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THE PHENOMENON OF “DIASPORIC RELIGION”: THE CASE OF THE THIRD WAVE OF UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION

The article examines the phenomenon of the diasporic religion, which emerged in the third wave of Ukrainian emigration in the form of the Patriarchal Movement of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. Recent studies on the role of the religion in diaspora show that for the first generation of immigrants, Church and religious practices can play an even more significant role in their lives than they have played before. The reason for this is that religion is able to bridge the “gap” in time in space resulted from the emigration and to give the “stable territory” amid the rapidly changing realities. It functions as a transtemporal and translocative tool connecting newly arrived immigrants with their homeland and its history and manifests in different aspects of religious life and practices. All these aspects and practices were fully developed within the Patriarchal Movement which thus can be seen as a Ukrainian case of the phenomenon of the diasporic religion.

Keywords: Ukrainian diaspora, Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, diasporic religion, the Patriarchal Movement, religion and diaspora.

The concepts of *diaspora* and religion are related not only historically but also to some extent theologically, since the Greek term *διασπείρω* (*to scatter or spread about*)¹ before the development of the Diaspora studies in the XX century was predominantly a part of “religious vocabulary”². Used in the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible (Septuagint), it signified a threat of the dispersion of the people as a punishment for not obeying God’s commandments. According to Stephen Dufois, the notion was thus applied to the acts of God’s intervention in people’s life³. Such use, which went beyond the purely physical dimension of the world, have poured into the concept of diaspora also a theological dimension. And this, in turn, brought it closer to the Jewish term *golah* (גולה), which, unlike *galut* (גלות), applies not only to physical or geographical scattering, but also includes theological, eschatological connotations: life outside the native land is a punishment, it has a destructive impact, but is temporal, and contains the hope of salvation – a return to their native land⁴. As a result, the history of exile, liberation, and returning became not only a essential narrative of the Jewish Bible but also a central element of the identity of Judaism as such, and hence a part of the semantic load of the notion of the *diaspora*⁵. The New Testament inherited and strengthened the eschatological connotation of the diaspora since early Christians saw themselves as a pilgrim people. The true homeland or destination of their journey was Heavenly Jerusalem⁶.

On the other hand, the case of the Jewish people shows that in diaspora, the importance of the religious aspect of identity increases, and it is becoming more closely intertwined with ethnic self-identification.

¹ Liddell, H. G., Scott, R. (ed.) (1996). *Διασπείρω*. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

² Dufois, S. (2008). *Diasporas*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 75.

³ Ibid, 4.

⁴ Johnson, P. C. (2007). *Diaspora Conversions: Black Carib Religion and the Recovery of Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 32; Glissmann, V. (2019). *Out of Exile, not out of Babylon: The Diaspora Theology of the Golah*. Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 20-25.

⁵ Kenny, K. (2013). *Diaspora: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 4-6; McLoughlin, S. (2010). Religion and Diaspora. In J. R. Hinnells (Ed.), *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*. London-New York: Routledge, 563.

⁶ Baumann, M. (2000). Diaspora: Genealogies of Semantics and Transcultural Comparison. *Religions in the Disenchanted World*, 3, 319.

This overlay enhances social ties and serves as an additional building block for a shared discourse of the diaspora community. From a broader perspective, religion, according to Christopher Paul Johnson, has the ability to become an “Anchor” of collective identity and helps to distinguish from the surrounding environment¹. Therefore, in the diaspora’s context, religion can play a much more significant role for people than it did at home. Studies on the part of religion in the diaspora’s life show that many of those who, before emigration, were indifferent to religious issues, when they got into new circumstances change their attitudes. Especially for the first generation of immigrants, religious communities become “home away from home”².

One reason for the growing role of religion in emigration is the relative ease of “transporting” it beyond its homeland compared to other elements of collective identity³. On the other hand, under new conditions, immigrants experience a difficult period of adaptation, which is often associated with a series of rapid and profound changes. The first generation of immigrants usually is experiencing a closer emotional connection with their native land, which, according to Thomas Tweed, provokes a more intense and deeper state of disorientation in the new country of residence. This is especially true for those immigrants who leave their land involuntarily. In essence, the forced break with the familiar social environment and even the native landscape contributes to the fact that the group is experiencing a permanent internal rift caused by disorientation in time (“before” and “after” emigration) and in space (life between “here” and “there”)⁴. Religion, on the contrary, appears as an “established system of meaning, a stable tradition, an orderly delineation of a potentially disorderly existence”⁵. According to Hans Mol, religion functions as a “harnesser” of change” and by which, to some extent, “many de-stabilizing aspects of immigrant existence could be managed”⁶. In other words, the rupture in time resulted from the emigration poses the problem of “continuity-discontinuity” for the new immigrants and religion, according to R. Schreiter, “provides a source of continuity in the migration experience, between homeland and new location”⁷. A similar role religion plays in the context of the rupture in space, securing to some extent the “continuity” of the native environment and helping to “keep the nostalgia alive”⁸.

However, not only religion impacts the lives of diasporas but also vice versa. The experience of the Jews shows that being in the diaspora can influence religious practices and even contributing to the emergence of new theological concepts. Not least because the diasporas are endowed with considerable potential for creativity. The paradigmatic example here is synagogal Judaism, which originated precisely in the conditions of exile⁹.

Since emigration, exile or displacement are closely connected with realities of “space and place,” it raises questions about the value of physical space and location for religious experience. Jonathan Smith, analyzing the role of the homeland in religious traditions of the late antiquity, noted that “for the native religionist, homeplace, the place to which one belongs, was *the* central religious category”¹⁰ such as Jerusalem and its temple for Jews. On the contrary, in the case of diaspora, *freedom from a place* becomes the central religious category¹¹. It means that for the members of the particular diaspora, the native land, its destiny, plays a less important role, and they developed religious practices that transcended specific, native lands,

¹ Johnson, P. C. (2012). *Religion and Diaspora. Religion and Society, 1*, 95. <https://doi.org/10.3167/arrs.2012.030106>.

² Warner, S. R. (1998). Immigration and Religious Communities in the United States. In S. R. Warner & J. G. Wittner (Ed.), *Gatherings in Diaspora. Religious Communities and the New Immigration*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 25.

³ Johnson, P. C. (2012). *Religion and Diaspora. Religion and Society, 1*, 95. <https://doi.org/10.3167/arrs.2012.030106>.

⁴ Tweed, T. A. (1997). *Our Lady of the Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami*. New York: Oxford University Press, 85.

⁵ Mol, H. (1979). *Theory and Data on the Religious Behaviour of Migrants. Social Compass, 1*, 34. <https://doi.org/10.1177/003776867902600102>.

⁶ Ibid, 34-35.

⁷ Schreiter, R. (2017). Religion Displaced and Replaced: What We Have to Learn from Diaspora Communities. Budde, M. L. (ed.), *Scattered and Gathered: Catholics in Diaspora*. Eugene: Cascade Books, 17.

⁸ Ibid, 19.

⁹ Metzger, B. M., Coogan, M. D. (ed.) (1993). Babylon. *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*. New York: Oxford University Press, 71-72; Synagogue (2003). In T. Carson & J. Cerrito (Ed.), *New Catholic encyclopedia*. Detroit: Thomson/Gale – Catholic University of America; Cohen, R. (2008). *Global diasporas: An introduction*. London: Routledge, 7.

¹⁰ Smith, J. Z. (1993). *A Map is not the Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

¹¹ Ibid.

making their religion more “universal.” For Smith, a process of such “universalization” of the former-local religious tradition can be outlined as *diasporic religion* or “a religion of “nowhere,” of transcendence”¹.

Smith’s observation is relevant only to some extent. It is true that the second and third generation of immigrants prioritizes universal features of their religious tradition as opposed to the specific and localized traditions connected with the land of their ancestors². It can result in the rapprochement between different representatives of the same religious tradition despite their national or ethnic roots. But such an outline of the *diasporic religion* is less applicable to the first generation of immigrants, which, as mentioned above, is experiencing harsh disorientation connected with the adaptation to the new environment.

Based on such inherent for the first and partly the second generation of immigrants experience, Thomas Tweed asserts that religion, in addition to all its usual functions, performs to them a *transtemporal* and *translocative* role. In other words, it helps to bridge the “gap” in time and space that results from emigration. This process, in turn, affects religion itself, resulting in the phenomenon which also might be outlined as a *diasporic religion* but which is relevant to the first generation of immigrants³. Serving as a transtemporal and translocative tool, according to Tweed, *diasporic religion* manifests itself, first of all, in the form of a narrative. In essence, diasporas retain memory and produce stories that “express attachment to the natal land, sacralize the new land, or form bridges between the two”⁴. As regards diasporic theology, which is a second aspect of the *diasporic religion*, Thomas Tweed asserts that it is also transtemporal and translocative, as far it “focuses on the community’s past and the homeland’s fate”⁵. Finding themselves in a new circumstance, usually marked by the dominance of the other religious and cultural traditions, diasporic theologians are “more concerned than ever to define the tradition doctrinally as the group struggles to maintain a national identity in the face of a host culture that appears to threaten it”⁶. For this reason, one of the central themes of the theological thought of the diaspora is the purity or “authenticity” of tradition, the prevention of confusion with the customs of others. On the other hand, sermons and publications of diasporic theologians are marked with “increased attention to national symbols”⁷. In the case of Tweed’s study of the Catholic Cuban diaspora in the USA, the last developed a diasporic theology which resembled paradigmatic Jewish theology of Babylonian exile. Seeing themselves as a “pilgrim Church,” Cuban immigrants suggested that their pilgrimage should end up with the *final liberation*⁸. What in the context of the political character of Cuban immigration after the Revolution of 1959 could also be treated as political liberation of their homeland.

It is worth adding that, according to Paul Christopher Johnson, the formation of the *diasporic religion* is based not merely on a reproduction of the religious tradition of the homeland, because, in the process of responding to external circumstances, it transforms itself. This process helps diaspora innovate and even invent new forms of religiosity. And as a consequence, diasporic religiosity may eventually conflict with the homeland tradition⁹.

Diasporic religion is also manifested at the level of creation of religious *institutions* that would also be translocative and transtemporal and help the diasporic community to preserve as close as possible ties with the homeland and its history. It also embodies in appropriate *rituals* through which the diaspora is forging links with those who live at home. Finally, diasporic religion manifests itself at the level of various *artifacts*: “utilitarian objects, art, architecture, and cultural landscape”¹⁰. That is, everything that allows immigrants “to symbolically move between homeland and new land /.../ remember the homeland’s past and imagine its future”¹¹.

¹ Ibid.

² McLoughlin, S. (2010). Religion and Diaspora. In J. R. Hinnells (Ed.), *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion* (p. 558–580). London-New York: Routledge, 572.

³ Tweed, T. A. (1997). *Our Lady of the exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami*. New York: Oxford University Press, 94-95.

⁴ Ibid, 95.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid, 96.

⁹ Johnson, P. C. (2007). *Diaspora Conversions: Black Carib Religion and the Recovery of Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 41.

¹⁰ Tweed, T. A. (1997). *Our Lady of the Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami*. New York: Oxford University Press, 97.

¹¹ Ibid., 94-95.

The third wave of Ukrainian immigration was provoked by the events of the Second World War. Between 1945 and 1955, some 220,000-250,000 Ukrainians immigrated to North and South America, Australia and various parts of Western Europe. Most of them came from DP-camps in Germany and Austria, where they spent around 5-8 years¹. Along with the active political, social and cultural life, DP camps have become a medium for revitalizing religious practices. On the one hand, for the people from rural areas, religious celebrations served as a model for organized community life even before the war, and a visible symbol of group identity². On the other, the Church, especially for people from Galicia, was a “semi-political or national institution”³. Also, according to A. Baran, the phenomenon of the religious revival in DP-camps resulted from the religion’s ability to “recreate a spiritual presence of the lost fatherland in the psyches of the émigrés”⁴. Therefore, it became an essential element also in the life of the intelligentsia and politicians, some of whom before the war did not actively participate in its life or even were in opposition⁵. Thus during their stay in the DP-camps, post-war Ukrainian refugees developed not only a well-functioned community but established near 120 Greek-Catholic and 80 Orthodox parishes (around 2/3 of the third wave Ukrainian emigration were Greek-Catholics)⁶.

After their resettlement in different countries of the Western hemisphere, they met with the representatives of the previous waves of Ukrainian emigration. The religious life of the “old” Ukrainian emigration was well developed and newly arrived post-war immigrants poured into an established network of parishes and communities. The process endured quite smoothly, but in a few places, some conflicts have emerged (concerning the usage of English language in parish schools and during the liturgical services, implementation of the “new” calendar, architecture style of new churches etc.). The previous waves of the Ukrainian emigration were represented mostly by the second or third generation of immigrants; since they were on the second or even third stage of assimilation⁷. It became a real challenge for the newcomers, as far as one of the main goals of the third wave of Ukrainian emigration (which treated itself as an exiles and not as immigrants) was a preservation of the Ukrainian cultural heritage and a part its first-generation kept the idea of an eventual return to the homeland.

Having lost the opportunity for natural development and preserving the national culture, the third wave of Ukrainian immigration turned their sights to the Church, which, as it was mentioned above, played a role of the “national institution” even before the Second World War. On the other hand, during the 1950th, the newly arrived wave of emigration went through the adaptation process. For the first generation of immigrants, as mentioned above, it is always connected with rapid and profound changes. On its hand, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church played a crucial role in the process of the resettlement of the post-War emigration. It continued to play a significant role in their life in a new circumstance as a stable factor amid unstable realities. The Church also connected an immigrant community with their homeland and relatives,

¹ Subtelny, O. (1992). Ukrainian Political Refugees: An Historical Overview. In W. W. Isajiw (Ed.), *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons After World War II* (p. 3–20). Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, University of Alberta; Stebelsky, I. (1992). Ukrainian Population Migration after World War II. In W. W. Isajiw (Ed.), *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons After World War II* (p. 21–66). Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, University of Alberta; Satzewich, V. (2002). *The Ukrainian diaspora*. London-New York: Routledge, 86-106.

² Bohachevsky-Chomiak, M. (2018). *Ukrainian Bishop, American Church: Constantine Bohachevsky and the Ukrainian Catholic Church*. Washington, D.C: The Catholic University of America Press, 21.

³ Baran, A. (1992). The Ukrainian Catholic Church. In W.W. Isajiw (Ed.), *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons After World War II* (p. 147-157). Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, University of Alberta, 153.

⁴ Ibid, 154.

⁵ Sorokowski, A. (2002). The Lay and Clerical Intelligentsia in Greek Catholic Galicia, 1900–1939: Competition, Conflict, Cooperation. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 1, 263-271.

⁶ Luciuk, L. Y. (2000). *Searching for place: Ukrainian displaced persons, Canada, and the migration of memory*. Toronto-Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 146.

⁷ For further information about stages of assimilation, see Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press, 60-83; Pawliczko, A. L. (ed.). (1994). *Ukraine and Ukrainians Throughout the World: A Demographic and Sociological Guide to the Homeland and its Diaspora*. Toronto: Published for the Shevchenko Scientific Society by University of Toronto Press, 12-13; Morawska, E. (1994). In Defense of the Assimilation Model. *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 2, 76-87.

although the Church in USSR existed only in the underground. In sum, these factors provoked the development within the third wave of the Ukrainian diaspora, a phenomenon of the *diasporic religion* which manifested itself through the development of several lay organizations united under the general title *The Ukrainian Patriarchal Movement*¹.

Among the first manifestations of the emergence of the phenomenon of the *diasporic religion* within the third wave of the Ukrainian emigration was the struggle for the preservation of the Julian calendar in the liturgical life on the parishes of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in the USA and Canada. In mid-1950, a few conflicts concerning the implementation of the Gregorian (or “New”) calendar took place on some Ukrainian Greek Catholic parishes in the USA. The main argument for the preservation of the “Old” calendar was a connection between the diaspora and the homeland that it has provided. According to activists of the Committee for the Preservation of Traditions of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Chicago, which became one of the leading centers of the Patriarchal Movement, their wish to celebrate the holidays following the Julian calendar, was based on the desire to maintain “the closest connection with the Ukrainian people and to celebrate at the same time and in the same way that we have kept so far”². Again, according to the leadership of another organization that belonged to the Patriarchal Movement, the “Old” calendar provided “a unity with the Church in the Native Lands,” therefore, according to the authors of the letter to the Ukrainian bishops, this argument should be “the most binding factor” in favor of its preservation³. A bit naive, but vividly this argument was presented during the Constituent Assembly of Supporters of the Old Calendar, which took place on April 8, 1956, in Rochester (NY): “On the very day of Christ’s Resurrection our crippled Metropolitan will stretch out his crippled hands to bless the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, but this blessing will not come to us in due time”⁴.

The calendar, however, was not of value in itself but was seen as an integral part of the national and religious tradition in general. In combination with the broader religious tradition (rite, liturgical language etc.), which should have been preserved in all its integrity and fullness without any changes it became for the members of the Patriarchal Movement one of the key *translocative* and *transtemporal* elements, which was to ensure continuity with the past of homeland and its religious history, with the present and even with the future generations. Justifying the Struggle for the “Old” Calendar leaders of the Movement in Chicago cited a quote from the novel *Uliana Kravchenko “Chrysanthemum,”* where she described the emotions associated with the experience of participating in worship at the monastery in Hoshiv “/ ... / in the time of the prayerful ecstasy, I was conscious that my mother and a grandmother are also praying here, as well as their parents prayed here, and hundreds of years ago, my ancestors had been praying here. So will also pray our descendants”⁵. This liturgical aspect, as a result, organically and naturally provided a *ritual* basis necessary for the formation of the *diasporic religion*, which was not only of purely religious importance but also of national significance because of almost every celebration or national feast was accompanied with the religious ceremony.

Similarly, the phenomenon of the diasporic religion manifested itself through creating *artifacts* that have been connecting the country of settlement with the birthplace and been allowing immigrants to “move” home, remember its past and imagining its future. One example is the church of St. John the Baptist in Hunter (NY), built in 1962 in classic Hutsul style⁶. The construction was funded by representatives of the third wave of Ukrainian emigration and the church with a Parish Hall (“Grazhda”) became one of the favorite place for their rest and meetings, including members of the Patriarchal Movement. During the consecration of the church, one of the priests emphasized that it should be seen “as a precious memorial icon, which we,

¹ Сороковський, А. (2009). Нарис історії Українського Патріархального Руху. *Матеріали до історії українського патріархального руху (1963-2001)*. Львів: Свічадо, 19-70.

² Чому існує Комітет оборони традицій Української Католицької Церкви в Чикаго. Архів парафії свв. Володимира і Ольги в Чикаго, «Г», *Городиловський Юрій м.д.*) б.п.

³ (1965, Грудень 11) Справи Української Католицької Церкви. Лист до Конференції українського католицького єпископату (ii). *Вільне слово*, 3.

⁴ Протокол ширших сходин українців греко-католиків – прихильників календаря старого стилю. Історичний архів УГКЦ в Римі, ф. 2, оп. IVa, спр. 395, арк. 9.

⁵ Кравченко, У. (1961). *Хризантеми*. Чикаго: Видавництво Миколи Денисюка, 77.

⁶ Українська Гантерська Парафія (2020). *Про Церкву / About the Church*.

<<https://ukrainianmountaintop.org/about/>> (2020, March 25).

wanderers, took with us into emigration, to remind us of the native architecture and the native mountains with which it and we are connected”¹.

However, the paradigmatic example of the creation of specific sacred space was the church of St. Volodymyr and Olga in Chicago, which was treated within the Patriarchal Movement as exemplary and worthy of imitation. According to the architect of the church Yaroslav Korsunsky, it became “a moral victory of the Eastern Ukrainian tradition over denationalization and melting in the general “universal cauldron”².

Built in accordance with the traditions of Ukrainian-Byzantine style, it was almost a replica of the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Rome built at the same time on the initiative of Josyf Slipyj, the head of the Greek-Catholic Church which was released in 1963, after eighteen years of imprisonment in the Soviet GULAG. The church of St. Volodymyr and Olga in Chicago was called to remind the parishioners not only of the most prominent Ukrainian Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv and millennial tradition of Christianity associated with it, but also to connect them symbolically with the Church-center in diaspora and its head in Rome. In addition to this *translocative* aspect of the church, it also maintained a *transtemporal* one, since the painting of the interior, carried by the famous iconographer Ivan Dykyi (who also painted the “patriarchal” church of St. Nicholas in Toronto), was also designed in classical Byzantine-Ukrainian style and contained all known saints of the Ukrainian people from the beginning of the Christianization of Kyivan Rus³. Thus, a dedication of the church to the first saints of the Kyivan Church linked the diaspora to the sources of Ukrainian Christianity. According to Yaroslav Korsunsky, the impetus for the design of the church in the Kyivan-Byzantine style was a sense of disorientation and, thus, a desire to “recreate the path to the starting point, to the source”⁴. Painting of the interior, which includes saints starting from the Baptism of Kyivan Rus up to the times of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky also served as a brief *historical narrative* which diasporas, according to Thomas Tweed, develop and cherish to maintain the continuity with the homeland’s past country and its religious history.

The *historical narrative* has also been embodied in the relevant texts of historians and theologians involved in the Patriarchal Movement. The works of the active members of the Patriarchal Movement, Mykola Chubaty and Petro Bilaniuk, were not just regular studies on the history of the Church in Ukraine. They share a common desire for both authors to demonstrate the deep roots and originality of the Ukrainian Christian tradition to emphasize equivalence with the traditions of other peoples.

Prof. Mykola Chubaty sought to substantiate the unique character of Ukrainian (Kyivan) Christianity, which, in his opinion, was an original synthesis of Eastern and Western Christianity that also absorbed best features of the pre-Christian culture of Rus and was headed by the Archbishop of Kyiv which was independent of both Rome and Constantinople. After the fall of the Kyivan state, Prof. Chubaty argues, “the Church has replaced the state power for the Ukrainians and became the only institution representing the whole nation”⁵. This notion stressing on the unifying and representative role of the Church for the stateless Ukrainian people became more important in the context of the diaspora, which wanted to maintain the unity not only with their homeland but also between scattered diasporic communities in the Western hemisphere. The other “patriarchal” activist, Petro Bilaniuk, a professor of theology at the University of Toronto, devoted much attention to the issue of the probability of the apostolic origin of the Ukrainian Church since he considered “unique historical development” important element for the establishment of the patriarchal Church⁶.

The development of theological thought within the framework of the Patriarchal Movement took place in a similar scenario, and its primary purpose was to define as clearly as possible the identity and self-

¹ Горняткевич, Д. (1963). Українське церковне мистецтво і його репрезентація. *Листи до приятелів*, 5-6, 38-41.

² Корсунський, Я. (1982). Спорудження храму святих Володимира і Ольги в Чикаго (Думки і спогади архітекта). Маркус, В. В. (ред.) *Собор душ. Пропам’ятна книга Парафії Св. Володимира і Ольги*. Чикаго: Ставропігія, 366.

³ Чировський, О. А. (1982). Церковний розпис собору святих Володимира і Ольги. Маркус, В. В. (ред.) *Собор душ. Пропам’ятна книга Парафії Св. Володимира і Ольги*. Чикаго: Ставропігія, 402-410.

⁴ Корсунський, Я. (1982). Спорудження храму святих Володимира і Ольги в Чикаго (Думки і спогади архітекта). Маркус, В. В. (ред.) *Собор душ. Пропам’ятна книга Парафії Св. Володимира і Ольги*. Чикаго: Ставропігія, 367.

⁵ Чубатий, М. (1965). *Історія християнства на Русі-Україні (Том I)*. Рим-Нью Йорк: Видання Українського Католицького Університету, 2.

⁶ Біланюк, О. П. (1995). Схема помісности Української Католицької Церкви. В *Божа істина, краса і любов* (с. 157). Дрогобич: Відродження; Bilaniuk, P. (1988). *The Apostolic Origin of the Ukrainian Church*. Parma: Published by Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary Ukrainian Catholic Parish.

sufficiency of the Ukrainian theological and spiritual tradition, especially in the face of Western Christianity. Therefore, inherent for the diasporic *theology desire* to preserve the purity or whether “authenticity” of tradition and prevent it from mixing up with the other (“spiritual assimilation”), was manifested by representatives of the Patriarchal Movement through the crystallization of the distinct features of the theological tradition of the East in the face of the West, sometimes even opposing them each other.

The Decree of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* played an important supporting role in this process. The phrase of the Decree that Eastern Catholics “can and should always preserve their lawful liturgical rites and their rule of law, / ... / and if they, for historical or personal reasons, depart from them, try to return to the ancestral traditions”¹, became the main basis for the permanent search for an authentic theological and spiritual tradition of Ukrainian Christianity. One of the few professional theologians in the Patriarchal Movement, Yevgen Ivankiv, was convinced that the ideal for Ukrainian Greek Catholics should be the “times of complete ritual and religious prosperity of 7th and 8th centuries in Byzantium, and for us Ukrainians – the time of Petro Mohyla in Ukraine”². He also believed that if the liturgical reforms of the Latin Church were aimed at a gradual ecumenical rapprochement with Protestants, then the task of the Eastern Catholics was to move to a meeting with the Orthodox. And since “the Eastern Christians never experiment with his rite”³, that is the whole religious tradition of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics. In essence, the rite, spirituality, theology and canon law should be restored to the state in which they were before the Union of Brest, and especially to the Zamość Synod of 1720⁴. Again, in support of this thesis, Yevgen Ivankiv appealed to the Decree of *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, which, while encouraging Eastern Catholics to approach ecumenical rapprochement with the Orthodox, called to do this with “religious fidelity to the ancient Eastern traditions”⁵. The restoration of authentic Eastern theology, which should determine all other aspects of the identity of the UGCC, has also been the focus of the mentioned above Petro Bilaniuk. As in the case of “unique history,” the “unique theological thought,” in his view, was one of the most important ideas that should be developed⁶.

Equally, vividly was the phenomenon of diasporic religion, presented in the creation of translocal *institutions*. First of all, it manifested itself in the leading idea of the Patriarchal Movement, namely, the support of the granting of the patriarchal status to the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church as such. The members of the Movement viewed the patriarchal institution solely as an extraterritorial structure, which was to unite not only the diaspora itself but also emigration and homeland. An essential unifying factor in this translocative *institution* was the person of Joseph Slipyj himself, who, while living in exile, was at the same time the head of the persecuted Church in Ukraine and combined the experience of both parts of the religious community by his example.

Conclusion. As in the cases of other diasporas in the case of the third wave of the Ukrainian emigration, religion has started to play a more significant role right after they departed from the homeland. On the one hand, this process was marked with certain inertia, but on the other religion started to function as a stabilizing factor in the process of adaptation of the first generation of new immigrants. The arguments they used when trying to defend old and familiar religious practices, the character of ideas and institutions they developed, show that they have seen religion and the Church as translocative and transtemporal means to struggle with disorientation and assimilation in a new circumstance. Thus, the Patriarchal Movement that was one of the institutionalized examples of this process can be seen as a Ukrainian case of the phenomenon of the diasporic religion.

¹ Vatican (2020). *Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches. La Santa Sede.*

<http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19641121_orientalium-ecclesiarum_en.html> (2020, March 25).

² Іванків, Є. (1969). Ми і літургичні реформи західньої церкви. *Вісник Української Католицької Парафії Святих Володимира і Ольги в Чикаго*, 4.

³ Іванків, Є. (1970). За збереження справді східнього характеру нашої Церкви! *Вісник Української Католицької Парафії Святих Володимира і Ольги в Чикаго*, 15.

⁴ Іванків, Є. (1971). Унія та «Уніятизм». *Вісник Української Католицької Парафії Святих Володимира і Ольги в Чикаго*, 10, 1-2.

⁵ Vatican (2020). *Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches. La Santa Sede.*

<http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19641121_orientalium-ecclesiarum_en.html> (2020, March 25).

⁶ Біланюк, О. П. (1995). *Схема помісности Української Католицької Церкви. Божа істина, краса і любов*. Дрогобич: Відродження, 157.

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