
[570] Ibid., 345.
[571] Ibid., 357
[572] This seems to be an actual development of Korolevskij's thought, but it is not to be excluded that he was ably steering his readers to conclude for themselves what he envisioned from the start.
[573] *Voto,* 146.

out that "[e]xcept in cases when it is directly petitioned, the Holy See should not give particular norms, but should limit itself to the formulation of general principles that sufficiently demonstrate its intent, leaving to the interested parties the task of applying the principles to particular cases.[574] He gives the example of recent liturgical editions of the Antiochian Rite. The Patriarch gave the approval, while the Apostolic Delegate only gave an *imprimatur*, and this was called for only because Dominicans printed the books. At one point Korolevskij actually recommends that the Holy See reject, or respond evasively, to the 1927 "petition for an *editio typica,*", and proposes that the Lviv Commission be commended for its work, be given the norms according to which it should continue, or, if necessary, redo its work.[575]

But since the 1932 Bishops' Conference submitted the Lviv Commission's minutes to the Congregation without any decisions, Korolevskij assumed that this can be considered a direct request for Rome to decide the matter.[576] The whole of Part Three of the *Voto*[577] is a commentary on the bishop's responses to the 1933 questionnaire of the Congregation to the Ruthenian bishops and to other liturgical requests by the bishops. Korolevskij concludes his commentary saying that one cannot pile too much wood on the fire at once. The rest can be done "in the particular examination of each of the

[574] Ibid., 147.
[575] Ibid., 230-31.
[576] At the 1932 Conference, according to Korolevskij, the bishops "approved the minutes of the first twenty sessions of the Intereparchial Commission, without, however, deciding anything about the opinions expressed, [but rather] submitting them, with other documents, to the Sacred Congregation. [...] They resolved to do the same with the results of the subsequent sessions, and also to submit their own opinions in the matter(Voto, 128). Korolevskij was implying that already in 1932 the bishops were expecting from Rome not only approval of a text, but also the basic decisions.
[577] *Voto*, 153-263.

liturgical books, since *the Ruthenian bishops desire that the books be examined* by the Holy See, if not expressly approved."[578] Here Korolevskij has advanced to the category of an "examination" of the books by the Holy See, as a sort of global set of particular requests that the Holy See is asked to respond to.

It is only toward the end of the *Voto,* after the examination of the Lviv Commission materials in Part Four, that Korolevskij proposes the approach that he feels most comfortable with. He again rephrases the 1927 request: "*The Ruthenian bishops asked the Holy See for an approved edition* of their liturgical books."[579] Since any approval of Ruthenian liturgical books runs the risk of compromising the Holy See's reputation, as he insisted several times, "this is a unique opportunity to halt once and for all glaring hybridization," which is a continual embarrassment casting doubt on the sincerity of the Holy See. Since the nature of the "Russian recension" was already decided upon, and it had become clear that this could not satisfy the Ruthenians, who have their own historically legitimate tradition, why should the Congregation not produce for the Ruthenians *in toto* an edition analogous to that planned for the Russians? Note that Korolevskij does not actually verbalize this proposition (allowing the readers to make the conclusion for themselves), but passes immediately to a discussion of its consequences: "The expense is double, but [...] if the Ruthenians want an edition of their books, they will do it [print the revised edition] at their own expense."[580]

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[578] Ibid., 251.
[579] Ibid., 281.
[580] Ibid., 282-83. This means that the Congregation would produce a normative prototype, to be subsequently reprinted by Ruthenians at their expense. In fact this is how the first (1940) RR Liturgicon was printed. As the war events quickly showed that

Thus Korolevskij is finally ready to propose a formula in which Rome can give the Ruthenians an approved edition, while exercising full control over its contents. How was this to be achieved? Korolevskij describes his blueprint in two pages. "It is not necessary to nominate a new Commission;"[581] instead, two reviewers (from the Congregation) will suffice. This combination means that a) the Lviv Commission (nominally) remains duly constituted, and is not replaced by a *new* commission, and b) that the reviewers are free to act without being burdened by a whole commission. According to Korolevskij, although some liturgical books were not dealt with, the Lviv Commission is seen as having finished its work.

The task of the reviewer is to evaluate the work of the Lviv Commission, armed with the new criteria discussed in the *Voto*. The Lviv Commission's results should be "taken into account and approved" whenever they meet the standards of good scholarship, and comply especially to the criteria of preserving the legitimate Ruthenian particularities, and eliminating all hybridisms. Instead of the 1905 (and 1930) Liturgicon and the 1926 Zhovkva Euchologion that the Lviv Commission had worked from as a starting point, Korolevskij insists on the 1929 Liturgicon and 1925-1926 Lviv Euchologion.

At a certain point, Korolevskij drew a parallel between the Lviv Commission and the Commission for the Correction of the Greek Euchologion under Urban VIII, whose immense effort (eighty-four sessions) had to be set aside because it was based on faulty principles. Then, only after a new start was made under Benedict XIV, with better

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Ruthenian Catholics both in Ukraine and in emigration, could not realize the reprints, a full printing was decided on.

criteria, were good results produced in a brief span of time.[582] By not mentioning the liquidation of the Lviv Commission, and by calling the Roman contributors reviewers (*revisori*), instead of a new commission, Korolevskij evidently desired to demonstrate the continuity of the two projects. This continuity is all but lost in Tisserant's 1941 brief, but official, account of the events, where the result of the bishops' conferences and the Lviv Commission simply end in the (1932) decision to "submit the whole question to examination by the Holy See, asking it to procure a *typical edition* of all the liturgical books."[583]

2.C. The Documents of the Commission Regarding the Calendar and Sanctorale

The primary sources for the present analysis of the work of the RR Commission are two unpublished documents of the Commission, namely, the Minutes of the sessions of the RR Commission (*RR Minutes*),[584] and a study prepared by Korolevskij (*Osservazioni*)[585] for the same Commission. For both documents it is the copies in the Archive of the General Curia of the Order of Saint Basil the Great (Padri Basiliani) in Rome that were consulted. A third important unpublished source is Korolevskij's *Voto*,

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[581] Korolevskij, *Voto,* 284.
[582] Ibid., 128. Korolevskij surmised (*Voto,* 285) that according to his plan the Liturgicon could be revised in "one or two months."
[583] Raes, *Liturgicon,* 136
[584] *Verbali della Commissione per la revisione e ristampa dei test liturgici ruteni.* Fols. 1-312. Archive of the General Curia of the Order of Saint Basil the Great (Padri Basiliani) in Rome. Fondo Liturgico.
[585] Korolevskij, Cirillo. *Osservazioni allo Sluzebnik del 1929 preso come base per la revisione della recensione rutena.* Fols. 1-239. Text dated 7 March, 1940. Archive of the General Curia of the Order of Saint Basil the Great (Padri Basiliani) in Rome. Fondo Liturgico.

[586] a general study of the (recent) history of the Ruthenian Rite, written as a position paper for the RR project.

Other valuable information about the work of the RR Commission is to found in the articles that both Korolevskij and Raes published about the liturgical publications of the Eastern Congregation.[587] Finally, Raes's articles about the history of the Ruthenian Liturgicon and the first of the RV's publications[588] also offer information about the RR Commission's decisions on the Ruthenian Slavic sanctorale.

When I speak of the "documents of the RR Commission" it is the first two documents that I am referring to. The following comments about these two documents are intended primarily to indicate that they are a sufficient basis for a discussion of the RR Commission's work on the Ruthenian sanctorale. A discussion of the contents will be presented in Chapter 3.

2.C.1. Korolevskij's *Osservazioni*

The *Osservazioni* is one of two major documents that Korolevskij prepared as a historical introduction for the work of the RR Commission, the other being his *Voto.* The full title of the document ("Observations on the Liturgicon of 1929 which is taken as a basis for the revision of the Ruthenian recension") indicates its content and purpose. It is

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[586] Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale. *La liturgia ed il rito praticati dai ruteni. Voto del P. Cirillo Korolevskij.* [Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale, Prot. N. 1219/28]. Vatican: Tip. Poliglotta Vaticana, 1937. While Korolevskij's *Osservazioni* and the Commission minutes are typewritten manuscripts, the *Voto* was printed by the Eastern Congregation. Raes specifies (*Attività,* 167) this was "for internal use," but this note does not appear on the publication. The *Voto* can be consulted in the Library of the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome.

[587] Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications*; Raes, *Attività.*

a detailed 232-page examination, with appropriate introduction, of Metropolitan Andrei's 1929 Lviv Liturgicon, which Korolevskij proposed as the basis of the RR edition of the Liturgicon. Korolevskij began writing the *Osservazioni* after the inaugural session of the RR Commission on 15 March 1938.[589] The date indicated at the end of the *Osservazioni* is 26 February 1940, which means that Korolevskij continued writing them in parallel with the work of the RR Commission, whose last (sixty-first) session on the Liturgicon was on 9 April, 1940. Korolevskij was supplying the other members of the Commission with the results of his work as it progressed,[590] but on at least one occasion the Minutes mention that Korolevskij actually read his Observations at the sessions.[591]

As will be explained in the following chapter, the *Osservazioni* were the basis for the discussions at the sessions. While in the general text of the Liturgy, Korolevskij organized his text as a commentary on the 1929 Liturgicon, in the review of the calendar, he made extensive use of the critical work he had done in the preparation of the Greek Horologion published in Rome in 1937. Everything pertaining to the Slavic sanctorale required thoroughly new research.

The sections which are most important for the sanctorale are: the introduction, with general comments and presentation of sources (pp. 1-24); the litany of the vesperal *Litē* (pp. 37-39); the preparation of the third prosphora at the *Proskomidē* of the Liturgy (pp. 93-97); and the commentary on the calendar (pp. 185-223).

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[588] Raes, *Liturgicon,* and *La première édition.*

[589] The second session opens with the comment: "Since Father Cyril edited the first twenty-one pages of his *Osservazioni [...]." RR Minutes,* 7.

[590] Tisserant required at the first session that materials for discussion be presented to the other members five days before the relevant session: *RR Minutes,* 6.

2.C.2. The Minutes of the RR Commission

The sixty-one sessions of the RR Commission on the Liturgicon (including the calendar) are recorded on 312 pages. The minutes of the first two sessions were written by Giuseppe Mojoli,[592] but evidently Korolevskij edited them. At the fifth session Tisserant required that the *RR Minutes* should contain the motives for the decisions taken, so as "to justify the work [of the Commission] not only for posterity, but also in [the perspective of] the completed project."[593] This comment not only explains the many repetitions in the *RR Minutes* from the *Osservazioni,* but shows that the *RR Minutes* were originally intended to offer an explanatory commentary to the RR editions. While this instruction was generally well observed, there are noticeable gaps, especially as regards the Slavic sanctorale, since several of the key decisions were relegated to the RV Commission (e.g. about the monks of the Kyivan Caves Monastery), and the motives for their decisions do not appear in the *RR Minutes.*

The sections of the *RR Minutes* that are pertinent to the sanctorale are: session 27 which deals with the *Proskomidē* (pp. 126-129 on the cutting out of the particles dedicated to the saints); session 34 on Vespers (p. 166 on the Great Litany of the *Litē*); and sessions 53-61, which deal with the whole of the calendar (pp.257-312).

Besides the above mentioned two basic documents, additional material which would have shed light on the work of the RR Commission are a) the minutes of the RR

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[591] "[...] Fr. Cyril continued with the reading of his written Observations." (*RR Minutes*, 125).

[592] An aggregate member of the RR Commission, he was an "official of the Sacred [Oriental] Congregation for liturgical affairs." *RR Minutes,* 1. He is not mentioned later in the Minutes.

[593] Ibid., 11.

Commission sessions which took place after the sixty-first, b) additional reports prepared by individual members of the Commission on specific topics, c) the documentation of the RV Commission, to which several of the decisions of the RR sanctorale were referred. The latter two groups of documents were not available for this study, but are clearly of a secondary nature in regard to the *Osservazioni* and the *RR Minutes*.

Chapter 3. The Work of the Recensio Ruthena Commission

3.A. Structure and Task of the RR Commission

In the last pages of his *Voto*, Korolevskij proposed a plan for the structure and basic functioning of the RR Commission.[594] His idea was surprisingly simple, especially considering the complexity of the ritual controversies in the Ruthenian Church. In its basic outline, it is the plan actually followed by the RR Commission.

3.A.1. Structure and Qualifications

One of the cornerstones of Korolevskij's plan, and probably a key to its success, was the fact that the "Commission" was no such thing. "In commissions, especially if their membership is large, there are always two or three members who do much, and others who do little or just get in the way."[595] Korolevskij speaks of two reviewers[596] doing the work, and a third specialist serving as a final arbiter. The bulk of the work would devolve to the first reviewer, who would reexamine the work of the Lviv Commission and suggest solutions to the difficulties encountered by it.[597] The second reviewer would then check the work of the first, and either confirm it or present dissenting opinions. The two would discuss the matter to achieve consensus. "If this

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[594] Korolevskij, *Voto,* 283-285.
[595] Ibid., 284.
[596] Italian "*revisori.*"
[597] Actually, the basis for the review, as the title of the *Osservazioni* indicates, was the 1929 Lviv Liturgicon, not the work of the Lviv Commission. The latter was referred to only occasionally.

proves impossible, the Sacred Congregation solves the controversy by an authoritative decision."[598]

Korolevskij also proposed a list of qualifications for the two reviewers:

> At least the first would need to be, if possible, not only a practitioner of the Eastern Rite, and fluent in both Greek and Church Slavonic, but also familiar with the general practice of the non-Slavic peoples who follow the Byzantine Rite, or at least be able to personally consult their books. [...] I would not require of the second reviewer the same qualifications as of the first, but it seems to me necessary, if not altogether indispensable, that in addition to a knowledge of Greek, he should have a knowledge of Church Slavonic. It would be better if he were of the Eastern Rite.[599]

Korolevskij recommends neither Greeks nor Ruthenians. The former because "they do not know Church Slavonic and have the major defect of believing that only what they do is done well," the latter "for obvious reasons."[600] At that point Korolevskij praises Raes's study of the Ruthenian Euchologia. To anyone reading these desiderata *post factum*, knowing that the core members of the RR commission were Korolevskij and Raes, it is evident that Korolevskij was strongly proposing himself and the latter. Indeed, Korolevskij's insistence on a knowledge of non-Slavic Byzantine usage, (e.g. Greek, Romanian and Melkite, a knowledge he demonstrated in his *Voto*) would not leave many other candidates. As to the second reviewer, there may have been other candidates among Oriental experts working in Rome at the time, but certainly Raes's familiarity with the Slavic sector[601] made him a likely choice.[602] Besides, if the RV

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[598] Korolevskij, *Voto*, 284-285.
[599] Ibid., 284-285.
[600] "Perchè la cosa va da sè": "it goes without saying": Ibid., 285.
[601] Cf. Raes's *Rituel Ruthène* (1935), which Korolevskij refers to, and *Forma* (1937).
[602] Other candidates might have been J. Schwiegl, S. Salaville and P. De Meester.

Commission had already been formed at that time,[603] and if one can suppose that Korolevskij and Raes were members,[604] this would have made the choice of the same two experts for the RR quite obvious, since many elements of the two projects needed to be coordinated.

The structure of the actual RR Commission did follow Korolevskij's recommendations as regards the first and second reviewers, but differed from it in two respects: first, there was a third member, Basilian Iosyf Zaiachkivskyi and second, he was Ukrainian. As evidenced in the *RR Minutes*, Zaiachkivskyi exercised none of the kind of influence that Korolevskij and Raes had, but he was for them a point of reference on current Ukrainian practice. Almost all of his comments were solicited by the other members, as opposed to being proferred on his own initiative. It is possible that the Congregation considered it proper, or at least expedient, to have a Ukrainian Basilian in the Commission, to neutralize any possible opposition from this quarter.

Korolevskij's reference to excluding Ruthenians as reviewers "for obvious reasons" is not entirely understandable. He himself admitted that several of the Lviv Commission members were well qualified for the job,[605] and one of the "intermediate solutions" mentioned in his *Voto* had been for Rome to furnish the Lviv Commission with new criteria and to have them finish the job.[606] Indeed the failure of the Lviv

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[603] This seems to be the implication of Raes' comment that the RV Commission was constituted (*istituita già*) in 1934: *Attività*, 167.
[604] Korolevskij states that "the two commissions were composed of the same people, simply changing the personnel to represent more particularly one or other of the recensions." *Liturgical Publications*, 393.
[605] Especially Tyt Myshkovskyi, but also Clement Sheptytsky: Korolevskij, *Voto*, 267, 269-70.
[606] Ibid., 128.

Commission (according to Korolevskij's analysis) was due more to their mistaken criteria than to irredeemable incompetence. However, it may be that choosing from one of the Ruthenian factions might have compromised the work *a priori* in the eyes of the other faction. Also, it is possible that none of these men (of the Lviv Commission) would have been available to spend several years in Rome. Korolevskij does not discuss any of these issues. He does, though, place strong emphasis on the principle that the solution to the Ruthenian question should take into account liturgical practice and research from beyond the Ruthenian horizon, and that this lack of familiarity with non-Ruthenian Eastern practice was a weakness of the Lviv group.[607] This was stressed even though the normative criteria aimed specifically (although never exclusively) at recreating the "pre-Union tradition." While T. Myshkovskyi, for example, may indeed have qualified as at least a second reviewer, the line of argumentation in Korolevskij's proposal strongly suggests that he saw himself as first reviewer, and he may simply have had (if indeed he was suggesting Raes as the second) a preference for working with someone familiar to him. It is also probable that he believed that the several factions of the Ruthenians were more likely to accept a solution only if it came "from above."

Tisserant was appointed personally by Pius XI to supervise the work of the RR Commission. While the function of the "final arbiter" (in keeping with Korolevskij's proposal) did not require a detailed knowledge of Ruthenian liturgical matters, but only a capacity to see which opinion was more in conformity with the normative criteria, certainly a personal familiarity with the Ruthenian ecclesial situation would be an asset. It does seem likely that in this sense Tisserant's personal qualifications were at least as

[607] Ibid., 280.

decisive for Pius XI's choice as the fact that he was Secretary of the Eastern Congregation.

Since Sheptytsky's 1929 Liturgicon was at the opening session unanimously established as the basis for the revision (according to Korolevskij's proposal), the three members of the commission were designated specific areas which they were to research: Korolevskij was to compare it to the Greek sources, Raes to the older Slavic sources (Ruthenian and Russian), and Zaiachkivskyi to the recent Ruthenian sources (e.g. 1905 Liturgicon) and to current liturgical practice.[608]

Giuseppe Mojoli took part in several of the initial sessions, but did not figure among the "three members". His role was secretarial, since the *Minutes* record no comments by him. Even so, it seems that after several sessions Korolevskij was writing the final version of the *RR Minutes:* there are frequent references to "the writer [of the *Minutes*]"[609] in a way that could only refer to Korolevskij.[610] In addition, both the *Osservazioni* and the *RR Minutes* are typed in exactly the same format, with a characteristic page numeration which includes an anticipatory repetition of the first word of the following page, and quite likely produced on the same typewriter.[611]

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[608] *RR Minutes*, 6.
[609] "Lo scrivente".
[610] The final (sixty-first) session closes, leaving "the writer" to notify everyone when, according to his judgment, new material has been accumulated to continue the sessions: *RR Minutes*, 312.
[611] The s's and e's have the same defects.

3.A.2. Task and Sources

In his *Voto* Korolevskij was confident that a competent first reviewer would finish the Liturgicon in "a month or two."[612] Such a swift solution would not, however, depend solely on the reviewers' competence. The real secret of the recipe was to have the Roman reviewers follow a completely new set of criteria, which would allow them to steer clear of all the pitfalls that had plagued the Lviv Commission and indeed Ruthenian ritual history. Essentially these were the criteria that Korolevskij had suggested in the *Voto*[613] and which were for all intents and purposes adopted by the Plenary of cardinals on January 10, 1938. Since, at least theoretically, the new criteria accorded privileged status to the period *before* the Union of Brest, the assignment was very different from that of the Lviv Commission, which at every inch of the way struggled to reach a *compromise* between the Easternizers and the Westernizers (both of whom were claiming papal support).

A basic difference between the planned Ruthenian and Vulgate recensions was that while the model for the Vulgate was simply the recently printed Russian Petersburg-Synod editions (presumably after a review of several doctrinal points), the projected model for the Ruthenian recension, namely liturgical practice prior to (or shortly after) Brest, needed to be discovered. Korolevskij admitted that the Roman commission was not in a position to embark on such an assignment, especially as the Roman libraries did

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[612] Korolevskij, *Voto*, 285.

[613] In his *Voto* Korolevskij was careful to propose the criteria as deriving from the suggestions sent in as an answer to the Congregation's questionnaire, from Sheptytsky, Herman, Nyaradi, and Charnetskyi (pp.139-48), even identifying the first eight criteria with their authors. Only the ninth (that Rome should not legislate minute liturgical details, only general norms) is proposed without an author.

not even have any pre-Union Ruthenian liturgical books to refer to. Korolevskij states that he was not aware of any.[614]

True, in the list of Liturgicons that Korolevskij did have access to in Rome[615] there were nine Ruthenian Liturgicons of the seventeenth century,[616] two of which pre-dated the Mohylan reforms: Striatyn 1604 and Vilnius 1617.[617] At least these two would have been arguably credible witnesses for pre-Union practice. Korolevskij chose not to suggest any of these as "basic texts." The question for Korolevskij was whether these non-Catholic editions (especially Kyiv and Lviv) are a witness to the ancient Kyivan tradition. He gives two reasons for his hesitation: first, there is evidence that at least by mid-century, if not earlier, the Lviv editions, for example, were being corrected according to some Greek texts. Second, all these editions are in fact different and "there

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[614] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni,* 12. In his list of sources Korolevskij mentions two Slavic manuscripts in the Vatican Library, Vat. Slav. 9 (twelfth century, Bulgarian recension) and Vat. Slav. 14 ("Sluzhebnik of Isidore," end of fourteenth century or beginning of fifteenth century). Korolevskij does not explain why he does not consider the Liturgicon of Isidore a source for the Ruthenian service, only a useful authority in the case of doubtful variant readings in the Slavic text. Cf. Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 22. Raes published the results of his own investigations into the question in 1942; cf. Raes, *Liturgicon.*

[615] Korolevskij, *Voto*, 149-52. Although the whole list carries the title "Table of Codices and Editions Consulted" Korolevskij explains that it is a list of all editions known to him. He admits consulting only those in Rome.

[616] This is excluding Metropolitan Zhokhovskyi's 1692 Vilnius Liturgicon which Korolevskij vehemently argues against in *Osservazioni,* 12-14 as already full of "hybridisms". The others in the list are: Kyiv 1629, 1639, Lviv 1646, Kyiv 1653, Lviv 1666, 1680, 1691.

[617] There were two 1617 Vilnius Liturgicons: one was printed by the secular press of Mamonych, with the cooperation of Basilians Josaphat Kuntsevych and Lev Krevza. This edition was quite faithful to Ruthenian tradition and was often referred to by Ruthenian Uniate hierarchy as normative for the Uniates throughout the seventeenth century. The second was printed by the Orthodox Holy Spirit Brotherhood. Korolevskij seems not to have been aware of the Catholic edition, but the copy he consulted at the

is no single absolutely official text" among them. Both of these aspects necessitated an in-depth study to be able to identify the sought-for "ancient Kyivan tradition."

It is at this point that Korolevskij introduces Sheptytsky's 1929 Lviv Liturgicon as a trustworthy result of just such a study. He felt he needed to justify this proposal thoroughly, especially since the other Ukrainian bishops of Galicia had "raised a furor" against it.[618] Korolevskij applied all his convincing rhetoric to defend the liturgical, pastoral and scholarly merits of Sheptytsky's Liturgicon.[619] He writes:

> My conclusion is this: not only do I take the Liturgicon of Metropolitan Sheptytsky as a basis for the examination, but I do not intend to criticize it if it is not proved to me, according to the Diataxis[620] or ancient Greek texts, that he is wrong. As to the rest, I admit that he sufficiently represents the tradition of the Church of Kyiv, preserved substantially by modern Ruthenians.[621]

Thus in theory the source base of the RR Liturgicon was the non-Catholic editions up to 1692, whereas Sheptytsky's 1929 Liturgicon was accepted as an expedient synthesis of these. This should not be surprising, since non-Catholic editions were the basis of Pope Benedict's editions and of the planned RV editions. As we shall see

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Oriental Institute was indeed the Orthodox edition. Cf. Huculak, *The Divine Liturgy*, 387-388.

[618] Korolevskij, *Voto* 122-123. In the official circular announcing and explaining the RR no mention is made of the role of the 1929 Liturgicon.

[619] Korolevskij's description of the 1929 Liturgicon consists of one page of five positive points (in which the words "positive point" is repeated five times), and seven pages of criticism "of a general nature" in which he answers possible objections by saying these aspects can be easily corrected in the RR edition.

[620] Korolevskij's challenge is somewhat rhetorical, since he himself explains that the Diataxis, a sort of "General Rubrics" written by patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (1353-1355 and 1364-1378) in order to regulate the services of his day, was copied and reprinted very often, and therefore often modified in subsequent ages according to new developments; this renders any historical reference to the Diataxis a complex matter, especially since there is as yet no critical edition: Korolevskij, *Osservazioni,* 10.

[621] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni,* 14.

further, however, the RR Commision felt that for the review of the calendar it needed a different approach to the sources.

3.A.3. Method

Thus the task of the reviewers was an altogether manageable one: since they could use the 1929 Liturgicon as a trustworthy witness to the authentic Ruthenian tradition, they did not have to embark on a historical reconstruction *ab ovo*, but to determine ("review") whether the 1929 Liturgicon (and correspondingly Sheptytsky's 1925-26 Euchologion[622]) needed adjustment in light of the established RR project criteria. For Korolevskij such adjustment centered primarily on the textual problem:

> In the present collation [i.e. *Osservazioni*] I followed the following rule: since we are dealing not with a critical but with a liturgical edition, aimed at unifying as much as possible the various texts in use by the Slavs, I have not made any comments whenever the Ruthenian recension represented by the Liturgicon of 1929 was in accord with the Slavic Vulgate [Petersburg-Synod] text. A fundamental revision of the Slavic text according to the critical Greek text will be timely only when all the Slavs are united to the Catholic Church — something which for now lies in the future.
>
> Every time the two Slavic recensions were discordant, I attempted to determine which better rendered the critical Greek text, not that of Benedict XIV, which is very recent. In certain cases it seems to me that there can be no doubt, in others it needs to be discussed. The recension which better renders the Greek text, thus determined, must be given preference, unless there is some greater reason for choosing contrariwise (this was the case in only one instance). It would be ridiculous and a profanation to want to force the Ruthenians under the pretext of unification to abandon their reading if it is better than the Slavic Vulgate.[623]

While defending the independence of the ("authentic") Ruthenian tradition in matters of ritual and even formularies, Korolevskij, on the other hand, insisted that where no semantic difference was involved, the texts of RR and RV should be unified as

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[622] Korolevskij admitted that the Euchologion would take longer than the Liturgicon (*Voto*, 285).

much as possible. Since the various Ruthenian editions show numerous insignificant lexical differences, the model text would be the Petersburg-Synod text, except in those instances in which it could be shown erroneous vis-à-vis the Greek.

> I have spoken [about purely lexical variants in the Ruthenian texts] in my *Voto* and I have shown how much they lack continuity and uniformity. Personally, my rule would be the following: to show maximum respect for the textual variants, that is, the formularies that are not found in the Slavic Vulgate, and radically eliminate and conform to the Slavic Vulgate all lexical variants, except in those cases where it is evidently incorrect.

Korolevskij quotes a possible objection that, for example, the Ambrosian Church preserved its own version of the text of the Psalter, different from that of the Roman Church. He answers the objection by insisting that the situation is quite dissimilar. In the case of the Ambrosian Church, its distinct textual and lexical tradition is justified since it clearly has a Rite distinct from that of Rome.

> For the Slavs of the Byzantine rite the situation is not the same: the rite is identical, the original is identical; formularies may be different, but it seems more than strange that for the same text in the same language there should be different versions, which in the majority of cases differ only in words that do not change anything of the meaning. I do not see the need to insist on the difference to that degree, whereas uniformity seems to me desirable.[624]

Korolevskij was convinced that indeed uniformity could be a powerful factor in establishing a sense of unity among Byzantine Slavs, especially Catholics, at least by neutralizing the possibility of polemical tension built on merely textual differences. Even though Korolevskij and the RR Commission granted that the Ruthenians were free to go back to their particular linguistic forms, if they so chose, he felt the effort was worth making because it was a suitable gift that the Holy See could offer the Byzantine Slavic Catholics.

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[623] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 23-24.

3.B. The Procedure and Methodology of the Sessions

While Korolevskij's *Voto* was written as a preparatory work for the creation of the RR Commission and the establishment of its basic norms, his work as the first reviewer of the RR Commission is embodied in the *Osservazioni*. These observations are, therefore, the results of his examination of the 1929 Liturgicon, along with his recommendations, which were then to be reviewed by Raes. The actual sessions of the RR Commission (recorded in the *RR Minutes*) were the forum in which Raes's commentary was presented and discussed and a final decision made – or relegated to another authority: either Tisserant's arbitration, or, as we shall see, to the RV Commission.

3.B.1. The First Reviewer: the *Osservazioni*

At the first session it was agreed that material presented for discussion at each session would be presented at least five days in advance. While there is evidence that Korolevskij's writing closely follows the rhythm of the sessions,[625] nonetheless in some cases at the beginning of his work Korolevskij quotes some (statistical) results that he could have known only if he had already gone through most of it.[626]

One might venture a supposition that Korolevskij typed the final copy of the Osservazioni as he composed them: at the close of page 189 he, as usual, anticipates the first words of the following page, in this case "The Month of September." Actually page

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[624] Ibid., 21.
[625] "[as was decided in the previous session...]"
[626] For example, the above-quoted text about giving preference to a certain textual variant, even if it differed from the Greek: Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 24.

190 opens with "Two more preliminary questions," which occupy most of the page before the title "September" appears in the last quarter of the page.

Regarding the review of the sanctorale in the *Osservazioni*, Korolevskij presents different degrees of conclusiveness: in some instances he is very certain ("to be omitted," "to be preserved," "to be deleted,"[627] "to be cancelled, "to be suppressed"). at other times he voices a suggestion ("[this saint] might be added...", "I would accept...", "I would insert..."). On a number of issues he discusses a point but remains neutral ("...to be decided") and sometimes proposes a compromise ("...with this correction historical criticism is satisfied"). The issue of historical criticism was important to him and he generally expressed himself with greater forcefulness and certitude concerning fanciful and legendary elements to be omitted.

3.B.2. The Sessions: the *RR Minutes*

The working sessions of the RR Commission began on 15 March, 1938,[628] and took place generally once a week or once every two weeks, at Korolevskij's home.[629] On 9 April, 1940 after sixty-one sessions, the work on the Liturgicon (including the Calendar) was finished.[630] Reviewing the calendar occupied the last nine sessions, from 16 January, 1940 to the end.

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[627] Korolevskij often uses the Latin "deleatur".
[628] *RR Minutes,* 1.
[629] The first session was in the Cardinal's office: *RR Minutes*, 269; 1.
[630] The minutes close the sixty-first session with the comment: "And thus having exhausted all the material that pertains to the review of the Liturgicon proper, it is decided that the commission will meet only when, according to the judgment of the writer, there will be sufficient [new] material to deal with." Korolevskij quotes the number of sessions for the Liturgicon at sixty-two (*Liturgical Publications,* 394).

Although the *Osservazioni*, as the work of the first reviewer, would naturally be an integral document of the RR Commission, the *Minutes* are generally written as a self-contained text. Thus, along with each decision they also state its most important arguments. This means that while in the *RR Minutes* we find a great deal of repetition of material found in the *Osservazioni*, sometimes new arguments from the discussions are also included. In the course of the sessions, Raes volunteered several times to prepare additional studies on particular points, which he would present at the sessions and which were added to the documentation of the sessions.[631]

As first reviewer, Korolevskij's role was primary in that it was his comments in the *Osservazioni* that were the object of examination at the sessions. Nonetheless, in the minutes there are discussions about issues not mentioned in the *Osservazioni*.[632] These may have been added orally by Korolevskij or by Raes. Generally there is a good spirit of cooperation and respect among the participants, which was evidently rooted in mutual trust and a common desire to keep the work going. Nonetheless, we do not see evidence of easy concessions. Each of the members (including Zaiachkivskyi) is recognizable in the positions he defends: Korolevskij – on historical criticism, Raes – on a liturgical-pastoral perspective, and Zaiachkivskyi – current Ukrainian usage. The contributions of the last are not very frequent and do not have the weight of authority as do the comments of Korolevskij or Raes, but they were taken into account. An example is at the twenty eighth session: Korolevskij and Raes had already reached an agreement to leave out of

[631] Such, for example, was the general list of saints of the Kyivan Caves Lavra, compiled from various editions, or a study about the sources of the eighteenth century additions to the Ruthenian sanctorale: *RR Minutes*, 268, 301-302.

the Prothesis commemorations both Cyril and Methodius ("introduced after Leo XIII's encyclical *Grande munus*") and Josaphat ("introduced after his beatification by Urban VIII on 16 May, 1643"), arriving thus at a simpler form of the commemorations, ("similar to the 1604 Striatyn Liturgicon"). Zaiachkivskyi intervened, saying he would want them preserved, but no reason is recorded. Tisserant supported this motion, pointing out that Cyril and Methodius are also in the Petersburg-Synod *Proskomidē*, though in a different place, and that "the memory of St. Josaphat is very dear to the [Ruthenian] clergy." The two commemorations were retained [633]

Cardinal Tisserant's role was that of a final arbiter, and this did not necessitate his regular presence at the sessions. During the work on the Liturgicon the sessions were "often presided over" by the cardinal,[634] but after the second session on the calendar, he authorized the Commission to continue working without him.[635] Since unresolved questions were referred to his authority, his was the key presence in the closing session.

The group was flexible in that it was willing to elaborate and adopt additional criteria along the way, as the need became evident, and return and review work that had already been done. For example, when they had already examined the calendar for September to December, Raes pointed out that many of the (non-Slavic) saints Korolevskij was referencing were from late eighteenth-century Ruthenian sources, and agreed to investigate what the origin and value of these additions might be. After Raes determined and reported that they were insignificant and not entirely reliable, the

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[632] E.g. 28 September, about the collective commemoration of the monks of the Kyivan Caves: *RR Minutes*, 262.
[633] Ibid., 130.
[634] Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications*, 394.

members agreed that they can be free to omit these commemorations in the future, and they resolved to review whether previous decisions should be changed.[636]

Two surprising features of the *RR Minutes* are: a) decisions that were made during the sessions that were modified or reversed in the actual RR,[637] and b) additions that were made to the RR calendar with no trace of discussion in the *RR Minutes*. Examples of such changes are additions of both Slavic[638] and non-Slavic saints.[639] These may have been decisions made in the RV Commission (which apparently functioned after the RR Commission), which were then transposed to the RR.

3.B.3. Practical matters

Besides being the first reviewer, Korolevskij also had responsibility for all the practical matters of publication, including format, choice of paper, layout and ornamentation, and oversight of the work at the print shop.[640] Korolevskij often notes the complications that arise in printing such an edition in a non-Slavic print shop. For example, he recommended using page-numeration instead of sheet-numeration, which was the practice in many older editions, because the printers would make too many

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[635] *RR Minutes*, 269.
[636] Ibid., 278.
[637] Some of these instances might have been due to an oversight in the 1942 calendar which was corrected in the 1950 Horologion. For example, during the sessions it was decided not to include the title "archimandrite" for Symeon the Stylite (1 September), as an anachronism. The title appears in the 1942 Liturgicon (and reprints), but not in the 1950 Horologion.
[638] Abraham of Rostov (29 October), Clement of Ohrid (27 July), Michael and Theodore of Chernihiv (20 September), and Wenceslas, prince of Bohemia (28 September).
[639] Nilus of Grottaferrata (27 September), Maron the anchorite (14 February), and Francis of Assisi (4 October).

mistakes in collating and binding.[641] All of this required Korolevskij to make frequent trips to Grottaferrata, about which he regularly reported at the sessions.

Korolevskij also gave final approval to corrected galleys before printing. At the beginning of the project the monastery print shop had only a limited amount of Church Slavonic typeset,[642] with the result that the proofs had to be corrected and printed quickly, so that the characters could be used to compose the next set of pages. Korolevskij asked the other members, and also outside experts, to participate in the proofreading, in order to expedite the work. This concentrated rhythm of correcting proofs and printing sections of the book before the reviewing work had reached its end[643] added an intensity to the work of the sessions. Several times during the course of the work Korolevskij shared with the members of the Commission news from Galicia, especially letters from Metropolitan Andrei,[644] which expresed the urgent need for the

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[640] Both the RR and the RV editions were printed in the Italo-Greek monastery of St. Nilus in Grottaferrata on the outskirts of Rome.

[641] There was in the monastery at that time a group of monks who were recruited from Ukraine (Przemyśl eparchy) for the specific mission of working in the print-shop on these editions (Minisci, 217), so what Korolevskij mentions should not have been a serious difficulty. There did arise a conflict between these Ukrainian monks and Korolevskij, who discovered they tried to introduce some changes into Korolevskij's text on their own judgment, evidently according to current Ukrainian liturgical or philological usage. I received this information orally in the 1980's from Brother Yosyf Leshchyshyn of the Grottaferrata Monastery, who was a participant in the events. Korolevskij finally insisted that (some of) the Ukrainian monks not take part in the project.

[642] The Eastern Congregation financed the acquisition of typographical furnishings for the RR and RV projects; see Teodoro Minisci, "L'Abbazia greca di Grottaferrata," in *La Sacra Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali nel cinquantesimo dalla fondazione (1917-1967)* (Rome, 1969), 217.

[643] Actually the calendar, which occupied the last nine sessions, did not appear in the 1940 abbreviated edition (only the Chrysostom Liturgy), but only in the 1942 full Liturgicon.

[644] *RR Minutes,* 270 (session 55 on 13 February 1940).

liturgical books. Although Korolevskij brought most of the typographical decisions to the sessions for approval, he seems to have known from the beginning what kind of edition he wanted, and this contributed to the fact that the group worked intensely, but apparently without an undue sense of stress or uncertainty.

3.C. The Specific Tasks of the RR Commission regarding the Sanctorale

The criteria drawn up for the general task of the RR Commission, namely, to aim at recreating pre-Union Ruthenian liturgical usage, had ensured that the task could be pursued relatively easily, because it was freed of all the inter-traditional controversies that characterized Ruthenian liturgical history. These criteria could be followed for the wide range of books prepared by the RR Commission. Regarding the calendar, the Commission recognized that it was in a separate category and would not be well served by the general "older is better" norms.

For example, if the aim was to return to pre-Brest usage, the Commission might have used the calendar in the 1581 Ostrih Bible, which is one of the more complete pre-Union Ruthenian calendar documents.[645] But in this case the RR calendar would forfeit several centuries of development within the Ruthenian Church, and also Western historical critical research. Regarding the question of Slavic saints, for example, the Ostrih Bible included Vladimir and Theodosius of the Kyivan Caves, but not Olha and Anthony, both of whom had since entered solidly into the Ruthenian Catholic calendar. The question of whether other Slavic saints in the Ostrih Bible might be included (Sava

[645] This calendar was available to the commission in Martinov's reproduction in his *Annus Ecclesiasticus*, 348-350.

and Arsenius of Serbia, Peter, Metropolitan of Kyiv) would still need to be answered. Similarly, the many minor discrepancies in titles and dates of commemoration between this calendar and recent Roman editions for the Greeks and even the planned RV, would have to be coordinated.

3.C.1. New tasks and criteria

Consequently, Korolevskij argued that, for the calendar, the RR Commission should consider going beyond the fundamental de-Latinization program and the pre-Union criteria and effect a full and proper revision of the Ruthenian calendar. Korolevskij had not mentioned such a project in his *Voto* nor even at the beginning of his *Osservazioni*. It may be argued that Korolevskij himself only came to this conclusion as work on the calendar became imminent. Whereas in the introductory pages of the *Osservazioni* in some matters he gives indications that he already had performed much of the work, the project of the full revision of the calendar is presented a year later as a suggestion to be finalized. Similarly, Korolevskij already mentioned at the beginning of his reflections on the calendar that there are some Western saints that were commemorated in ancient Kyivan sources and that would be worth renewing (Martin of Tours and Julian of Cenomanium in Gaul).[646] However, he does not mention a major feature of the additions to the RR sanctorale, namely, the recently beatified and canonized saints of other Eastern Catholic Churches – an idea which surfaced toward the end of the calendar revision.

[646] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 189.

Although such an additional undertaking might seem overly ambitious in the context of the limited time and resources of the RR Commission, Korolevskij probably judged it was achievable because he planned to carry over to the RR-RV editions the results of a similar revision he had just completed for the Greek Horologion published in Rome in 1937.

Korolevskij broke down the revision of the calendar into three specific tasks. First, to *coordinate* the calendar of the RR with the calendars of the other liturgical books prepared by Rome for the Eastern Churches of the Byzantine tradition, namely the recent Greek Horologion, and the planned RV. Second, to use the occasion to correct or *eliminate* from the sanctorale those elements which most blatantly could not stand the test of historical criticism. Third, to *add* to the Ruthenian calendar saints pertaining to or related to the Kyivan Church, which for various reasons had fallen out of liturgical veneration. Although the calendar of the 1929 Liturgicon would still to be taken as a reference point, it could hardly serve as a model, because its creators did not at all have these objectives in mind.

Since these additional tasks and criteria had not been foreseen originally by the cardinals at their 1938 plenary, they were assessed by the RR Commission itself, modified according to Raes' suggestions, discussed, accepted and implemented under the supervision of Cardinal Tisserant, apparently without recourse to approbation by any more general authority, such as a cardinals' plenary. Thus the calendar is a unique sector of the RR project that was based on norms entirely independent of the general criteria for the RR, norms which were also not mentioned by Cardinal Tisserant in his circular

letter of September 1941 (since the edition of the Liturgicon that was then presented did not yet include the calendar) nor at any later time.

These aims, and the criteria that were developed to achieve them, are the fundamental policies behind the sanctorale of the RR editions. The understanding of these policies is essential for an appreciation of the theological, historical and pastoral value of this calendar in itself as also for the issue of the further development of the sanctorale in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Following is a presentation and discussion of the tasks and norms as presented by the members of the RR Commission. Chapter Four will present and discuss them in their actual implementation.

3.C.2. Concordance with Other Roman Editions.

The first task Korolevskij proposed to achieve in his review of the calendar was to coordinate it with other publications of the Holy See for the Eastern (Byzantine) Catholic Churches.[647] This first task practically does not concern the Slavic saints, but it is important for the relation that Korolevskij establishes among the several traditions involved. There traditionally exists, he explains, among the different Churches of the Byzantine family, a rather close coincidence concerning the major feasts and principal saints, but many differences have crept into local usage regarding lesser saints. Korolevskij gives some examples,[648] pointing out that such is usually the case with saints about whom nothing more than the name is known, and for whom the books do

[647] Ibid., 185-187.

[648] Korolevskij gives examples both where the 1929 Liturgicon concords with the Greek against the Russian text and where it differs from the Russian and the Greek (Roman

not offer any hymnography. Most of these saints appear in lists of names (e.g. a group of disciples of an ascetic or companions of a martyr) and often derive from non-liturgical hagiographic sources. Adjustments of such commemorations will not be very noticeable, Korolevskij argued, but will give the several Roman editions of the Byzantine liturgical books a certain harmony. This last motive does not appear in the presentation of the task, but will appear often in the course of the sessions.

Korolevskij supported his proposition with the example of the Rome 1876 Greek Horologion, prepared by Stefanos Stefanopoulos.[649] In preparing the calendar, Stefanopoulos compared the 1738 Roman (abbreviated) Menaion with Melkite, Romanian and Ruthenian Horologia,[650] giving preference to those saints which enjoyed a wider "extension" of cult. Korolevskij clearly supported this approach[651] and proposed to adopt a similar principle, adding also the historical information offered by Martinov's *Annus Ecclesiasticus* which Stefanopoulos did not use and Delehaye's *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, along with other recent hagiographical authorities.[652]

Korolevskij responds to a possible objection that such a revision would run contrary to the norm of preserving traditional Ruthenian practices, which he himself had energetically argued for: he explains that this would not run contrary to a clear and

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editions), but coincides with the Menaion of Bartholomeos of Cutlumusi: Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 185a.

[649] Stefanos Stefanopoulos was the Greek-Rite ordaining hierarch in Rome and was involved in several Roman Byzantine-rite liturgical projects. He was also the consultor for the Congregation (of Propaganda Fide) for the liturgical section of the Ruthenian 1891 Lviv Synod (cf. Korolevsky, *Metropolitan Andrew*, 423).

[650] Shuwayr, 1822; Blaj, 1835; Lviv, 1847.

[651] "[Stephanopoulos's] primary aim was to arrive at a certain uniformity [...] which for a liturgical edition was the proper criterion" (Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 186).

[652] Korolevskij mentions the *Analecta Bollandiana* and the Vatican *Studi e Testi* series.

established Ruthenian tradition, since even within Ruthenian sources (as among the Greek books) there is a great variety of these details, a variety which often depended primarily on arbitrary choices of individual printers. "Up to now, no authority has ever attempted to establish the calendar in its finest details. This needs to be done."[653]

In a situation where the enormous task of reviewing all the Slavic books was still before them, it is surprising to see Korolevskij so eagerly taking on this additional assignment of reviewing the sanctorale which was not particularly pressing. In his view it was an additional service the Holy See could render to the Eastern Slavs. Evidently he was confident that his recently completed work on the 1937 Greek Horologion could be applied to this project.

Korolevskij admits that the criteria for such a task are not so clear and straightforward, especially concerning authorities. The Russian Synodal ("Vulgate") Menaion is a combination of the older Slavic tradition and the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Greek Venetian editions. He supposes the 1761 Pochaiv Menaion to be of similar origin, though he admits to not being able to verify this. The Greek edition of Bartholomeos of Cutlumusi (Venice, after 1830) had been reworked on the basis of Athonite manuscript material, and had no influence on the Slavic books. The Roman Menaion was even farther from the Slavic tradition since, though deriving from Bartholomeos's edition, it had added manuscript material from the Grottaferrata monastery. Nonetheless these modifications concerned mainly hymnography, whereas,

[653] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 186.

especially in the Roman Menaion, the lists of saints (even those without hymnography) remained intact and could be a point of reference for the Ruthenian calendar.[654]

Korolevskij's final formulation of this first proposal appears to be as moderate as possible:

> The aim of our review, in this point concerning "coordination," is to preserve unity (uniformity) as much as possible, without, however, sacrificing names of Greek Saints that the Ruthenians preserved, when there is no reason to eliminate them.[655]

Korolevskij does not further elaborate on this principle, which makes this seemingly transparent norm both obscure and potentially misleading. It gives the impression that the Ruthenian calendar will be compared primarily to the Greek calendars, whereas, as we shall demonstrate below, in reality the Petersburg-Synod text will be the prime factor in the matter. Korolevskij does not state clearly what a sufficient motive for eliminating a name would be, but since he proceeds to talk about the second task and discusses historical-critical norms for eliminating saints, it may seem that this is what he intended by "sufficient motive."

Raes did not comment immediately on this proposal or its criteria, but in the course of the work realized that for any work on the Ruthenian sanctorale the Commission needed more precise criteria and this in turn required a better understanding of the interdependence of the different editions and of external influences, both from the Russian Synodal and the Greek. He volunteered to make this study and shared his conclusions with the other members of the Commission at the fifty-sixth session: "The

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[654] Korolevskij was quite familiar with the history of the Roman Menaion, presumably from his work on the Roman Horologion of 1937.
[655] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 187.

conclusion is that we are quite free to suppress all the additions [in Supraśl 1793 and later editions] made to the common Greek and therefore to the Vulgate."[656] A slightly longer summary of Raes's results and his recommendations are included in the *RR Minutes* of the sixtieth session:[657] Raes's observations can be summed up as follows:

a) The 1929 Liturgicon contains 112 names more than the Petersburg-Synod text,[658] mostly from November to August.

b) The Russian calendar was corrected several times according to the Greek: in the fourteenth century under Metropolitan Cyprian, again in the Moscow 1682 Typicon.

c) Although a scarcity of sources does not allow a full picture, it seems that the Ruthenian calendar was in accord with the Russian until the 1761 Menaion of Pochaiv, which "departed from the Slavic tradition and followed the Greek quite strictly."[659] After that, beginning with the 1793 Supraśl Horologion, the (non-Slavic) additions are numerous.

Raes therefore makes the following conclusion and recommendation:[660]

> While the Greek calendar is not the ideal, and since the Russians have always referred to it, and the Ruthenians do not have a constant tradition, the argument of uniformity prevails. Therefore, if an addition [in the Ruthenian] is missing in both Greek and Vulgate, it will be omitted; if the Vulgate has it, it will remain; if the Greek has it but not the Vulgate, [retaining] it will depend on whether the Greek is an ancient and constant tradition. Therefore, the basis of the [RR] calendar will be Byzantine, with the addition of specifically Ruthenian saints, an occasional Russian and a Roman Pontiff or Western Doctor [of the Church] or other saint that had to do with the Ruthenian Church.

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[656] *RR Minutes*, 276.
[657] Ibid., 301-02. Unfortunately this study was not published and is unavailable for consultation.
[658] Since 1929 had eleven Slavic saints, the rest of these are of the Byzantine stratum.
[659] *RR Minutes*, 302.
[660] Ibid., 302.

Because this was placed in the *RR Minutes* in the penultimate session, the author of the *RR Minutes* assures the readers that this was indeed the norm that was followed in the whole of the revision of the calendar. This formulation of the norms for the RR calendar fails to appreciate the fact that the Greek witnesses (which are the ones that can support a Ruthenian reading over a Petersburg-Synod one) can be "ancient and constant" only in the case of the more renowned level of saints, which would have already been borrowed by the Petersburg-Synod text. For all purposes, this makes the Russian books, except for exceptional cases, the norm for the RR, and it would have been more precise for Raes to say: "The basis of the [RR] calendar will be the Vulgate, etc." In effect this means, that even if a common "Byzantine Rite" is what the RR-RV project wanted to evidence, notwithstanding the decision to prepare two separate Slavic recensions, the two were not on an equal footing. In several cases a decision was made to modify the RV calendar according to justified variants in the Ruthenian calendar. At the last session this decision was reversed, in order to avoid unnecessarily modifying the RV. Here the uniformity of the RV with the actual Russian Orthodox calendar, even in deteils, was seen as preferable over uniformity with the other Roman editions.

Raes's solution was pragmatic, a manageable way to deal with the basic difficulty in the Ruthenian sources – their variety, in order to achieve one of the primary aims of the RR-RV project – uniformity among Slavic usage. This seems reasonable in view of the fact that most cases in this "coordination" task were supposedly less known or totally unknown saints: in a choice between "uniformity" and these insignificant cases, the latter can hardly pose an argument.

By the same token, the insignificance of these cases could have been an argument to maintain unaltered in this task the norm chosen for the whole of the Liturgicon — to follow Sheptytsky's 1929 edition as a trustworthy representative of the Ruthenian tradition "unless it is proven [...] erroneous."[661] Raes attributed too much weight to the variety in the Ruthenian tradition as an insurmountable difficulty, or surmountable only by molding it according to the Petersburg-Synod text. He seemed to forget that there were just as many variations in the Russian editions before the 1682 Moscow Typicon as there were in the Ruthenian editions before the 1929 Lviv Liturgicon, even if such a "coordinating revision" was not envisioned in the preparation of the 1929 calendar. Korolevskij seems not to have really noticed that Raes' norms had shifted the sense of his own formulation of the task, thereby unnecessarily modeling the RR sanctorale according to the Russian Synodal.

In a way, what Raes did in this coordination scheme was to apply Korolevskij's solution to the problem of lexical variants within the Ruthenian texts (and vis-à-vis the Petersburg-Synod text), namely, to use the Russian text to unify the RR usage. In both instances a secondary aim, here the "coordinating" task, entered into conflict with the primary task of the RR editions, namely, to respect the integrity of the Ruthenian tradition (even if only in a privileged representative – the 1929 Liturgicon), and the secondary aim was without need given priority. Whether the "coordinated" calendar was a more justified result than one which would have noticeably remained with the 1929 model as its basis, is a question which may receive a different answer from the point of

[661] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 13.

view of a Ruthenian, a Russian or a Roman. It can be argued, however, that the very point of having a separate RR edition was not served well by this choice.

3.C.3. Elimination of Fictitious Elements

Korolevskij relates also this second task to his previous liturgical projects, especially the 1937 Greek Horologion.[663] He had also just completed a lengthy work on the brief *synaxaria*, or brief hagiographic notices, for each commemoration. If when discussing the first task, the coordination of the various editions, Korolevskij chiefly supported his position by reference to previous authorities (Stefanopoulos and others), in this question of the elimination of certain names from the calendar he relied strictly on the force of the argument of historical criticism. He presents a double justification: the first, that bolshevik atheistic propaganda often attacks religion in Russia using the argument of "false saints, false relics, false miracles and apocryphal legends that proliferated."[664] This was a very relevant argument, since removal of false relics was one of the pretexts the Communists used to strip churches of their property in the 1920's. And generally any "weak point" in Christian tradition that could be used in atheistic propaganda was better dealt with by the Church. The second argument is a generalization of the first: "The Church has no need of error: when something is surely false or apocryphal, it is necessary to have the courage to remove it. I strongly insist on

[663] Korolevskij also mentioned that not all that he had prepared in this matter was accepted for that publication: *Osservazioni,* 185a.
[664] Ibid., 189.

this point."[665] For Korolevskij the main problem was not a theoretical historical correctness, but a pastoral and spiritual one: "If a tradition is known to be false, it does not edify, but leads one to suppose that other realities and even dogmas do not have a more serious foundation."[666] Besides, Korolevskij pointed out, as in the case of the coordinating task, most of the names involved are part of a list of names and are little known.

Raes's position in this matter is diametrically opposed to that of Korolevskij. His claim is that "in the revision of the liturgical calendar there is no need to pay attention to historical criticism. Otherwise one arrives at unreasonable conclusions."[667] For example, to reject the episode of Veronica in the Way of the Cross because it cannot be confirmed historically "is to rob the Church of a spiritual and living reality which is suggested and symbolized by Veronica. Whether Veronica is a historical or legendary figure is a fact of another order, much less important than the first."[668] Raes offers other examples: whether it's the Virgin's House at Loretto or the apocryphal episode of the gathering of the apostles at the Dormition of the Virgin, it is the religious truth, not the historical truth that is guaranteed by the Church. When this religious truth is threatened or distorted, then the Church should intervene.

The liturgical calendar, Raes insisted, is not only a list of names but a system of commemorations, of anniversaries. Eliminating a name is not only a matter of having one name less, it is a tradition interrupted. "For certian events this interruption of their

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[665] Ibid.
[666] Ibid.
[667] *RR Minutes*, 258
[668] Ibid.

commemoration would cause great scandal." The arguments of a Church historian may be quite valid in themselves, but the liturgical tradition is of a different order:

> The liturgical book has factors of religion, of piety, of tradition to consider that the historical book does not. Today the historian cancels ten saints from the calendar; after twenty years another historian puts back three of them and removes another five.[669]

Raes concludes by recommending "to retain all the saints that are generally admitted, unless it would be impossible to do so for reasons of religion or morals."[670]

The two positions could hardly had been expressed in greater contrast. They reflected the arguments that must have been current also in wider circles, for example, in connection with the Liturgical Movement. The writer of the *RR Minutes* (Korolevskij) concludes tersely: "Evidently two schools [of thought] are present, the historical and the liturgical, and one is free to adhere to one or to the other."[671] Nonetheless, Korolevskij and Raes needed to arrive at a working compromise. They agreed on four rules:

> 1) To accept the traditional menology, without eliminating even apocryphal figures, unless they are supported by only a few witnesses and not the relative majority.
>
> 2) In the nomenclature the most obvious errors of identification or of history can be corrected.
>
> 3) In the case of a personage who truly was non-existent, another saint of the same day and preferably of the same category can be added [from another calendar].
>
> 4) Those personages who cannot be retained for reasons of faith or moral convenience, should necessarily be eliminated or substituted with others.[672]

These rules appear as a model of sagacious compromise, but they are also eloquent proof of Korolevskij's ability to formulate his position according to the sensitivities of

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[669] *RR Minutes*, 259.
[670] Ibid.
[671] *RR Minutes*, 260.
[672] Ibid., 259-260.

his readers and to neutralize opposition. In fact he commented that the first three rules are actually what he had been following. He claimed he did not have occasion to use the fourth rule[673] Here he must have been referring to the 1937 Horologion, because as regards the RR, the majority of those who were eliminated (from Ruthenian or Russian Orthodox editions) were deleted under the fourth rule.

Why did neither Korolevskij nor Raes specifically mention the possible need of eliminating certain Slavic saints, neither here in the discussion on eliminating saints (especially where incompatibility with Catholic faith or morals was mentioned), nor in the following section on adding Ruthenian saints (besides a short comment by Korolevskij that Raes does not even reply to)? In reality, as we have seen earlier, it was a topic that was heatedly debated from at least the beginning of the century, especially in connection with the beginnings of the Russian Catholic Church. The silence of both Korolevskij and Raes on this matter in the initial development of criteria for the calendar may be understood as both of them being in agreement on a certain position, and considering it so evident or necessary that no discussion seemed desirable or even possible. Such a position may have been that which was expressed later by their Roman colleague J. Schweigl.[674]

3.C.4. Addition of Ruthenian Saints

This third task is one of the major contributions of Korolevskij to the RR. Unlike the first two tasks, it does not relate to a previous project that Korolevskij had worked on

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[673] "[...] non ha avuto ad occuparsene." Ibid., 260.
[674] See above, Chapter 1, section B.1.

before, the results of which he could apply to the RR. This task was for Korolevskij altogether new, and as such it required him to thoroughly present his case and its modalities. He does so quite briefly, in less than a page and a half, less than half the space he devoted to presenting the first sanctorale task – coordination. On the one hand this brevity is a positive factor, since it seems to suppose that the reader shares these views as something self-evident and takes it at face value, while on the other hand, as with many of Korolevskij's laconic categorical expressions, they are open to diverse interpretations. The *RR Minutes* did not record Raes's reaction to Korolevskij's presentation of this task, as was the case with the first two tasks; this is probably an indication of his general agreement.

There is another sense in which this third task is unlike the first two. While in theory the Lviv Liturgical Commission might have accomplished the first two on its own,[675] the question of (re-)inserting new Ruthenian saints into the liturgical calendar is something Ruthenian ecclesial authorities would hardly have attempted without authorization from Rome — authorization which Rome would probably have given only if it contributed to or supervised the project quite closely. This was, in a real sense, due to the frame of mind of both Romans and Ruthenians at the time, a service which at that historical moment only Rome could have offered. And since this task (as indeed the revision of the calendar) did not figure in the original charge of the cardinals' Plenary regarding the RR criteria, Korolevskij must be credited with having proposed it and convinced the RR Committee to accept it.

Another particularity of this third task within the RR Commission is that, as we have seen, in all probability the project and its modalities were proposed and accepted solely within the circle and the competence of the Commission itself (obviously, including the Cardinal who was head of the Congregation). It may be supposed that if such a proposition had come from a Ruthenian liturgical commission or ecclesial authority, the decision might have not only involved a wider circle of the Congregation's authorities (possibly even a Plenary of cardinals), but it might also have been seen as transcending the competence of the Congregation for the Eastern Church, which was not authorized to decide on matters of doctrine or matters concerning saints. These, even where Eastern Catholics were concerned, were handled by the Holy Office and the Congregation of Rites respectively. Thus, within the RR Commission this task was formulated, approved and fulfilled in the simplest of manners. Several aspects of Korolevskij's proposition call for a closer analysis.

a) The Ecclesiological Aspect

First of all, Korolevskij establishes as an accepted certitude the legitimacy of Ruthenian sainthood. It is taken for granted, both as a hagiographic fact and a canonical fact. "As all other peoples, the Ruthenians have their own national saints, canonized in exactly the same way as were the saints of the Byzantine calendar, or the Latin saints of the Middle Ages."[676] This is an important ecclesiological statement, which not only posits the hagiographic fact, but, in a way, on the basis of that fact, demonstrates the

[675] In his *Voto* (276-277) Korolevskij expressed doubt as to whether the Ruthenians had scholars prepared for such critical hagiographic work, even if they do already have sufficient libraries.

Ruthenian Church to be on an equal footing with the Greek and the Latin Churches. This equality, being based on the saints, that is, on sanctity, is thereby based on the innermost spiritual core of the Church, its life of grace. Furthermore, this is not only a phenomenological equality, a similarity, so to speak: this Church, just like the others, has its own saints. The equality is also canonically expressed: this Church is (was) fully competent to canonize its own saints.[677]

b) The Ethnic Issues

Korolevskij proceeds to define what he means by Ruthenian saints: "By Ruthenian saints I mean the saints of Ruthenia properly speaking, not of Muscovy, even before the definitive and clear separation."[678] Korolevskij's apparently simple statement is difficult to interpret or appraise because three out of four of its elements are equivocal. "Ruthenia" is a Latinized version of "Rus'," and was usually used for the whole Slavic East, or the Southern and Western parts, but sometimes also for Muscovy.[679] "Muscovy" designated the whole Northern and Eastern Slavic East, but only since the early sixteenth century. Finally, Korolevskij does not specify how far "before" the separation he draws the line.

The only certain phrase in Korolevskij's definition is the "definitive and clear separation," which surely means the division of the single Kyivan metropolitanate into

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[676] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 189.
[677] By his reference to the Latin Middle Ages Korolevskij indicates that he is speaking of "canonization" in the general sense of "glorifying the saints" rather than in the later (Roman) specific sense as distinguished from "beatification".
[678] "[...] separazione definitiva e certa." Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 188.
[679] For example, Possevino in the sixteenth century and Georgius David in the seventeenth century.

two separate metropolitanates: the Northern (Muscovite) and the Southern (Kyivan). This occurred in 1458 with the appointment of Gregory the Bulgarian (1458-1472) Metropolitan of Kyiv by Pope Pius II, in agreement with the Patriarch of Constantinople,[680] after the rejection of the Union of Florence by the the bishops of Moscow's sphere of influence (1441) and the proclamation of Moscow's autocephaly (independence) from Constantinople, by the appointing of a metropolitan (Jonas) without Constantinople's blessing (1448). Korolevskij's implication is that from that point on (1458) Kyiv and Moscow represent two unmistakably different ecclesial realities.[681] All the same, both "Ruthenia properly speaking" and "Muscovy" continue to be equivocal expressions. They need both geographical and chronological determinants.

The papal document appointing Gregory the Bulgarian Metropolitan of Kyiv gives a full list of eparchies which belong to his jurisdiction: (Kyiv), Briansk, Smolensk, Turaw, Lutsk, Volodymyr, Pzemyśl, Chelm and Halych.[682] Generally, the Kyiv metropolitanate coincided with territories within the Polish-Lithuanian territories, the Muscovite, with territories outside. Even so, at an early date Metropolitan Gregory hoped to claim for the Kyiv metropolitanate the eparchies of Novgorod and Tver (outside Lithuania), which took no part in the Muscovite rejection of Metropolitan Isidore (1441), the proclamation of autocephaly (1448) and the confirmation of the same (1459).[683] The division of the metropolitanates continued to follow the political

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[680] Gregory Mammas, who supported the Union of Florence.
[681] Up to that time, metropolitans residing in Vladimir and Moscow since about 1300, continued to use the title "Metropolitan of Kyiv."
[682] *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum,* 1:146.
[683] Ihor Mončak, *Florentine Ecumenism in the Kyivan Church* (Rome, 1987) 199-200 [=Opera Graeco-Catholicae Academiae Theologicae, 53-54].

boundaries when at the beginning of the sixteenth century Tsar Ivan III occupied a third of Lithuanian territory, corresponding to the eparchies of Smolensk and Chernihiv-Briansk.[684] Thus the configuration of the two metropolitanates was rather fluid, and continued to be so, constantly to the detriment of Kyiv. Which configuration was Korolevskij referring to? The reference to the "separation" suggests the configuration of 1458, but Korolevskij's actual choices show he had in mind a later (and wider) understanding of "Muscovy."[685]

Korolevskij not only worked with a wider understanding of Muscovy than that of 1458, but proposed to apply this configuration "even before the separation." How far "before?" If Korolevskij meant from 1240 (the fall of Kyiv) or about 1300 (the transfer of the residence of the Kyivan metropolitans to the North), then pre-Mongolian Kyiv would have been a sort of common foundation for both "Ruthenia" and "Muscovy." But this is not the case since not all pre-Mongolian Rus' saints are in the RR sanctorale. Korolevskij evidently proposed to distinguish "Ruthenian" and "Muscovite" saints from the very beginning of Christian Rus'. In fact this is confirmed by Korolevskij's reference to the Kyivan Borys and Hlib, Vladimir and Olha as "Ruthenian" saints,[686] and by the

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[684] Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform,* 46.

[685] For example, commenting on the commemoration of Theodore, prince of Smolensk (d. 1299) and his sons (19 September), Korolevskij remarks: "They belong rather to Great Russia, so we need not occupy ourselves with them for now." Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 192.

[686] "In their modern publications the Ruthenians preserved some of them [Ruthenian saints]: Vladimir, Borys and Hlib, Olha." Korolevskij, *Osservazioni,* 188. Vladimir appointed his sons Borys and Hlib princes of Rostov and of Murom respectively, the farthest North-Eastern Rus' outposts, but their veneration arose near Kyiv, where they were buried.

fact that most of the Northern and Eastern saints of pre-Mongolian Rus' are not in the RR calendar.

This view of distinguishing Ruthenians and Muscovites *from the very beginning* (even if in this case the latter name is used anachronistically) coincides with what Korolevskij says about the origins of the three Eastern Slavic nations. In his *Voto*[687] Korolevskij speaks of the peoples grouped around ancient Kyiv being united by the name *Rus'*. As the colonists from Kyiv spread toward the North the name grew in extension.

> In time, because of the distance and mixing with numerous Finnish and later Tartar peoples, not only the language in the Northern regions changed, but also the ethnic stock.[688] Thus we have two languages and two ethnic groups,[689] or rather three, because the White-Russians owe their ethnographic existence to analogous factors.[690]

Even if immediately later he criticizes contemporary Ukrainian nationalists for refusing to recognize that "today's Russians, Ruthenian-Ukrainians and White-Russians originally formed a single people," and for claiming Kyivan Rus' (and its saints) to be "Ukrainian," the previous statement shows that he did not see three peoples deriving from a single people, but two being separated from the original stock by language and demographic changes. Korolevskij therefore recognized (both in the *Osservazioni* and the *Voto*) a continuity between Kyivan Rus' and later "Ruthenians-Ukrainians," which was not as immediate in the case of the contemporary Russians and Belarusans.[691]

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[687] Korolevskij, *Voto*, 5-7.
[688] Korolevskij speaks of "la razza."
[689] "[...] due lingue ed anche due razze."
[690] Korolevskij, *Voto*, 6.
[691] Korolevskij's view thus sometimes differs from (but sometimes coincides with) the "common source" theory of classic Russian (and Soviet) historiography.

There was no discussion of Korolevskij's proposed distinction, which implies it was accepted as evident. It appeared to support quite clearly the distinction between the Ruthenian and Muscovite liturgical traditions, which was the programmatic basis for the RR-RV project. But actually, the question of the *distinction* between Ruthenian and Muscovite saints is different from the question of *which* saints should be included in the RR sanctorale. The actual result was that the RR included all the Ruthenian and *some* of the Muscovite saints, while the RV included all the Muscovite saints *and all* the Ruthenian saints. This strongly suggests a view of the Ruthenian tradition as being a part, a segment, of the Russian tradition.

It can be argued that to some extent such diverse perspectives (and proportions) of the Ruthenian and Russian traditions derive rather from the different starting point of the RR and RV sanctorales. For the RR sanctorale, even if the previous sanctorale was consulted, the basic reference point was the 1929 Liturgicon. Therefore, in the RR it was a question of *restoring* to the Ruthenian Catholic sanctorale its omitted saints. On the other hand, for the RV it was a question of which saints could be *maintained* of all those present in the Russian Orthodox calendar.

Actually, such an explanation of the disproportion reveals the double standard that was (intentionally or not) applied to the RR and RV sanctorales. If, as mentioned, the starting point for the RV was the current Russian Orthodox calendar, in which the Commitee examined which saints could be maintained, the starting point for the RR should have been the Lviv and Kyivan Ruthenian Orthodox calendars of the seventeenth century, as witnesses to the fullest development of the Ruthenian Slavic sanctorale before Roman or Muscovite pressure, instead of the latest Ruthenian Catholic sanctorale,

which was the result of the same disfiguring factors that Korolevskij censured so energetically in his *Uniatisme.* Paradoxically, by not recognizing the authoritative value of the Ruthenian Orthodox sanctorale (as analogous to the Russian Orthodox sanctorale) the RR Commission was in fact sanctioning three centuries of "sanctorale *uniatism*" in a liturgical reform that was dedicated to finishing with "ritual *uniatism.*"

Indeed, the question remains, why were only "Ruthenian" saints – ethnically defined – to be restored to the Ruthenian calendar, if the abundant liturgical evidence shows that there was no prejudice against Northern and Eastern Rus' ("Muscovite" in Korolevskij's terms) saints in the Ruthenian calendars, whether in Kyiv or in Lviv, in the period prior to their subjection to Moscow and Rome, respectively. The limitation, in the RR, of the renewed Rus' sanctorale to "Ruthenian" saints – with one exception (Abraham of Rostov) – actually substitutes a wider and integrating Ruthenian calendar and consciousness, based on ecclesial criteria, for a narrower and segregating calendar and consciousness, based primarily on an ethnic principle.

c) The Dogmatic Issues

The main dogmatic problem concerning Slavic saints (from a Roman point of view) was to identify which could be considered Catholic (i.e. in union with Rome) and which were "schismatic" (to use Korolevskij's term). As we have seen above, the question had been treated variously in the previous two or three centuries,[692] but most authors expressed the confessional distinction by a chronological delimitation. Similarly, Korolevskij proposed primarily a chronological criterion. He claimed that Kyivan Rus'

[692] See above, Chapter 1, section B.

was not immediately drawn into the Greek schism of 1054, but remained Catholic at least until the end of the thirteenth century. He argued that until that time there were numerous marriages between the Kyivan Riurik family and the Catholic monarchies of the West. This would not have been possible, Korolevskij contended, were the Kyivan Church considered to be in schism with Rome. Korolevskij therefore proposed to accept as Catholic not only the saints who pre-dated the 1054 schism (Vladimir, Olha, Borys and Hlib), but also those living to the end of the thirteenth century.

> Therefore I believe we can accept all the saints of Ruthenia prior to this date, until we have proof, from their life or from other documents, that they positively [by explicit actions] adhered to the schism. I think we should restore to the Ruthenians their ancient saints.[693]

Strictly speaking, Korolevskij's thirteenth-century limit should be understood inclusively, not exclusively: up to this date *all* should be accepted (unless schism is proven). After this date the presumption of Catholicity becomes more tenuous and would require more positive proof. After he presented the sources where the "ancient Ruthenian saints" are to be found (to be discussed below), he concludes: "All of this [the sources], naturally, has to be used with a critical sense, and many names [of saints] will need to be eliminated. Let it suffice to retain the greatest number possible."[694]

Although Korolevskij does not mention this, his theoretical chronological limit for the Catholicity of the Ruthenian (Kyivan) Church coincides with the date (1299) in which Metropolitan Maximus transferred his see from Kyiv to Vladimir-on-the-

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[693] "[...] mi pare che vale la pena di restituire ai Ruteni i loro antichi santi." Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 189.

[694] "[...] Basta poterne conservare il maggior numero possibile." Ibid., 189.

Kliazma. Maximus's successor Peter (+1326) then transferred it to Moscow, where his successors remained.[695]

In his 1941 study of the question, Schweigl, following Tyszkiewicz, differentiated the matter along more subtle lines altogether, insisting on the need to take into account the category of the saint and his or her life-style; in other words, a case-by-case approach.[696] Writing in 1947 about the Slavic saints in the RV, Raes comments that the saints accepted in the RV pre-dated the Union of Florence (and therefore the rejection of the Union by the Muscovite bishops in 1441).[697] Raes's remark may indeed imply that the RV had a different reference point than the one Korolevskij proposed for the RR, but this would have been due to the RV Commission working after the RR calendar had (generally) been finished. We may suppose that what Korolevskij expressed in his *Osservazioni* was a first orientational approach which the RR Commission started with; that Raes's information corresponds to the final results of the RV calendar; and Schweigl's article sums up the commissions' reflection and developing policy in the matter.

Certainly the Union of Florence is the clearest point of reference as to "confessional" self-determination (in regard to Rome) in the late medieval Rus' Church.

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[695] Actually, the move North was not away from, but deeper into the Mongolian sphere of influence. Donald Ostrowski therefore sees the immediate motivation in the fact that the khan could not restrain the conflicts among local Tartar chiefs which continually threatened Kyiv, but also in the desire to unite the ecclesial center with the political center of the Grand Prince, then in Vladimir. See idem, "Why Did the Metropolitan Move from Kiev to Vladimir in the Thirteenth Century?" *California Slavic Studies* 16 (1993): 83-101. Also see Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform*, 4-5 for a brief discussion of the supposed motivations.

[696] Schweigl, *De Menologio,* 221-228. See Chapter 1, section B.1 above.

But to accept it as such means to necessarily differentiate between the cut-off point (for "presumed Catholicity") for Muscovite eparchies, which would be 1441, and the cut-off point for Kyivan eparchies, which would probably be 1520, when Kyivan Metropolitan Jonas (a Muscovite), severed communion with Rome. In fact this is the understanding proposed by Kojalowicz, and followed by Papebrochius and Kulchynskyi. In this view the Metropolitanate of Kyiv is seen as open to Union with Rome throughout its existence, except for the period between 1520 and 1596,[698] while the Moscow Metropolitanate is seen as against this Union from the beginning of the formulation of its separate metropolitanate. This image strongly contrasts with the actual status of the RR Rus' sanctorale, to which ten Rus' commemorations were added, as compared to the RV Rus' sanctorale, to which, in addition to these, eleven more commemorations were added.

d) Sources for Ruthenian Saints

After the enthusiastic appeal to return to the Ruthenians their saints, Korolevskij offers a short but varied list of sources where they may be found. Hagiographical sources are Martinov's *Annus Ecclesiasticus* and Archimandrite Leonid's *Sviataia Rus'* (Holy Rus'),[699] which Korolevskij describes as "the most complete collection." Orthodox liturgical sources are the 1643 and 1694 Lviv Anthologia, and the 1679 Lviv

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[697] A. Raes, "Libri liturgici in lingua slavica a Sancta Sede editi," *Acta Academiae Velehradensis* 18 (1947): 85.

[698] And except for the parallel Ruthenian Orthodox Church which revived with the creation of the parallel Ruthenian Orthodox hierarchy in 1620 in Kyiv.

[699] Архимандрит Леонид, *Святая Русь* (Holy Rus') (St. Petersburg, 1891).

Horologion, the Catholic ones are the 1761 Pochaiv Menaion, the 1777 Pochaiv Anthologion, and the 1793 Supraśl Horologion.

The two hagiographic sources are the most widely recognized recent hagiographic studies in the Western Catholic and Russian Orthodox spheres respectively. Noticeably there are no Ruthenian sources. Such might have been, even if not recent or of a critical nature, the *Patericon* of the Kyivan Caves, the *Lives of the Saints* of Dmytrii Tuptalo (of Rostov),[700] and the *Specimen* of Kulchynskyi.

The RR documents contain no reference to the *Lives* of Dmytrii of Rostov: possibly it was not available in Rome at the time. The *Patericon* was discredited *in toto* by Korolevskij at the first mention of Kyivan Caves saints in the calendar[701] as historically unreliable. Such a view is in contrast with the extensive discussion and high opinion Martinov accorded it (not without some reserves) in his article on Arethas of the Caves in the *Acta Sanctorum.*[702]

Korolevskij also directly and fully discedits Kulchynskyi (*Specimen*), for having used his liturgical sources "uncritically." He does not explain whether he means this in a historical or dogmatic sense, or both, and indeed he uses the *Specimen* only as a source of information about the 1643 and 1679 editions, without ever discussing any of Kulchynskyi's positions.[703] Korolevskij likewise makes no mention of Papebrochius,

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[700] First printing of the *Patericon* (in Slavonic) is Kyiv, 1661; first printing of the twelve-volume *Lives* is Kyiv 1689-1705. Both have had numerous reprints.
[701] Matthew and Damian, 5 October: Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 194.
[702] Martinov, *Arethas*, 865.
[703] That Korolevskij referred to the *Specimen* continually is certain, since the *Specimen* could have been his only source of information about saints in the 1679 Typicon, for example, about the above-mentioned Matthew and Damian, listed "only by the 1679

who in his *Ephemerides* ventured a tentative list of "saints proper to the Ruthenians," which was commented on in detail by Kulchynskyi. Possibly Korolevskij considered Martinov's *Annus* a sufficient summary of all previous Bollandist studies.

The Ruthenian liturgical sources Korolevskij proposed are an interesting balance between older sources (1643, 1679, 1694), which are Orthodox, and more recent sources (1761, 1777, 1793), which are Catholic. The choice of the first group as a source for Rus' saints is evident, since these editions contain a large number of Slavic and Rus' saints. The choice of the second group for this purpose is questionable, except maybe to demonstrate how few of these saints remained in the Uniate editions.[704]

Without the three major Ruthenian hagiographic sources (Catholic and Orthodox) mentioned above, the RR Commission had no authoritative statement by Ruthenians on what they themselves considered their Slavic sanctorale should look like. Consequently, the RR Commission evaluated and interpreted the Ruthenian liturgical sources, especially those that contained many Slavic saints, according to criteria that nominally aimed at a certain scholarly objectivity, but in fact disregarded the Ruthenian tradition itself, or rather that part of it which was least influenced by a "uniatist" understanding of the dogmatic, historical and ethnic issues involved. Accordingly, Korolevskij's intent "to retain [in the RR] as many [Ruthenian saints] as possible,"[705] appears a great step forward in comparison with much Western theological thought at the time, but

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Typicon." Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 194. On the problematic issue of Kulchynskij's references to the 1679 Typicon, see above, Chapter 1, section B.3.c.

[704] The 1777 Pochaiv Anthologion has several improvements over the 1761 Pochaiv Menaion: Nikon of Radonezh (17 November) and additional secondary commemorations for Borys and Hlib (5 September and 2 May) and Theodosius (14 August). Theses editions are discussed above, in Chapter 1, section A.3.b.

considerably less so in the light of major witnesses of the Ruthenian hagiographic tradition, both Catholic and Orthodox.

[705] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 189.

Chapter 4: The Sanctorale of the *Recensio Ruthena*

The Slavic saints of the *Recensio Ruthena* will be considered in groups according to whether they were accepted (4.A), relegated to the RV (4.B), or simply rejected (4.C) by the RR Commission. In addition, there is a group of saints not discussed in the available documentation, which did enter the RR (4.D).[706] Within each group the modalities of their acceptance or rejection (who proposed, with what motivation, etc.) will be discussed. Each of the groups of saints will be discussed in the light of hagiographic and liturgical sources, especially as presented by authorities that the RR Commission had access to (e.g. Bulgakov, Golubinskii, Martinov, Archbishop Sergii[707]). While in the course of its work the Commission examined each of the commemorations on its own, mentioning sporadic details about each, considering them in groups will help grasp more comprehensively the specifics of each group. The aim is to determine the theological, liturgical and historical criteria the Commission followed in order to have a fuller understanding of the choices it made. Korolevskij almost "commissioned" such an analysis, as a fundamental requirement if the liturgical and hagiographic initiative of the

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[706] A grouping according to the *results* of the Commission's work – who entered the RR, who was immediately rejected, and who did not enter after discussion – would be slightly different but would call for a discussion of a wider factual basis of liturgical evidence than is foreseen for this study. Our choice reflects the basic character of this study as a study of the RR sanctorale, rather than a study of the Ruthenian sanctorale itself.

[707] Bulgakov (*Настольная книга*) presents all the saints of the official 1891 Russian Orthodox calendar (*Месяцеслов всех святых*), noting which saints have services in the Menaion, and which do not. His edition also includes the locally venerated saints according to the *Верный месяцеслов всех русских святых* (Reliable calendar of all Rus' saints) (Moscow: Synodal Typography, 1903). In addition, he offers a summary of

RR editions were to be pursued.[708] Finally (4.E), we will review the liturgical and hagiographic factors that the sanctorale makes use of to present to the faithful a dynamic and effective icon of the Company of Saints.

While our primary interest is in the Slavic saints of the RR, the other (extra-Byzantine) saints that were added, or rejected, to the RR sanctorale will also be examined, since the additions (or rejections) as a whole offer a total picture of the RR Commission's policies.

4.A. Saints accepted by the RR Commission

Although the 1929 Liturgicon of Sheptytsky did not formally figure as a basis for the RR sanctorale in the measure that it did for the RR Liturgicon in general, in order to determine more fully the RR's specific contribution, the saints who were included in the RR edition will be examined according to whether they had been in the 1929 Liturgicon or not. In the latter case, they will be examined according to who suggested them (Korolevskij or Raes), even if they were later rejected.

4.A.1 Saints that were in the 1929 Liturgicon

Borys and Hlib (24 July), Anthony (10 July), Theodosius (3 May), Vladimir (15 July), Olha (11 July), and Josaphat (12 November).

The saints of this category include the classical Uniate "Kyivan Six:"[709] Borys and Hlib (d. 1015), Anthony (d. 1073) and Theodosius (d. 1074), Vladimir (d. 1015) and

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historical information. For Golubinskii (*История канонизации*), Martinov (*Annus*), and Archbishop Sergii (*Полный месяцеслов*), see Chapter 1, section A.2.a above.

[708] Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications*, 394-395.

[709] The only ones to remain after the purges of the eighteenth century.

Olha (d. 969), – and Josaphat (d. 1623). All these were proposed by Korolevskij as undoubtedly to be included in the RR, and the proposals were accepted with no comments by the Commission. For the Kyivan Six there was practically no discussion, but in each case the "Vulgate," or the "whole Slavic tradition" was referred to. For Josaphat, Korolevskij commented only that 12 November was the day of his death, therefore this was the correct date for the commemoration,[710] contrary to the dates established by the Synods of Zamość (16 September) and Lviv (12 November, *Gregorian*).[711] No mention is made of hegumen Clement's suggestion of 2 November.[712]

For 10 July (Anthony) the *RR Minutes* record a remark not made in the *Osservazioni*, but quite likely belonging to Korolevskij, about the form of the adjective for "Rus'" used in the captions of Anthony and the other early Kyivan saints:

> In order to avoid possible exaggerations of the [Ukrainian] nationalists, the Ruthenian wording [in the liturgical looks] will be changed, and [the caption for] St. Anthony will be similar to the Vulgate: *pecérskago, kìevskago*, and for St. Olga as the [text of the] Metropolitan: *knjagìni kìevskyja,* and the same correction will be proposed for the Commission of the Vulgate, to prevent having the Ukrainian nationalists one day inserting *ukràinskyja* instead of *rossìjskija.*[713]

The issue is a complex one, involving political and cultural aspects, with historical and philological nuances. The earliest forms of the adjective were variants on "руский" as found in the first sentence of the "Primary Chronicle" according to the Hypatian version. In the seventeenth century, Lviv and Kyiv were experimenting with adapting

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[710] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 202-203.

[711] This was changed to 12 November (*Julian*) by a joint decision of the three Ruthenian ordinaries in 1900: *Типік церкве руско-католическія списано в Ісідора Дольницкаго* (Typicon of the Ruthenian Catholic Church, copied from Isidore Dolnytskyi) (Lviv, 1899), 545, n. 1.

[712] See above, Chapter 1, section B.5.d

hellenized forms of the term, often having several forms in the same text; some of the more popular results were "Росскый"[714] and "Россійский."[715] In the early eighteenth century, even when Tsar Peter I began more systematically to use Россія in Russian and the latinized form "Russia" instead of "Moscovia," the usage in Ruthenian (non-Muscovite) territories continued as before.[716] Likewise, most of the Uniate and Orthodox populace in the Kyivan metropolitan province called themselves "руський," with several variants in the spelling.

The question became acute in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Galicia, when many intellectuals, reacting against aggressive polonization, polarized into "Muscophiles," who called for cultural and political allegiance with tsarist "Great Russia," and "Ukrainophiles" or "populists," who shunned such allegiance.[717] The former were often pro-Orthodox, the latter, markedly Greek-Catholic. In recent times, therefore, the term "руський" in its several spellings[718] could simply denote a historical name, or a political and confessional manifesto.

Korolevskij was certainly aware of the tensions around the term, and would have definitely sided with the Muscophiles, at least on a cultural plane. By the 1930's the Muscophiles had lost ground, and Korolevskij's remark reveals that the issue was for

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[713] *RR Minutes*, 294.
[714] E.g. Lviv 1638 Anthologion, f. 434r, (with the correspondent "Рóссія," f. 440). "Росстий" appears on the same page.
[715] Common in Mohylan publications. See also the Kyiv 1680 Anthologion (f. 404, with "Росскый" on the previous page.
[716] Cf. "Россійский" in the 1777 Pochaiv Anthologion (f. 436 and *passim*).
[717] An intermediate group, the "Old Ruthenians," were simply Galician conservatives with a strong regional identity. They resisted an evolution toward Ukrainianism, while also refusing to ally themselves with Russia.

him more than an academic question. The popular "Ukrainianizing" of the saints of Kyivan Rus', although terminologically open to criticism, is in itself about as harmless as archbishop Sergii's identifying fourth- century Tours with "France," or the popular inclusion of St. Martin among "French" saints. The derisive form of Korolevskij's comment (he creates an exaggerated imaginary situation of a calendar caption with the term "Ukrainian" for the Kyivan saints, then ridicules it) shows that in his proposal he is more intent on propounding a cultural (or political) preference than historical accuracy. As a final result, the RR captions mention Kyiv twice (for Anthony and for Olha), with no "руский" or cognate adjective, as compared to the 1929 Liturgicon that mentioned Kyiv once (for Olha), and "князей русьскыхъ" for Borys and Hlib at 2 May, a commemoration that was dropped for the RR. Thus, while the "Rus'" tenor of the sanctorale diminished somewhat, the "Kyivan" increased.

The RR Commission also addressed the question of the order in which the Slavic saints should be placed in respect to the original "Byzantine" group of saints of the respective day.[719] Generally, the Slavic tradition was to place all native additions after the original "Byzantine" group, even if the addition received a higher liturgical rank than the original group.[720] For the major Kyivan saints the 1929 Lviv Liturgicon (the

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[718] The use of two "s"s, especially without the soft sign (the form commonly used in the Russian Empire), would usually spark harassment from the Austrian authorities.

[719] *RR Minutes*, 281, about half-way through its work, after September to February had already been examined.

[720] The "Byzantine stratum" in the Ruthenian calendars certainly did not comply to a principle of primacy according to the saints' chronological order, but it remains to be investigated whether there was a primacy of the order of entry into the calendar itself, at least among saints of the lower and equal ranks. Rarely within the "Byzantine stratum" is a higher-ranking saint entered after a lower-ranking one. An exception is 30 January, where the minor commemoration of Hippolytus of Rome is often listed before the major

Commission says "the most recent Ruthenian editions"[721]) followed a different policy, not only placing the Slavic saints first, but explicitly displacing the original saints to Compline or to another day.[722] Such an entry not only reflected more precisely the actual liturgical usage, but was a step toward "assimilating" the Byzantine sanctorale into the Slavic realm, or, conversely, giving the Slavic saints equal citizenship in the Byzantine calendar. Raes, on the contrary, saw this inversion as an imitation of Latin usage, but did not offer a fuller explanation. After considering whether the old order actually causes any confusion, the Commission "decided unanimously to return to the traditional order preserved by the Vulgate."[723]

Compared to Lviv 1929, the liturgical ranks of this group in the RR are slightly higher: 1929 alloted the "*polyeleos*" rank to all these Kyivan saints, except to Olha, the translation of Theodosius (14 August) and the Lithuanian martyrs, the three of which are of the lowest rank and are entered as second after a primary commemoration. Only Josaphat received the "vigil" rank, the highest allotted to saints (e.g. Peter and Paul).

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commemoration of the Three Hierarchs, established in 1084 – among the latest in the Byzantine stratum of the Slavic calendar. Cf. С. Булгаков, *Настольная книга,* 64.

[721] This was also the case in Dolnytskyi's authoritative 1899 Typicon.

[722] So for Borys and Hlib (24 July), Anthony, Theodosius (3 May), and Vladimir. Olha was placed as a second commemoration, as was Borys and Hlib (5 May) and Theodosius (14 August, translation), after the Forefeast of the Dormition. Only Josaphat was appended after the original group, but his commemoration, according to the Lviv 1891 Synod, was to be transferred to the following Sunday as a mark of liturgical distinction.

[723] *RR Minutes*, 281. The older system certainly did not cause any real confusion in the commemorations, but it did contain an inherent irregularity. For example, in the 1777 Anthologion for 14 October the venerable Parasceve is listed as the second of two commemorations, but in the service itself, which combines both commemorations, she holds first place. The new order was adopted by the Moscow Patriarchate in the full Menaion printed in 1981.

The RR reflects this except that Vladimir gets the highest rank along with Josaphat[724], and Olha gets a slightly higher "non-polyeleos" rank than the others.

Lithuanian martyrs Anthony, John and Eustathius (14 April)

For the Lithuanian martyrs Anthony, John and Eustathius (d. ca. 1347), Korolevskij referred to Martinov for the biographies, but also mentioned that their bodies lay (and apparently were therefore venerated) in the Vilnius Holy Trinity monastery, in which St. Josaphat was a monk. The Commission agreed to include them "even though they are from 1347."[725] This comment may indicate that the date was after a cut-off date the Commission had considered for including saints of early Rus'.[726] The further comment that these martyrs are also venerated by the Poles seems to be intended to offer unquestionable proof of Catholic veneration.

The martyrs are noted as being in the entire Ruthenian tradition, except Pochaiv 1761, "which followed the Greek very closely".[727] As in most Ruthenian sources, including the 1929 Liturgicon, the RR titles the martyrs only "newly-revealed" (*novoiavlennii*), while "Lithuanian" and "Vilnius" are only mentioned in the hagiographic note.

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[724] In the RR the highest (vigil) rank of saints is distinguished from the vigil of Dominical and Marian feasts. In the 1929 Liturgicon they are the same.

[725] The RR Horologion of 1950 gives 1342 as the date of death, following Martinov (*Annus*, 109), who gives 1347 as the date of canonization by Alexis, metropolitan of Kyiv.

[726] Actually, no such date appears in the RR documentation. The Lithuanian martyrs are the most recent Rus' saints in the RR. The most recent Rus' saints in the RV are Sergius and German of Valaam (ca. 1353), Sergius of Radonezh (1392), and Stephen, bishop of Perm (1396).

[727] *RR Minutes*, 285. They are missing in the 1888 Horologion and the1899 Typicon.

Besides the above-mentioned seven commemorations which the RR replicated, the 1929 Liturgicon had included a second commemoration of Borys and Hlib – the translation of their relics in 1115, at 2 May – which the RR dropped.

4.A.2 Saints that were not in the 1929 Liturgicon

a) Saints Proposed by Korolevskij

Stephen, bishop of Volodymyr of Volyn (27 April), Cyril of Turaw (28 April) and Euphrosyne of Polatsk (23 May)

There are three Kyivan-Rus' saints that were proposed by Korolevskij: Stephen, bishop of Volodymyr of Volyn (d. 1094), Cyril of Turaw (d. ca. 1182) and Euphrosyne of Polatsk (d. 1173). Korolevskij presented all three in a tentative mode[728], which is understandable, since prior to April many of the Slavic (even specifically Kyivan) saints had been relegated to the RV Commission. Nonetheless the Commission accepted these three without any hesitation.

Korolevskij makes no comment on Stephen; he simply refers to Martinov for the biography, as he also does for the other two. The Commission expresses the need to verify (for the caption) whether the term "*Volinskii*" was used during the life of the saint. About Euphosyne, Korolevskij mentions her pilgrimage and death in Jerusalem. The Commission accepted her without comment.

Korolevskij gives the most information about Cyril: that he was "the greatest Russian preacher of the ancient period," that Turaw is near Minsk in Belarus', and especially that he examined Cyril's works and found that on the Trinity and the

Eucharist there was nothing contrary to the Catholic faith. In fact Cyril "seems not even to have suspected the Byzantine controversies about the Holy Spirit and the azymes."[729] Nevertheless he leaves the question open as to whether they should assign Cyril rather (!) to the RV. The Commission decided to accept him for both recensions,[730] repeating the observation that his works contained nothing contrary to the Catholic faith. This note about the examination of the works is significant not only because it is exceptional (no other literary works of other Slavic saints are mentioned),[731] but also because this exceptional literary evidence of Kyivan Rus' is fully cleared of any suspicion against orthodoxy.

Contrary to his usual practice, Korolevskij does not mention whether or not he found these three in any Ruthenian sources. He also does not explicitly appeal to the Petersburg-Synod text, although that can be presumed. For Euphrosyne he might have mentioned as a Ruthenian authority Kulchynskyi, who quoted the Lviv Anthologion of 1643 and Horologion of 1679, but also the extensive biography by Stebelskyi (mentioned in Martinov),[732] at least as an indirect witness to veneration.

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[728] E.g. "Si potrebbe forse introdurre[...]" (We might maybe introduce...), Korolevskij, *Osservazioni,* 220.

[729] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 221.

[730] *RR Minutes*, 287. This is a rare case of the RR Commission deciding on a saint for the RV.

[731] Korolevskij did not mention at all the controversial anti-Latin works attributed to Theodosius of the Kyivan Caves. Senyk (*History*, 320-321) refutes this attribution, as did Papebrochius earlier (*Ephemerides,* xxix), but both do so primarily on the assumption that such polemics are not in conformity with the evangelical spirit of Theodosius. See Senyk *History*, 316-326 for polemical literature in early Rus' in general.

[732] I. Stebelskij, *Dwa wliekie światła na horzyoncie Połockim czyli Żywoty śś. panien i matek Ewfrozyny i Paraskewii zakonnic i Hegumenij* (Two great luminaries on the

Golubinskii counts Euphrosyne among the "Kyivan saints" since she is among the saints buried in the Farther Caves in Kyiv.[733] She is present in the Kyiv 1619 Anthologion and the Lviv 1642 Horologion, but absent in later Orthodox Anthologia (Lviv 1638 and Kyiv 1680) and Gospels (Lviv 1636, 1670), as also in the Uniate Pochaiv 1777 Anthologion. Archbishop Sergii finds her in the Macarian Great Reading Menaion and in seventeenth-century Muscovite printed sources,[734] but Golubinskii does not list her among the saints canonized by Macarius in 1547 and 1549. The four liturgical sources Martinov quotes for Euphrosyne are contemporary (nineteenth century) Russian and Serbian books, but he indicates ten historical and hagiographical sources, including the Catholics Kojalowicz, Kulchynskyi, and Stebelskyi.[735] The *Acta Sanctorum* note that Euphrosene was "venerated by Catholics and others."[736]

Zacharias Kopystenskyj lists Cyril of Turaw in his *Palinodia*, an Orthodox polemical work.[737] Golubinskii explains that Cyril one of the "local" saints Kopystenskyi added to a longer list of saints borrowed from a Moscow source.[738] Cyril is found in several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Muscovite sources.[739] Golubinskii admits he was not able to ascertain whether there was in his day any veneration of Cyril,

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Polatsk horizon, or, the Lives of the holy virgins and mothers Euphosyne and Parasceve, nuns and hegumenias) (Vilnius, 1781-1782. Reprint, Lviv, 1866).

[733] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 212.

[734] Typica of 1648, 1659: Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:154.

[735] Martinov, *Annus,* 137-138.

[736] *Acta Sanctorum,* vol. 18, *Maii tomus 5*, 234.

[737] For the *Palinodia* (Kyiv, 1621), see above, Chapter 1, section A.4.a.

[738] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 427.

[739] A Rumiantsev collection manuscript (322) and the printed Moscow Prologs of 1621 and 1643: cf. Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 2: 124.

except for an indication (1864) of a local veneration in the eparchy of Minsk, which incorporated the ancient eparchy of Turaw.[740]

The evidence Archbishop Sergii adduces for Stephen is several sixteenth-century Muscovite calendars, the *Lives* of Dymytrii of Rostov and the collection *Kniga glagolemaia: opisanie o rossiiskikh sviatykh* (A book named: a description of Russian saints),[741] both from the eighteenth century. Khoinatskii notes two commemorations of Stephen: 27 April, which is the day of Stephen's death, and 10 October (a joint commemoration of the Volyn saints).[742]

Therefore the Ruthenian sources are rather scant. All three names are in the official Russian Orthodox "Calendar of All the Saints" (1891), but as local saints, that is, neither of the three are in the Menaion or entered into the list Golubinskii considered normative.[743]

The inclusion of these three saints into the RR invites at least two comments. First, by accepting saints for the RR who have little or no Ruthenian (Catholic) liturgical evidence[744] (unlike the case of the saints known to have been eliminated, like those listed by the 1738 circular of Metropolitan Atanasii Sheptytsky), the Commission took upon itself the role of adding to the Ruthenian Catholic calendar saints who may never

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[740] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 140, n. 2.
[741] *Книга глаголемая: описаніе о россійских святых*. For a description of the work, see Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 1:380-383.
[742] This second commemoration was originally established on 25 May in 1866 to mark the miraculous deliverance from danger of Emperor Alexander on that day in Paris. After the death of the Emperor the date was changed to 10 October, the day of the return of the Pochaiv Lavra to the Orthodox Church. See Хойнацкий, *Православие на Западе России*, 489, n.1.
[743] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 256-258.
[744] Besides the inclusion of Euphrosyne by Kulchynskyi.

have been there. On the one hand this is nothing other than what Kyivan or Lviv publishers of liturgical books had been doing all along, with or without the mandate of ecclesial authorities. On the other hand, this is a unique case of a legitimate (delegated) ecclesiastical authority, formulating the ethno-geographic features of the sanctorale of the Ruthenian Church without the participation of that Church. In fact, such a development, which is the foremost contribution of the RR to the Ruthenian sanctorale, was an aspect of the RR revision foreseen neither in any of the preparatory consultations with the Ruthenian hierarchy, nor in the directives of the cardinals' Plenary. This was probably the first time a Western ecclesiastical or theological authority was involved not in deciding who should *not* be in the Ruthenian Catholic calendar, but who *should* be.

Second, by accepting these saints about whom there was little or no evidence of a "Catholic cult" the Commission seems to have departed from one of the basic criteria of the *Acta Sanctorum*, which included in the main entries only those saints about whom there was evidence of such veneration. While the aims and methods of the *Acta Sanctorum* and the RR were different (as a liturgical text, the ecclesial status of the RR is greater), they were similar in that their mandate was not to declare or prove sanctity, but to determine whether the Church had already declared sanctity by a legitimate liturgical cult. Without such evidence, the inclusion of saints would be nothing other than their canonization, which was certainly not what the RR Commission intended.

The inclusion of these saints by the RR should not be seen, therefore, as disregarding such a principle, but as equating the witness of Orthodox liturgical cult to that of Catholic cult. In other words, while for the *Acta Sanctorum* the criterion for fully legitimate sainthood remained the "Catholic cult" (however that be established or

defined), for the RR it was simply a cult — be it Catholic or Orthodox. If we may allow for some influence on Korolevskij of the views of Leonid Fedorov and Metropolitan Andrei about the legitimacy of the Russian (Orthodox) saints[745], we may venture that he was consciously suggesting this view to the Commission. The neutral and hesitant manner in which he proposed these saints may indicate his uncertainty and caution about how it would be accepted. The fact that they were accepted without opposition indicates that the Commission accepted in principle the validity of Orthodox veneration as a legitimization for Catholic veneration.[746]

Consecration of the Church of St. George in Kyiv (26 November)

In proposing the commemoration of the Consecration of the Church of St. George in Kyiv,[747] Korolevskij referred to the Lviv 1694 Anthologion for liturgical evidence. He emphasized that the Anthologion had a particularly well-formulated caption.[748] As an additional argument for the inclusion of the commemoration he added that this church is still standing in Kyiv.[749] The Commission accepted the proposal without discussion, but

[745] See Chapter 1, sections B.5.a-b above.

[746] The RR documentation does not put this in such explicit terms, but members of the Commission (especially Korolevskij) would surely have known about the discussion at Velehrad and the controversy around the practice of the St. Petersburg Russian Catholics.

[747] The church was dedicated to St. George, the patron saint of prince Iaroslav the Wise according to his baptismal name. The precise time of the consecration is uncertain; Loseva suggests during the tenure of Metropolitan Ilarion, ca. 1051-1054. This was just several years before the consecration of Holy Sophia, ca. 1055, the commemoration of which was not as widespread. Cf. *Русские месяцесловы*, 95-96.

[748] "The consecration of the Church of the holy great-martyr George, which is in Kyiv, before the gates of Holy Sophia, at the Golden Gates (оу златыхъ вратъ)."

[749] The medieval church in fact was not extant. In the seventeenth century a wooden church was built on the spot, later replaced (1744-1752) by a brick church. This last was demolished by the Soviets in 1934: Тит Геврик, *Втрачені архітектурні пам'ятки Києва* (Lost architectural monuments of Kyiv). (New York: Ukrainian Museum, 1982)

noted that the caption should be "as it is in the Vulgate." The only difference between the two captions is that some editions of the Petersburg-Synod text lack the additional phrase "at the Golden Gates." The Commission may have had doubts as to the topographical accuracy of the Lviv description.[750] There is today a "George's Lane" in the 500 meters between the church of Holy Wisdom and the Golden Gates.

Loseva points out that the Rus' princes were aware of the Byzantine practice of establishing the commemoration of the consecration of important churches as a way of underlining the ecclesial importance of the city itself, and adopted this practice in Kyiv, Novgorod and other centers.[751] Thus, besides the Church of St. George, Kyiv had several other similar commemorations: Holy Wisdom (under Olha) in 952 (11 May), the Tithe church (12 May), Holy Wisdom under Iaroslav the Wise (4 November).[752]

Loseva suggests that besides the prestige of Kyiv it was the popularity of St. George that contributed to the immediate and extensive spreading of the feast of 26 November both in Rus' and as far as the Balkans. Within a few decades this commemoration appears in the eleventh-century Balkan glagolitic Assemani Gospel and

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20. Korolevskij evidently did not know of the demolition. Bulgakov was probably referring to the medieval church when he noted that "its remains were not preserved to our day." *Настольная книга,* 475.

[750] The Commission was justified in its caution about the enigmatic phrase. An example of an erroneous interpretation is "The consecration of the church of St. George, which is in Kyiv, over the gate before the church of Holy Wisdom); Ю.-М. Левицький, *Святі Київської Церкви* (Saints of the Kyivan Church) (Kyiv, 2000) 109. Levytskyi was assuming the church of St. George was like the Annunciation church over the Golden Gates, or the Trinity church over the entrance to the Caves Lavra.

[751] Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 89.

[752] Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 88-100. Of these the official Russian Orthodox Calendar of 1891 retained only the St. George commemoration. Cf. С. Булгаков, *Настольная книга,* 475. The commemoration of the consecration of the Dormition

is popularly referred to (with evident agricultural connotations) as the "Autumn George" in a twelfth-century Novgorod chronicle.[753] The popularity must have soon waned (probably due to the fall of Kyiv), since Archbishop Sergii's only reference, besides the Assemani Gospel, is a single thirteenth- or fourteenth-century Prolog.[754] In view of this, its reappearance in the Kyiv and Lviv editions is notable.[755]

Unlike the previously examined group of saints that might have been disputed on several counts, there could hardly have been any objection in the RR Commission to this commemoration, except the fact that it was not the memory of a saint but of an ecclesial event of supposedly outdated significance. In fact, although the full motivation is not recorded, by accepting this commemoration the Commission recognized that this was an event of timely and more than local significance.[756] By reintroducing into the Ruthenian Catholic calendar this commemoration, which had been lost along the way for unknown reasons,[757] the RR offered the Ruthenian Catholics an additional tangible expression of their historical links with the Church of ancient Kyiv.[758] Unfortunately, when considered in the light of the fact that many other Kyivan commemorations, especially that of the

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church in the Caves Monastery (14 August) seems a later introduction: Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:246.

[753] Cf. Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 95-98.

[754] Moscow Synodal 239: *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:366.

[755] The 1619 and 1680 Anthologia, the Lviv 1638 (and following) Anthologion and 1642 Horologion.

[756] By comparison, the group commemoration of the saints in the Nearer Kyivan Caves was at first refused by the RR Commission at the first session, as a "purely local feast." *RR Minutes*, 262.

[757] It was never officially excluded, as were the commemorations of the monks of the Caves Lavra by the 1738 circular of Metropolitan Atanasii Sheptytsky.

[758] It also added support to Korolevskij's description of the Ruthenian Church as the heir of the Kyivan liturgical tradition.

monks of the Kyivan Caves, were not reintroduced, this link ended up being rather isolated.

John of Rila (19 October)

The only other Slavic saint proposed by Korolevskij (according to available documentation), is John of Rila in Bulgaria (d. 946). For liturgical evidence Korolevskij quoted Ruthenian Orthodox sources: Kulchynskyi's Lviv 1679 Typicon and the 1694 Lviv Anthologion. He made no particular appeal for John's inclusion, only mentioned that he died in pre-Schism times. The Commission accepted the proposal, repeating the chronological guarantee of John's orthodoxy.

John of Rila is among the Slavic saints included in Ruthenian calendars before the Union of Brest,[759] as also in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Muscovite sources.[760] He is attested also in many Orthodox Ruthenian calendars from the seventeenth century onwards (e.g., the Kyiv 1619 and Lviv 1643 Anthologia, the Lviv 1642 Horologion). Since John was not among those deleted by Fylypovych (1727) or Atanasii Sheptytskyi (1738), it is difficult to explain why John was never transferred from the Orthodox Lviv books to Uniate books. Evidently the attitude that Ohilevych described to Papebrochius,[761] according to which the Ruthenian Uniates distrusted all saints they did not find in the Greek calendars, became the norm for Ruthenian Uniate calendars after

[759] See "The Ruthenian Sanctorales" in Chapter 1, section A.2.c above.
[760] Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:324.
[761] Some time prior to 1680; see "Daniel Papebrochius" in Chapter 1, section B.3.b above.

the Synod of Zamość (1720). The Ostrih 1612 Horologion and Kulchynskyi are the only Catholic authorities which list him.[762]

Martin of Tours (12 October); Julian of Cenomanum (13 July)

Korolevskij also proposed two ancient western saints, Martin of Tours (d. 397) and Julian of Cenomanum (third century). Martin's case came up in the RR Commission's first session on the calendar and Korolevskij supported his proposal to include Martin by quoting his presence in the tenth-century Greek Menology of Basil and the Slav (Moscow) Prolog.[763] Although the *Life* in the Prolog is replete with legend, Korolevskij noted that Martin's merciful character is clearly presented. Korolevskij explains that "it is certain that this feast was introduced to Kyivan Rus' by merchants coming from the West,"[764] and proposed that "as a sign of union" it be introduced into the (RR) calendar "as a simple memorial." He also suggested correcting the bizarre caption ("of Constantinople in Galilea") in the Prolog to "of Tours."[765] The Commission accepted the proposal, stressing the significance of union "of East and West," and repeating that the cult was introduced to Kyiv in "very ancient times [...] by merchant caravans from the West".[766]

Five sessions later Korolevskij proposed that "since we introduced St. Martin of Tours as a sign of union with the West, we should also introduce St. Julian

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[762] On the 1612 Ostrih Horologion as a Uniate witness, see Chapter 1, section A.3.a above.

[763] The information about the Prolog is probably from Martinov, and therefore refers to the Moscow 1843 edition.

[764] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 195.

[765] This was already corrected in the Russian official 1891 calendar. Bulgakov (*Настольная книга,* 409) gives simply "Martin the Merciful," while Archbishop Sergii (*Полный месяцеслов,* 2:316) adds "in Tours in France (!)."

'*Kenomanskii*,' that is, of Le Mans, who is in the same position [as Martin] and is found in the Prolog."[767] Here as well the Commission agrees to accept him as a sign of union, mentioning the Prolog and how "the cult was introduced to Kyivan Rus' by merchants coming from the Rhineland."[768]

These two proposals have a strong flavoring of the romantic and evidently also of the fantastic. It is likely that the first trait is not unrelated to the fact that these two saints were unmistakably close to Korolevskij's heart, since Le Mans and Tours are respectively 130 and 200 kilometers from his home town of Caen in Normandy. This seems to have softened his critical sense and prompted some flights of fancy. The "sign of union with the West" (curiously not "with the Western Church," stressing a scope wider than the ecclesial) sounds pious but also rather irrelevant: if Ruthenian liturgical practice lacked anything, it was not signs of union with the West. Also, both these saints were in the Russian calendar and there they obviously did not evoke a "union" theme.

Korolevskij's reference to the Menology of Basil for Martin is from Martinov, who actually gives no ancient sources for commemorating Martin on 12 October, but associates him with another commemoration of Martin on 12 November, for which he quotes the Menology of Basil and several other ancient Greek sources, along with the printed Venetian Menaion of 1585. Korolevskij does not inquire whether the Martin of 12 November is the same as that of 12 October. Although Martinov provides

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[766] *RR Minutes*, 264.
[767] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 228.
[768] *RR Minutes*, 295. Available RR sources do not mention the origin of the image of the caravans or of the detail of the Rhineland, but Korolevskij mentions them again in *Liturgical Publications*, 395.

information about many ancient Slavic sources,[769] for Martin and Julian he offers only contemporary sources.[770]

Archbishop Sergii provides Slavic sources (fifteenth-century [?] Prologs) for Martin on 12 October, but also an array of Slavic, Greek, and Latin sources for alternate dates (7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 November). While most of his Slavic sources support 12 October, probably the earliest is a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century Prolog (Moscow Synodal collection, 239), which has Martin on 12 November.[771] For Julian, Archbishop Sergii cites no Greek or Slavic sources, only the *Martyrologium Romanum*.

This accords with the information adduced by Loseva: while she does not find Martin or Julian in any of her eleventh to fourteenth century sources,[772] and not even in the group of "specifically Western borrowings,"[773] she finds Martin present in a (single) fifteenth century Gospel Book under 11 November.[774]

In view of all of this, it is difficult to find any substantiation for Korolevskij's explicit claims that "it is certain" that the *cult* of Martin and Julian was introduced to Kyiv "in very ancient times," and about Julian being in Slavic liturgical sources before the nineteenth century. On the contrary, it is likely that Martin entered the Slavic

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[769] See his "Sylloge kalendariorum slavicorum" in *Annus,* 329-360.
[770] The 1818 Moscow Calendar and the 1845 Moscow Menaion for Martin, and the same Menaion with the 1850 Moscow Prolog for Julian. Martinov, *Annus,* 176; 245.
[771] Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 316. Elsewhere he explains that such early Prologs are translations of the Menologion of Basil (ibid., 1:303-304).
[772] *Menologia*, 175 and 381-382. It is to be kept in mind that she documents primarily Gospels, Epistle Books and Horologia. According to her observations of the variant rhythms of introduction of saints into various liturgical and hagiographical genres, it is not excluded that such saints could be found in menaia or hagiographic works of that period.
[773] Cf. *Menologia*, 63-75.

calendars through Greek sources. As for Julian, a possible channel for entrance into the Slavic tradition is the *Lives of the Saints* by Dmytrii of Rostov,[775] who introduced many Western saints previously unknown to Slavic hagiography, among them Julian

In the story about the merchant caravans the fanciful detail about the Rhineland is clearly harmless, but the story itself (especially if it is also Korolevskij's creation) reveals a certain point of view about East-West relations. Korolevskij could hardly have imagined, prior to Loseva's studies, the remarkable extent of cultural, religious and literary exchange between Kyivan Rus' and the West. Since such a view countered the historical experience of Muscovite Rus',[776] it was foreign to official Russian historiography. Loseva presented formidable support for her claim that

> the adduced facts are important for a correct understanding of the religious situation in Ancient [i.e. Kyivan] Rus', and of her [Rus'] undoubtedly greater openness to the West in comparison to later times. The Latin[777] commemorations which entered into Rus' calendars of the eleventh century are explained by the active cultural ties of Rus' with the European states in the time of Iaroslav [the Wise] and his sons.[778]

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[774] The early fifteenth-century Novgorod *Soph-7* Gospel of the Russian National Library. Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 200.

[775] First published by the Kyiv Caves Lavra, 1689-1705.

[776] Loseva summarizes: "The Latin commemorations were found predominately in Southern-Rus' (the Arkhangelsk Gospel), Novgorod-Pskov (the Typography-7 Gospel, Apostol of 1309-1312; the Synodal Typography 46 Obikhodnik) and Halych-Volyn (the Evsevii Gospel of 1283) documents, in elegant codices (the Ostromir and Mstislav Gospels) and simple manuscripts (the Arkhangelsk Gospel, the Sinai Apostol). *Русские месяцесловы,* 67-68.

[777] Loseva points out that it is would be a mistake to consider them simply foreign elements of the "Catholic tradition:" "although they had their origin in the Latin West, in the Slavic and Rus' environment these elements were uniquely re-thought and autonomously re-worked, so that they entered organically into [native] liturgical practice." *Русские месяцесловы*, 63-64.

[778] Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы,* 71-72. She spoke previously of "active cultural and political relations both with Byzantium and the Latin West." *Ibid.* 67.

Nonetheless, even if Korolevskij chose a primarily mercantile image of Rus's contacts with the West, he still chose to see Western merchants venturing *to Kyiv* with their goods and cultural influence: the image shows a "one-way" exchange – the West contributing to the East. Such a view does not appreciate the "*active*" (in Loseva's expression) character of Kyiv's relations with the West, as seen in the Chronicle story of Vladimir's initiative in sending envoys to investigate the religious life of his neighbors, and in the fact that Anne, the daughter of Iaroslav, through marriage to Henry I became the queen of France. In the latter event we not only see the Kyivan Slavs coming to meet the French on their own territory, but bequeathing to them one of France's medieval national treasures – the Rheims Gospel.[779]

This excursus does not intend to incriminate Korolevskij (or the Commission) with culpable ignorance or distortion of the Kyivan heritage, but to point out that in the relative haste of reviewing the calendar,[780] when personal preferences were involved, the Commission allowed itself to lower its critical standards and overlook or invent historical inaccuracies. The case also suggests that the innocent story of the merchant caravans, so easily proposed and accepted, reveals a patronizing attitude typical of Westerners desirous to "discover" the East: "creating" the East according to its own notions[781] – an attitude the RR Commission was in many respects not immune to.

One important aspect of the Martin and Julian case that was not properly taken advantage of, especially as a "sign of union," was Martinov's comment that Martin was

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[779] Rheims National Library, no. 91, first half of eleventh century.
[780] Nine sessions in ten weeks from late January to 9 April, 1940.
[781] This phenomenon was masterfully studied by Edward W. Said in his *Orientalism.* (London: Routledge, 1978).

a Slav. Bulgakov, along with the *Martyrologium Romanum*, says he was a soldier from Pannonia, who was converted in Gaul and in turn became for the local heathens a great apostle and pastor. This information presents many unexplored possibilities for Martin to become a sign of union in a much more comprehensive sense.

Gomidas Keumurgian (5 June); Francis, Mutius and Raphael (10 July); Ghebre-Michael (28 August)

Korolevskij also proposed several recently beatified Eastern Catholic saints: the Armenian priest-martyr Gomidas Keumurgian (d. 1707), the Maronite martyrs Francis, Mutius and Raphael (d. 1860), and Ghebre-Michael (d. 1855), the Ethiopian priest-martyr.

According to the *RR Minutes*, the three commemorations of Eastern Catholic saints seem to have entered almost incidentally: the situation that gave rise to their proposal was that a saint was needed to "buttress" the commemoration of Dorotheus of Tyre (5 June),[782] who was recognized as apocryphal.[783] At the session before the penultimate[784] (not in his *Osservazioni*) Korolevskij proposed Gomidas Keumurgian. He explained this was an Armenian Catholic martyr, beatified in 1929, and that since there were many Armenians in Poland, he would serve well as "a sign of union." The Commission agreed, but decided to propose the decision to the cardinal.

While the fact that Korolevskij brought up Gomidas at the session and not in his *Osservazioni* gives the suggestion a spontaneous aspect, this was not the first time that

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[782] The *RR Minutes* by mistake record the discussion on 15 June: p. 293.
[783] As explained above, the Commission agreed not to eliminate from the calendar saints that were recognized to be apocryphal, but an authentic saint, in some way similar to the legendary one, was to be added to the day. See above, Chapter 3, section C.3.
[784] *RR Minutes*, 296-297.

Korolevskij had discussed the Eastern Catholic saints. A dozen years before, in 1927, while entering the notices of the beatification of Gomidas Keumurgian and the Maronite martyrs in his journal *Stoudion*, Korolevskij already discussed the topic of the Eastern Catholic saints in an energetic and programmatic way.[785] There he expressed his satisfaction that "after many centuries the series of Blesseds and Saints of our Eastern [Catholic] Church [...] was being enriched with new names," and that this would be a response to typical objections against Eastern Catholics, such as:

> "Your Church is sterile. While we Orthodox count many hundreds of 'neo-saints', whether Greeks or Russians or even two Rumanians, you are reduced to [using] the calendar of the first centuries. This is proof that the Roman Church, which has reserved for itself the canonization of your saints, does not believe you are worthy of being presented to the honors of the altars. Your Church is sterile. After the schism, besides St. Josaphat, you have not been capable of producing a single personage which Rome would have judged worthy of beatification or canonization.[786]

It is significant that Korolevskij places such biting criticism in the mouths of both "our brothers yet dissident, and of unenlightened Catholics."

On that occasion Korolevskij claimed that the problem was neither that the Eastern Catholic Church[es] were sterile regarding sanctity, nor even lacking the financial means for the canonization process, but rather a lack of zeal and a particularist, "bell-tower attitude [...] which paralyzes all our effort." Korolevskij now saw a concrete occasion to simultaneously rebut similar criticism and counteract "the bell-tower attitude."

At the next (penultimate) session[787] (the cardinal was still not present) Korolevskij reiterated that the Blessed Gomitas fits the need (to buttress the Dorotheus

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[785] C. K. [Cyril Korolevskij], "Quatre nouveaux Bienheureux orientaux," *Stoudion* 4 (1927): 19-24.
[786] Ibid., 24.

commemoration) well. The fact that Gomidas was on a different date, he argued, was not a difficulty, since the Armenians have a different system altogether of commemorating saints. Korolevskij then proceeded to suggest adding to the Ruthenian calendar "as secondary saints, the other Easterners beatified by Pius XI: Blessed Ghebre-Michael, an Ethiopian, beatified 22 May 1926, and Blessed Francis, Mutius and Raphael Massabqi, Maronites, [beatified] 7 October 1926."[788] Again, all agreed to propose it for the decision of Tisserant. The phrase "as secondary saints" probably indicated the way they were indeed added, without troparion and kontakion.

At the final session[789] the cardinal was present and he examined and resolved the half-dozen questions which had in the course of the revision of the calendar been referred to his authority. He agreed "gladly" to include Gomidas and it was agreed to do this on 28 August, that is, on the day of his death rather than as a "substitute" for another saint.[790] The cardinal also agreed to include Ghebre-Michael and the three Maronite brothers. Korolevskij promised to find the date of death [of Keumurgian] as it is in the relevant (beatification) document in the Congregation of Rites.

The *RR Minutes* sum up the final motivations for these inclusions:

> All approved of the declaration of the previous speaker [Korolevskij] that he made this proposal as a reaction against national particularisms and spiritual impoverishment, finding it just, that while the ancients did not hesitate to include in the Byzantine calendar numerous Egyptian, Syrian and Armenian

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[787] *RR Minutes*, 299.
[788] Ibid., 300.
[789] Ibid., 309.
[790] This may be a slip, confusing his date with that of Ghebre-Michael. Other souces give Gomidas's death at 25 October (Julian), cf. D. Attwater, *The Golden Book of Eastern Saints* (Freeport, New York, [1937]), 120. The *Martyrologium Romanum* (2001 edition) commemorates him on 5 November. Actually, in the RR Gomidas *is* on 5 June and Ghebre-Michael on 28 August.

> saints, as also many martyrs of Persia, it would be strange that, while the Roman Pontiff declares Blessed and will probably one day canonize these modern Easterners, the Orientals should not celebrate their feast.[791]

This formulation recalls partly the motives Korolevskij gave in 1927, but also reflects his usual criticism of what he considered excessive Ukrainianization of the Ruthenian Church in Galicia.

The borrowing of beatified persons for the RR calendar raised the question of the proper liturgical title for these persons. Korolevskij explained to the Commission that although these persons were beatified, it would be improper to apply to them liturgically the term "блаженный" as a correspondent of "blessed," since "in liturgical Slavonic it means 'deceased,' and therefore [the RR] will have to agree to use the traditional wording "святый священномученикъ."[792] This remark was not disputed, and in fact all three commemorations appear in the RR with the title "святый."[793] The term "блаженный" is used once in the hagiographic note for Ghebre-Michael.[794]

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[791] *RR Minutes*, 310.

[792] "...bisogna accontentarsi della dicitura tradizionale" *RR Minutes*, 309. G. Diachenko in his explains that the term is used *par excellence* for Fools for Christ's sake. Besides that, it is also used for (1) those who lived their sanctity *in secret*, not manifestly, among the people and secular cares (which practically means the simple laity, who had no particular ecclesiastical or aristocratic titles), and (2) saints who were glorified not for their manifest deeds (miracles?), but for the witness of others. Г. М. Дяченко, *Полный церковно-словянский словарь* (Full Church-Slavonic dictionary) (Moscow, 1899. Reprint, 1993), 46-47. This explanation does not cover several other uses of the term, such as the traditional "Blessed Olha," and its frequent use in liturgical hymnography for all categories of saints.

[793] Placide de Meester will later confirm that "[i]n the Eastern Churches glorified persons can indiscriminately be called Venerable, Blessed, and even Servant of God, with or without the tile of *Saint*." Idem, "La canonizzazione dei santi nella Chiesa Russa Ortodossa," *Gregorianum* 30 (1949): 393.

[794] The hagiographic notes did not appear in the 1942 Liturgicon, but were first added to the RR Horologion, published in 1950.

The modalities of the introduction of the Eastern Catholic saints into the RR included several important liturgical and canonical aspects:

a) beatified persons of one Eastern Catholic Church (beatified within the Roman Church) were borrowed by another Eastern Catholic Church[795];

b) they were borrowed without any apparent limitations of liturgical cult[796] as is prescribed in the Roman Rite;

c) they appeared in the liturgical books with the title "святый" (saint);

d) their eventual canonization, will not, *of itself,* change their status or liturgical commemoration within Ruthenian usage;[797]

e) in all of this the RR Commission of the Eastern Congregation acted on its own authority, without officially referring to the Congregation of Rites, as any Roman Catholic diocese or group of dioceses would have needed to do, for the "extension of cult" of these beatified persons.

Clearly, these decisions ran contrary to several aspects of Roman-Rite usage, and therefore raise several questions. First, why did Korolevskij (the RR Commission) feel it *should* make these decisions? Mainly, the reason is that which Korolevskij had given a

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[795] Actually, even if, according to the Roman terminology of his time, Korolevskij saw all the Eastern Catholics (and respectively, Orthodox) as members of a single "Eastern Church," the borrowing transcended the territorial limitations expressed in the beatification documents.

[796] The expression that they were introduced "as secondary saints" (*RR Minutes*, 300) most likely refers to the fact that they were listed after the traditional Byzantine entries (as all Slavic saints usually were in Slavic practice) and that they do not have their proper troparia and kontakia. If any formal limitations in liturgical cult were envisaged, this would have to have been explicitly mentioned, because this concept does not exist in the Byzantine rite.

[797] The changing of the rank of saints in the calendar belongs officially to the bishop (or Synod), but in *ad hoc* practice any monastic superior can do so.

dozen years before: in order to allow other Eastern Catholic Churches ("the whole Eastern Church" in the words of Korolevskij) to benefit from the spiritual potential of new saints introduced to the calendar, and from the apologetic possibilities that they offer in the face of what was evidently very real (and valid) criticism. Second, why did Korolevskij (the RR Commission) feel it *could* make these decisions without consulting the Congregation of Rites? The issue is complex, but the basic answer to this question was also given by Korolevskij in the same article in 1927.[798]

The Apostolic Letter regarding the Maronite martyrs' beatification[799] designated formally (as in all cases of beatification) the permittted extent of their cult, in this case the eparchy of their origin and the eparchy of Damascus ("a small part of Lebanon," comments Korolevskij). But Korolevskij pointed out that the Maronite Synod of 1736, approved by the pope, recognized that the institution of new liturgical feasts was the prerogative of the patriarch.[800] Consequently, it would have to be investigated (i.e. proven) that the beatification document (in its prescription of territorial limitation of cult) intended to override the regulation of the Synod. Korolevskij insinuates that this was not the case. In 1927, therefore, Korolevskij was suggesting that, although the beatification document (written according to Roman Catholic usage) indicated a formal territorial limitation of cult, the other Eastern Churches could interpret this according to their own liturgical and canonical tradition, and on their own authority "borrow" the martyrs for their own calendars. This is exactly what the RR Commission did: in

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[798] Korolevskij, *Quatre nouveaux Bienheureux orientaux.*
[799] "Contingit ex auspicato," *AAS* (1927) 411-415. This and the following information is from Korolevskij's 1927 article.
[800] Korolevskij quotes the Synodal resolutions (Part III, chap. IV, No. 1, art. 22).

"borrowing" the martyrs for the Ruthenians from the Maronites, the Commission was "extending" their cult in accordance with the particular liturgical right of the Eastern Churches.

The case of the Ethiopian martyr was additionally complex. Ghebre-Michael was an associated member of the (Roman Catholic) Lazarist Mission Congregation, and therefore it was they that initiated and conducted the cause of his beatification. That is why the Apostolic letter concerning his beatification[801] spoke only of his liturgical commemoration in the Roman Rite, and limited it to the Latin missionaries in the Apostolic Vicariates in Abyssinia and Eritrea. His commemoration in the Alexandrian-Ethiopian (Eastern) rite was not mentioned at all. Nonetheless, Korolevskij stressed that since Ghebre-Michael had never renounced his native Rite, he remains a member of his Ethiopian Church: "He is ours [i.e. Eastern], just like the three [Maronite] Massabqi brothers."[802]

Here Korolevskij was transcending the boundaries between the Roman and the Eastern Churches and disregarding the formally expressed limitations of cult, on the basis that the person involved was a member of the Eastern Church. Even if the person was beatified for one Church (in this case, the Roman), according to the regulations of that Church, once this was an accomplished fact, another Church (in this case the Ruthenian, or in the more general terms of the time — the Eastern Church) could adopt him according to the modalities of its own tradition.

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[801] "A primis Ecclesiae saeculis," *AAS* (1927) 407-411.
[802] Korolevskij, *Quatre nouveaux Bienheureux orientaux*, 22-23.

A final consideration of this complex liturgical and canonical situation is that in the final result Gomidas Keumurgian, the Maronite martyrs, and Ghebre-Michael were included by the RR Commission in the Ruthenian calendar, to be commemorated within the entire Ruthenian Church with no particular limitation of liturgical veneration, including also the liturgical title of "saint" – a status that in the Roman Church belongs to canonized saints – while in the Roman Church they maintained the status of beatified persons. This disparity should be seen not as the result of misjudgment on the part of the RR Commission, or of irregular or inadequate liturgical legislation of the Ruthenian Church, but rather of the general (but only partly successful) attempt of the papacy to require of the Eastern Churches to conform their concepts of canonization to that of the Roman Church. The disparity was not noticed by the RR Commission because at the time it saw the Ruthenian Church (or any other Eastern Catholic Church) as being a part of the Roman Church, as any provincial group of Roman Catholic dioceses, instead of being an entire entity, a *sui juris* Church, fully analogous to the Roman Church.

Jerome (15 June), Augustine (28 August)

Among the saints Korolevskij found in the Ruthenian calendars ("1777 and following")[803] were two eminent Western Church Fathers: Jerome (d. 420) and Augustine (d. 430). Although both were quite rare in Byzantine calendars, whether Greek or Russian, Korolevskij enthusiastically[804] proposed to retain both, "as a sign of union with the West."

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[803] Both are in the 1929 Lviv Liturgicon.

[804] "[...] tengo molto che sia mantenuto," (about Jerome), Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 225, 232.

Indeed Loseva does not find Jerome in any of her early sources, although Archbishop Sergii pointed out that in the thirteenth-century addition to the calendar of the Rheims Slavic Gospel Jerome is allotted a reading, but without a date. The latter also finds Jerome in other early sources: the 1370 South Slav Khludov Prolog, the Macarian Menaion, and a seventeenth-century Rus' calendar (*sviattsy*).[805] Martinov generally indicated some seventeenth-century Lviv, Kyivan and Muscovite sources for Jerome, as also nineteenth-century Pochaiv and Moscow sources.[806] Jerome is included in the official 1891 calendar among the "secondary" or local saints, that is, without a service in the Menaion.[807] Jerome's commemoration in the Slavic calendar is 15 June, whereas in the Greek Naples and all Western calendars it is 30 September. This suggests that there was an early South Slav commemoration, independent of the Roman date, which spread to Rus', where it maintained a low profile as a local commemoration.

Augustine's record is different. Neither Loseva nor Sergii find him in any Slavic sources,[808] and Bulgakov does not list him in the official calendar. Likewise, Martinov quotes only the Ruthenian Catholic 1802 Pochaiv Horologion, but the *Pravoslavnaia Entsiklopediia* ("Orthodox Encyclopedia") notes that Augustine was introduced to the Orthodox East by the *Synaxaristes* of Nikodemos the Hagiorite,[809] from which this

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[805] Petersburg Public Library no. 51. *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:181. See ibidem, 1:334 about the 1370 Prolog.
[806] The 1802 Pochaiv Horologion, a Moscow calendar (1818), and 1848 Moscow Common Menaion: *Annus*, 153.
[807] Булгаков, *Настольная книга,* 225-226.
[808] Archbishop Sergii indicates him in the ninth-century Greek Naples calendar, mistakenly at 15 June. *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:181; 3:628.
[809] A hagiographical collection (Venice, 1819) which also contained many Greek neo-martyrs.

commemoration was borrowed by some nineteenth-century Russian calendars, but that it did not figure in contemporary Greek or Russian calendars.[810]

While Augustine's liturgical commemoration in Russian calendars was fleeting, his presence as a teacher is more ample. Dmytrii of Rostov does not include Augustine in his *Lives of the Saints*, but quotes his sermon for Christmas Day and his *Life* of Paulinus of Nola (23 January). Archbishop Sergii also reminds us that the Kyivan Theological Academy published the *Life and Works* of Augustine in 1855, and that Archbishop Filaret included him in his patrology.[811] Since his orthodoxy is basically not contested, it is unfortunate that the *Entsiklopediia* gives no clue as to why Augustine's commemoration was discontinued.

In the RR both Jerome and Augustine appear as the second commemoration of the day, along with a troparion (common) and kontakion (proper) which interlace with the principle commemoration of the day, as the service appears in the 1777 Anthologion. The texts are also the same as in the Anthologion. While these commemorations were not a novelty in the Ruthenian tradition, they were in the RV. This is a rare instance in which a Ruthenian borrowing from the West was retained, as well as transplanted to the Russian tradition.[812] It is interesting that in both these cases Korolevskij contrasts these borrowings with "hybridisms" or inappropriate borrowing of saints (as at the Lviv 1891

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[810] "Августин, св. (Saint Augustine)," in *Православная энциклопедия* (Moscow, 2000) 1:95-96. Actually, Augustine is still commemorated in the Greek calendar. Also, the name Augustine continues to be used in the Russian Orthodox Church as a baptismal (and monastic) name.

[811] *Учение об отцах...* par. 196. Quoted in *Полный месяцеслов,* 2:182.

[812] This decision was not made by the RR Commission

Synod).[813] Apparently this is due to the antiquity and authority of the saints, and, possibly, also because for both Jerome and Augustine there was at least a short-lived Greek or Russian correspondent (even if the Pochaiv commemoration of Augustine, which was fully liturgical, appeared earlier than Nikodemos's commemoration, which was only hagiographic).

Evidently, for Korolevskij and the RR Commission, the applicability of the accusation of "hybridism' depended on the authority of the borrowed element, and on whether it can justify itself by being a "sign of union with the West." Paradoxically, these are the same *principles* invoked by those whom Korolevskij accused of hybridization; the difference lies only in the estimation of the authority and the effectiveness of the sign.

b) Saints proposed by Raes

Nina of Georgia (14 January)

The proposal to include Nina of Georgia (d. after 397) was not mentioned in Korolevskij's *Osservazioni*, but came up during the sessions.[814] No sources were quoted and the only motivation that was recorded was that many "Ruthenians" carry this name and are fond of it. Zaiachkivskyi was asked to check what the correspondent Slavic form should be. This probably referred to the wording of the full caption, but maybe also to the name itself.[815]

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[813] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 225; 232.
[814] *RR Minutes*, 278.
[815] Although Western publications today often carry the Georgian form "Nino," (cf. G. Shurgaia, "Nino," in *Dizionario enciclopedico dell'Oriente cristiano,* ed. Edward G.

Two sessions later[816] the matter was again brought up, the caption was chosen,[817] and it was decided to include her "at least in the Ruthenian recension." Two things remain unclear. First, why there should have been doubt as to the Slavic form of the caption, since the chosen form is the same as in the Russian 1891 calendar? Second, if there was doubt as to whether to include Nina in the RV, what source was she taken from?

Archbishop Sergii provides no liturgical sources, only the official Russian calendar.[818] His silence about sources is puzzling, since he was the chief editor of the final 1891 edition.[819] He additionally mentions 27 October as a variant date for Nina, where his reference is "the Prolog according to Martinov? (14 January); the Tale about the Conversion of the Georgians, in the Prolog."[820]

Martinov for Nina (on 14 January) quotes only the Georgian Synaxarion,[821] whereas for 27 October he relates that in the Prolog (probably Moscow, 1850) and the printed Greek Menaion (probably Venice, 1834) there is the story, taken from Rufinus,

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Farrugia, SJ [Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2000], 531-532), the RR Commission used "Nina."

[816] *RR Minutes,* 288.

[817] "The holy equal-to-the-apostles Nina, illuminator (prosvètitel'nitsa) of Georgia."

[818] *Месяцеслов всех святых, празднуемых Греко-восточной Православной Церковию* (Calendar of all the saints, celebrated by the Greek-Eastern Orthodox Church) (St. Petersburg, 1891); cf. *Полный месяцеслов*, 1:371-372. Archbishop Sergii mentions several dozen printings in the nineteenth century before he thoroughly revised the 1891 edition, which became the norm for the Russian Orthodox Church, e.g. as the list of names that could be given at Baptisms: ibid. 372.

[819] Cf. *Полный месяцеслов*, 1:ii,

[820] Ibid., 2:333.

[821] Marie-Felicité Brosset, ed., *Chronique géorgienne* (Paris, 1831). Shurgaia mentions that Nina is commemorated in Byzantine and Armenian synaxaria, 27 October and 29 October respectively: *Nino*, 532.

of "the conversion of the Georgians by a Greek woman, who should be identified with Nina."[822]

It is probable, therefore, according to the indications provided by Archbishop Sergii, that he himself was responsible for Nina entering the official Russian calendar. He based himself on Martinov's introducing into his *Graeco-Slavic* ecclesiastic calendar a saint from the Georgian calendar, according to his assumed interpretation of Rufinus's text in the Prolog. The ecclesio-political circumstance that would have occasioned or favored Nina's inclusion in the Russian calendar (by Archbishop Sergii, but maybe previously by Martinov) could have been the fact that after Russia annexed Georgia (1801) and abolished the Georgian patriarchate (1811), the Georgian Church entered the jurisdiction of the Russian Church.[823] Thus the inclusion of Nina into the Russian calendar would have functioned as "a sign of union" for both the Russians and the Georgians, evidently from different perspectives.

Since Nina was neither in Kulchynskyi's list nor even in Dmytrii of Rostov's extensive *Lives of the Saints*, the most comprehensive list of saints of the Kyivan Church, this is a case in which an Eastern saint is borrowed for the RR who had not been previously in the Ruthenian sources, neither Catholic nor Orthodox. The presence of this commemoration in the RR also functions as a "sign of union," but in a different sense than in the RV.

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[822] "...conversio gentis Iberiae ad fidem ope cuiusdam graecae mulieris, puta S. Ninae." *Annus,* 261.

[823] "In 1918, during a brief period of national independence, the [Georgian] Church declared autocephaly and Moscow accepted this in 1943." R. Roberson, "Georgia, Chiesa Ortodossa di," in *Dizionario enciclopedico dell'Oriente cristiano,* ed. Edward G. Farrugia SJ (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2000), 330.

c) Saints Accepted by the RR Commission, then Rejected

Parasceve of Polatsk (28 October)

The case of Parasceve of Polatsk (d. 1239) or rather the case of the several Parasceves, was one of the few instances extensively discussed by the RR Commission before a decision was reached. The 1929 Lviv Liturgicon had "the venerable Parasceve" for 14 October and "the martyr Parasceve, called Piatnitsia" for 28 October, and the "venerable martyr Parasceve" for 26 July, but with no geographical identification for any of them.[824] Korolevskij commented that the saint of 14 October is Parasceve who lived in Thrace toward the end of the tenth century and whose relics were transferred to Tarnovo in Bulgaria about 1221.[825] About the saint of 28 October, Korolevskij claimed it was a mistake to identify her with the martyr under Diocletian, and also that only Parasceve of Tarnovo, whom the Bulgarians call Petka, should carry the Slavic synonymic "Piatnitsia."[826] Following Martinov, he identified the Parasceve of 28 October with Parasceve of Polatsk[827] and therefore recommended identifying her as such in the caption.

At first the Commission accepted this conclusion,[828] but six sessions later, after the whole of the calendar had been reviewed, Raes returned to the problem.[829] He

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[824] This corresponded exactly to the Kyiv 1913 Gospel.

[825] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 196.

[826] *Paraskeuē* (literally: [day of] preparation [for the Sabbath] cf. Mk.15:42) is the Greek name for Friday, which in Slavonic is *piatok*. *Piatnitsia* is a feminine and personalized rendering of the same, but also coincides with the modern Ukrainian name for Friday.

[827] "...a nun who took refuge in Rome when the Tartars began to invade Rus' in 1236 and who died in Rome on 12 November, 1239: she was canonized by Gregory X in 1273: cf. Martinov, pp. 262-264 and 137 in the discussion about St. Euphrosyne of Polatsk on 23 May." Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 198. Martinov is Korolevskij's source for the identification of this Parasceve, not for the use of the name Piatnytsia.

distinguished four Parasceves: 1) Parasceve of Tarnovo, who is commemorated on 14 October; 2) Parasceve of Iconium, the martyr under Diocletian, commemorated by Ruthenians and Russians (but unknown to Greeks) on 28 October; her synonymic is Piatnytsia; 3) Parasceve of Polatsk: Raes (along with Martinov)[830] did not find any trace of her in the Ruthenian books, and asserted she is "unknown to the Greeks and rejected [!] by the Russians." He claimed Martinov's statement about her canonization lacks historical backing since there is no trace of this in the archives of Rome; 4) Parasceve martyr under Antoninus Pius, venerated by Greeks, Ruthenians and Russians, but also in Albania, Dalmatia, Calabria and Sicily under the names Venus and Veneranda; this is the Parasceve of 25 (26) July, and she is historically the most certain. Raes even suspected that the Slavic name *Piatnitsia* for the martyr of 28 October might be a popular personification of the day of the week. His conclusion, accepted by the Commission, was not to introduce Parasceve of Polatsk, and to accept the other three as described. Thus the RR returned to the situation of the Lviv 1929 Liturgicon.

Martinov's sources about Parasceve's (of Polatsk) life and her canonization were Kojalowicz and Stebelskij.[831] This historical evidence must have satisfied Martinov, since the *Acta Sanctorum* had made plans to include Parasceve of Polatsk under 12 November (the day of her death).[832]

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[828] *RR Minutes*, 267.
[829] Ibid., 301-302.
[830] *Annus*, 263
[831] Martinov quotes Stebelskij's *Dwa wliekie światła*, 1:141-221, and Kojalowicz's *Miscellanea*, the chapter on the patron-saints of Lithuania.
[832] *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 61b, *Novembris tomus 13*, 419.

Martinov's only liturgical reference was Papebrochius's icon calendar. The latter's identification of the saint on the icon at 28 October with Parasceve of Polatsk may have been rather tenuous, but Kulchynskyi supported it, recognizing in the icon "the image rather of the Polatsk Parasceve, marked by a princely crown, than of the Iconium [martyr]."[833] Kulchynskyi also confirmed Kojalowicz's information about Parasceve being celebrated among the patrons of Lithuania. While he did not quote Parasceve of Polatsk as being in his Lviv liturgical sources, Kulchynskyi offers eyewitness evidence of her solemn veneration in Polatsk:

> Whether her holy body remained in Rome or was brought back to [her] homeland, I have no information. What I do know, I assert: when I was lecturing Philosophy in our Polatsk monastery, I observed how the memory of this Saint was greatly (*magnopere*) venerated, both by the monks of our Basilian Institute, and by the whole of Polatsk, with all its numerous nobility (*palatinatu*). There exists, even at the present time, in the cathedral church of Polatsk, a golden, elegantly elaborated cross, adorned with various relics, with this inscription: This cross, I, the servant of Christ Parasceve, donated forever to the church of the Holy Savior.[834]

The two editions of Stebelskij's biography (both printed in Lviv), are additional evidence of Parasceve's popularity, but textual liturgical documentation of her veneration is still lacking. Archbishop Sergii notes Parasceve of Polatsk in his fourth ("irregular") category, where he quotes Papebrochius as possibly confusing the Polatsk saint with the martyr.[835] No mention is found in Golubinskii and Barsukov.[836] When Raes and Martinov claimed they found no Ruthenian liturgical evidence for Parasceve's

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[833] Kulchynskyi, *Specimen*, 55-56.
[834] Ibid., 56.
[835] *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:334. He suggests an alternate explanation that this might have been the Polatsk saint's nameday. This would imply that she was not venerated as a saint.

veneration, they either overlooked Kojalowicz and Kulchynskyi, or disregarded them. Nonetheless it seems more probable that the RR Commission rejected Parasceve of Polatsk due to lack of liturgical evidence, rather than because of doubt as to historical credibility. The decision of the RR Commission not to include Parasceve of Polatsk in the RR is indirectly supported by Dublianskyi, Levytskyi and Metropolitan Ilarion, none of whom include any reference to her.[837]

Damian, Matthew and Jerome, monks of the Kyivan Caves (5 October)

These Kyivan monks, who were at first accepted then immediately relegated to the RV Commission, will be discussed below, along with the rest of the Kyivan monks.[838]

Hilarion of Moglena (21 October)

Korolevskij's original proposal to include Hilarion of Moglena (d. 1164) was in a more negative, or hesitant, than positive tone: "We should (probably) not take under consideration[839] the commemoration of the translation of the relics of St. Hilarion, bishop of Moglena (Mehlensis, says Kulchynskyi), mentioned by Lviv [Anthologia of] 1643 and 1694 and omitted by the others: he was a Bulgarian and died about 1164: cf. Martinov, p. 253, considers that he lived in Catholic times."[840] There are no further indications about the reasons for Korolevskij's hesitation, but the Commission accepted the proposition with no questions, repeating Martinov's estimate of his Catholicism.

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[836] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, Барсуков, *Источники русской агиографии.*

[837] А. Дублянський, *Українські святі* (Ukrainian saints) (Munich, 1961); Левицький, *Святі Київської Церкви*; Митрополит Іларіон, *Українська патрологія*, Parts 1-3 (Winnipeg, 1965). The latter two do include Euphrosyne of Polatsk.

[838] See below, Chapter 4, section B.2.a.

[839] "Non vi è (forse) da tener conto..." The "forse" is added above the line. Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 197.

There is no information in the RR documents about the contrary decision to exclude him.

Just prior to Martinov's *Annus* Victor De Buck published an entry on Hilarion in the *Acta Sanctorum*.[841] The article is among the "main entries," which indicated those saints about whom there was sufficient certainty of Catholic veneration. A major part of De Buck's article is dedicated to historical research, to establishing the locality of Moglena,[842] and the evidence of veneration. De Buck found no evidence in Greek books, in Possevino or in the "General Synaxarion" G. David sent the Bollandists from Moscow in 1688. He did find Hilarion in the Papebrochian icons (1628),[843] in David's "Particular Synaxarion" (also 1688, probably of Kyiv), and in a Kalendarium Ruthenorum sent to the Bollandists by Baron von Sparwenfeld in 1712. This, claimed De Buck, was sufficient proof of Hilarion's veneration "by the Ruthenians."[844]

De Buck does not say much about the life of Hilarion, but quotes from an (unidentified) "Slavic Prolog" the story of how the Bulgarian king Calojoannes took the

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[840] Here and further, "in epoca Cattolica" is translated "in Catholic times."

[841] Victor de Buck, "De S. Hilarione epsc. et conf. Moglensis seu Meglinensis in Macedonia," in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 57, *Octobris tomus 9*, (Brussels, 1858), 405-408.

[842] Papebrochius was informed by the Basilian P. Ohilevych that the eparchy of Mehlena was in Muscovy. M. LeQuien in *Oriens Christianus* (Paris 1740) supposed it to be in "White or Little Russia." Kulchynskyi was more cautious, claiming he was not sure whether Hilarion was a Ruthenian, a Serbian or a Bulgarian. Assemani did not venture beyond Kulchynskyi's supposition. De Buck, *De S. Hilarione*, 405.

[843] Ohilevych identified for Papebrochius the untitled "Bishop Hilarion" depicted on the icon beside Hilarion the Great (at 21 October), but suggested that "Mehena" is an eparchy in Muscovy, about what Papebrochius raised his doubts: Papebrochius, *Ephemerides*, li. Ohilevych may have been misled by some of the expressions in the Menaion service to Hilarion, e.g. "[...] most wise teacher of the Mehlen land and beautiful adornment of all the Rus' (*россійскія*) [land]." Булгаков, *Настольная книга*, 419.

[844] De Buck, *De S. Hilarione*, 405. Here the name Ruthenians can include Muscovites.

town of Moglena in 1205 and brought the relics of Hilarion to his capital Tarnovo, see of the Bulgarian patriarch, who greeted the relics with solemn veneration. For De Buck, this event, and the timing, is important for answering the key question whether Hilarion himself was Catholic or schismatic. Even if there is sparse information about Hilarion himself, "the opinion of the hierarch [*antistes*] of Tarnovo, who accepted the relics with honor, should be trusted, since he [the hierarch] was undoubtedly a Catholic."[845] De Buck's argument here is noteworthy not only because he trusts the judgment of the local hierarch, but because the ecclesial communion of Calojoannes with Rome had been established a year or so previously, as De Buck goes on to describe. That means that Hilarion himself had formally lived and died outside that communion, but his successor, who deemed him worthy of veneration, allowed him to be considered a Catholic saint. De Buck endorses the patriarch's judgment in the broadest sense, ultimately recognizing not only Hilarion to have been Catholic, but also the Church he served ("his times").[846]

Martinov is able to say much more about Hilarion's life[847], since he used more contemporary Russian publications, such as the *Life* of Hilarion by Euthemius, patriarch of Tarnovo,[848] and another one, published in Belgrade. This entry is among his longest for Slavic saints. He describes Hilarion first as a devout monk and then as a dedicated

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[845] De Buck, *De S. Hilarione*, 407f.

[846] This is evident from De Buck's final sentence, which is a sort of "unionistic *desiderata*," seeing Hilarion as a sign of union which would hopefully be re-established: "May God grant that one day these lands which are oppressed by a most iniquitous yoke be free again; and may the wall of division be destroyed, by which children, born of baptismal waters, are impeded from embracing their true Mother, the Catholic Church; and may it be one day that there will be one pastor and one fold, as it was in the days of St. Hilarion." De Buck, *De S. Hilarione*, 408e.

[847] Martinov, *Annus* 253.

[848] End of fourteenth century; he also wrote the *Life* of Parasceve of Tarnovo

pastor who defended his flock from many heresies, principally those of the Bogomils and the Armenians. Besides calling him "a splendid luminary of the Bulgarian Church" Martinov does not address the question of Hilarion's "catholicity", but makes De Buck's final *desiderata* his own.[849] This is the recommendation referred to by Korolevskij.

Archbishop Sergii finds Hilarion in a 1370 Prolog and a fifteenth century Psalter, but Loseva does not see him in her sources. Korolevskij quoted the Lviv 1643 and 1694 Anthologia, adding "the others omit him." He would have found him (with proper troparion and kontakion) also in the 1638 and 1651 Anthologia, but not in many more sources (not in the 1642 Horologion or the 1680 Anthologion). But the Lviv Anthologion was enough evidence for Kulchynskyi, who, for want of biographical information, published only his troparion and kontakion.[850]

Since the available RR documents are silent about Hilarion's ultimate elimination, we can only suppose that this happened at the sixty-second session or within the RV Commission. To reverse the decision on such a promising sign of union-to-be-restored (in the eyes of the Bollandists), some serious counter-argument must have arisen. Probably, it was not some new detrimental information (contrary to faith or morals) about Hilarion's life (which the Bollandists described in the best of terms); more likely, the Commission simply decided the judgment of the patriarch of Tarnovo (and of the Bollandists) about Hilarion being Catholic was too generous or too vague or not serious enough for a Catholic calendar. Was it a specific decision that a Catholic patriarch does not have the right to make such a judgment about someone who was not in formal

[849] Verbatim, but without citing him.
[850] Kulchynskyi, *Specimen*, 54.

communion with Rome? The RV documents (or the RR sixty-second session) might answer this.

4.B. Saints Relegated to the RV

4.B.1. Saints Accepted by the RV

Nikita the Stylite of Pereiaslav-Zaleskii (24 May).

There is a single saint in all those that had been referred to the RV Commission that actually appeared in the RR – Nikita the Stylite of Pereiaslav (d. 1186?). Since the hagiographical sources usually inform that this is Pereiaslav "Zaleskii" ("beyond the forest;" Martinov says *Transylvana*) in the Vladimir-on-the-Kliazma eparchy east of Moscow, Korolevskij briefly remarks "Nikita the Stylite of Pereiaslav is referred to the RV Commission."[851] On the other hand the remark in the *RR Minutes:* "The eventual insertion of Nikita the Stylite of Pereiaslav is referred to the RV Commission,"[852] clearly shows the RR Commission considered him a candidate for the RR.

Golubinskii counts him among the earliest Rus' saints, those canonized before the Macarian Synods of 1547-1549: following Metropolitan Macarius (Bulgakov), he places his canonization in the mid-fifteenth century.[853] Archbishop Sergii provides mostly seventeenth-century printed sources, but also one of the sixteenth century and one of the

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[851] "...si rimanda," Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 224.
[852] *RR Minutes*, 292.
[853] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 75-76; he quotes Metropolitan Macarius, *История русской церкви*, 7:35.

fifteenth century.[854] Barsukov agrees that the earliest traces of his veneration are in the fifteenth century.[855] Nikita is not among the nineteen Rus' commemorations that Loseva finds in her eleventh- to fourteenth-century sources.[856] Indeed, his relics were found incorrupt in the fifteenth century.[857]

Nikita is not found in available sixteenth-century Ruthenian sources. He appears in those seventeenth-century sources that notably borrowed heavily from Muscovite calendars: the 1619 Kyiv Anthologion, the Lviv 1638 Anthologion (but not later editions), the 1642 Lviv Horologion and again the 1680 Kyiv Anthologion. He does not appear in the "narrower' Ruthenian calendars like the 1646 Kyiv Mohylan Trebnyk or the 1670 Lviv Gospel. Kulchynskyi includes him in his list of saints proper to the Ruthenian Church,[858] but he is also in Metropolitan Atanasii Sheptytsky's list of saints to be eliminated from the Ruthenian books.[859]

We do not have any information about the motives of Nikita's inclusion in the RR, since the decision was made in the RV Commission. The geographical (ethnic) argument works against him, and there are no aspects of his activity that could be seen in any way

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[854] Calendar 1321 of the Typography. Synodal collection in Moscow; *Полный месяцеслов,* 2:155.
[855] Барсуков, *Источники русской агиографии*, 394.
[856] Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 117-119.
[857] Булгаков, *Настольная книга,* 203.
[858] Kulchynskyi, *Specimen*, 142. In his hagiographical section he provides no information beyond the caption, but repeats (p. 23) some general statements Papebrochius had given about stylites and Rus' (*Ephemerides,* xxx). Evidently he had no more substantial historical information about Nikita.
[859] *Объ исправленіи богослужебнихъ книгъ. Окружное письмо уніатскаго митрополита Афанасія Шептицкаго къ духовенству отъ 1738 года.* (On the correction of liturgical books. Circular letter of the Uniate Metropolitan Atanasii Sheptytsky to the clergy, 1738) (Pochaiv, 1905), 15. Sheptytsky offers no explanations for his choices.

connected with *Kyivan* Rus' (or "Ruthenia"), which would justify his inclusion over others.

There is, however, the question of the ambiguity of the name Pereiaslav. The name Pereiaslav-Zaleskii would not mean much to the average addressee of the RR. However, without "Zaleskii," association would be made to Pereiaslav near Kyiv, which was also an ancient episcopal see.[860] While there can hardly be a doubt that the RR Commission was aware of Nikita's correct geographical bearings, and although the usual form in the liturgical sources (even Ruthenian) was without "Zaleskii," it would have been more politically (and pastorally) correct for the Commission to add this qualifier (at least in the hagiographic note), as it added "Ternovskaia" to Parasceve of 14 October.

4.B.2. Saints Rejected by the RV

All of the saints that were referred by the RR to the RV, except Nikita the Stylite of Pereiaslav-Zaleskii, were ultimately rejected both in the RR and in the RV. They can be classified in four groups:

a) Monks of the Kyivan Caves Monastery

The RR documentation makes mention of the following nineteen monks (thirteen commemorations) of the Kyivan Caves Monastery: Damian, Matthew and Jeremiah (5 October), Sergius (7 October), Theophan (11 October), Nikola Sviatosha (14 October), Arethas of Polatsk (24 October), Spiridone and Nicodemus the prosfora bakers (31

[860] This Kyivan Pereiaslav was known to every Ukrainian due to the (in)famous Pereiaslav Treaty of 1654 between the Ukrainian Cossack government and the Tsar, a treaty that soon resulted in the annexation of Ukraine to Muscovy, and (in 1686) of the Kyivan metropolitan see to the Patriarchate of Moscow.

October), Athanasius of the Nearer Caves and Athanasius of the Farther Caves (both 2 December), Nikon the Emaciated (11 December), Sylvester (2 January), Achilles (Akhila – 4 January), Gregory of the Nearer Caves and Gregory of the Farther Caves (both 8 January), Efrem of Pereiaslav, later Metropolitan of Kyiv (28 January), Theodore and Basil (11 August).

Korolevskij's first reference to a monk of the Kyivan Caves Monastery (at the first session on the calendar, for 5 October) was negative, based primarily on a distrust of the historical value of the Kyivan Caves Patericon.[861] On the contrary the Commission's reaction was favorable to these monks: - "(The Commission) decides to retain the three monks of Kyiv – Damian, Jeremiah and Matthew, who are all from the eleventh century, as in the Vulgate."[862]

Immediately following was the commemoration of another Caves monk, Sergius (7 October). Raes raised the question "whether it would not be good to insert into the Ruthenian calendar the names of these holy monks of Kyiv, when they occur in the Vulgate."[863] Korolevskij, who had not included Sergius in his *Osservazioni*, reiterated his distrust of the Patericon as a historical source, adding that "this is admitted today by all Russian scholars." At this point Tisserant intervened and declared that "it is necessary to remit the solution to the Commission of the Vulgate, it being understood that there is no wish to influence it in any way whatsoever. Whatever this [Vulgate]

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[861] "[...] Their lives are narrated in the Patericon of Kyiv, a work which has had an extraordinary success in Russia, but which is not anterior to the thirteenth century. Since the Ustav of Lviv 1679 is the only one to include them, I see no motive to do so." Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 195-96.
[862] *RR Minutes*, 263.
[863] Ibid.

Commission will decide will be applied also to the Ruthenian recension."[864] The *RR Minutes* did not record a discussion of Tisserant's decision.

The *RR Minutes* include several more references by Korolevskij to the Caves monks (since his *Osservazioni* were prepared ahead of time), to which the Commission responded every time that the RV Commission will decide. On the other hand, at the second session the RR Commission accepted with no referrals two Bulgarian saints — John of Rila and Hilarion of Moglena (20 and 21 October). At the sixth mention of the Caves monks (at 31 October, Spiridone and Nicodemus the prosphora bakers of the Caves) Raes observed that "he noticed many variants in the enumeration of the holy monks of Kyiv mentioned in the different calendars, and that many of them [monks] have been introduced in most recent times. He agreed to compile a list of them which might be helpful for the RV Commission."[865] This list (taken from three recent editions: Kyiv 1875, Petersburg 1900 and Pochaiv 1912) was presented at the following session, but no discussion on the matter was recorded.[866]

Up to the 1891 edition, the Kyiv Caves saints did not have individual commemorations in the official Russian Orthodox Calendar. Archbishop Sergii describes how some saints of the Nearer Caves were introduced into that edition (which he prepared) since (?) they received local veneration at the Lavra, but he did not further

[864] Ibid.
[865] *RR Minutes*, 268.
[866] Ibid., 270. This list is not part of available RR documentation.

explain the motivation of the change.[867] These commemorations were already included in the basic "Vulgate" reference of Korolevskij, the 1893 Kyiv Liturgicon.

While all of the above-mentioned Caves monks (with the exception of Achilles, Athanasius and Gregory of the Farther Caves), are in the 1891 calendar, they do not have a service in the Menaion. They do not, however, qualify as "local commemorations" (Bulgakov's third category), as do the general commemorations of the monks of the Nearer Caves and of the Farther Caves – 28 September and 28 August. The three monks of the Farther Caves that did not enter the 1891 calendar were nonetheless included in Kyivan editions.[868] This is an indication that, even within the Russian Orthodox Church, the Kyivan editions maintained a certain independent tradition regarding the calendar.[869]

According to Archbishop Sergii's documentation, the whole group of Caves saints fall into three groups: a) names with no sources (Sergius, Theophan, Sylvester and Gregory the iconographer); b) names with the Caves Patericon as the basic source (Arethas, Nikon the Emaciated, and Athanasius and Gregory of the Nearer Caves); c) three commemorations evidenced by the seventeenth-century ms. 201 of the Moscow

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[867] "Also added [to the 1891 calendar] were the names, missing in the [previous] calendar, of fifteen Kyivan saints of the Nearer Caves, whose service is celebrated in the Lavra and whose names are printed in the Liturgicons printed by the Kyivan Caves Lavra, and are commemorated at dismissals [of services] by priests, according to these Liturgicons, which were printed with the blessing of the Holy Synod. Some corrections were introduced in the names or identification of the saints." Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов,* 1:372.

[868] For example, besides the 1893 Liturgicon Korolevskij referred to, also the 1913 Gospel.

[869] Golubinskii had clearly negated that any of the saints of the Farther Caves had a separate commemoration. *История канонизации,* 205.

Academy[870] (Damian, Matthew and Jeremiah [5 October], Spiridon and Nicodemus [31 October], and Nikola Sviatosha [14 October]). The last two are also in the Lviv St. Onophrius Prolog No. 15,[871] while Nikola Sviatosha figures as well in the Papebrochian icons (1628).[872] Compared to the extensive borrowings of Northern and Eastern Rus' saints in Kyivan and Lviv calendars of the seventeenth century, the scarcity of contemporary Muscovite evidence for the veneration of the Caves saints shows that at this time the Ruthenians borrowed from Muscovite calendars much more readily than vice versa.

Several questions need to be addressed regarding the Caves saints in the RR. Why did the RR Commission (Tisserant) refer the decision about the Kyivan monks to the RV Commission? Why at the very outset of its work did the Commission recognize its incompetence to solve the problem? According to the *RR Minutes*, the problem was Korolevskij's suspicions about the historical reliability of the Patericon. His argument placed much weight on the fact that contemporary Russian scholars agreed in attributing "little historical value" to the Patericon. While he had expressed at the beginning that his

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[870] A list of Rus' saints from various calendars, composed in the second half of the seventeenth century in the Trinity Lavra, but also with many Kyivan saints: *Полный месяцеслов*, 1:382-383.

[871] See Martinov, *Annus*, 357-358, and Е. И. Калужняцкий, *Обзор славяно-русских памятников языка и письма, находящихся в библиотеках и архивах львовских* (Kyiv: The University Typography, 1877), 9; 11. Kaluzhniatskii gives no closer an identification for the Prolog than between the late fifteenth century and the seventeenth century: ibid, 8.

[872] In view of the scarcity of Muscovite evidence for the veneration of the Kyiv Caves saints in the seventeenth century, it is reasonable to suspect substantial Kyivan influence on the quoted manuscript (Moscow Academy 201), and even the Papebrochian icons. Archbishop Sergii believed the iconographer to be Pamva Berynda, a theologian and lexicographer who worked in Lviv and Kyiv in the early decades of the seventeenth century: *Полный месяцеслов*, 1:361

historical criticism had a predominantly apologetic intent, since Soviet anti-religious propaganda so often evidenced and ridiculed historical inaccuracies in Christian faith and cult, he seems here to have naively believed that Soviet scholarship was free of an aggressive atheistic bias against all things religious.[873] Raes does not counter Korolevskij's argument explicitly, but his later suggestion to collect and classify the Caves saints indicates that he did not treat the whole group or information about them as historically dubious.[874]

By referring the matter further, without a discussion about the historical reliability, Tisserant indicated that his foremost motivation was not the historical question. Even so, the question remains, why was the RV Commission seen as more qualified to decide the matter? The principal reason could hardly have been the composition of the RV Commission, since Korolevskij describes that the RV and the RR Commissions were comprised of practically the same people,[875] although this does not exclude the possibility that the RV Commission might have included some additional specialists.

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[873] It is notorious how much "scholarly" effort was put into denying anything extraordinary about the incorruptible state of the bodies buried in the Kyivan Caves. This fact itself, as the Soviet denials of the historicity of the Gospels themselves, should have made Korolevskij more cautious in endorsing their support for his argument.

[874] According to the agreement between Korolevskij and Raes, such "dubious" saints were not removed from the calendar out of respect for tradition, but another (historically certain) saint of similar category was introduced, to buttress the dubious commemoration. For some reason this did not extend to saints outside the "Byzantine stratum." See above, Chapter 3, C.3.

[875] "In point of fact, the two commissions were composed of the same people, simply changing the personnel to represent more particularly one or another of the recensions." Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications*, 393.

Such might have been J. Schweigl, who in 1941 wrote specifically about the work of the RV Commission regarding Slavic saints.[876]

It is thus more likely that the reason for the referral touched on the issue of the relation of the RR to the RV. While there were no formal principles of interdependence between the two, as Korolevskij attempted to demonstrate,[877] Tisserant's decision reveals a certain priority in his view of the RV over the RR. It is significant that this matter, as several others later, is not referred for the RV Commission to decide *for* the RR edition; the referral is rather for the RV to decide whether these saints will enter into the RV editions, and the RR will follow suit.[878] In other words, the RV Commission was not referred to as better qualified to solve the question, but as representing a reality (the Russian tradition) which has a priority over the Ruthenian tradition. This means that the question of these Kyivan saints in the RR calendar was to be taken out of the context of the Ruthenian tradition itself, and placed uniquely within the perspective, and criteria, of the Russian (Vulgate) tradition. This priority is stressed by Tisserant's curious phrase "...it being understood that there is no wish to influence it [the RV Commission] in any way whatsoever."[879] How this "no influencing" can be achieved when the members of the two Commissions were the same is difficult to imagine, unless it means that the matter should be decided *solely* according to the criteria of the RV editions, with no reference to the bearing of the matter on the RR editions.

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[876] Schweigl, *De menologio*.
[877] Korolevskij insisted on the different aims and methodologies of each, cf. Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications*, 392-393.
[878] "That which this [Vulgate] Commission will decide will be applied also to the Ruthenian recension." *RR Minutes*, 263.
[879] *RR Minutes*, 263.

Since such a decision conflicts with the basic reason for the two separate recensions, namely, the preservation of legitimate distinctions, [880] the reason why it should have been made remains all the more unclear, unless it is simply that Tisserant (and the other members) accepted the priority of the Russian tradition over the Ruthenian as so evident a fact that it was not susceptible to doubt.

The final question that remains to be considered is why the RV Commission rejected these Kyivan saints? Since we have no direct documentation available, there is only conjectural speculation. On numerous occasions Korolevskij emphasized the principle that "When a dissident Eastern Church comes into the Catholic Church she brings into it all her rites and all her liturgy; so also her menology or liturgical calendar. Only what is directly or indirectly against faith is excluded [...]."[881] In view of this and similar statements,[882] the Kyivan monks should not have been excluded, since they were already in the Russian Synodal calendar, except on dogmatic grounds. Such does not seem to have been the case, according to the few statements we have in the RR documentation, even though Kyivan Caves monks (collectively mentioned) were among those that Metropolitan Atanasii Sheptytsky ordered to be cancelled from the Ruthenian

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[880] "It is not part of the tradition of the Roman Church to deprive particular churches of their own liturgy, when the latter has antiquity to uphold it [...] and there was no reason for depriving the Ruthenians of their legitimate traditions on the pretext of a unification which moreover does not form part of the Eastern heritage." Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications*, 392-393.

[881] Ibid., 394.

[882] Cf.: "For the so-called Vulgate Russian recension, the text and the rubrics of the books in current use in Russia should be reproduced, merely with the elimination of anything not conformable to Catholic doctrine. [...] Apart from a very few passages, the entire liturgy of the Russian Church, as has already been said, is Catholic, with the exception, naturally, of a certain number of commemorations of persons whose sanctity the Catholic Church does not recognize." Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications*, 393-394.

books in 1738.[883] His authority was never invoked by the RR Commission. That doctrinal suspicion about the group was not the basic problem is also proven by the fact that the very same monks are given general commemorations on 28 September (Nearer Caves) and 28 August (Farther Caves).

But the RR-RV project foresaw also other reasons besides doctrinal ones for the exclusion of saints. Korolevskij continued the above statement: "[...] but this does not prevent the need for there being well-chosen critical standards for the moral, historical and hagiographical aspects, so that the inclusion or the exclusion of saints in a Catholic calendar can be decided upon, and so that the position of others can be submitted to fresh examination in accordance with developments in hagiographical studies."[884] As with doctrinal suspicions, there is no evidence to suspect that moral suspicions were the reason for the exclusion of these saints. On the contrary, Martinov gave most of them a positive evaluation.

The fact that all in this group are in the official 1891 Russian calendar but *not* in the Menaion can likewise hardly have been the reason for exclusion, since Stephen of Volodymyr in Volyn, Cyril of Turaw and Euphrosyne of Polatsk are also not in the Menaion. This distinction is of no significance for Archbishop Sergii, who includes them all in his first (normative) category (vol. 2).

The two possible reasons that remain are the historical one (the suspicion that Korolevskij expressed from the outset about *some* of the group), and a "political" one. If

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[883] Cf. *Объ исправленіи богослужебныхъ книгъ*, 9, 12, 29. Theodore and Basil of the Kyivan Caves are also mentioned specifically on p. 16.

[884] Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications*, 394-395. Schweigl's *De menologio* is an elaboration on this.

the main objection were the unreliability of the Patericon, it still remains unclear why the whole group associated with the Patericon would have been lumped together as historically uncertain, including even those who are mentioned in other historical sources, e.g. Nikola Sviatosha in the Chronicles. If the main objection was historical unreliability, the actual result would be that the "content" of the commemorations of the saints in the Nearer and Farther Caves would become quite nebulous: it would become a "group" in which no individual name can claim historical certainty. Consequently, a list of the saints of each commemoration, as printed in the Orthodox calendars[885] would be impossible. This is a different situation from the group commemorations where the names are unknown or unnecessary.[886] In this case, the names are known, because the bodies in the Caves are identified, but the faithful would remain uncertain about which are recommended for veneration (if any), and which are not. Paradoxically, if the group was excluded *en bloc* for fear of including historically uncertain saints, the Commission would be creating a liturgical (and historical) anomaly – a group commemoration (actually, two) which is to all practical effects devoid of members.

If historical unreliability was not the main objection, possibly it was some aspect of the relation of the RR to the RV. Could the RV Commission have considered that there were "too many" Kyivan saints in a Russian calendar? Golubinskii describes a certain hesitation (or unwillingness?) of the eighteenth-century Russians to include the

[885] Булгаков, *Настольная книга,* 330-332, 389-390.
[886] For example, Eudoxius, martyr, *and companions* (6 September), or the *Forty martyrs* of Sebastia (9 March).

Kyivan saints into their calendar.[887] However, why would the RV Commission have felt the need to resurrect this hesitation, once these saints were in the Russian calendar? Why should they have felt competent to do so, if no serious argument against the group could be made? The answer might lie precisely in the "political" image and relation of the RR and RV calendars.

The Ruthenian faithful were certainly enriched by the spiritual reality of ancient Rus', revived and bolstered by the eight Rus' commemorations of the RR that were not in the 1929 Lviv Liturgicon[888] (besides the two group commemorations under discussion). But, in fact, the only commemoration connected with Kyiv itself was not a Rus' saint but the Dedication of the church of St. George. But even this commemoration did not increase the number of strictly "Kyivan" commemorations in the RR in respect to the 1929 Liturgicon, since in the former the 2 May Borys and Hlib commemoration was dropped. Although Stephen of Volodymyr in Volyn was a monk of the Kyivan Caves, the RR caption does not mention this.

It is true that, of the twenty-five commemorations (12 of Rus' saints and 13 of Rus' icons of the Mother of God) that the RV has above the RR, the name "Moscow" does not figure at all.[889] But for this very reason, if this group of fourteen[890] Kyivan

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[887] "It was only in 1762 that the Holy Synod published the decree that the Kyivan saints were to be entered into the general (Moscow) calendars and their services to be printed in the monthly menaia. The decree was confirmed twice – in 1775 and 1784." Голубинский, *История канонизации,* 202.

[888] Abramius of Rostov, Cyril of Turaw, Euphrosyne of Polatsk, Dedication of the church of St. George, the Lithuanian martyrs, Michael and Theodore of Chernihiv, Nikita of Pereiaslav-Zaleskii, Stephen of Volodymyr in Volyn.

[889] Although Sergius of Radonezh (25 September; 5 July), Stephen of Perm (26 April), the icon of the Vladimir Mother of God (21 May, 23 June, 26 August), as also the Kazan (22 October; 8 July), the Ustiug (8 July), the Don (19 August), the "Joy of All Who

commemorations would have remained in the RV, they would have been the largest group from a single town or monastery. This is because the RV omitted as unacceptable the many Moscow saints that were in the Petersburg-Synod calendar. In other words, it might be conjectured that, having omitted the Moscow and many other Russian saints for dogmatic reasons, the RV Commission decided to omit also the Kyivan saints, even if there was no dogmatic objection against them, so as to avoid a disproportionate number of Kyivans. This reasoning has its justification for the RV, even from the spiritual point of view,[891] but when this decision was extended to the RR, the result was very different. If the fourteen Kyivan Caves commemorations had not been excluded from the RR, the existing disproportion between the Rus' additions to the RR (compared to the Lviv 1929 Liturgicon) and to the RV – ten to twenty two, not including the thirteen icon commemorations in the RV – would not be so great.

More important than the question of numbers is the general picture of the relation of the RR to the RV: if the two traditions had been intended to be perceived as equals, the two sanctorales might have been structured with a common core (e.g. Borys and Hlib, Anthony and Theodosius, Vladimir and Olha), adding specific saints for each of the two recensions. Thus the discussed Kyivan group might have been part of the

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Sorrow" (24 August), and even the Smolensk (28 July) and the Iversk (13 October) icons of the Mother of God are all commemorations closely bound to the history of Moscow, as evidenced in detail by Булгаков, *Настольная книга, ad diem.*

[890] That is, including Nectarius, discussed below.

[891] Certainly the inclusion or exclusion of a saint in a calendar on the basis of his or her geographic or ethnic attributes might seem coarse, but it is a feature that needed to be taken into account in such a general revision of the sanctorale as the RR-RV project. Actually, this is not much different from the "local" or "universal" characteristics that are basic for the distinction of the liturgical regulations concerning beatification and canonization in the Roman Catholic tradition.

specifically Ruthenian addition. The actual picture is that the RV has all the Rus' saints that RR has, plus the twenty-four commemorations (between saints and icons) that are not in the RR. It is difficult to perceive this as suggesting something other than the relationship of a part (the Ruthenian tradition) to a whole (the Russian tradition). It cannot be ascertained if such a disproportion was specifically intended by the commissions, but it is clear that the key decisions were made (by Tisserant's choice) in the context of the discussion of the Russian, not the Ruthenian, tradition.

b) The Varangian Martyrs of Kyiv, Theodore and John (12 July)

While Korolevskij had already agreed to refer the Caves monks to the RV Commission, he proposed to introduce the Varangian martyrs Theodore and John of Kyiv (d. 983), although he did not find them in his Petersburg-Synod text. He did not hint at any historical suspicions, and referred to Martinov for information.[892] The Commission agreed to accept them "if the Commission of the Vulgate keeps them."[893]

Martinov offers a brief description of the martyrs, and likewise has no historical suspicions, but does not quote anything earlier than the *Slovar istoricheskii*.[894] Archbishop Sergii finds them in the sixteenth-century Reading Menaion of Macarius, a fifteenth-century Rumiantsev Prolog (no. 321), and a seventeenth-century Prolog of the

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[892] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 228.
[893] *RR Minutes*, 295.
[894] *Словарь исторический о святых, прославленных в российской церкви и о некоторых подвижниках благочестия, место чтимых* (Historical dictionary of saints glorified in the Russian Church, and of some athletes of piety, locally venerated) 2d ed. (St. Petersburg, 1862); cf. Martinov, *Annus*, 176.

Kyiv Academy (no. O,7) at 25 October. He claims that "already in the days of Nestor (the Chronicler) they were venerated as saints."[895]

Golubinskii identifies John the Youth, one of the non-monastic saints of the Nearer Caves, with the Chronicle story of the Varangian martyrs (where the names are actually not given), but notices that the Chronicle states that the place of their burial was unknown. He does not include the father (Theodore) in his list of Kyivan saints.[896] Likewise the calendar of the 1913 Kyivan Gospel mentions only "The holy martyr John the child, who lies in the Nearer Caves in Kyiv." On the other hand, the Moscow 1675 Prolog (f. 535) commemorated "the blessed Varangian martyr and his son John," while Dmytrii of Rostov names both: "Theodore the Varangian and his son John, martyrs in Kyiv."[897] The martyrs are in Bulgakov's second category (in the full 1891 calendar but not in the Menaion).[898]

There is no explanation (or apparent reason) why the RR Commission would have also referred these Kyivan saints to the RV Commission. Initially, in the *Osservazioni*, Korolevskij thought they were good candidates for the RR, and that the decision was in the RR Commission's competence. Even the absence of the commemoration in his 1893 Kyiv Liturgicon did not seem to him a deterring factor. Evidently by the sixth session the RR Commission agreed that the RV would decide all matters connected with Kyiv.[899]

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[895] Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:211.
[896] Bulgakov, *Canonization*, 211.
[897] In the Moscow 1875 edition.
[898] Булгаков, *Настольная книга*, 264.
[899] Tisserant had not been present since the first session (on the calendar), at which he ruled the referral of the Caves monks to the RV decision. It remains to suppose that Raes

Although there does not appear to be a problem with the historical (except maybe the names) or doctrinal characteristics of Theodore and John's commemoration, the RV Commission decided to follow the lead of the 1893 Kyiv Liturgicon (in excluding them), over that of the 1913 Kyiv Gospel Book, or the 1891 calendar to include them. Since John is also one of the saints in the Nearer Caves, the ensuing situation is similar to that group, where the individual commemoration is eliminated, but the saints are venerated, supposedly, in the group commemoration. The particular loss to the Ruthenian faithful in this elimination is a unique concrete spiritual contact with pre-Vladimirian Kyivan Christianity (the only other witness being Olha), but also an example of saints (albeit martyrs) that belong neither to the hierarchy, nor to the monastic order, nor to the nobility. Such examples are extremely rare.

c) The Serbian Saints: Arsenius (28 October) and Sava (14 January)

The discussion about the Serbian saints opened concerning Archbishop Arsenius (d. 1251), but soon centered on his predecessor Sava (d. 1235), who was the first to establish an independent (autocephalous) Serbian archbishopric. Korolevskij's initial proposition was brief: he presents Arsenius as included in the Lviv 1679 and 1694 editions, and also in the Petersburg-Synod calendar. He adds that Martinov considered to be Catholics both Arsenius and Sava who ordained him, but leaves the actual proposal in

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(rather than Zaiachkivskyi) convinced Korolevskyi that Tisserant's ruling was to extend to all saints associated with Kyiv. The reason why Raes would have assumed this, and Korolevskyi and Zaiachkivskyi accepted it, or why the assumption was not verified with Tisserant, is not evident from available documentation, except for the presumed priority of the RV (Russian tradition) over the RR (Ruthenian tradition), as discussed above.

the form of a question: "Should we retain him?"[900] At the session Raes must have expressed a doubt, and he volunteered to check with a Father Sakač, who was temporarily in Rome, "about the status of studies regarding Arsenius."[901]

At the opening of the next session Raes informs that Sakač did not feel competent to declare if Sava (along with Arsenius) was Catholic or not, but he was sure that Sava opposed the Latins (evidently, those who sacked Constantinople) and that he procured autonomy for the Serbian Church, but this was done "for political, not for religious reasons."[902] Sava is presented by the Commission as being so popular and authoritative among the Serbs that "to eliminate him from the [Catholic] calendar would be to alienate the Serbs from the Catholic Church in a most grave manner."[903] The members of the Commission agreed this should not be done except for truly inevitable motives, and also that "they lacked sufficient faculty to decide" the matter, so they resolved to refer the case to Tisserant.[904]

Again, at the opening of the following session, there is a proposal to consult another presumed expert, Dr. Janko Šimrak of Krizevci eparchy, "whether he considers [Sava] to be a Catholic and eligible to be retained [in the calendar]."[905] In the meantime, in examining 12 January, the day Sava appears in the Petersburg-Synod calendar, it is decided to retain this date (and not the fourteenth, as in the Ruthenian sources), if Sava is to be included.

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[900] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 198.
[901] *RR Minutes*, 267.
[902] Ibid., 269.
[903] Ibid., 269.
[904] "[...] non si riconoscono bastante facoltà per decidere." Ibid., 270.
[905] Ibid., 276.

The final mention of the matter (in the *RR Minutes*) is at the sixty-first (last) session, when Tisserant was present. "All agreed that there were many reasons to accept [Sava], [and that] his opposing the Latins came from political, not religious motives," but Tisserant did not decide the matter. Instead, it was resolved (again) that Korolevskij should consult with Šimrak about the question.[906]

The examined copy of the *RR Minutes* closes formally at this session with a note that another session might be convoked, if Korolevskij prepares sufficient material. There is therefore no information about the actual decision not to include the Serbian saints, which comes as a surprise after the previous deliberations. Šimrak's consultation might have been overwhelmingly negative, for example, including indisputable evidence of "religious" opposition to Rome, which was previously unknown to the Commission.[907]

Another consideration may have been that, since at the time there was formally no "Serbian Catholic Church", there was no Catholic community which would be a "direct heir" to the legacy of these saints. Therefore, Orthodox Serbs, instead of being alienated by the omission of their saints by Catholics, might just as well have been less than happy that their saints were being declared "Catholics," a term that still does not enjoy positive connotations in many Orthodox circles.[908]

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[906] Ibid., 306-307. This was the only question, of a half-dozen referred to Tisserant, not to be settled.

[907] Sava's "opposition to the Latins [of Constantinople]" need not have created any embarrassment, since Pope Innocent III himself excommunicated all those involved in the 1204 pillage of Constantinople. Adrian Fortesque, *The Orthodox Eastern Church* (New York, 1907, reprinted 1969) 226-228.

[908] For a recent example of such a reaction, see the energetic comments of Iryna Zhylenko about Anthony and Theodosius being considered "Catholic" saints, in

Finally, it is also possible that the matter may have been referred to and decided by the RV Commission, as were several others concerning the Slavic sanctorale. The whole matter illustrates the extreme caution with which some of the decisions were made, trying to do justice not only to Roman prerogatives in the matter, but also to possible non-Catholic reactions, as best as they could be anticipated.

Whatever the motivation, with the exclusion of the Serbian saints, the Ruthenian Slavic sanctorale lost one of its most characteristic pre-1596 elements: as far as the scarce available information shows, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ruthenian calendars, even if they contained few Rus' saints, very often included some Serbian and Bulgarian saints. Examples available to the RR Commission could be Sava and Arsenius of Serbia in the Ostrih Bible (1581), and Sava and Symeon of Serbia in three of the Lviv-Przemyśl manuscipt fragments Martinov describes.[909]

4.C. Saints Rejected by the RR Commission

The following group of commemorations was directly rejected by the RR Commission, without recourse to the RV Commission. The principles involved were primarily historical, dogmatic, and ethnic, as formulated by Korolevskij, and they were applied in most cases with no discussion. A closer look at these commemorations,

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Патерик києво-печерський, за редакцією, написаною 1462 року по Різдві Христовому печерським ченцем Касіяном (The Kyivan Caves Patericon, according to the version written by Cassian, monk of the Caves, in 1462 A. D.), transl. and comm. Iryna Zhylenko, 2d ed. (Kyiv, 2001) 270-271.

[909] Manuscript 15 of the Lviv Onuphrius monastery collection (L15), and numbers 1 and 2 of the Przemyśl manuscripts: Martinov, *Annus,* 12; 357. Martinov does not date these manuscripts. This situation is confirmed by the more extensive documentation in Naumow, *Rękopisy.*

especially their relation to the Ruthenian tradition, will offer additional perspectives to assess the principles of the RR.

4.C.1. Saints Rejected by the RR Commission, but which Appeared in the RR

The Synaxis of the Kyivan Caves Monks of the Nearer Caves

While Korolevskij did not propose the Synaxis of the Kyivan Caves Monks of the Nearer Caves[910] in his *Osservazioni,* the *RR Minutes* record that the Commission rejected "the collective commemoration of the holy monks of Kyiv as a purely local feast."[911] This was at the first RR session, at the review of 28 September, therefore before the decision of Tisserant to refer the decision on the Kyivan Caves monks to the RV Commission. The mention about the feast being "local" refers to its not being included in the 1891 official calendar, but among the local commemorations that were printed in the 1903 Moscow "Vernyi mesiatseslov" (Reliable calendar).[912] Archbishop Sergii gives no liturgical evidence for his mention of the feast,[913] but Kabanets claims that the feast was celebrated locally from around the beginning of the eighteenth century.[914]

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[910] There are different lists of the saints in the Nearer Caves. Iryna Zhylenko, following Bulgakov, lists seventy-three: *Патерик києво-печерський,* 282-283, *Настольная книга,* 390; Levytskyi enumerates seventy-nine: *Святі Київської Церкви,* 80-82. Often the lists include Juliana Olshanska and John the (Varangian) Youth.

[911] *RR Minutes*, 262.

[912] *Верный месяцеслов*, published with the blessing of the Holy Synod. Bulgakov includes all of these local commemorations in his *Настольная книга*: cf. *Ibidem*, xxxiii.

[913] At 22 September, in his third (i.e. local) category: *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:292-293.

[914] Кабанець, *Петро Могила,* 154. Zhylenko says the end of the seventeenth century: *Патерик києво-печерський*, 281.

Documentation which could explain the reversal of the decision to omit the Synaxis (either of the RR sessions following the sixty-first, of the RV sessions) is still unavailable, but very likely it was seen as a "compensation" for the canceling of all the individual commemorations of the Caves saints. If the solution of the 1891 calendar (to include the individual commemorations but not the Synaxis) may be compared to the inverted solution of the RR (and RV), the Kyivan Church is hagiographically much better represented in the former (even if only from 1891). This contrast is all the more prominent when considering that the RR is an edition specifically for the Kyivan Church. In addition, the Russian Orthodox solution is liturgically (and logically) more justified, since it is easier to understand the Synaxis as superfluous if the individual saints are commemorated, rather than having a Synaxis in which one may not venerate as saints any of the individual members. The addition of at least several of these saints to the calendar would have resolved this contradiction.

4.C.2. Saints Rejected by the RR Commission, and which did not Appear in the RR

a) Rejected as unnecessary

Death of Hlib (5 September); Transferal of the Relics of Borys and Hlib (2 May)

Korolevskij excluded as "unnecessary" two additional Borys-and-Hlib feasts: the death of Hlib (5 September, 1015), and the (second) transfer of their relics (2 May, 1115). The Commission supported both exclusions.[915] Korolevskij says he found the 5 September commemoration only in the Lviv 1694 Anthologion and the 2 May

[915] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 191, 221; *RR Minutes,* 261 (no comment), 287.

commemoration only in the 1793 Suprasl Horologion and the 1929 Lviv (Sheptytsky) Liturgicon (both Uniate). Indeed, the 5 September commemoration is rare in Ruthenian sources, but the 2 May commemoration could be found in many Lviv and Kyivan seventeenth-century liturgical books.[916] Neither commemoration is mentioned in Kulchynskyi's list, since he was interested primarily in giving the list of saints, not all their commemorations.[917]

Both feasts have an extensive representation in early Rus' and Ruthenian liturgical practice. The commemoration of the 1115 transferal soon became the second most popular Borys-and-Hlib feast (after 24 July), overshadowing the previous transferal of 20 May, 1072, and actually the third most frequent Rus' feasts in early Rus', after 24 July and 26 November (the Dedication of the church of St. George in Kyiv). Popularly it soon also acquired an agrarian connotation. It is the last feast instituted before the fall of Kyiv in 1240, and therefore the last to be borrowed by Balkan calendars.[918]

It is not clear why the Commission deemed superfluous these additional Borys-and-Hlib commemorations (disregarding even Sheptytsky's inclusion of the 2 May commemoration), while retaining two commemorations for Theodosius of the Caves, and, in the RV, double commemorations for Sergius of Radonezh, Sergius and German

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[916] To quote a few, the 2 May commemoration is in the 1491 Cracow Horologion, the 1619 Kyiv Anthologion, the *Palinodia*, the 1638 Lviv Anthologion, the 1636 and 1670 Lviv Gospels, which include few Slavic saints, and the 1777 Pochaiv (Uniate) Anthologion, which also includes the 5 September commemoration.

[917] Kulchynskyi gives a double commemoration only for Metropolitan Alexis.

[918] Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 105-106.

of Valaam, and the Kazan Icon, and a triple date for the Vladimir Icon.[919] It does seem to show that the commissions felt they could take more liberties with the Ruthenian calendar than with the Russian.

b) Rejected for ethnic reasons

Theodore of Smolensk and his sons David and Constantine (19 September); Sergius (25 September) and Nikon of Radonezh (17 November); and Alexander Nevskii (23 November).

There are four commemorations Korolevskij immediately discounted from the RR for ethnic reasons:[920] Theodore of Smolensk and his sons David and Constantine (d. 1299, 1321, [?]), Sergius of Radonezh (d. 1392), Nikon of Radonezh (d. 1426), and Alexander Nevskii (d. 1263). About Theodore and sons, Korolevskij gave brief biographical data, concluding that "they belong rather to Great Russia, therefore we need not deal with them for now."[921] About Sergius he simply states, "he belongs to Great Russia," and for Nikon, "he is a Great Russian, therefore to be omitted from the Ruthenian Recension."[922] About Alexander Nevskii, he comments that "Martinov considered [him] a Catholic, and quotes extensively a letter of [Pope] Innocent IV. [We] will deal with him for the Vulgate."[923] In all four cases comments are lacking in the *RR*

[919] While the RV Commission worked after the RR Commission, the calendar of the RR was first published in the 1942 Liturgicon, after the work of the RV Commission, not in the initial 1940 edition.
[920] "Ethnic" here refers to the content that Korolevskij gave his principal distinction between "saints of Ruthenia" and "saints of Moscovia." See Chapter 3, section C.4.b above.
[921] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 192.
[922] Ibid., 193; 203.
[923] Ibid., 203.

Minutes, evidently meaning that the Commission fully agreed with the exclusion of these saints from the RR.

The record of all four commemorations in the Russian tradition is fairly similar, in that they all received early general canonization and have liturgical evidence of their veneration shortly thereafter.[924] As to the Ruthenian tradition, Korolevskij quoted the Lviv Orthodox Anthologia of 1694 for Sergius, Theodore and Nikon, and 1643 for the latter two. Several more could be added: the Anthologia of 1619 and 1651 for all three, and 1680 for Sergius and Nikon. That is why Kylczynski included these three in his list. A surprising witness for Nikon, which Korolevskij notes, is the Uniate 1777 Pochaiv Anthologion.[925] None of these are mentioned in Atanasii Sheptytsky's 1738 cancellation list.

Alexander's Ruthenian record is different. Korolevskij quoted no sources in his comment, and indeed he is not included in the documents quoted for the others, nor in the additional Ruthenian documents I examined, even those who evidently borrowed heavily from Muscovite sources. This is why it is surprising that, among modern

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[924] Alexander was locally venerated from 1380 before his general canonization at the first Macarian synod (1547): Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 65; 100. By 1448 Sergius was being listed among the greater miracle-workers of Rus'. Nikon's local veneration started in the Trinity Lavra a half-century prior to his canonization at the 1547 synod (ibid., 82-83). The veneration of Theodore and sons started 1468 and became general by mid-sixteenth century, but probably prior to the Macarian synods, since they are not mentioned in that context (ibid., 76-77). Exceptionally, liturgical evidence for Alexander and Nikon appears almost immediately after their 1547 canonization: Alexander is listed in a 1548 Typicon (Ustav 336 of the Synodal Library: Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:363), and in the same year a church was built over the grave of Nikon in the Trinity Lavra: Булгаков, *Настольная книга*, 457. All four have services in the Menaion but only Sergius is of the *polyeleos* rank.

Ukrainian hagiographers, Metropolitan Ilarion, while not including Theodore, Sergius, and Nikon, who were extensively evidenced, includes only Alexander Nevskii, not evidenced at all. He did so on the basis not of liturgical evidence but because "he was the son of Kyivan Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodovich, the great-grandson of the Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh."[926] Of the three commemorations, Levytskyi chooses all but Nikon, and Dublianskyi chooses none.[927] In other words, Nikon, who had the most evidence, even Uniate, was not chosen by any.

While all four were not admitted to the RR, only Theodore and Sergius entered the RV. Alexander Nevskii might have been rejected because of suspicions that his (anti-Western) military merits weighed more in his canonization than his Christian virtues. A likely reason for Nikon's exclusion was that the RV Commission decided to establish a cut-off date at about 1400, just after the death of Sergius of Radonezh (1392) and Stephen of Perm (1396).[928]

Aside from the ethnic principle, which was clearly primary for the RR Commission, the omission of Alexander Nevskii – *pace* Metropolitan Ilarion and Levytskyi – is most understandable.[929] Less so is the omission of Nikon and Theodore

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[925] The Anthologion identifies Nikon as "hegumen of the monastery of the Life-giving Trinity, disciple of Sergius the wonder-worker" (f. 152), but does not include a commemoration of Sergius.

[926] Іларіон, *Українська патрологія*, 84. Alexander's absence in the calendar listing (p. 149) must be an oversight.

[927] Левицький, *Святі Київської Церкви,* 76, 83, 107; Дублянський, *Українські святі.*

[928] The RR documentation does not include the mention of a cut-off date, but Raes later commented that all the selected saints were prior to the (rejection of) the Union of Florence: *La première édition,* 521.

[929] Aside from the liturgical record there must have been other objections against him, since he did not enter into the RV either. Commenting on the popular veneration of

and sons, especially in view of the liturgical evidence. The fact that the liturgical evidence was primarily Orthodox was not an obstacle for the Commission, since several saints were accepted with only Orthodox evidence of veneration. A special argument in favor of Nikon's inclusion in the RR was his presence in the Uniate 1777 Anthologion, but since he was not included in the RV, he was omitted also from the RR.[930]

Theodore and sons, who did enter the RV, could also have been candidates for the RR in view of the unique position and history of Smolensk on the borderline between Lithuania and Muscovy.[931] Even after the final taking of Smolensk by Moscow in 1654, and the resulting inclusion of the Uniate archeparchy into the Moscow metropolitanate, the Ruthenian Uniate hierarchy continued to consider it a part of the Kyivan Uniate metropolitanate and to elect bishops for Smolensk well into the eighteenth century.[932]

Borys and Hlib, Senyk expresses some reserve to Alexander's veneration: "The case of Alexander Nevskij, some two centuries later, shows how futile official wishes are in making a saint truly popular." *History*, 232.

[930] There are no Rus' or Slavic saints in the RR that are not in the RV.

[931] The city tried to maintain political independence from both Lithuania and Moscow, but was taken by Lithuania in 1404. The eparchy of Smolensk was included in the Kyivan metropolitanate at the division of 1458, but this changed when the city was annexed by Moscow in 1514. After the Poles captured Smolensk in 1611, the Rus' archeparchy was renewed in 1626 as part of the Kyivan Uniate metropolitanate. For a summary of the political and ecclesial history of Smolensk in this period, see Jan Krajcar, "Religious Conditions in Smolensk: 1611-1654" *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 33 (1967) 404-405. Krajcar shows that the Polish occupation was so oppressive of the Rus' (Eastern Christian) populace that they welcomed being re-annexed by Muscovy.

[932] Dmytro Blazejowskyj lists the (arch)eparchy of Smolensk as being in the Kyivan jurisdiction from 1137 to 1514 and from 1625 to 1778, when the eparchy ceased to exist." *The Hierarchy of the Kyivan Church (861-1990)* (Rome, 1990) 458. The eparchy continued to be listed in the annual *Notizie dell'anno...* directory of the Roman Apostolic See (the predecessor of *Annuario Pontificio*) as an "archeparchy for Uniates in White Russia" until 1807/1808. By contrast, the eparchies of Briansk or even Chernihiv were never listed from the beginning of the directory's publication in 1716: D. Blazejowskyj, *Byzantine Kyivan Rite Metropolitanates, Eparchies, and Exarchates. Nomenclature and*

c) Rejected for Doctrinal Reasons

Peter of Kyiv (21 December, 24 August)

When Korolevskij brought up Metropolitan Peter of Kyiv (d. 1326) at the review of 21 December, he simply mentioned that Peter had already been dismissed previously.[933] Earlier, in his comments on the *Proskomidē*, which were apparently in answer to a preceding discussion,[934] Korolevskij emphatically stated "once and for all" his opinion of the Rus' hierarchs (which were in the Petersburg-Synod *Proskomidē*). On that occasion he discounted Metropolitan Michael as historically uncertain (see below), as also Metropolitans Peter, Alexis and Jonas as "canonized for political reasons," and Metropolitan Phillip II as "too recent," meaning, undoubtedly outside the Roman communion. Korolevkij expressed a favorable view of Nikita of Novgorod and Leontius of Rostov, and these ultimately entered the RV. The Commission accepted all these comments favorably.[935]

About Metropolitan Peter Korolevskij commented additionally that he was of Galician origin,[936] that "maybe" he obtained the metropolitan see by simony, and that his canonization under Metropolitan Macarius and Tzar Ivan the Terrible was primarily due to his having favored Moscow, i.e. having transferred the metropolitan residence from

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Statistics. (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University, 1980), 50 [=Sacrum Ucrainae Millennium, 1].

[933] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 206.

[934] There was an initial discussion about some Slavic or Rus' saints at Session Seven, on occasion of the review of the deaconal litany and presbyteral prayer at the Litê of Great Vespers, but the *RR Minutes* mention that the discussion on these saints was not recorded: *RR Minutes*, 275. The examined copy of the *RR Minutes* lacks sessions three through eleven.

[935] *RR Minutes*, 126.

[936] Actually, he was from Volyn.

the town of Vladimir-on-the-Kliazma to Moscow, which (transfer) was a potent support for Moscow's claims in the struggle for political hegemony.[937]

Korolevskij's verdict on all these hierarchs was most categorical, without even a reference to a source. He also did not bother commenting that Martinov, for example, had presented Metropolitan Peter in a thoroughly positive light, with no suspicion of simony, and in fact supportive of Kulczynski's claim that Peter was surely Catholic. He also did not mention that Metropolitan Peter had an exceptionally prominent record in Ruthenian calendars in Ostrih, Lviv and Kyiv.[938] The situation is quite unlike Korolevskij, both in that he sidesteps a contrary opinion or evidence, and does not reveal the source of his negative verdict. This strongly indicates that it was not an issue he considered debatable. We have no documentation to know whether Korolevskij persuaded the Commission with factual evidence, or simply influenced it to trust his judgment.

It is noteworthy that the reasons for rejecting Metropolitan Peter were specified as a) a *suspicion* of simony, and b) the political motivation attributed to Metropolitan Macarius and Tsar Ivan the Terrible, which in no way incriminates the person of Peter. No charge of non-Catholicity or factual moral vice was mentioned.[939] Theoretically, this

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[937] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 94.

[938] The Lviv 1643 and 1651 Anthologia placed Metropolitan Peter's 21 December commemoration before that of the Byzantine commemoration (the martyr Juliana of Nicomedia), and added the full text of his service in an appendix, as was done for Vladimir and Borys and Hlib.

[939] By comparison, Korolevskij describes Metropolitan Alexis as having "the sole care" (as metropolitan) of extending the hegemony of Moscow, or Metropolitan Jonah as being the adversary of Cardinal Isidore: *Osservazioni*, 94.

means that if the suspicion of simony was dispelled, Peter's canonization should be acceptable.

If Korolevskij had not attributed too much weight to the suspicion of simony and followed Martinov in a positive evaluation of Metropolitan Peter, and consequently included him in the RR, the Ruthenian Catholics would have been severely challenged to accept among their saints a native of Ukrainian lands (Volyn) who contributed so significantly to the political rise of Moscow, and was celebrated as such by the Russian Orthodox Church. There is no evidence to suppose that Korolevskij would have shied away from imposing on the Ruthenians this "inconvenience," but Peter's impressive Ruthenian record (albeit Orthodox) could have strongly buttressed the move. We can only speculate if Peter would have exacerbated Ruthenian-Russian relations, or become a factor of re-fashioning national and political stereotypes.

Phillip of Moscow (9 January)

As with Metropolitan Peter, during the review of the calendar at 9 January the *Osservazioni* refer to the previous rejection of Metropolitan Phillip (d. 1569), which was decided at the review of the *Proskomidē*.[940] But in this case the situation is almost the reverse, as compared to Metropolitan Peter. Korolevskij gives a thoroughly positive picture of Metropolitan Phillip, as one who opposed Ivan the Terrible in "his dissolute and sacrilegious life," for which (opposition) he was murdered. "A beautiful figure, but impossible for Catholics [to accept in the calendar], because there is no doubt he lived in a time of open schism, and because of an impossible [to accept] popular

[940] Ibid., 94.

canonization."[941] In other words, unlike Metropolitan Peter, Phillip is declared righteous, or even a martyr, but disqualified as schismatic. Unlike Metropolitan Peter, Phillip, canonized in 1652, did not enter the Orthodox Ruthenian calendars until long after the inclusion of the Metropolitanate of Kyiv into the Patriarchate of Moscow.

These two cases demonstrate that, on the one hand, where the Commission recognized grounds for doubt (even suspicion) about the moral integrity of the person, it disregarded both authoritative Catholic opinion and extensive liturgical evidence, albeit Orthodox. On the other hand, the Commission rejected an indisputable candidate to sainthood, solely on the formal grounds of his lack of communion with Rome. As in the previous case, if a different view were to be adopted concerning persons who inherited a schismatic position,[942] Phillip would surely qualify for a Catholic calendar. His martyr's mission of challenging abusive political power even unto death would make him a symbol of a virtue that Ruthenians could readily appreciate, or should be encouraged to do so.

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[941] "Bella figura, ma impossibile per i cattolici perchè non vi è dubbio che abbia vissuto in epoca di aperto schisma e di canonizzazione anche popolare impossibile." Ibid., 94. The reference to the popular canonization is not clear.

[942] What Jugie (following St. Augustine) called a material, not a formal, schismatic: "A material schismatic [i.e. who is not directly responsible for the schism] is not a true schismatic, but a separated Christian who lives with peace of conscience within his sect, which he takes in good faith to be the true Church." *Terminologie unioniste*, 130, 131.

d) Rejected as Historically Uncertain

Michael of Kyiv (30 September)

In the *Osservazioni* for 30 September, Korolevskij simply mentioned that "St Michael, the supposed first metropolitan of Kyiv," had already been eliminated.[943] The Commission repeated the decision, reiterating Korolevskij's information that "the existence of this Michael is not proven."[944] Korolevskij had also previously noted that Michael's liturgical evidence is only recent – he was not yet included in the *Proskomidē* in the Moscow 1837 Liturgicon.

Archbishop Sergii[945] does not offer any evidence about Metropolitan Michael prior to the eighteenth century,[946] but informs that his relics lie in the Dormition church of the Kyivan Lavra and that to 1730 he was celebrated in the Lavra on 15 June, afterwards on 30 September. Bulgakov adds that the relics lay previously in the church of the Tithe, and after the fall of Kyiv were transferred to the Nearer Caves, from where they were put in the Lavra's Dormition church in 1730.[947]

As to the question of the name of the first metropolitan of Kyiv, in the Chronicles there are about a half dozen variants, the earliest being Leon (Leontius) and Michael. One of the more plausible views today accepts neither, but a certain Theophylact.[948]

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[943] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 193. This was a reference to the first mention of Metropolitan Michael in the review of the *Proskomidē*, ibid., 94.
[944] *RR Minutes*, 262.
[945] Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:304.
[946] Reference is to several versions of the *Книга глаголемая: описаніе о россійских святых...* (The book called: A description of Russian saints...), which is a hagiographic, not liturgical source (cf. Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 1:380-383). The meaning of his "Ч. М." reference is not clear.
[947] Булгаков, *Настольная книга,* 392.
[948] For the discussion, see Senyk, *History*, 85-89.

Korolevskij's comment that "the existence [of Metropolitan Michael] is not certain" needs qualification. On the one hand, it seems obvious that the veneration of Metropolitan Michael intended primarily to celebrate the *first* (founding) hierarch of the Kyivan Metropolitanate, a generally positive picture of whom is available in the Chronicles. The aim is to glorify God for the founding of the Church in Rus'. This is common practice regarding the founders of local Churches and monasteries. The criterion of canonization is ecclesial rather than personal, individual. Conflicting evidence about the founder's name, as about his origin,[949] is a secondary concern. From this point of view, Korolevskij's comment, as formulated, appears irrelevant, because obviously there *was* a first metropolitan, whatever his name.[950]

On the other hand, a valid concern is the question of the authenticity of the relics that were venerated as Metropolitan Michael's. The question is legitimate, given the lack of evidence about these relics until recent times. If the honoring of relics was to be taken seriously, especially in the face of atheist accusations, the Church should make an honest effort to admit the questionable status of dubious relics, and exclude them from public veneration. Relics should not be invented to satisfy a formality. This is a justifiable aspect of Korolevskij's objection, but this objection is clearly outside Korolevskij's (or rather the RR Commission's) competence in general, and especially as reviewers of the

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[949] About Metropolitan Michael's origin, there is mention of Syria, Bulgaria, and Greece: Булгаков, *Настольная книга,* 391.

[950] The Byzantine calendar accepts "nameless" saints, if they are identified as a group, e.g. the Seven Youths of Ephesus, or the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. There is, however, a tendency, in hymnography and hagiography, to fill in lacking names. It is not the practice to have a single person without a name.

calendar. Doubt about the authenticity of relics can hardly be a reason of exclusion from the calendar.[951]

Even so, Korolevskij's objection points to a need to review the situation, since it would be inconvenient for the calendar to maintain veneration of "Michael" as the first metropolitan, if historical scholarship, followed by textbooks, were to unanimously speak of another name, for example, Theophylact, as above.

Nectarius of the Caves (29 November)

Nectarius, whom Korolevskij finds in the Petersburg-Synod calendar at 29 November, has even less historical and liturgical evidence than Metropolitan Michael. Korolevskij "note[s] in passing" that while he is in the Synodal calendar, there is no mention of him in the Patericon, and neither Martinov not Leonidas offer any biographical information.[952] The *Slovar Istoricheskii* (Historical Dictionary) only adds that his relics are accessible in the Nearer ("Anthony's") Caves, and that he is venerated in the Lavra [locally] on 29 November.[953] Nectarius is in the 1891 Russian Orthodox calendar, but with no service in the Menaion. He is also included among those venerated in the Synaxis of the Nearer Caves (28 September).[954]

It would seem that Nectarius, about whom nothing is known except that his relics are in the Nearer Caves, would be at a great disadvantage even if there had been a motion to include individual Caves monks in the Ruthenian calendar. Nonetheless, if his

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[951] This problem was "resolved" in 1943 when the Soviets, retreating from Kyiv, demolished the Lavra's Dormition church.
[952] Korolevskij, *Osservazioni*, 204
[953] *Словарь исторический о святых,* 175. The source about the veneration is a description of the Lavra.
[954] Булгаков, *Настольная книга,* 1:481; 389.

veneration by the Lavra and the Kyivan (and Russian) Church is viewed as something more than a mistake or hagiographic indifference, Nectarius can well be a model of the monastic ideals of humility and self-effacement, but also a reminder that our relationship to the saints should be not only one of imitation but also of invocation.

e) Ruthenian icons

The Zhyrovitsia Mother of God

The RR Commission considered only a single proposal for the introduction of the commemoration of an icon into the RR calendar. At the fifty-ninth session, just prior to the review of the final month of August, Korolevskij proposed "to reestablish the feast of the [icon of the] Zhirovitsia Mother of God, greatly venerated by the Ruthenians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."[955]

Korolevskij's proposal at the session was spontaneous, since it does not coincide with a date in the calendar, and is not included in his *Osservazioni.* Zaiachkivskyi responded to the proposal in what appears a less than enthusiastic tone, observing that "there are many other miraculous icons in Galicia, but for each of them the feast is always observed on 8 September." In other words, there was no sense in making mention of single icons, if they were all commemorated on the same day. Nonetheless, Korolevskij thought individual dates for icons were to be found, and promised to check the Zhirovitstia icon in particular. The matter was not mentioned further.

The most obvious reason why Korolevskij singled out the Zhirovitstia icon was that there was an ancient copy of this icon in the Ruthenian church in Rome, at the

[955] *RR Minutes*, 296.

residence of the Ruthenian procurator, popularly known as *La Madonna del Pascolo.* While literally Korolevskij's proposal suggested that only this single icon was proposed, his intent was probably to introduce through a notable example the question of the commemoration of icons in the RR.

The issue may have been dropped because the expected information was not found,[956] but also probably due to the fact that such commemorations were customarily not listed in Ruthenian calendars, and the Commission did not opt for making this innovation, especially after Zaiachkivskyi's remark. While indeed the Ruthenian Catholics were not used to having the commemoration of icons in their calendar, this would have been well appreciated by Ruthenian Orthodox, who were at the time under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate. A Ruthenian group of icon-commemorations, parallel to that of the RV, would have added much to the image of equal standing of the Ruthenian and Russian traditions.

4.D. Saints not discussed by the RR Commission, but which appeared in the RR

The final group of saints to be considered are those which were added to the RR, but the discussion about them does not appear in the *RR Minutes*. The most likely explanation of this situation is that the discussion and the decision was made at a session following the sixty-first, which closes the available documentation. The possibility of such an additional session (or sessions) was indeed mentioned at the closing of the sixty-first, and Korolevskij states that the work on the Ruthenian recension comprised sixty-

two sessions.[957] The other possibility is that the decision was made by the RV Commission, at least in some cases, and transferred to the RR. All these saints are also in the RV.

Due to the lack of documentation, we can only speculate about the motivations for these additions. The following comments aim to examine possible motivations, based on information about lives and veneration of the saints.

a) Rus' saints

Michael and Theodore of Chernihiv (20 September), Abraham of Rostov (29 October)

The commemorations of Michael and Theodore of Chernihiv (d. 1246) and of Abraham of Rostov (about the eleventh century) [958] are quite dissimilar in regards to the Ruthenian tradition. Michael was prince of Chernihiv. When after the fall of Kyiv he traveled to the Khan to receive from him sanction to continue ruling as his vassal, as did many other Rus' noblemen under the Tartars, he was put to death, along with his boyar Theodore, for refusing to show homage to the Tartar deities. The bodies were brought first to Vladimir, and then to Chernihiv. While the earliest evidence of veneration is a church built before 1271 in their honor by Michael's daughter and grandsons in Rostov, there may also have also been some local veneration, since the Chronicles record a

[956] Bulgakov reproduces the lengthy list of Marian icons according to the Moscow 1907 publication "Слава Богоматери." *Настольная книга*, 1566-1590. Here the Zhirovitsia icon is commemorated 7 May.
[957] Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications*, 394.
[958] There is a wide range of disagreement (from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries) on the basic chronology of his life.

miracle shortly after their death.[959] Textual evidence of veneration is from the fourteenth century onwards,[960] maybe even from the last quarter of the thirteenth century.[961] Their early popularity was surely connected to their image as opposers of Tartar rule. Later Muscovite rulers eagerly appropriated this image: Tsar Ivan IV took their relics from Chernihiv to Moscow in 1575, putting them in a church built in their honor, and Catherine II had an elaborate silver casket prepared for them in 1774, on the occasion of peace with Turkey.[962] The Russian Orthodox calendar includes also a commemoration of the transferal of the relics to Moscow (14 February), but without a service.[963]

Michael and Theodore are present only in select Ruthenian sources. These include the 1583 Vilnius Liturgicon, the 1619 and 1680 Kyiv Anthologia, the *Palinodia,* and the 1638 Lviv Anthologion, but not its following editions. While it is possible there was some local veneration at the grave (before the transfer to Moscow), the sources for the above Ruthenian evidence were probably Muscovite. Nonetheless Kulchynskyi included the martyrs in his list. It is surprising that Korolevskij (and the Commission) overlooked Michael and Theodore at 20 September in the original review of the calendar, but if the oversight was corrected by the RV Commission, and the saints accepted for the RV, they could not have been omitted for the RR, since Chernihiv is in contemporary Ukrainian territory.

The situation of Abraham of Rostov is quite different. His biography mentions he was a monk before he came to Rostov, but, unlike in the case of the Rostov bishops

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[959] Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 62.
[960] Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:283.
[961] Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы,* 111-112
[962] *Исторический словарь*, 167

Leontius and Isaia, there is no mention of his having a connection with Kyiv. Abraham is present only in those Ruthenian sources that evidently borrowed from Muscovite calendars (the Kyiv 1619 and 1680 Anthologia and Kopystenskyi's Palinodia (1621). The reason, therefore, for his inclusion in the RR is not evident: it is difficult to explain why the RR Commission would have included in the RR a Muscovite saint with no connection to Kyiv. Martinov states that Abraham was from the town of Galich ("*ex urbe Galič*"),[964] but it is uncertain if the Commission mistook this to mean Halich in Galicia, instead of Galich five hundred kilometers northeast of Moscow. Otherwise, Abraham, whose biography notes he converted many in Rostov, possibly in the earliest times, remains in the RR as an image of a missionary monk. Abraham was the subject of one of the two major articles that Martinov contributed to the Acta Sanctorum; the other article was about Arethas of the Kyivan Caves, who did not enter the RR.[965]

b) Other Slavic Saints

Wenceslas of Bohemia (28 September)

Wenceslas, duke of Bohemia, was killed by his brother Boleslav (935) apparently for both political and religious reasons. The political reason was that Wenceslas preferred becoming a subject of the aggressive German emperor, rather than waging an unpromising struggle against him. On the religious plane his assassination was also a pagan reaction against the Christianization of Bohemia, begun by his grandmother, Ludmila; her assassination in 921 was also religiously motivated. Some sources also

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[963] Булгаков, *Настольная книга*, 92.
[964] Martinov, *Annus*, 265.
[965] Martinov, *De B. Abramio*, and *De B. Aretha*.

include interecclesial politics in Wenceslas's death. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1912) states that he favored the introduction of German priests because of the lack of the earlier established Slavic (Eastern-Rite) clergy. Orthodox sources on the contrary often state that it was Boleslav that favored the Latin clergy, implying that Wenceslas, true to his upbringing by Ludmila, preferred the Eastern.[966]

Wenceslas, along with Ludmila, are among the earliest saints the early Kyivan calendar borrowed from other Slavic Churches. The *Tale of Borys and Hlib* mentions that the death of the brothers is similar to that of Wenceslas. Elements of Olga's *Life* are also based on the *Life* of Ludmila. Wenceslas is listed in the 1092 Archangelsk Gospel, to which Archbishop Sergii ascribes Southern-Rus' influence, and his liturgical service is in the 1095-1096 Novgorod Menaion, but then is absent from the sources until the fourteenth century.[967] Archbishop Sergii finds him in some fifteenth-century Prologs.[968] Wenceslas appeared in the 1610 Moscow Typicon, from where he was borrowed by the 1619 Kyiv Anthologion, but then disappears from all Ruthenian liturgical books until the 1740 Univ Liturgicon.

The Lviv Liturgical Commission examined the proposal to introduce Wenceslas into the Ruthenian calendar. The Commission condoned introducing Wenceslas into the calendar of the Eastern Catholics in Czechoslovakia, but not in Galicia, probably

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[966] Cf. Bishop Nikolai Velimirović, *The Prologue from Ochrid. Lives of the Saints and Homilies for Every Day in the Year*. Transl. By Mother Maria (Birmingham: Lazarica Press, 1986) and Булгаков, *Настольная книга,* 389. Loseva prefers not to polarize the two positions (*Русские месяцесловы*, 84-85). The *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967) dropped the mention of the interecclesial conflict.

[967] Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 84-85. Loseva explains the hiatus by a temporary interruption of literature coming from Bohemia to Rus'.

[968] Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:301.

because the Commission decided not to recommend any new introductions at all.[969] The introduction of Wenceslas into the RR was on the other hand facilitated by the numerous additions done previously. This commemoration has the virtue of remembering the Bohemian contribution to Kyivan Christianity, and at the same time evidencing the wide and varied cultural contacts of the early Kyivan Church.

Clement of Ochrid (27 July)

Clement of Ochrid (d. 916) was the most talented and influential among the five principal disciples of Cyril and Methodius. His missionary and literary activity (mostly translations) did much for the establishing and development of the Slavonic language as a missionary tool among the Slavs. Unlike Wenceslas, Clement is not found in any Ruthenian sources. Archbishop Sergii lists him in his third category, that is, Rus' local saints, but does not give any Slavic sources, only a Greek menaion.[970] Martinov, who praises him enthusiastically, quotes only the eleventh-century Assemani Glagolitic Gospel and a recent Bulgarian collection. His inclusion in the RR, along with that of John of Rila, witness to the continuation of the Cyril and Methodian mission, and generally to the Bulgarian heritage in the Kyivan Church.

b) Other Eastern Saints

Nilus of Grottaferrata (27 September)

Nilus the Younger, or of Rossano (d. 1005) was the founder of the Greek Grottaferrata monastery (1004) near Rome. In its thousand-year history the monastery was an important reminder of the presence of the Greek Rite in Italy, even if by the end

[969] *Lviv Minutes*, 286-87. See above, Chapter 1, section A.3.c.

of the nineteenth century it was latinized to an extreme degree, a situation that was somewhat corrected in the twentieth century. The monastery figures in the RR documentation both in a negative light, as the printers of the 1583 Liturgicon-Missal under the patronage of Cardinal Nerli, which became the model for the first Ruthenian Liturgicon of Missal format, the 1692 Vilnius Liturgicon, and also in a positive light, as the printers of the RR and RV editions. Nilus appears neither in the Russian nor in the Ruthenian tradition. Without a doubt, the reason for introducing Nilus into the RR (and RV) calendar was to indicate its good example of (incipient) de-latinization, but more fundamentally, to create this point of contact of the Ruthenian Church with the ancient Italo-Greek and the contemporary Italo-Albanian Eastern Catholic Church.

Maron the Anchorite (14 February)

Maron was a Syrian priest-monk (d. 410), whose pastoral work, and, in later centuries, whose monastery, gave rise to one of the ramifications deriving from the ancient Church of Antioch – the Maronites, who today constitute an Eastern Catholic Church with its own Rite. Archbishop Sergii marks him in Greek synaxaria of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and also in the sixteenth-century Macarian Great Menaion,[971] but he appears to have entered the Russian calendar only in the nineteenth century.[972] Maron appears in the 1891 Calendar, but not in the Menaion,[973] and surprisingly, not in the Kyivan Orthodox 1913 Gospel. He is also not in Ruthenian Catholic calendars. The motivation for his inclusion in the RR was surely, as in Nilus's

[970] Сергий, *Полный месяцеслов*, 2:226.
[971] Ibid., 2:43.
[972] Martinov, *Annus*, 73.
[973] Булгаков, *Настольная книга*, 91.

case, to establish some ecclesial relations between the Ruthenians and the Maronite Church.

c) Western Saints

Francis of Assisi

There is no mention of the decision to include Francis of Assisi in the RR documents, but Korolevskij does mention it when he briefly describes the new features of the RV sanctorale in 1945.[974] There he explains that Francis was added in consideration of the popularity that Francis had been gaining recently in Russian (Orthodox) devotional literature, based on a spiritual congeniality between the humility of Francis and that of many Russian saints. The decision was therefore made primarily for the RV, then applied to the RR.

There was probably no evidence for Francis ever being in an Eastern Slavic calendar, but the choice of an eminent Western monastic figure, with no particular doctrinal involvement in ecclesial life, as a witness to spiritual affinity between the Roman and Eastern Slavic Churches, was certainly among the better prospects.[975] The initiative, besides of the mention of Russian literature, also seems related to the suggestion of Clement Sheptytsky to enhance the presence of Western saints in the Ruthenian calendar – and possibly the reciprocal inclusion of (Slavic) Eastern saints in the Roman calendar – as a potent factor of East-West ecclesial reconciliation.[976] Nevertheless, the Commission would have been better advised to distinguish between

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[974] Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications*, 395.

[975] Francis was among the Western saints proposed for the Ruthenian calendar at the 1891 Lviv Synod.

the situation of the Ruthenian Catholic Church, which showed an initiative for such borrowings, and the Russian Catholic Church, which was in a different situation and did not express that desire. The inclusion of Francis in the RV (and even the RR), without the participation of the Russian Catholic (or Ruthenian) authorities, is without a doubt an overstepping of the Commission's authority, and was based more on romantic (and paternalistic) ideas about the Eastern Slavic Churches than on pastoral realism and prudence.[977]

4.E. The Liturgical and Hagiographic Configurations of the RR Sanctorale

4.E.1. The Liturgical Picture of the RR Sanctorale

The overall liturgical picture of the RR Slavic sanctorale, as any other sanctorale, is fashioned by the variable elements that constitute the single entries in the calendar: the order and rank of commemoration, the indications or availability of texts, and the formulation of the entries themselves. These are the factors that gives a particular commemoration its specific character, especially in a harmonious interplay with other commemorations.

During the sessions the RR Commission decided not to follow the Lviv 1929 Liturgicon and recent Ruthenian editions in listing Slavic commemorations before the Byzantine commemorations of the day, but rather the older Slavic tradition of placing all Slavic entries after the full Byzantine text (and service), even if the Slavic

[976] About Clement Sheptytsky's suggestion, see Chapter 1, section B.5.d above.

commemoration ranked higher. In the 1942 RR Liturgicon, this was achieved by entering all the Slavic entries, and the other RR innovations, in a characteristic small print after the main entry. This distinguished the whole group of the RR modifications fairly well, except that there was a handful of other entries in the same small print also. In the 1950 RR Horologion the same disposition was retained, with the difference that the Slavic (and other RR) entries were placed after all the liturgical texts of the main entries, in less distinguishable small print, which made the single additions harder to distinguish.

There was a drawback to the use of the small print or "secondary" position of the entire set. The Commission could not have intended to indicate thereby a lower or secondary status of these commemorations or saints,[978] because in many cases the liturgical ranks of the additions were higher than the primary commemorations. Nonetheless, the small print may have communicated some sense of an optional or secondary character to those commemorations that were less familiar to Ruthenians, most of which were of the lower liturgical ranks. This, along with the lack of some explanation about the additions, as also the lack of hymnography in the Horologion, may have contributed to a neglect of these commemorations in actual liturgical practice.

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[977] For a contemporary thoroughly negative view of Francis from an Orthodox point of view, see George Macris, "A Comparison of the Spirituality of Francis of Assisi with that of St. Sepaphim of Sarov," in *Orthodox Life* 49, no. 3 (1999): 35-48.

[978] No such practice of "secondary" status, comparable to that of the beatified in Roman Catholic practice, exists in Ruthenian practice. If there are many commemorations for a day, no more than two are celebrated with a full service, a third may be celebrated at Compline, and the rest are simply commemorated at dismissal prayers, or transferred to another day.

The Slavic (and non-Slavic) additions of the RR to the Ruthenian calendar cover the full range of liturgical ranks for saints. The highest rank for saints (service with vigil) was allotted to Josaphat,[979] Vladimir, and the joint commemoration of Cyril and Methodius (11 May). The intermediate (or *polyeleos*) rank was given to those other Slavic saints which were in the 1929 sanctorale[980] (except for Olha and the Lithuanian martyrs).

The lower (or non-*polyeleos*) rank has in the RR four variants: [981] The highest (red text with red bracket) was allotted only to Michael and Theodore of Chernihiv.[982] In the next rank (red text without bracket) are almost all the other Rus' additions that were made to the calendar (along with Olha).[983] Lower still (black text with bracket) are Parasceve of Tarnovo and John of Rila; the simplest rank (black text without bracket) includes the Lithuanian martyrs, the other Slavic, the other Eastern, the Eastern Catholic, and the Western commemorations introduced to the RR calendar.[984]

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[979] In the 1942 RR Liturgicon Josaphat is exceptionally in regular print (as a main entry), while in the RV Liturgicon he appears in small print as all the others. This need not be seen as an additional enhancement of his commemoration for the RR (and not for the RV), because in the 1950 RR Horologion he occupies the customary secondary position. The significant difference for Josaphat in the RV is that there he is of the *polyeleos*, not vigil rank, as in the RR.

[980] Anthony, Borys and Hlib, a double commemoration for Theodosius, and separate commemorations for Cyril and for Methodius.

[981] Only three of these are explained in the introduction to the calendar in the Liturgicon and Horologion. The red-without-bracket is not explained. I assume it is a rank lower than the red-with-bracket.

[982] In the 1950 RR Horologion Nikita of Pereiaslav-Zaleskii is raised to this rank, as in the RV.

[983] Abraham of Rostov, Cyril, Euphrosyne, Olha, Stephen of Volodymyr-in-Volyn, and the Synaxes of the Nearer and the Farther Caves.

[984] Clement of Ochrid and Wenceslas of Bohemia; Nilus of Grottaferrata, Nina of Georgia, and Maron the anchorite; Gomidas Keumurgian, Ghebre-Michael, and the Maronite martyrs; Francis of Assisi, Julian of Cenomanum, and Martin of Tours.

Thus the structure of the different ranks not only reflects a hierarchic view of the entire group, but proposes an interpretation of Ruthenian ecclesial (and sanctoral) history: The highest place is given to the apostles of Slavic Christianity, to the baptizer of Kyivan Rus', and to the martyr for the Union. In the intermediate position are the key princely and monastic saints of early Kyivan Rus' (without Olha), and again Cyril and Methodius (individually). First among the lower ranks are the rest of the Rus' saints (in red), with Michael and Theodore, and later also Nikita, in the lead (with bracket). After the Rus' saints come all the other Slavic and non-Slavic saints (in black), headed by Parasceve of Tarnovo and John of Rila (with bracket).

The ranks for these commemorations in the RV are almost identical, except for Josaphat, as mentioned above. As to the eleven additional "Muscovite" saints of the RV, one (Sergius of Radonezh) is added to the *polyeleos* group, and over half of the rest are in the highest (red-with-bracket) non-*polyeleos* group, where Michael and Theodore are alone for the RR. Thus, in the RV the "specifically Muscovite" saints are generally of a higher rank than the "Kyivan" saints (which for the RV is natural), but in the RR the Kyivan saints are generally of a lower rank. The raising of Nikita (a "Muscovite" according to Korolevskij) to the higher rank in 1950 just increased the disproportion. Most of the thirteen commemorations of Marian icons in the RV are of the *polyeleos* rank.

Augustine and Jerome are also of this simplest rank, the former being also entered in small print. While the Lithuanian martyrs are of this simplest rank, they are in the main entry, with proper troparion and kontakion.

The RR Horologion carried proper texts (troparia and kontakia) for the vigil and *polyeleos* ranks, and for some of the lower.[985] The RR Liturgicon, which, instead of the troparia and kontakia, included psalm verses (usually the *prokeimenon*) and the instructions for the common service to be taken, offers this information for the vigil- and *polyeleos*-rank saints, and select others.[986] While usually only the higher ranks have instructions about texts and services, this should not be understood as positive instructions that only these commemorations should be celebrated in full, and others only mentioned, since most of the saints in the main entries have no such indications, as they are common knowledge.

Finally, in the application of the borrowings from the Roman Church, the Commission explicitly evaded any reference or resemblance to the Roman "beatified" status in liturgical practice; even saints who were "only" beatified in the Roman Church were introduced into the RR calendar with the full characteristics of regularly canonized saints, including the liturgical title "saint."

4.E.2. The Hagiographic Image of the Ruthenian Church

The present study did not undertake a hagiographic examination of the saints of the RR sanctorale, since the object of the study is not the RR sanctorale itself, but the work of the RR Commission, which did not effect such an examination. All the same, the RR sanctorale offers a hagiographic image of the Kyivan Church which deserves

[985] The church of St. George, the Lithuanian martyrs, Olha, and Parasceve of Tarnovo.
[986] Michael and Theodore of Chernihiv, Nikita of Pereiaslav-Zaleskii, Abraham of Rostov, and John of Rila.

analysis. Such an image can be derived primarily from the types of Rus' saints that are in the sanctorale and the prominence that is accorded them.

While the "type" of a saint's sanctity or the circumstances of her exploits are not necessarily the primary factors in the salutary influence of a saint – her personal influence in the relationship of prayer with the faithful is – they do play a notable role in formulating the ecclesial consciousness of the faithful who know and relate to the saint. Consequently, though many of the following comments deal with "external" factors of the saints, they are indeed factors that influence the interior life.

Of the seventeen Rus' saints in the RR three are bishops, five are monks, and nine are laypersons. Of the bishops, one is a martyr; of the monks, besides the five named individually, there is a great majority who remain "anonymous" (in the group commemorations). All nine laypersons are of the ruling class, and six of them are of princely status, which is fairly typical for medieval sanctorales. Four out of six princes and seven out of nine laypersons are martyrs, with a variety of executioners: a rival brother, a heathen head of state, and heathen invaders. This sets a high standard for lay sanctity, and the variety of the martyrdom makes up for the poorly represented lay non-martyr state.

The Rus' saints that figure in the *higher* liturgical ranks (vigil and *polyeleos*) are: one bishop (Josaphat), two monks (Anthony and Theodosius), and three laypersons-princes (Vladimir, Borys, and Hlib). All of these are directly related to Kyiv, except the bishop. In the *lower* liturgical ranks are: two bishops (Cyril of Turaw and Stephen of Volodymyr), three individual monastics (Euphrosyne, Nikita of Pereiaslav-Zaleskii, and Abraham of Rostov) and two monastic group commemorations (Kyivan Nearer and

Farther Caves), and among the laypersons, three of princely status (Olha, Michael and Theodore of Chernihiv) and the three non-princely martyrs of Lithuania.[987] The "leaders" among the higher ranks are a bishop and a layman, among the lower ranks – prince-martyrs.

Most of the saints in the lower liturgical ranks (except Olha and the Caves group commemorations) are of the wider Kyivan metropolitanate. The geography represented (besides Kyiv) covers Kyivan Rus's Northwest (Polatsk, Vilnius), Northeast (Pereiaslav-Zaleskii, Rostov) and South-Center (Turaw, Chernihiv). While such an arrangement seems a sufficiently varied representation of the diverse ecclesial and social spheres, it may be noted that there are no Kyivan metropolitans, and no Caves monks are mentioned by name except Anthony and Theodosius. Thus, compared to the 1929 sanctorale, in the RR the "territorial coverage" of Rus' saints was significantly augmented, while the hagiographic image of Kyivan reality was enhanced by the two Caves Synaxes, and the commemoration of the church of St. George.

Several insufficiencies of the RR Rus' sanctorale can be pointed out. Of the seventeen named saints only two are women, a princess and a nun, and both are in the lower liturgical ranks. There are no Marian commemorations connected with Rus'.[988] A factor towards fostering a missionary consciousness might have been the inclusion in the RR of the bishops of Rostov Isaia and Leontius (who are in the RV), who were Kyivan

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[987] The Lithuanian martyrs, who had positions in the princely court, were also probably of the ruling class, but there is no mention of this in the sanctorale.

[988] It was known, or supposed (cf. Булгаков, *Настольная книга*, 393, n. 1), that the feast of the Protection (Pokrov) is a feast of Northeast Rus' provenance (the function of which was partly to bolster ecclesial claims against Kyiv), but this is not apparent in the liturgical caption. See Лосева, *Русские месяцесловы*, 107-108.

missionaries to the heathen Northeast, instead of (or in addition to) Nikita of Pereiaslav-Zaleskii and Abraham of Rostov (who had no direct relation to Kyiv, but are in the RR).

Finally, in consideration of the traditional popularity of the Caves Patericon, and since there are no models in the RR Rus' sanctorale for lay (non-ruling) faithful, the inclusion in the RR of several individual commemorations of the Caves monks – especially those who were mentioned in other historical sources or had particular "professions"– would have been helpful in supplying these models. Of the most popular, such might have been Alypius, the icon-painter (17 August), Nestor, the chronicler (27 October), Agapetus, the unmercenary physician (1 June), and Spiridon and Nicodemus, the (prosfora) bakers (31 October).

The aim of the RR Commission for introducing the other Slavic and especially the non-Slavic saints, namely, to encourage a wider ecclesial consciousness and to advance ecclesial relations, certainly addressed an authentic spiritual need of the Ruthenian Church. This RR initiative reflected one of the characteristic traits of the Byzantine calendar itself, and, though the Commission was not aware of it, of early Rus' calendars also. The new (or renewed) presence of saints from Armenia, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Ethiopia, Georgia, Lebanon, Macedonia, and also medieval Byzantine and Romanic Italy and ancient Gaul, served well, at least theoretically, to widen the Ruthenian ecclesial horizons.

The addition of the Eastern Catholic saints was especially fortunate in this regard, but it may be observed that all the added Eastern Catholic saints (as also Josaphat) were martyrs. For the Eastern Catholics this may have been seen as an inspiring reminder of their recent history, a reminder "burdened" only by the fact that in the case of the

Armenian and Ethiopian martyrs, the causes of the martyrdom were antagonistic non-Catholic Christians. Ghebre-Michael's conversion to Catholicism was also the fruit of Roman Catholic missions in Christian Ethiopia in the mid-nineteenth century.[989] But, since martyrs are the "easiest" category for canonization, for the promoters of the accusations that Korolevskij quoted – that the Eastern Catholic Churches have lost their fecundity for saints – the accusation was still partly valid: since the various Unions, no Eastern Catholic non-martyrs were recognized as saints, even by Rome.

[989] It must be put to the credit of Justin de Jacobis, who was in charge of the mission, that he insisted, against the opinion of all his confreres, that converted indigenous clergy and new ordained converts remain of the Ethiopian Coptic Rite.

Chapter 5: The Significance of the RR Sanctorale

The following considerations will summarize what we have seen in the previous analysis of the work on the RR sanctorale, analyzing its significance according to its theological, liturgical, and historical aspects. These several dimensions are closely interrelated, and this may involve some repetition, but viewing them individually will help to better understand what the RR sanctorale achieved, as also its limitations, and the perspectives it opened.[990]

5.A. The Theological Aspect

The Dogmatic Evaluation

There were few instances in which the Commission formally applied a "dogmatic evaluation" to the Eastern Slavic saints. The one that was mentioned most in detail, where Korolevskij allegedly examined all his works, was Cyril of Turaw, who passed the test positively, at least in the sense that he was seen as not having taken part in the Trinitarian and Eucharistic controversies of the time.

On the contrary Hilarion of Moglena, the Serbian saints Arsenius and Sava, and Phillip, Metropolitan of Moscow, were all evaluated in a positive way as to their lives, but it was the fact of their not having been in communion with Rome that disqualified them from the Roman editions. This motivation was mentioned explicitly in Phillip's

[990] These considerations will be presented summarily, without full argumentation and references, since this would require repeating much of the previous. The individual themes and names can be found in the detailed Table of Contents.

case, and is the most likely explanation for the reversal of judgment in the other instances.

In most cases, the theological evaluation by the Commission was characterized by its recognizing, or taking for granted, the reality and the validity of the Slavic saints, notably with the additional application of a specific set of criteria. What was earlier formulated inchoately on the theoretical level – by the Bollandists in hagiography, by Tyszkiewicz in the area of spirituality, by Michel in dogmatics, and by *Irénikon* in hagiographic publications – the RR Commission put into practice, by introducing these saints into a Catholic calendar. The liturgical application was the ultimate confirmation of Catholic recognition of these saints. It was the answer to the appeal of Fedorov at Velehrad (1911) and of the Russian Catholics at their Synod of St. Petersburg (1917). The impact on Western Catholic theology can be exemplified by the case of Yves Congar, who prepared in 1937 a favorable study on the saints canonized in the Orthodox Churches, but published it only in 1948.[991] Congar admitted that the RV publications "were for the present study very important; in the strict sense, [they] authorized it."[992]

As can be observed in Schweigl's explanation of the RR and RV sanctorales, the Commissions followed Tyszkiewicz's lead in the differentiation of approach to the various categories of Eastern Slavic saints, instead of establishing a cut-off point after which saints would be unacceptable; or rather the cut-off point was *de facto*, if not

[991] Yves M.-J. Congar, "A propos des saints canonisés dans les Églises Orthodoxes," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 20 (1948): 240-259.
[992] Ibid., 240, n.1.

formally, established[993] at the farthest possible date, that is, Moscow's rejection of the Union of Florence in 1441. It should be noted that even this cut-off point could have been valid only for the Muscovite Church, and not for the Kyivan metropolitanate, which did not reject Florence until 1520. This means that factually the Commissions viewed the Kyivan Metropolitanate as in communion with Rome from the beginnings until 1520, and then from 1596, when communion was renewed at Brest. This was the view of Kojalowicz, followed by Papebrochius and Kulchynskyi.

One of the interesting transformations of the dogmatic approach to Eastern "post-schism" saints was that the full recognition of these saints ceased to be viewed as a polemical argument against the "truth" of the Catholic Church, and became instead an apologetic argument *for* the true "catholicity" of the Catholic Church.[994] Likewise, the addition of the recently beatified saints of the Eastern Catholic Churches to the RR sanctorale was intended as an apologetic answer to the accusation that these Churches have supposedly lost their fecundity in sanctity, due to their union with Rome.

The Moral Criterion

It is surprising that the RR documentation contains little moral evaluation of the candidates to the sanctorale. It was clearly not on the Commission's agenda to enter into this question in detail. In can be said that in most cases the Commission supposed a positive moral evaluation, and in these instances a reference to Martinov for the

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[993] This was not decided during the RR sessions, but in 1942 Raes thus formulates his explanation of the acceptance (into the RV) of some Russian hierarchs, and the rejection of others: *La première édition,* 521. Schweigl, writing just previously, did not mention this.

[994] Congar, *A propos des saints*, 255.

biography was deemed sufficient. Consequently, when a moral evaluation was, in fact, made, it was often a negative one, that is, an evaluation in which the Commission disagreed with the generally positive assessment offered by Martinov. As mentioned above, even when the moral evaluation of a candidate was positive (even eminently so, as in the case of Metropolitan Phillip), the candidate was nonetheless disqualified when it was accepted beyond doubt that he or she had been out of communion with Rome. This means that the Commission accepted into the RR only saints that it believed to be, or presumed to be, in communion with Rome. The category of a "material schismatic," who did not provoke, but inherited the schism in good faith, and therefore, according to Jugie and St. Augustine, carried no responsibility for the schism, was not considered by the Commissions as a candidate for the RR and RV sanctorale.

Further Investigation

Crucial to the understanding of the RR's theological and hagiographic contribution to the question of Eastern saints is the fact that the Commission never intended its work to be taken as the final word in the matter. The hagiographic results of the RR (and RV) witness to certain theological positions that were firmly and formally established, but were also meant to be an open door for further development. Korolevskij explicitly mentions that besides those saints established, "the position of others can be submitted to fresh examination in accordance with developments in hagiographical studies."[995] Since the full Petersburg-Synod calendar had been reviewed, Korolevskij must have

[995] Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications*, 395. Korolevskij might also have mentioned a development in ecclesiological studies. Besides the study of the spirituality of the

meant the possibility of a "fresh examination" also for those who had not entered the RR and RV.

The RR Commission does not address the question about who in the future would be doing the "fresh examination" – whether Rome or the respective Eastern Catholic authority. However, since all the modifications in the RR were made strictly within the Eastern Congregation (which was acting at the request of the Ruthenian hierarchy), with no recourse to the Congregation of Rites, the only Curial authority competent at the time in matters of canonization (also Eastern Catholic), it follows that the revision of the sanctorale was dealt with – as the rest of the revision – as a liturgical issue, and accomplished according to the (patriarchal) rights of the Eastern Catholic Churches, which were fully sufficient to settle all liturgical questions. Korolevskij had in 1927 appealed to the patriarchal rights of the Maronite Church for the justification of the borrowing of the Roman beatified persons, which was realized in the RR.

Furthermore, in all of the above-examined dealings of Rome with the question of the recognition or non-recognition of Rus' or Eastern Slavic saints,[996] Rome never claimed that it alone had authority in this matter, nor denied this prerogative to the respective Eastern hierarchical authority. On the contrary, in all these cases Rome was

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Orthodox saints, it was the changes in the understanding of the Church that enabled the (partial) recognition of these saints.

[996] The Kolenda Horologion, the Zhokhovskyi Liturgicon, the Synod of Zamość, the critique of Fylypovych, the cancellations of Atanasii Sheptytsky, the inquiry about *Slovo Istini,* the St. Petersburg Synod. Neither was this claimed in the dissertations of individual Western theologians, historians and hagiographers examined. Later (1949) De Meester states that in the eventuality that "the Slavic world returns to the one true Church of Jesus Christ," the acceptance of Orthodox saints who lived outside of communion with Rome will be decided "case by case," and that "the Apostolic See of

reacting to some form of appeal from a Ruthenian, Russian or even Polish authority. Only in the case of the RR sanctorale review, the RR Commission took upon itself of its own initiative an aspect of the requested liturgical review that went beyond what the Ruthenian hierarchy had asked for or had in any way discussed, whether in the bishops' conferences or the Intereparchial Liturgical Commission. The only justification for the Commission's auto-authorization to undertake the review of the sanctorale, especially its Slavic aspect, was an implicit supposition that Korolevskij, who proposed the project, was a reliable interpreter of Metropolitan Andrei's liturgical intentions – something that was already difficult to verify by correspondence by the end of 1939 because of the war and the Soviet occupation of Galicia – but also an assumption that the metropolitan's liturgical intentions would have coincided with those of the other Ruthenian bishops – something which, given the controversies of the last decades, could hardly have been supposed.

Within this perspective, what the RR Commission accomplished, also concerning the Slavic sanctorale, should probably be seen as having been fully within the competence of the Ruthenian hierarchy, and delegated, or presumed to be delegated, to the Eastern Congregation. In this case, in any further instance of the investigation of the question, as in any other subsequent liturgical issue, the Ruthenian hierarchy would again have the choice of either resolving the matter on its own, or of delegating it to another authority. There was no real support for an argument that the *ne varietur*

Rome, the sole depositary of the truth, remains the only and supreme judge in the matter." Idem, *La canonizzazione*, 406-407.

character of the editions as a whole – which itself was highly controversial – should also apply to the calendar, and the Slavic sanctorale in particular.

5.B. The Liturgical Aspect

Beatification and Canonization

The liturgical aspect of the work of the RR Commission concerns first of all the question of the introduction into the Ruthenian calendar persons who in the Roman Church had the status of "beatified". Several issues are involved. First, since the regulations for the veneration of the beatified in the Roman Church necessarily designated the territorial (or personal) limits of the permitted veneration, by introducing the three commemorations into the Ruthenian calendar the Commission was "extending" their cult. In the Roman Church such an extension would have required the intervention of the Congregation of Rites. The RR Commission did not (presumably) refer the matter to this Congregation, not out of disregard for the requirement, or to override the requirement, but because it acted on the basis of Eastern liturgical norms, which did not foresee an "intermediate" glorification of saints, only of "locally venerated" saints. What the RR Commission did was to apply to the Roman commemorations the norms of the Eastern tradition of the glorification of saints.

Second, in adapting these commemorations to the Ruthenian calendar, no specific status (for these "beatified") was introduced or invented. They were formulated as the commemorations of the other saints. The Commission specifically discussed and decided against the use of the title "*blazhennyi*" (blessed), which was often (but not universally) used in Ruthenian editions for Josaphat prior to his Roman canonization in

1867. Though the borrowed commemorations in question were of the simplest rank, they did not differ at all from all the other commemorations of this rank. In the event of the canonization of these beatified in the Roman Church, nothing will need to be changed in the Ruthenian calendar. The raising of their liturgical rank could occur independently of their canonization in the Roman Church.

Third, even though the RR Commission did not see it in these terms, the borrowing of the commemorations of the beatified was not simply an extension of their cult, but an extension to the *entire* Ruthenian Church, that is, a "generalization" of cult, or a *de facto* canonization, in the Eastern understanding.[997] While their rank can be raised in the Ruthenian Church, their status cannot, because they are fully venerated as saints.

In other words, the RR Commission acted according to the Eastern norms and treated the difference between beatification and canonization as a liturgical, rather than dogmatic, issue, viewing the first stage – according to Eastern categories – as already a full glorification, though actually local, which may be generalized.

The Recognition of Saints from Orthodox Sources

Another important liturgical aspect of the work of the RR Commission, which has significant theological implications, relates to the borrowing of saints from Orthodox liturgical sources. The Commission clearly insisted that all Rus' and Slavic saints that entered the RR were known to be or assumed to be Catholic, in the sense that they lived

[997] In Roman practice, the generalization of cult is a consequence of canonization, which is primarily a doctrinal pronouncement about the heavenly status of the saint. In Eastern

in an ecclesial community that was in communion with Rome, but more often than not, the "documentary evidence" – usually liturgical – was Orthodox.

Although Peeters had severely criticized both Golubinskii's research and the state of canonization theory and practice in the Russian Orthodox Church (that there were canonized saints who were not venerated, and venerated persons who were not "canonized"), the RR Commission never expressed the need to go beyond the liturgical evidence and establish with certainty when and by whom the saint was canonized. Evidence of valid veneration was taken as evidence of a valid canonization – valid also for the Ruthenian Catholic Church.

But the circumstances indicate that in a sense liturgical evidence was more important to the Commission than evidence of the canonization itself. While it is risky to speculate, it is quite likely that even an authentic document about the canonization of a saint would not have convinced the Commission to accept the saint into the RR, if evidence of veneration were lacking. On the contrary, the fact that the saint was venerated by the Orthodox Church was accepted as valid authorization for the RR (as long as other "dogmatic" criteria were also met).

Finally, there was no requirement that saints whose status was established *only* in Orthodox sources[998] needed to receive a formal Catholic confirmation, similar to an "equipollent beatification (or canonization)" or a "renewal of cult," as is required in

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practice, the generalization (or initial authorization, even local) of the cult *is* the canonization, inasmuch as it initiates, or authorizes, the "glorification" of the saint.

[998] The RR Commission was aware that it was acting on extremely limited liturgical documentation, since a full review of Rus' and Slavic saints in Ruthenian sources has not been done. Even so, the Commission never expressed the expectation that if Catholic

Roman practice (in analogous cases).[999] The inclusion of the saints in a Catholic liturgical calendar by a valid authority was sufficient procedure for recognizing the Catholic validity of the canonization.[1000] This means that the Commission was acting on behalf of the Ruthenian Catholic Church in a way, and according to categories, that could not have been applied (by a parallel Curial authority) to the Roman Church. Clearly, the Commission acted thus, not on the putative authority, or opinion, of an individual author (e.g. Kulchynskyi or Papebrochius) but because it recognized (even if implicitly) an indisputable ecclesial continuity and spiritual bond between the Ruthenian Catholic Church and the Ruthenian Orthodox Church – especially *as a praying, a liturgical community* – a continuity and bond such as the Roman Church does not (yet) have with any Orthodox Church, a continuity which could and was given canonical expression in liturgical practice, first of all in the sanctorale.

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liturgical evidence for a particular saint was not at the time available, it may be *assumed* that such evidence did exist.

[999] For the Orthodox saints who lived outside communion with Rome, De Meester – "not desiring to anticipate in any way the ruling of the Holy See" – presumes the need of a full examination of life and miracles, which resembles a canonization process, and a solemn "decision of the Successor of Peter, [who], assisted by the Holy Spirit, will give the infallible approval." Idem, *La canonizzazione*, 406.

[1000] In all these procedures the RR Commission was acting entirely in accordance with Eastern canonization concepts, as expressed by Golubinskii: "Without exception, those saints are to be considered canonized, whose feasts are celebrated, whether generally or locally, and recognized by the Church." Idem, *История канонизации*, 263. Cf. Peeters's comments, in Chapter 1, section B.5.c, "Canonization," above.

5.C. The Historical-Ethnic Aspect

The Historical Critique

At the very outset of the review of the calendar Korolevskij placed strong emphasis on the need to apply to the Ruthenian sanctorale a historical critique, primarily for apologetic reasons. This issue touched the Slavic sanctorale most of all in Korolevskij's categorical dismissal of the Kyivan Caves Patericon as a historical, and therefore hagiographic source for the Kyivan Caves saints. Korolevskij did not comment on Martinov's generally favorable acceptance of the Patericon, even though most often he referred to Martinov for biographical background for Slavic and Greek saints. He also did not return to the issue to qualify his initial rejection.

It is not likely, however, that the rejection of the Patericon was the primary reason for not including any individual saints of the Kyivan Caves Lavra (besides Anthony and Theodosius) as historically uncertain, because this would have implied the contradiction of having the commemoration of a group, the members of which were excluded as historically uncertain. Rather the decision about the Caves saints was made by the RV Commission,[1001] most likely in reference to the Russian tradition (i.e. to the general constellation of the RV sanctorale). The only time the evidence for a Kyivan monk was again discussed was in a review of Nectarius. But he was rejected not so much as being historically uncertain, as for having no biographical documentation at all.

[1001] The possibility that the decision would have been made at the sixty-second or following RR sessions (for which documentation is unavailable) is slender, seeing Tisserant's decisive initial referral of the matter to the RV Commission.

The argument of historical veracity also cancelled the commemoration of Michael, Metropolitan of Kyiv. Even here, the historical doubt could not have been about the figure of a first metropolitan, but rather about the actual name itself. The fact that the commemoration had been recently introduced into the Russian Orthodox Church in spite of the variance of names in the chronicles themselves, indicates that indeed it was a matter of commemorating the *first* metropolitan. The Commission did not recognize this as a valid consideration, presumably because of the relatively recent introduction of this commemoration.

The Ethnic Question

The ethnic question, or the relation of the Ruthenian to the Russian elements, is one of the central issues of the RR sanctorale. This is so not only because of the nature of the East Slavic ecclesial (and therefore sanctorale) history, but also because many key decisions of the RR were formally referred to the RV Commission. In a real sense, the RR sanctorale, more than any other element of the reviewed liturgical books, is an interpretation of the history of the Ruthenian (Kyivan) Church, especially in relation to the Russian (Muscovite) Church. A comparison, or composite view, of the two sanctorales is therefore not a question of superficial or competitive curiosity about a neighbor's sanctorale, but a requirement inherent in the nature of the RR-RV project.

The most evident characteristic of the relation of the two sanctorales is their disproportion, which is not only quantitative, but qualitative. While all the other (non Rus') commemorations added by the RR to the Ruthenian tradition are common also to the RV, regarding the Rus' commemorations, the nine additions to the RR are also in the

RV, but the RV has twelve additional Rus' commemorations, not counting thirteen commemorations of Marian icons, of which there are none in the RR. This is strongly suggestive of the relation of a part (the Kyivan tradition) to a whole (the Muscovite tradition), or that of a periphery to the center. These proportions do not even relate to the "common source" theory of the relation of Kyivan Rus' (as source) to the three East Slavic nations (as derivative),[1002] but directly reflect the most recent Russian Imperial (or Soviet) hegemony over Kyiv.[1003] The relationship of two parallel traditions, such as Korolevskij described in the *Voto* and the *Osservazioni* when speaking of the liturgical traditions in general, is lost.

The disproportion is not necessitated by the nature of the sanctorales of the two traditions,[1004] but was achieved by the exclusion (by the RV Commission) of thirteen commemorations of Kyivan Caves saints, and by ascribing exclusively to the RV five saints which could have also been candidates for the RR.[1005] It may be argued that the starting point for the RR (the 1929 Lviv Liturgicon, with nine Rus' commemorations)

[1002] A "common source" view would have been reflected if the two sanctorales shared a common basis (e.g. Vladimir and Olha, Borys and Hlib, Anthony and Theodosius), to which each of the two traditions would add a second set of their specific saints, preferably with some of each in common for both.

[1003] In view of this, it is paradoxical that Korolevskij's main objections against including metropolitans Peter and Alexis were that Peter's canonization was primarily motivated by his having chosen Moscow as residence, and that Alexis (excessively) used his pastoral position to foster the hegemony of Moscow.

[1004] All of the Rus' saints of the RR and RV lived in the time of the single undivided metropolitanate of Kyiv.

[1005] Prince Theodore "the Black" of Smolensk (d. 1299) and sons, and Abraham (d. ca. 1220s) of Smolensk – since Smolensk was still counted by Rome as belonging to the Kyivan Catholic metropolitanate at least until 1808; missionary bishops Leontius (d. 1073) and Isaia (d. 1090) of Rostov, who are believed to have been natives of Kyiv and monks of the Kyiv Caves; and bishop Nikita (d. 1108) of Novgorod, who surely was a monk of the Kyivan Caves.

and that for the RV (the Russian Orthodox editions, with about two hundred Rus' commemorations) were different,[1006] but the RR and RV Commissions (basically the same people) could not have overlooked or ignored the resulting proportion between the two (Rus') sanctorales, since the unification and correlation of the various Roman editions was a fundamental taask of the project as regards the sanctorales as well.

In the Rus' additions that were made to the Ruthenian calendar, the RR editions opened immense theological and spiritual possibilities which outweighed and outlived the limitations of the political and ethnic views of its creators. Ultimately, there could have been no objections on Rome's part if the Ruthenian hierarchy had decided in any of its numerous reprints of the RR books, to rearrange these Rus' saints into a configuration that better suited its understanding of its history, maybe even the inclusion of (some of) the saints that the Roman commissions had left out. Why this did not happen (until the publication of the *Sacrifice of praise* Liturgicon in 1996)[1007] will be mentioned below in the concluding pastoral considerations.

5.D. The question of canonization

Korolevskij made a point of explicitly denying that the novelty of including "a certain number of Russian saints" in the RR and the RV has any connection, "whether

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[1006] The objection becomes less relevant if one were to take the Ruthenian sanctorales of the seventeenth century as the starting point for the RR.

[1007] *The Sacrifice of Praise* (Parma, Oh., 1996), published with the authorization of Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Robert M. Moskal of Parma and the blessing of Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky, Ukrainian Catholic Major Archbishop of Lviv. The sanctorale contains numerous saints of both the Kyivan and Muscovite Orthodox metropolitanates.

direct or indirect, with the canonization of saints."[1008] The question must have been actively discussed within the RR and RV Commissions, since Schweigl also noticeably evades the terms "beatification" and "canonization" for the Slavic saints in the RR-RV sanctorales, and speaks of "retaining" rather than "including" the saints.

Actually, the question of canonization touches two aspects of the work of the RR Commission: the appropriation of Orthodox saints, and the inclusion into its sanctorale of individuals beatified by Rome. In the first instance, the RR Commission appropriated saints that had been canonized in the Ruthenian or Russian Orthodox Church. All of the "borrowed" saints were assumed to have been Catholic, having lived before the rejection of the Union of Florence, but the canonizing authority was sometimes clearly non-Catholic (e.g. Metropolitan Macarius in 1547 and 1549), and for some saints there was no evidence of Catholic veneration. By declaring that these borrowings were not canonizations, the Commission evidently recognized the canonization effected by the non-Catholic authority. It also acknowledged that these saints could be appropriated for the Ruthenian Church without regard to the ruling of Urban VIII about the necessary evidence of (Catholic) veneration prior to 1543. By comparison, such borrowings could not have been made for the *entire* Roman Church without recourse to the concept (and procedure) of canonization. By effecting the borrowings the way it did – without recourse to the Congregation of Rites and denying that a canonization was involved – the Commission affirmed that in the question of borrowing saints canonized by Orthodox, the Ruthenian Catholic Church had its own liturgical procedure, which was based on a relationship to the Orthodox Churches that the Roman Church did not have.

[1008] Korolevskij, *Liturgical Publications*, 394.

The second issue concerns borrowing beatified saints from the Roman Church. In effect, the Commission appropriated the commemorations of persons *locally* and provisionally venerated (this was the meaning of beatification) in the Roman Catholic Church, and transferred the commemorations to the *entire* Ruthenian Church. By comparison, as before, a local commemoration, especially one borrowed from *outside* the Roman Church, could not have been generalized within the *entire* Roman Church without recourse to the concept (and procedure) of canonization. In the Roman Catholic canonization procedure of the time the extension of the veneration of beatified persons to a general veneration (usually, in the Roman Catholic Church), is precisely the final result and consequence of the Roman canonization process.[1009]

By "generalizing" for the Ruthenian (and Russian) Catholic Church the veneration of persons beatified in the Roman Catholic Church, and giving them the liturgical status of regular saints, the RR-RV Commissions confirmed that the Ruthenian Church has its own liturgical categories and procedures concerning the development of its sanctorale, independent of the Roman rulings. But by claiming that this was not a canonization (and thereby failing to see that a "generalization' had been effected), it revealed an understanding of the Ruthenian Church (as also of the other Eastern Churches) as not

[1009] Fabijan Veraja summarizes the doctrine of Benedict XIV: "There is an equipollent canonization when the Roman Pontiff extends in a mandatory way to the entire Church the cult of a Servant of God (not yet canonized) by inserting his feast, with Mass and office, into the Calendar of the Universal Church. In this pontifical act the Author [Benedict XIV] sees the basic lines [*gli estremi*] of a true canonization, that is, a definitive judgment of the pope on the sanctity of the servant of God." Idem, Le cause di canonizzazione dei santi. Commento alla legislazione e guida pratica (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1992) 93-94. See also his *La canonizzazione equipollente,* and Crnica, *De canonizatione aequipollenti*. Generally, in canonization documents "the Calendar of

much more than a part (an ecclesial province, a group of dioceses) of the Roman Church, to which a local cult had been "extended."

The limitations of the RR Commission's "ecclesiological uniatism," typical of the time, have since been superceded, at least nominally, and we may indeed say that, viewed in today's understanding of the status of Churches *sui iuris* in the Catholic Communion, what the RR Commission effected indeed amounted to a canonization, not in the sense of establishing a veneration that had not previously existed, but in the sense of legitimizing or generalizing a cult that was – that is, a canonization not in consideration of the saint involved, but of the Church involved. But a lasting contribution of the RR Commission to the Eastern Catholic Churches in regard to their sanctorale practice is that it demonstrated that the issues of *whom* they borrow for their sanctorale, or *how* they structure their veneration, are regulated by the liturgical tradition of each Church.

5.E. Pastoral Considerations.

Besides preparing the sanctorale itself, the RR Commission (or the Eastern Congregation) did not add any accompanying documentation or instructions about the sanctorale, neither in the liturgical books themselves, nor separately, as it had done about liturgical questions in general, explaining the RR modifications, sometimes in

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the Universal Church" means the *Martyrologium Romanum*, and consequently, the mandatory extension of a cult concerns only the Roman Church.

detail, in Tisserant's official presentation of the RR Liturgicon to the Ruthenian hierarchy and monastic superiors on 10 September 1941.[1010]

The small-print presentation in the Liturgicon, since it was not explained, could have caused doubt, or at least hesitation, regarding the regular incorporation of these saints in the actual celebration of the services, especially in the lower ranks of saints, which were the typical RR innovations.[1011] A simple mention of this in the official presentation, with an exhortation to spiritually (re-)discover the saints that had been (re-)introduced into the sanctorale, was the finishing touch that was needed to release the full potential of the hagiographic reform and introduce the saints into the spiritual life of the ecclesial community.

Another factor which worked against the spiritual assimilation of the new sanctorale was the fact that it was designed, prepared and delivered from outside the Ruthenian Church. Since the discussion had not occurred in the Ruthenian Church, and it had taken no part in the renewal of its sanctorale, it was, in a way, "not ready" to assimilate the novelty – not because of incapacity, but because the "full package" had not yet been delivered. The RR message to renew the liturgical and the sanctorale traditions, prior to the more integral appreciation of the Eastern Churches (Catholic and

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[1010] The first edition of the RR Liturgicon (only the Liturgy of Chrysostom) did not include the calendar, but the work of the RR Commission on the calendar had already finished (at least the sixty-first session) on 9 April 1940. Since, as we have seen, changes were made in the RR calendar even after that date, also by the RV Commission that worked after the RR Commission, it is possible that all the details of the RR calendar were still not decided in September 1941. Nonetheless, the general gist of the modifications had long been established and could have been presented.

[1011] It might have psychologically been associated with the *Filioque*, the sponge, and *zeon* which in the RR Liturgicon (but not in the RV) were included in red brackets, with

Orthodox) and their liturgical, theological, spiritual, and canonical heritage by the Second Vatican Council, partly functioned as a paternalizing gesture. There is, on the other hand, no doubt that the accomplishments of the RR-RV editions, and maybe especially their sanctorales, were a major factor in preparing that new appreciation.

Consequently, for some time the hagiographic potential of the project seemed all but lost. For several decades there was in the Ukrainian Catholic Church almost no liturgical or hagiographic follow-up to the momentous RR sanctorale innovations. Nevertheless, the fact that the recognition of the Slavic saints was not only theoretical, but was embodied in actual liturgical commemorations, along with the integral understanding of the Eastern heritage, proposed by the Council, eventually produced results. After half a century (even before the 2001 beatifications) there arose in the Ukrainian Catholic Church two initiatives – the 1996 Parma Liturgicon *Sacrifice of Praise* and Levitskyi's hagiographic collection (Kyiv, 2000)[1012] – both with the blessing of the Major Archbishop, that opened Ukrainian Catholic liturgical and hagiographic practice to a scope of Rus' and Slavic saints that went far beyond what was initiated by the RR editions.

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intricate instructions (in the presentation document) about the circumstances in which these elements were to be included or not.

[1012] Левицький, *Святі Київської Церкви.*

Conclusion

When Cyril Korolevskij proposed to the RR Commission, at the beginning of the revision of the Ruthenian calendar, to "restore to the Ruthenians their ancient saints," he engaged the Commission in a process of including and excluding Rus' and Slavic saints that had been going on for several centuries. The Ruthenian Catholics themselves had produced a variety of solutions, from the Basilian theologian Ignatius Kulchynskyi (1733), who counted sixty-three saints proper to the Ruthenian Church, to Metropolitan Atanasii Sheptytsky, who published (1738) a circular demanding the exclusion (along with other doctrinal errors) of thirteen saints (mentioned individually), plus all the Kyivan Caves saints, to Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, whose 1929 Liturgicon, which was the basis of the RR revision, counted one Slavic (besides Cyril and Methodius) and ten Rus' saints. The RR Commission was not ready to endorse Kulchynskyi's list in full, but also viewed the 1929 list as discrediting the sincerity of Rome to guarantee the integrity of the liturgical traditions of the Eastern Catholic Churches.

The primary theological task of the endeavor was the selection and recognition of saints who had disappeared from Ruthenian Catholic calendars and were mainly to be found in Orthodox sources. In the past few centuries Western theological opinion generally expressed reservation, if not opposition, to a Catholic recognition of the Eastern Slavic saints, though the Bollandists Daniel Papebrochius and Ioannes Martinov were notable exceptions.

The acceptability of the Eastern saints in general became a reality to the measure that the understanding of the Church (and its "holiness") became less exclusive and

more inclusive, less rigid and more dynamic. This allowed theologians to desist looking for arguments against those "outside the true Church" and to start appreciating their spiritual reality (sanctity) as those who are part of a wider concept of Church. Strictly spiritual investigation of the Slavic East and its saints (e.g. Stanislaw Tyszkiewicz) was able to almost fully overlook the formality of schism and recognize authentic sanctity even in a Church formally separated from Rome. The RR Commission did not venture as faras, but made full use of, Tyszkiewicz's insights.

The Slavic sanctorale of the RR, which added to the 1929 calendar nine Rus' commemorations (including the groups of Caves monks), along with three other Slavic commemorations, can be viewed as intermediate, even cautious, in the wide range of opinions on the matter, but it is of exceptional consequence in that it not only expressed a theological opinion, but applied the result to liturgical practice. Furthermore, the details of the choices, and the modalities of the liturgical application, which have been the object of the present study, are such that they challenge us to continue that process, of which the RR sanctorale has unquestionably determined the direction.

The fundamental characteristic of the RR Commission's work on the Slavic sanctorale is that in its key choices it acted according to norms and concepts of the recognition and veneration of saints that were more typical of the Christian East than the West. The RR Commission, even with the theological (and historical) limitations of the time, demonstrated how an Eastern Catholic liturgical initiative should function, particularly vis-à-vis the respective Roman Catholic norms and concepts. This is why the achievements of the RR Commission are a challenge, first of all, but not exclusively, to the Eastern Catholic Churches, to champion the Eastern Christian traditions in the

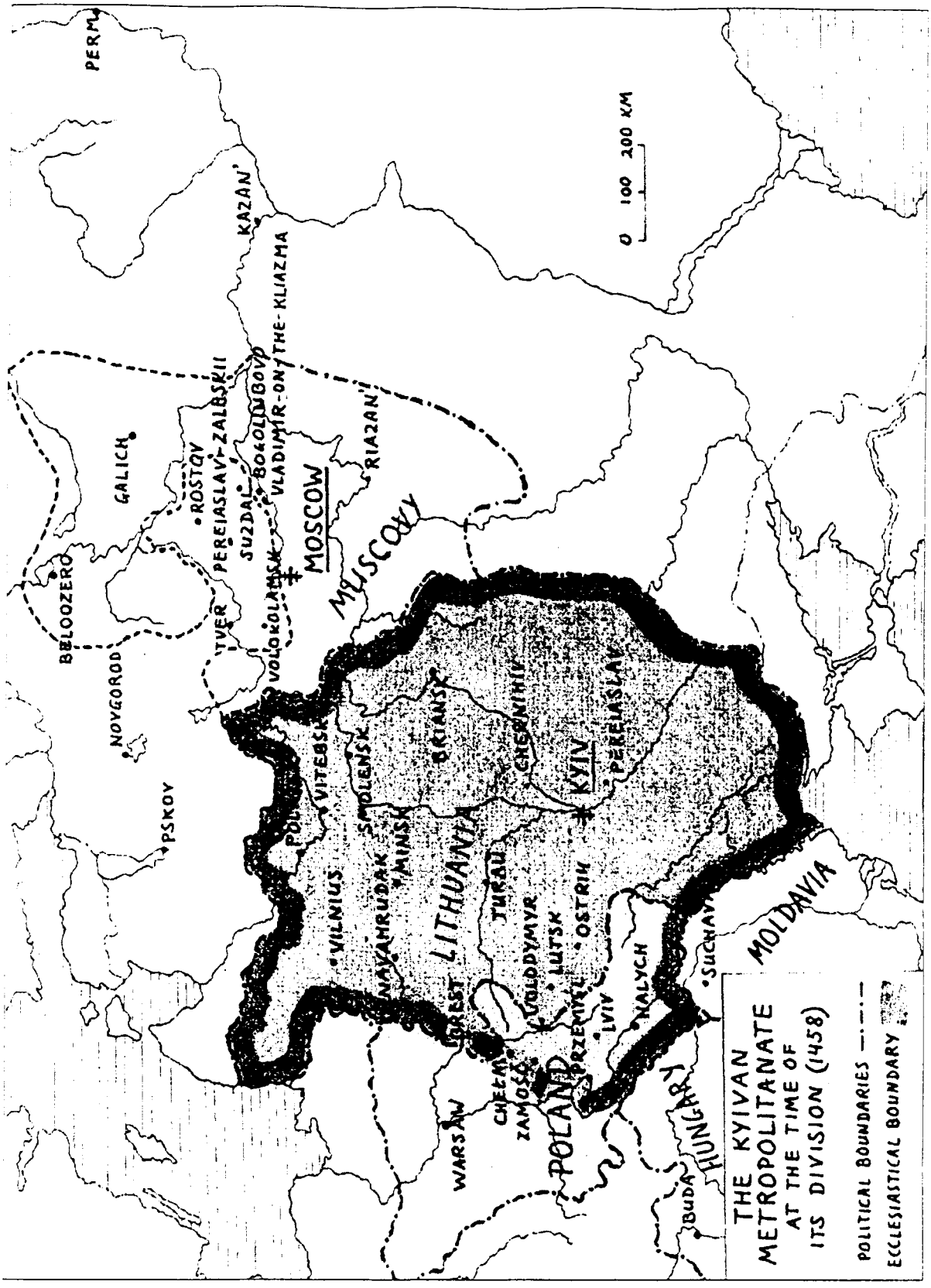
Catholic Communion, not simply as defending their rights, but to fulfill their mission of creating a space, a capacity in the Catholic Communion, to which the Churches outside that Communion can look without feeling that their Christian heritage is threatened. Concretely, it is their mission to make room in the Catholic Communion for a thoroughly Eastern (in its many variants) theory and practice of the canonization and veneration of saints.

In a further sense, the work of the RR Commission, especially in its liturgical and theological achievements, challenges us to look beyond and above the division of the Churches and formulate a framework that could also enable Churches that are *not yet* in full communion, to share their hagiologic resources – their saints – *as if* they were in full communion. The process is well under way on the level of spiritual appreciation, but still awaits its liturgical application. Who, if not the saints, can offer the separated sister-Churches this anticipated experience of the "eschatological communion" – the Communion of Saints – in the fullness of the Holy One? What dogmatic objections can be appealed to to deprive the Churches of such an experience, which calls the Churches to exuberant joy, and at the same time to profound repentance?

In this regard particularly helpful is the intuition of Hegumen Clement Sheptytsky, in which he called for the mutual recognition (and veneration) of saints as a road (a test-run, as it were, or a self-fulfilling prophecy) toward reconciliation, toward the healing of spiritual wounds. Hegumen Clement spoke of reconciliation and wounds within the Catholic Communion, but the spiritual principle is the same. The mutual celebrating of each other's saints (*as if* we were one – are we not? – the saints certainly are) challenges Christians in those attitudes which want to build up walls to keep out those who follow a

different path to the Holy Three. It is the first step toward seeing – and celebrating, and enjoying – each other as truly capable of sanctity, without which it is difficult to imagine reconciliation and re-establishing trust. It inspires us with courage to be humble enough to share our journey to the Fountain of holiness with those who are different, those who differently see and experience the Holy One. The mutual veneration of saints has the spiritual potential to foster such reconciliation to the degree that we realize that the theological center, the reason of being, of our relationship with the saints, is our relationship with God.

Appendix 1. Map of Kyivan Metropolitanate at the Time of its Division (1458)



Appendix 2. Comparative Lists of Slavic Saints in Key Ruthenian Catholic Documents Discussed in this Study

1929 Lviv Liturgicon

Nov 12	Josaphat, archbp of Polatsk
Apr 14	Anthony, John and Eustathius, new martyrs of Lithuania
May 02	Boris and Hlib, martyrs, transfer of relics
May 03	Theodosius, hegumen of the Kyiv Caves monastery
July 10	Anthony of the Kyivan Caves Monastery
July 11	Olha, princess of Kyiv
July 15	Vladimir, Great Prince of Kyiv
July 24	Boris and Hlib, martyrs
Aug 14	Theodosius of the Kyivan Caves, transfer of relics
Oct 14	Parasceve, venerable
Feb 14	Cyril, (Constantine the philosopher)
May 11	Methodius, bp of Moravia
July 05	Cyril and Methodius, apostles of the Slavs

1942 RR Rome Liturgicon

all those in 1929 (excluding Borys and Hlib, transferal, 2 May)
plus:

Sept 20	Michael and Theodore, martyrs of Chernihiv
Sept 28	Synaxis of the Fathers of Nearer Caves in Kyiv
Oct 29	Abraham of Rostov
Nov 26	George, Dedication of church of, in Kyiv
Apr 27	Stephan, of the Kyivan Caves, bp of Volodymyr-in-Volyn
Apr 28	Cyril, bp of Turaw
May 23	Euphrosyne of Polatsk
May 24	Nikita the stylite, of Pereiaslav-Zaleskii
Aug 14	Theodosius of the Kyivan Caves Monastery, transfer of relics
Aug 28	Synaxis of the Fathers of the Farther Caves in Kyiv
Sept 28	Wenceslas, duke of Bohemia
Oct 19	John of Rila
July 27	Clement, archbp of Ochrid
Sept 27	Nilus, founder of Grottaferrata Monastery
Jan 14	Nina, enlightener of the Georgians
Feb 14	Maron, hermit
Aug 28	Ghebre-Michael, Ethiopian presbyter, martyr
June 05	Cosmas, Armenian presbyter, martyr
July 10	Francis, Mutius, Raphael of Damascus, martyrs
Oct 04	Francis of Assisi
Oct 12	Martin the Merciful, bp of Tours in Gaul
July 13	Julian, bp of Cenomanum in Gaul

Change of date;

Apr 06	Methodius, bp of Moravia
May 11	Cyril and Methodius, teachers of the Slavs

Change of Title:

Oct 14	Parasceve of Tarnovo

1942 RV Rome Liturgicon
all those in 1942 RR (except Lithuanian martyrs)
plus:

Sept 11	Sergius and German of Valaam, transfer
Sept 19	Theodore, prince of Smolensk, and sons
Sept 25	Sergius, hegumen of Radonezh
Nov 06	Barlaam of Novgorod, hegumen of Khutyn
Jan 31	Nikita, bp of Novgorod
Apr 26	Stephen, bp of Perm
May 15	Isaiah, of Rostov
May 23	Leontius, bp of Rostov
May 28	Ignatius, bp of Rostov
June 28	Sergius and German of Valaam
July 05	Sergius of Radonezh, , finding of the relics
Aug 21	Abraham of Smolensk
May 21	Mother of God, Vladimir Icon, meeting
June 23	Mother of God, Vladimir Icon, meeting
June 26	Mother of God, Icon of Tichvin
July 08	Mother of God, Icon of Kazan, appearance
July 08	Mother of God, Icon of Ustiug.
July 10	Mother of God, Icon in the Konev monastery.
July 28	Mother of God, Icon of Smolensk
Aug 19	Mother of God, Donskaia Icon
Aug 26	Mother of God, Vladimir Icon, transfer
Oct 13	Mother of God, Iverskaia Icon
Oct 22	Mother of God, Icon of Kazan
Oct 24	Mother of God, "Joy of All Who Sorrow" Icon
Nov 27	Mother of God, Miracle in Great Novgorod

1733 Kulchynskyi's *Specimen Ecclesiae Ruthenicae*

	In RR:
Sept 16	Josaphat, archbp of Polatsk
Sept 20	Michael and Theodore, martyrs of Chernihiv
Oct 14	Parascevia of Tarnovo,
Oct 19	John of Rila
Feb 14	Cyril, (Constantine the Philosopher)
Apr 14	Anthony, John and Eustathius, new martyrs of Lithuania
May 03	Theodosius, hegumen of the Kyivan Caves monastery
May 11	Methodius, bp of Moravia
May 23	Euphrosyne of Polatsk
May 24	Nikita the Stylite, of Pereiaslav-Zaleskii
July 10	Anthony of the Kyivan Caves Monastery
July 11	Olha, princess of Kyiv
July 15	Vladimir, Great Prince of Kyiv
July 24	Boris and Hlib
	In RV:
Sept 19	Theodore, prince of Smolensk, and sons
Sept 25	Sergius, hegumen of Radonezh
May 15	Isaiah of Rostov
May 23	Leontius, bp of Rostov
Aug 21	Abraham of Smolensk
	Not in the RR-RV:
Sept 27	Savvatii of Solovki monastery
Oct 05	Damian, Jeremiah, and Matthew, monks of the Kyivan Caves
Oct 14	Nikola Sviatosha, monk of the Kyivan Caves
Oct 19	Cleopatra (*mistaken to be Slavic*)

Oct 21	Hilarion of Moglena
Oct 28	Arsenius, archbp of Serbia
Oct 28	Parasceve of Polatsk
Oct 31	Spiridon, monk of the Kyivan Caves
Nov 06	Barlaam of Novgorod, hegumen of Khutyn
Nov 06	Barlaam, hegumen of St. Demetrius in Kyiv
Nov 17	Nikon of Radonezh, disciple of Sergius of Radonez
Nov 24	Mercurius of Smolensk, martyr
Dec 02	Athanasius, recluse of Kyivan Caves
Dec 21	Peter, metropolitan of Kyiv
Jan 14	Sava, first archbp of the Serbs
Jan 29	Laurentius, monk of the Caves Monastery
Feb 10	Prochorus, monk of the Kyivan Caves
Feb 11	Demetrius, hegumen of Pryluk
Feb 12	Alexis, metropolitan of Kyiv
Feb 13	Simeon of Serbia, the new myrrh-gusher
Feb 24	Erasmus, the black-robed, of the Kyivan Caves
Mar 28	Eustrathius, of the Kyivan Caves, martyr
Mar 30	Jonas Hlezna [!], metropolitan of Kyiv
Apr 01	Euthymius of Suzdal,
Apr 26	Stephen, bp of Perm
May 14	Isidore of Rostov, fool for Christ
may 14	Nikon, hegumen of the Kyivan Caves
May 20	Alexis, metropolitan of Kyiv, finding of relics
May 26	Makarius, hegumen of Kaliazin, finding of relics
May 27	Cyprian, Kyiv metrop., transfer *(without Photius, and Jonas !)*
June 01	Agapitus, of the Kyiv Caves, unmercenary physician
June 26	Dionysius, archbp of Suzdal
July 18	John the much-suffering, of the Kyivan Caves
July 26	Moses the Hungarian, of the Kyivan Caves
Aug 11	Theodore and Basil, of the Kyivan Caves
Aug 17	Alypius the icon-painter of the Kyivan Caves

1738 Atanasii Sheptytsky's Circular on Cancellations
list of saints to be cancelled:

	In RR- RV:
	Synaxis of the Kyivan Caves (both caves) *2nd Sunday of Great Lent*
May 24	Nikita the Stylite, of Pereiaslav-Zaleskii
Aug 21	Abraham of Smolensk
	In 1733:
Dec 21	Peter, metropolitan of Kyiv
Feb 12	Alexis, metropolitan of Kyiv
Apr 01	Euthymius of Suzdal
May 14	Isidore of Rostov, fool for Christ
May 20	Alexius, metropolitan of Kyiv, finding of relics
July 26	Moses the Hungarian, of the Kyivan Caves
Aug 11	Theodore and Basil, of the Kyivan Caves
Aug 24	Peter, metropolitan of Kyiv, transferal of the relics
Aug 24	Alexis, metropolitan of Kyiv *(mistaken date)*
	Not in the RR-RV nor 1733:
June 02	John of Suchava, who suffered in Belihrad (Moldavia)
Aug 02	Basil of Moscow, fool for Christ
Aug 03	Anthony the Roman, of Novgorod
Aug 13	Maxim of Moscow, fool for Christ, finding of the relics

Appendix 3. Table of Slavic Saints in Representative Documents of the Ruthenian Tradition

Acta Sanctorum:

In RR-RV:		
Anthony of the Kyivan Caves Monastery	1-	Oct X, 924 (in Index Historicus as saint) Not in Vol 61b
Anthony, John and Eustathius, new martyrs of Lithuania	2	Apr II, 265-66
Boris and Hlib	1	Julii V, 491.
Borys and Hlib	2	Sep II, 633-644
Cyril and Methodius	2	Mar II, 13-26
Euphrosinia of Polatsk	1	Maii V, 234. "Venerated by Catholics and others."
John of Rila	2	Oct IX, 683-92
Josaphat, archbp of Polatsk	(2)	Vol 61b, 412, planned for Nov. 12
Michael and Theodore, martyrs of Chernihiv	1	Sep VI, 105, Vol 46. "Not venerated by Catholics."
Olha, princess of Kyiv	1	Jul III, 169. Oct X, 867f marks as saint; Vol 61b, no.
Stephen, bp of Perm	1	Apr III, 42 and 1113. Have no info.
Theodore of Smolensk, and sons	1	Sept VI, 5. From Pap. Icons
Theodosius, heg. of the Kyiv Caves monastery	1	Maii I, 364. Vol 61b as P-missus in Index Gen., but as saint in Oct X, 958, Index Hist.
Vladimir, Great Prince of Kyiv	1	Julii IV, 4. // Vol 61b not as saint in both indexes.
Not in the RR-RV:		
Agapitus, of the Kyivan Caves, unmerc. physician	2	Jun I, 131-132
Alexis, metropolitan of Kyiv	2	Feb II, 639-41. Sanctity questioned in vol. 61b
Arethas of Kyiv Caves	2	Oct X, 863-72
Barlaam of Novgorod, hegumen (of Khutyn)	(2)	Vol. 61b, 399. Planned for Nov. 6
Barlaam, hegumen of St. Demetrius in Kyiv	(2)	Vol. 61b, 399. Planned for Nov. 6
Borys and Hlib	(2)	Vol. 61b planned for dec 10 (!)
Cleopatra, nun ("in Muscovy")	1	Oct VIII, 812: she is the non-Slavic saint of Oct 19
Hilarion of Moglena	2	Oct IX, 405-08
Jonas, metropolitan of Kyiv	2	Junii III,577 [II, 1103] (Papebrochius)
Parascevia, hegumenia of Polatsk	(2)	Vol. 61b, 419. Planned for Nov. 12
Peter and his wife Febronia, princes of Murom,	2	Jun VII, 96-97. Remain as saints in Vol 61b.
Peter, metropolitan of Kyiv	(2)	Vol. 61b, 419 - planned; ibid, 534 (*retractatur*)
Peter, metropolitan of Kyiv	1	Aug IV, 744d.
Peter, Prince of Rostov	1	Junii VII, 360f. From David's Kyivan Calendar. No info
Sava, first archbp of the Serbs	2	Jan II, 261-265
Simeon, bp of Suzdal	2	Oct X, 877-83.

As the *Acta Sanctorum* is not a liturgical document, the entries are not given acccording to dates.

Markings:
2 – main entries
(2) – planned (as main entries)
1 – *praetermissi*

Appendix 3. Table of Slavic Saints in Representative Documents of the Ruthenian Tradition - 1

Date	Commemorations	1491	15cd	15dd	1574	1575	1581	1586	1601	1612	1619	1637	1642	1646	1694	1670	1680	1692	1733	1738	1777	1888	1899	1905	1929	1942R	1942V
01/11	Michael Klopskii of Novgorod (1456)										1						1										
01/14	Sava, first archbp of the Serbs – 1237			1)			@				4		1		1				@								
01/17	Anthony the Roman, of Novgorod – 1147										1						1										
01/28	Ephrem, archim. of Novotorzhesk - 1053										1																
02/10	Prochorus, monk of the Kyivan Caves – 1107										1								@								
02/11	Demetrius, hegumen of Pryluk -1392										1						1		@								
02/11	Vsevolod, prince of Pskov – 1138										1						1										
02/12	Alexis, metropolitan of Kyiv – 1378			1)							1	pl	1		5)	5	1		@	c							
02/13	Simeon the Serbian – 1200										1		1		1		1		@								
02/14	Eustrathius, of the Kyivan Caves (1097)										1																
02/14	Michael, Theodore of Chernihiv, transf. (1578)										1																
03/02	Arsenius, bp of Tver – 1409										1																
03/05	Theodore of Smolensk and sons, transf. – 1463										1																
03/11	Euthymius, archbp of Novgorod – 1458										1						1										
03/16	Serapion, archbp of Novgorod – 1516										1																
03/17	Makarius, hegumen of Koliazin – 1483										1																
03/28	Eustrathius, of the Kyivan Caves – 1097										1		1						@								
03/30	Jonas, metropolitan of Kyiv (Moscow) – 1461										1	p	1		1		1		@								
04/01	Euthymius of Suzdal – 1404										1						1		@	c							
04/08	Niphont (of K. Caves), bp of Novgorod – 1156										1		1														
04/14	Anthony, John, Eustathius, of Lithuania – 1347										1		1		1	1	1		@						1	1	
04/17	Zosima, heg. of Solovki monastery – 1478										1						1										
04/26	Stephen, bp of Perm – 1396										1		1		1				@								3
04/27	Isaia, monk of the Caves (1115)										1		1				1										
04/30	Nikita, archbp of Novgorod, find. relics (1558)										1																
05/02	Boris and Hlib, martyrs, transfer of relics – 1115	3	1)	1)						1	4		1			5)					1	4	1	1	1		
05/03	Theodosius, heg. of the Kyivan Caves - 1074	1	1)	1)			@	1)		3)	6	pl	4	6	5	5	6		@		5	4	4	4	4	4	4
05/11	Cyril (869) and Methodius (885)										1		1		1				@			1			1	5	5
05/14	Isidore of Rostov, fool for Christ - 1474										1				1		1		@	c							
05/15	Isaiah (of K. Caves) bp of Rostov – 1090										1		1				1		@								3
05/15	Euphrosyn of Pskov – 1481										1																
05/16	Ephrem Perekopskii, of Novgorod – 1545										1																
05/20	Alexis, metrop of Kyiv, finding of relics - 1431			1)							1		1		1		1		@	c							
05/23	Leontius (of K. Caves), bp of Rostov (1073)			1)							1		1				1		@								3
05/23	Euphrosyne of Polotsk - 1173										1		3						@							3	2
05/24	Nikita the stylite of Pereiaslav-Zaleskii (1186)										1		1				1		@	c						3	3
05/25	Gregory, of the Kyivan Caves (1094)										1																
05/26	Makarius, heg. of Kaliazin, findi of relics - 1521										1				1				@								
05/26	George, new great-m. of Sredtsa, Bulg. (1515)										1				1												
05/27	Cyprian, Photius, and Jonas, metrop. Kyiv – tranf. 1472										1		1		1				@								
05/28	Ignatius, bp of Rostov - 1288										1						1										3
06/01	Agapetus, of the Caves, unmer. phys. – 11 c.										1		1				1		@								
06/01	Dionysius, ven., w-worker of Glushitsa – 1437										1						1										
06/02	John of Suchava (1340)										1						1			c							
06/03	Dimitrii, prince of Moscow, transfer – 1606										1																
06/09	Cyril Belozerskii – 1427										1						1										
06/25	Peter and Febronia, princes of Murom – 1228										1				1		1										
07/05	Sergius of Radonezh, finding of relics - 1422										1						1										3
07/08	Procopius, of Ustiug, fool for Christ – 1303										1						1										

Appendix 3. Table of Slavic Saints in Representative Documents of the Ruthenian Tradition - 2

Date	Commemorations	1491	15cd	15dd	1574	1575	1581	1586	1601	1612	1619	1637	1642	1646	1694	1670	1680	1692	1733	1738	1777	1888	1899	1905	1929	1942R	1942V
07/10	Anthony of the Kyivan Caves – 1073			1)							4	pl	1		5	6	6		@		5	4	4	4	4	4	4
07/11	Olha, princess of Kyiv – 969			1)							1		1		1		6		@@					1	1	3	3
07/15	Vladimir, great-prince of Kyiv – 1015	4	1)	1)		1	@	1)		3)	4		4)		4	6	6		@		5	4	4	4	4	5	5
07/18	John the much-suffering, of the Caves – 1160										1		1				1		@@								
07/24	Boris and Hlib, martyrs (1015)	4	1)	1)	1	1	@	1)	Y	3)	4		1	1	5	6	1		@		5	4	4	4	4	4	4
07/27	Nicholas of Novgorod, fool for Christ – 1392										1																
08/02	Basil of Moscow, fool for Christ – 1557										1				1		1			c							
08/07	Pimen the much-suffering, of the Caves – 1110										1		1				1										
08/11	Theodore and Basil, of the Kyivan Caves – 1098										1		1		1		1		@	c							
08/13	Maxim of Moscow, fool for Christ, find. – 1547										1		1		1		1			c							
08/14	Theodosius of the Caves, transfer - 1091										1		1		4	6)	6				3	1			1	4	4
08/17	Alypius the Icon-painter, Kyiv Caves – 1114										1		1				1		@								
08/21	Abraham of Smolensk, venerable (12ab)										1		1		1		1		@	c							3
08/24	Peter, metrop. of Kyiv, transferal – 1479	1)									1		1		5		1			c							
08/26	Mother of God, Vladimir icon, meeting – 1395	1)									1						1										4
08/30	Alexander Svirskii (the Svir River) – 1533										1						1										
09/05	Hlib, pious prince, killing of – 1015										1				1												
09/07	John, archbp of Novgorod – 1186										1																
09/16	Ludmila of Bohemia, m. (921)										1																
09/19	Theodore (1299), of Smolensk, and sons										1				3				@								3
09/20	Michael and Theodore of Chernihiv, m. – 1246										1						1		@							3	3
09/25	Sergius of Radonezh – 1392										1				1		1		@								4
09/27	Savvatii of Solovki monastery – 1435										1				3		1		@								
09/28	Wenceslas of Bohemia, m. – 935										1															1	1
09/30	Gregory, ven., on the Pelshma river – 1442										1																
10/01	Sava of Vyshensk – 1461										1																
10/04	Gurij, first pastor of Kazan – 1595										1						1										
10/04	Barsanuphius, bp of Tver – 1576										1						1										
10/05	Damian, Jeremiah, Matthew of the K. Caves (1070-85)										1								@								
10/05	Peter, Alexis, Jonas, and Phillip hier. of Moscow – 1596										1																
10/14	Parasceve of Tarnovo, ven. – 11th c.	1		1)				1)			4		1		6	5			@			4			3	2	2
10/14	Nicola Sviatosha, monk of the K. Caves – 1143										@								@								
10/19	John of Rila in Bulgaria – 946			1)						1	1		1		3				@							2	2
10/23	Iakov Borovitskii, w-worker of Novgororod – 1540										@																
10/28	Arsenius, archbp of Serbia – 1266			1)			@			2	1		1		3				@								
10/29	Abraham of Rostov (1077)										1						1									2	3
10/31	Spiridon, monk of the Kyivan Caves - XII										1								@								
11/05	Jonas, archbp of Novgorod – 1470										1																
11/06	Barlaam of Novgorod (Khutyn) – 1192										1						1		@								3
11/11	Stephen of Serbia – 1336										1																
11/11	Maximus of Moscow, fool for Christ – 1434										1																
11/17	Nikon of Radonezh, disc. Of Sergius – 1426										1				1		1		@		1						
11/22	Michael Iaroslavich, prince of Tver – 1318										1						1										
11/23	Alexander Nevskii – 1263										1						1										
11/23	Iakov of Rostov (1392)										1																
11/26	George, Dedication of church of, in Kyiv (1051)										1		1		1		1									2	3
11/27	Iakov, bp of Rostov – 1392										1																
11/27	Vsevolod, prince of Pskov, find. of relics – 1192										1																
11/27	Theotokos, miracle in Great Novgorod – 1170										1																4
11/28	Theodore, archbp of Rostov – 1394										1																

Appendix 3. Table of Slavic Saints in Representative Documents of the Ruthenian Tradition - 3

Date	Commemorations	1491	15cd	15dd	1574	1575	1581	1586	1601	1612	1619	1637	1642	1646	1694	1670	1680	1692	1733	1738	1777	1888	1899	1905	1929	1942R	1942V
12/11	Nicon the much-suffering, of the Caves – XII										1																
12/21	Peter, metrop. of Kyiv – 1326			1)			@			3)	6	p	3		5	5	6)		@	c							
	Additional in 1680																										
01/08	Gregory the w-worker, of the K. Caves (XIII-XIV)																1										
01/10	Paul Obnorskii, ven. (Obnora river) – 1429																1										
01/12	Sava of Serbia – 1237													1			1										
01/29	Laurentius of the Kyivan Caves – 1194												1				1		@								
01/31	Nikita (recl. of K. Caves), bp of Novgorod – 1108																1										1
02/24	Erasmus, of the Kyivan Caves – 1160												1				1		@								
05/01	Paphnutius Borovskii, ven. – 1478																1										4
05/15	Dimitrii, prince of Moscow – 1591																1										
06/23	Theotokos, Vladimir icon – 1480																1										
06/26	Dionysius, archbp of Suzdal – 1385												1				1		@								
07/08	Mother of God, Icon of Kazan, appear. – 1579																1										4
07/09	Mother of God, Icon in Mozhaisk – 1413																1										
07/10	Bringing of Our Lord's Robe to Moscow – 1625																6										
07/26	Moses the Hungarian, of the K. Caves - 1043												1	1			1		@	c							
07/28	Mother of God, Icon of Smolensk – 1046																1										
08/03	Anthony the Roman, of Novgorod – 1147												1				1			c							
10/05	Peter, Alexis and Jonas, metrop. of Kyiv																1										
	Additional in 1733																										
02/14	Cyril, (Constantine the Philosopher) – 869	1	1)										4		1	4		1)	@			1			1	4	4
05/14	Nikon, hegumen of the Kyivan Caves																		@								
09/16	Josaphat, archbp of Polatsk, h-m – 1623																	6)	@		5	4					
10/21	Hilarion of Moglena (Bulg.), transf. – 1206														3				@								
10/28	Parasceve, hegum. of Polatsk – 1239																		@								
11/06	Barlaam, heg. of St. Demetrius in Kyiv																		@								
11/24	Mercurius of Smolensk, m. – 1238																		@								
12/02	Athanasius, Recluse of Kyivan Caves - 1176												1						@								
	Additional in 1942 R and 1942 V																										
04/06	Methodius, Teacher of the Slavs – 885												3													4	4
04/27	Stefan (K. Caves), bp of Volod.-in-Volyn – 1094																									3	3
04/28	Cyril, bp of Turaw (1183)																									3	3
05/21	Mother of God, Icon of Vladimir – 1521																										4
06/23	Mother of God, Icon of Vladimir, meeting – 1480																										4
06/26	Mother of God, Icon of Tichvin – 1383																										4
06/28	Sergius and German, of Valaam – 1353																										3
07/08	Mother of God, Icon of Ustiug – 1290																										3
07/10	Mother of God, Icon of Konev – 1393																										3
07/27	Clement, archbp of Ochrid – 916																									1	1
07/28	Mother of God, Icon of Smolensk – 1046																										4
08/19	Mother of God, Donskaia Icon – 1591																										3
08/28	Synaxis of Fathers of the Farther Caves																									3	3
09/11	Sergius and German of Valaam, transf.																										3
09/28	Synaxis of Fathers of Nearer Caves in Kyiv																									3	3
10/13	Mother of God, Iverskaia Icon – 1648																										4
10/22	Mother of God, Icon of Kazan, appearing – 1612																										4
10/24	Mother of God, "Joy of All Who Sorrow" Icon – 1688																										4
11/12	Josaphat, archbp of Polotsk, hieromartyr – 1623																						5	5	6	5	4

Appendix 3. Table of Slavic Saints in Representative Documents of the Ruthenian Tradition - 4

Date	Commemorations	1491	15cd	15dd	1574	1575	1581	1586	1601	1612	1619	1637	1642	1646	1694	1670	1680	1692	1733	1738	1777	1888	1899	1905	1929	1942R	1942V
	Other																										
	Synaxis of the Kyivan Caves (both caves) 2nd S-day of Great Lent																			c							
03/24	Miracle in the Caves Monastery, regarding John, Zacharias his son and Sergius, who swore on silver and gold												1														
05/14	Nikita, recluse of the Caves – 1109												1														
07/05	Cyril and Methodius, apostles of the Slavs																										
11/04	Consecr. of St Sophia in Kyiv, under Ilarion												@									4			4		

The table shows the Slavic commemorations in selected Ruthenian texts. The individual markings are approximate, since the format of the calendars is not uniform: some distinguish liturgical ranks in great detail, others barely.

Markings:

4, 5, 6 – *Polyeleos* (4) and vigil (5, 6) ranks
1, 2, 3 – non-*polyeleos* ranks
1 – sometimes means no rank indication
@ - no rank indication
) – saint is included, but not in a regular way

c – commemorations to be cancelled (1738)
p – *Proskomidē* (1637 has no calendar)
pl – *Proskomidē* and *Litē*
* - Orthodox (pre-Uniate or non-Uniate)

Documents:

1491 Cracow Horologion
15cd* [Przemyśl] Typicon, (Naumow, 945 – second half of 16th c.)
15dd* [Przemyśl] Typicon, (Naumow, 946 – last quarter of 16th c.)
1574* Lviv Epistle-book
1575* Vilnius Gospel-book
1581* Ostrih Bible
1586* [Przemyśl] Typicon, (Naumow, 947)
1601 Vilnius Prayer-book
1612 Ostrih Horologion
1619* Kyiv Anthologion
1637* Lviv Liturgicon
1642* Lviv Horologion
1646* Kyiv Euchologion
1670* Lviv Gospel-book
1680* Kyiv Anthologion
1692 Suprasl Liturgicon
1694* Lviv Anthologion
1733 Kulchynskyi's *Specimen*
1738 Atanasii Sheptytsky
1777 Pochaiv Anthologion
1888 Lviv Horologion
1899 Lviv Typicon
1905 Lviv Liturgicon
1929 Lviv Liturgicon
1942R Rome Liturgicon RR
1942V Rome Liturgicon RV

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