

Language, religion and national identity of Ukrainian people living in Japan

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The identity of a person is presented as a list of various attributes such as ethnic (or national as the modern conceptualization of identity of an ethnic community), religious, cultural, professional, gender, personal, etc. However, the theorists of postmodernism note that identity is being constructed, transformed and fluid and it is often a matter of choice. Referring to an ethnic identity, May (2001: 24), for instance, notices, “The fragmented, dispersed and decentered individual of the postmodern world is supposedly able to choose from a bewildering range of identity styles and forms of political mobilization, and ethnicity”. Nagel (1994: 155) stresses that a chosen ethnic identity is determined by an individual’s perception of its meaning to different audiences, its salience in different social contexts, and its utility in different settings.

Nowadays, globalization and active immigration bring new challenges for ethnic identity formation. Newly-arrived immigrants and national minority members often need to learn how to balance between their own and foreign local culture values and how to evolve their ethnic identity in an unfamiliar environment. A new country with its socio-political reality and cultural heritage brings a new sense in the relationship between a place and an identity where immigrant groups are not always defined by given cultural attributes but in relation to other groups.

Since language and religion serve as identity markers, recent studies on ethnic and national identity have been concerned with immigrant communities and how their identity is negotiated and constructed through religious practices. The article investigates the role of religion in the formation of Ukrainian immigrant identity in Japan and its effect on the community’s linguistic behavior. First, the paper provides a historical review of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine and then describes how the Ukrainian Orthodox Mission in Japan was established; finally, it reveals the role of language and religion as identity markers of Ukrainian immigrants.

Except for academic works and public statistics, the data for this study comprises the testimony by Fr. Paul A. Koroluk (the pastor of St. Jude Ukrainian Orthodox Mission in Tokyo) collected by Dzyabko and Kvasnytsia in April 2020, and the results

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of the interviews with 35 Ukrainian people living in Japan conducted by Dzyabko in September 2019-August 2020.

Ukraine's religious profile

Christianity have played an important role in the Ukrainian identity throughout its history. According to Pew Research, conducted in 2015, Ukraine ranks 11th among 34 European countries in terms of overall religiosity. Religion in Ukraine is diverse, with a majority of the population adhering to Christianity. A 2018 survey conducted by the Razumkov Centre revealed that 67% of the population declared adherence to one or another strand of Orthodox Christianity (Ukraine is the third-largest Orthodox population in the world, after Russia and Ethiopia), almost 9% of citizens identified themselves as believers of Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, 1.2% as Protestants and 1.2% as Roman Catholics (*Особливості релігійного і церковно-релігійно самовизначення українських громадян: тенденції 2010-2018 років*).

Due to socio-political and economic factors, Ukraine has been experiencing migration population growth since the beginning of the 20th century. Nowadays, a great number of Ukrainians living around the world have been united through their shared Christian faith, which forms strong bonds among previous and future generations.

Brief history of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine

The Ukrainian Church has a long and complicated history. Let us outline the milestones in its history in order to understand the impact of socio-cultural and political events on its development.

Christianity in Ukraine goes back to the period of Kyivan Rus which was the first federation of East Slavic people formed around Kyiv (modern Ukraine's capital) in the 9th century. Christianization of Kyivan Rus dates from 988 when Prince Volodymyr the Great (ruled in 980-1015) converted to Christianity and Christianized the people of Kyivan Rus. On the one hand, this date finalizes a long history of spreading Christianity on this territory; on the other hand, it symbolizes a civilized choice of one of the biggest states of East Europe at that time.

Christianity penetrated this region in the late 1st century. The author of *The Tale of Bygone Years* (1113), one of the oldest Chronicles of Kyivan Rus, describes a legend when Saint Andrew, the first Apostle of Jesus Christ, traveled to ancient Kyiv and converted several thousand men to the new faith stating that there will be a lot of churches on this land. In 97-99, Pope Clement I, the first historical Christian missionary preached the Gospel in Chersonese (modern Sevastopol in Crimea) where he is said to have died a martyr (Chapman 1908). However, Christianity spread throughout the southern and eastern territories of Kyivan Rus only in the 9th-10th

centuries.

The apostolic activity of missionaries Saint Cyril and Methodius¹, who founded the basis of Slavic writing and translated Bible into Old Church Slavic (Slavonic), played a significant role in the popularization of Christianity in the state. The chronicles also mention that Prince Askold of Kyiv (ruled in 860-882) converted to Christianity in 867. Princess Olha of Kyiv (ruled in 945-960) was baptized in 957, being one of the first governors who tried (but failed) to convert all Rus people to Christianity. Her grandson Yaropolk Svyatoslavych (ruled in 972-980) was married to a Greek Christian. Thus, Christianity was no more a private matter but began to play an important role in state-building considering the geopolitical situation of Kyivan Rus and the influence of its Christian neighbors such as Bulgaria, Poland, and Moravia. For this, Christianization² (it should be mentioned united Christianity) of Kyivan Rus in 988 was an act of great significance and symbolized the beginning of the Ukrainian Church (Ukrainian Orthodoxy and later Ukrainian Greek Catholicism) rooted in Byzantine (Greek) tradition with Church Slavic as a liturgical language. As Stepovyk (1993: 29) mentions, “The Kyivan Church is a mother Church for all people living in the East from the Carpathians Mountains and Baltic countries”.

In 1037, the metropole of Kyiv was founded. At first, eight bishops were members of the metropole, but later the number increased to sixteen. In addition, ten bishops served on the territories of modern Ukraine (Subtelny 1991: 56).

Baptism had a fundamental influence on the development of culture in Kyivan Rus, in particular, giving rise to a range of translated texts of a religious nature from ancient Greek, Roman, and Byzantine literature, as well as the emergence of original Ukrainian literature, including the chronicle *The Tale of Bygone Years*, the authorship of which is ascribed to Nestor and Sylvestr, *Kyivan Cave Patericon*, *Sermon on Law and Grace* by Kyiv Metropolitan Ilarion and others. It was Ilarion during the reign of Prince Yaroslav the Wise in 1051 who became the first Rus metropolitan of Kyiv not of Greek origin. It was under Yaroslav the Wise that St. Sophia of Kyiv was constructed. Eventually, libraries, educational centers, and scriptoriums were established at churches and monasteries, which contributed to the spread of education and science in Kyivan Rus.

In 1240, after the Mongol-Tatar invasion, Kyivan Rus ceased to exist as a state politically, economically and culturally, splitting into separate principalities – Halychyna, Volyn, Volodymyr-Suzdal, Novhorod, etc. For the Church, it also meant the transfer of the metropole, and afterwards the distribution of the latter. Thus,

1 Cyril (826-869) and Methodius (815-885) are Byzantine Christian theologians and missionaries, also known as inventors of the Glagolitic alphabet, the basis of the Cyrillic alphabet.

2 The split that created Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodoxy, known as the East-West Schism, occurred only in 1054.

Metropolitan Kyrylo of Kyiv was first in Halych (Halychyna-Volyn Principality), and after the attack of the Tatars, moved to Volodymyr, the capital of the Volodymyr-Suzdal Principality. In 1299, his successor, Metropolitan Maxym, finally moved the metropolitan department from Kyiv to Volodymyr. This step led to the rise of the Halychyna metropole in 1303 and the Lithuanian metropole in 1354.

The decline of the Halychyna-Volyn principality and the growth of Lithuania, Poland and Muscovy as state powers, on the one hand, and the decline of Constantinople under Ottoman attacks, on the other, significantly affected the fate of the Ukrainian population (which at that time called itself 'Rusyns' deriving from the word 'Rus'(not to be confused with the Russians, who at the time were called Muscovites) and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as a whole within the Commonwealth (The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth³) and Moscow State.

It is worth mentioning the Florentine Union of 1439, which considered the unification of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches and the leading role of the Kyivan metropolitans in this act. First, Kyiv Metropolitan Hryhoriy Tsamblak expressed the idea of uniting the churches under the leadership of the Pope in 1418 at the cathedral in Constanta, later Metropolitan of 'All Rus' Isidore took part in signing the act of unification of the Greek and Roman churches in Florence.

Unfortunately, the idea of universal unification of churches in Ukraine met strong opposition from the Polish Latin spiritual mission, as the latter helped the political elite to pursue an assimilation policy of Polonization and Catholicization of the Ukrainian people in the Commonwealth, to which all the Ukrainian lands were ceded under the Union of Lublin in 1569. Meanwhile, without the consent of the patriarch in 1448, Moscow initiated the independence of the Moscow Church from Constantinople, titling Ion the Metropolitan of 'all Rus'.

As Orest Subtelny notes, "The Union of Lublin in 1569 became an event of great importance for Ukrainians. Despite all its shortcomings, for two centuries, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania created favorable conditions for their existence (for example, in 1458 Lithuania restored the metropole in Kyiv). Although Ukrainian princes were subordinated to Lithuanians, they had a great influence in the social, economic, religious, and spiritual spheres of life. However, as the fate of Halychyna, which first came under Polish rule, testified, with the transition of Ukrainian lands from Lithuania to Poland, the existence of Ukrainians as a separate ethnic community was called into question (Subtelny 1991: 78). Ukrainians were not allowed to occupy state posts, the metropolitan and bishops could not participate in the Sejm and Senate, and from the end of the 15th century, Orthodox people were deprived of the right

³ The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1569-1795) was a monarchy established by the Union of Lublin (1569). The dominant religion of The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was Catholicism, and the official languages were Polish and Latin.

to build and repair churches. They were forbidden to organize religious and funeral processions (The Encyclopedia of Ukraine 1949: 610).

Therefore, the issue of preserving cultural identity unfolded primarily in the religious sphere, because Orthodoxy was synonymous with culture, the last bastion of preserving national identity in the absence of their own state.

Against this background, people in Ukraine returned to the idea of uniting the Catholic and Orthodox Churches in the format of the Brest Union of 1596, recognized by Pope Clement VIII. The idea of unification was initiated by the Orthodox side, and many Ukrainian magnates, including Prince Konstantyn Ostrozkyi, were inclined to support it. "Ostrozkyi viewed the union with Rome as a union of the Eastern and Western Churches with the preservation of the Greek rite and all the rights of the old Kyiv metropolis" (The Encyclopedia of Ukraine 1949: 610). Moreover, in 1580, Konstantyn Ostrozkyi ("the pillar of Orthodoxy") opened a scientific and educational center Ostroh Academy and founded a printing house, which in 1581, printed the first complete Bible in the Church Slavonic language. Undoubtedly, the signing of the union caused many questions and controversies in Ukrainian society within the Commonwealth, which resulted in numerous pieces of polemical literature, as it was the issue of ideological, political, and economic power. The Ukrainian Orthodoxy was apprehensive of the spread of Catholicism under the Polish political protectorate, so instead of the unification of Christian churches, three churches appeared in Ukraine: Catholic, Orthodox, and Greek Catholic (or informally Uniate).

An attempt at understanding between the Orthodox and the Greek Catholic was made in 1636-1637 by the election of a joint patriarch, Metropolitan of Kyiv Petro Mohyla (1632-1647, Metropolitan of Kyiv). It was Petro Mohyla who initiated the reforms in the Orthodox Church, established the Mohyla Collegium, which later developed into the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the most powerful and largest educational center in Eastern Europe. As Ihor Shevchenko describes this period, "it was the time of spiritual upswing and intellectual development" (Subtelny 1991:114).

The national liberation struggle under the leadership of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi started in 1648. The Cossack state stood firm in defense of the Ukrainian Orthodoxy. However, in the struggle for independence from the Commonwealth, Khmelnytskyi entered into a military alliance with Muscovy, concluding the Treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654, which eventually became a trap for Ukraine. Right-bank Ukraine became a part of the Commonwealth together with the Kyiv metropole headed by Balaban, and Left-bank Ukraine, also known as the Hetmanate, fell under the influence of the Moscow State. As Orest Subtelny writes, "Moscow could not accept the fact that the spiritual pastor of the Ukrainian Orthodox has its capital on the territory of its sworn enemies. Therefore, the tsar appointed Lazar Baranovych as the temporary metropolitan of the Left Bank, thus splitting the Orthodox hierarchy

into two parts. Moreover, the Russians resorted to pressure to transfer the Ukrainian church from the supremacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople and subordinate it to the Patriarch of Moscow” (Subtelny 1991: 143).

In 1686, the Kyiv metropole became subordinated to the Moscow patriarchate, as a result of which the Ukrainian church lost its independence and went through the process of Russification.

In 1764, the Russian Empire destroyed the Hetmanate, after which, in 1783, it introduced serfdom. In 1817, the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy was closed, which was followed by the Union liquidation in 1839. That period in the history of Ukraine is known as ‘the Ruin’.

The Commonwealth ceased to exist after being divided between Russia, Prussia and Austria. As a result, 62% of the territory and 45% of the population of the Polish-Lithuanian state went to Russia, 18% of the lands and 32% of the population to Austria, and the rest to Prussia. Thus, the Ukrainians of Halychyna and Bukovyna were under the Austrian rule (later the Austro-Hungarian Empire), and the entire Right Bank and Left Bank of Ukraine – under the Russian Empire. Eventually, the Church as an institution in the Russian Empire was completely subordinate to the state.

Instead, under the Austrian rule, the Greek Catholic Church was revived. In 1783, the Central Greek Catholic Seminary in Lviv was founded; in 1808, the Halychyna metropole (Metropolitan Antin Anhelovych) was restored, and Ukrainian Greek Catholics had the opportunity to study at the Vienna University of Theology. As a result, there was a layer of educated clergy, who preserved the national consciousness and promoted national revival, the symbol of which was the figure of Count Andrei Sheptytskyi, who headed the Halychyna metropole from 1900 to 1944.

The Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi’s was involved in intense activities in various spheres of life, being a scientist, philosopher, public figure, and patriot who reformed the Greek Catholic Church, founded a number of theological seminaries, the Theological Academy (1926), and the Ukrainian Catholic Union as an organization of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. As a metropolitan, he visited Greek Catholics in Argentina, Brazil, Canada, and established a diocese in the United States. In Ukraine, after 1917, he expanded the Greek Catholic Church to Eastern Ukraine, Belarus, and even St. Petersburg, establishing Greek Catholic parishes.

The revolution of 1917 in the Russian Empire appeared to be another test in the life of Ukraine in general and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in particular.

From 1917 to 1921, the Ukrainian state, the Ukrainian People’s Republic (UPR), was restored, which promoted the Ukrainization of Orthodoxy and the break with the Russian Church. Thus, in 1918, the All-Ukrainian Church Council in Kyiv announced on behalf of the government that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church

should be autocephalous. In the same year, the Council of the Russian Orthodox Church recognized Ukrainian autonomy. Then in 1919, a decree of the Ukrainian People's Republic on the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Church and the organization of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in 1921 was issued, headed by Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivskyi. At that time, there were two churches in Ukraine: the Russian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church.

In 1922, the USSR emerged, subjugating the Ukrainian state, and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was finally destroyed. "At the end of 1930, there were no more bishops of the Autocephalous Church in Ukraine. The only survivor was Bishop Ivan Theodorovych, who moved to Canada in 1925 and from there to the United States" (The Encyclopedia of Ukraine 1949: 619).

The Soviet power made the Church an instrument of the state. From that moment, the Russian Orthodox Church reported to the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, an administrative institution founded in 1943. All those who did not convert to Russian Orthodoxy were persecuted and destroyed. "In 1944, the Soviet authorities began the arrests of the Halychyna and Transcarpathian clergy. The successor of Metropolitan Andrei (who died on November 1, 1944), Metropolitan Yosyf Slipyi, and all bishops and priests who did not convert to Russian Orthodoxy (1945) were arrested and deported" (The Encyclopedia of Ukraine 1949: 620).

In 1946, in Lviv, the Soviet authorities forced the convening of a church council and the invalidation of the Brest Union of 1593, as well as the proclamation of the unification of the Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church. The Vatican declared the act invalid. Since then, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church had gone underground until Ukraine regained its independence in 1991. The UAOC continued its existence in the diaspora.

From the end of World War II until 1990, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church did not legally exist in Ukraine, after its churches were taken away from them and clergy suppressed or transformed into the Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate. In Ukraine, it partly continued operating underground, being almost entirely a diaspora Church.

The historical shift in the Orthodox Church of Ukraine

J. Edwards (2009: 112) analyzing the relation of language, religion and identity notices, "Planning and policy-making are directed by those who possess some variety of power and who, at least in democracies, respond to and elaborate upon sociopolitical needs and requirements". Annexation of Crimea and occupation of Donbas (Eastern Ukraine including Donetsk and Luhansk Regions) by the Russian Federation in 2014 had a significant impact on the religious life of Ukraine. The sociological research shows that various ethnic and religious minorities on the occupied territories,

especially Crimean Tatars, which are mainly Muslim, and members of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine suffer continuous religious discrimination (see Religion during the Russian-Ukrainian conflict).

It is important to notice that despite the fact that the Russian Federation, as well as the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, has been always multiethnic and multireligious, for Russians, the sense of belonging frequently includes an ethnodoxic component, in which a real Russian is not ethnically Russian but is also an Orthodox Christian of Russian Church (Gaufman 2019: 54). Therefore, it is obvious that the religious discrimination that the Ukrainian people continuously experienced prior to its independence in 1991, and which has continued on the temporally occupied territories as a staple of so-called “Russian World”⁴ nowadays, has to do with Russia’s geopolitics.

The circumstances Ukraine has faced over the past years fostered a very important shift both in the history of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine (OCU) and Ukraine as an independent state. On January 5, 2019, Bartholomew I, the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople⁵ proclaimed Autocephaly of the Ukrainian Church by signing the Tomos (a decree of the head of Orthodox Church that grants self-governorship of a particular Orthodox church from its mother church). In this way, an independent Orthodox Church of Ukraine merged previously unrecognized Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kyiv Patriarchate, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and also parts⁶ of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate. The autocephaly of the Ukrainian Church formalized a split with the Russian Church to which it had been linked since 1686. Another important thing in this decision was that the Synod recognized the annexation of the Metropole of Kyiv by Moscow in 1686 as illegal by cancelling the corresponding decree on obedience.

Nevertheless, this historic action with Autocephaly of the Ukrainian Church, which demonstrated the power of not only religious forces but involved self-conscious political ones, caused exaltation among many Ukrainians (even among those who are not affiliated to the OCU or Christianity). The task to prove a canonical right for Autocephaly of the Ukrainian Church and its national traditions, contrary to the ideology of the Russian Orthodox Church, was a long process of a struggle for the recognition of national culture and national rights in general.

4 Russian world (“*Russkiy mir*”) is a Russian political ideology which presupposes that Russian people are not only the residents of the Russian Federation but all people who share Russian language, culture and religion.

5 Constantinople (modern Istanbul) is the former capital of the Byzantine empire, i.e. by an Eastern Christian church that occupies a special place of honor in the Orthodox world.

6 The hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church did not recognize the Orthodox Church of Ukraine’s independence that caused the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate, which is under the power of the Russian Orthodox Church, did not support Autocephaly of the Ukrainian Church.

The Ukrainian Mission in Japan

Religious organizations play an important role in supporting migrants in a new country. The most important factors of these organizations are a sense of belonging, psychological comfort, physical safety, and access to social networks (Souza 2016: 196).

Historically, the commonly shared Orthodox Christian faith has united Ukrainian immigrants as well. Ukrainian diaspora in the world has always kept the community alive through their church, which promoted the Ukrainian culture, traditions and language even when Ukraine was a part of other countries. The number of Ukrainian Orthodox parishes in the world shows that the identity of the Ukrainian people having left their country has been closely tied to religion. For instance, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada (1918-) (former Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada) unites approximately 128,000 members in 290 congregations with 99 members of the clergy (see Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada), while the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the USA (1923-) includes about 87 active parishes and missions with 120 members of the clergy (see Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the USA) and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church counts 200 parishes in the United States.

Ukrainian migration to Japan mainly started in the 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet Union. According to the report published by the Ministry of Justice of Japan, as of December 2019, 1940 Ukrainian citizens are holding a residence permit, 894 of them have obtained permanent residence (法務省 2019).

In the 1990s, some Orthodox Ukrainians living in Tokyo and nearby visited the Russian Orthodox Church, which is known as the Orthodox Church in Japan (Moscow Patriarchate) established in Japan in the 19th century. It should be noted that the participants of the interviews conducted by Dzyabko in 2019-2020 mention that the majority of population in Japan usually associate Orthodoxy in general with the Russian Orthodox Church. Japanese people often have no awareness that there is Ukrainian culture or language and often refer to incomers as “Russians” due to the fact that Ukraine was a part of the Soviet Union in the 20th century. On the one hand, for many Ukrainians (especially brought up in the USSR) who had shared long years of common history with Russians and had experienced forced Russification in all social areas it was not a new experience; on the other hand, the long years of occupation and discrimination could not but raise Ukrainian national consciousness requiring separation from association with Russia in general and the Russian Orthodox tradition in particular. Despite having common history, closely-related languages, and being Christian Orthodox, Ukrainians and Russians have different cultural experiences and share a different cultural value system.

Therefore, in 2004, the Ukrainian community decided that the Ukrainian population of Japan had reached the level that their religion should have its own

jurisdiction. Fr. Paul Koroluk asserts, “As it became uncomfortable for many of us to worship at the Russian Orthodox Church, which was the only Orthodox Church in Japan then, a group of families got together and, after discussion, contacted the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate with a request to start a mission here in Japan”. Although the community could not guarantee expenses to invite a fulltime priest from Ukraine, there was an option to prepare and ordain one of the men of the community to serve in Japan. Thus, Fr. Paul Koroluk (who is originally a second-generation Ukrainian American) completed a program offered by the Antiochian Orthodox Church in the United States, and then was ordained by His Holiness Patriarch Filaret⁷ who was visiting the USA at that time.

The St. Jude Mission was established in 2004, but it started its public worship in 2007 when Fr. Paul Koroluk began serving as its priest. As the size of the Ukrainian community is still small, the Mission currently does not own its place. The community meets for worship at St. Alban’s Anglican-Episcopal Church in the Minato ward of Tokyo.

The Mission cultivates the Ukrainian Orthodox traditions through arts and religious education classes. For example, the community arranges the decoration of Easter eggs or the preparation of the traditional 12-course Christmas Eve meal. It also actively promotes the language not just through church services in Ukrainian but by encouraging the Ukrainian community to establish the first Ukrainian Sunday school “Dzherelce” in Tokyo in 2008. The Mission even provided a place for the school for several years.

St. Jude’s is integrated into Ukraine’s historical narrative. Every year it holds memorial services to honor the victims of the 1932-1933 Holodomor, Chornobyl nuclear disaster, and the victims of the 2014 Ukrainian Revolution (known as Euromaidan). In recent years, the Mission also raised some funds for supporting the defenders of Ukraine in the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war.

By promoting the ethnic traditions of its founders and members, the Mission cultivates cultural diversity and intercultural exchange. Fr. Paul explains that while most of the founders and the overwhelming majority of people who identify themselves as members of the parish are Ukrainians living in Japan, most of the people who regularly attend worship services are Japanese. He emphasizes, “One part of our mission is to make sure that there is a home where Ukrainians living in Japan will feel safe and comfortable, without having to abandon a part of themselves. But before we are Ukrainian and before we are Orthodox, we are a Christian Church – we represent Christ” (The Ukrainian Weekly 2013).

It should be also mentioned that the Ukrainian Mission together with the

⁷ Patriarch Filaret (secular name Mykhailo Antonovych Denysenko, 1929) is the primate and Patriarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate (1995-2018).

community in Japan welcomed the historic Tomos of Autocephaly in 2018. Fr. Paul Koroluk said, “I cannot in words describe how I felt about the recognition of the Church of Ukraine. This is something that I, and my father before me, prayed and quietly worked for our entire lives. I always trusted that someday the ancient Church of Kyiv would be recognized, and felt it was realistic to hope to see this in my life, but honestly did not expect to see this so soon”.

However, Fr. Paul worries that unfortunately, the Tomos placed the diaspora parishes, including Japan’s one, outside of Ukraine under the direct protection of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. The priest states that almost all of the Faithful in the diaspora wish to remain directly connected to the Church of Ukraine.

Nowadays, the Mission is working on adopting a formal Constitution, which will remind its members that the people are the Church and the Mission is the outcome of the dedicated work of all the faithful together.

The role of the Ukrainian language

Woods (2006: 202) stresses that the place of language in migrant churches is influenced by two sources: the cultural value system of an ethnic group and the culture of the religious denomination. Therefore, the ethnic church is also associated with the use of a particular language.

Ukrainian Metropolitan Ilarion⁸ mentioned “a mother tongue is a way to God” and “the people who do not listen to the liturgy in a mother tongue are like the prisoners who admire the World of God through the prison bars” (Ohiyenko 1995: 23). By saying this at the beginning of the 20th century, Metropolitan Ilarion underlined that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church gives the Ukrainian people an identity upon which to build their Church and the Church is available to its believers – primarily by means of a language spoken by all.

Unlike the Catholic Church where Latin was the language of liturgical rites for hundreds of years, the Eastern Orthodox Christian tradition has considered all languages equal before God. At the beginning of Orthodox Christianity in Kyivan Rus, there was a tradition of using Church Slavic (or Church Slavonic) as a liturgical language similarly to Greek. However, by the early 12th century individual Slavic languages started developing based on the local vernacular that allowed to produce translations of liturgical material in local languages.

Apostol Krechowski (translation the Book of Acts) (1560) and *The Peresopnytsia Gospels* (a Gospel Book containing four Gospels of the New Testament) (1561) are considered to be inviolable sacred works written in the old Ukrainian language. Other

8 Metropolitan Ilarion (secular name Ivan Ohienko) (1882-1972), a Ukrainian Orthodox Metropolitan, church historian, and politician who tried to prove the right of the Ukrainian Church to exist independently from the Russian Orthodox Church before and after Ukraine was annexed by the Soviet Union in 1921. In 1951, he was elected metropolitan of Winnipeg and head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada.

medieval manuscripts such as *Apostol* by Ivan Fedorov (1572) and *The Ostrog Bible* (the first translation of the Bible in Ukraine) were written in the Church Slavic but included many phonological and grammatical characteristics of medieval Ukrainian.

By 15th-16th centuries, when the Bible began being available to most Orthodox Christians in the local vernacular, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church openly supported using Ukrainian as a liturgy language. There were two main reasons. The usage of a well-understandable local language helped to protect the Orthodox Church believers from the Reformation movement that challenged the Catholic Church in West Europe in the 16th century. The second and the most important reason was that the usage of the Ukrainian language served as a means to stand against aggressive political Catholicism which started when Ukrainian territories of Kyivan Rus were incorporated to The Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.

It should be noted that the Russian Orthodox Church (which first metropole in Moscow was formed only in 1589) has always maintained its liturgies in archaic Church Slavic. Thus, the liturgy language has been always one of the differences between Ukrainian and Russian Orthodox traditions throughout history.

In the case of St. Jude Mission, it is multilingual. Its services alternate between Ukrainian-English and Japanese-English depending on the visitors. On a non-holiday service, about half the people are Japanese, one-quarter Ukrainian, and one-quarter other nationalities or ethnic groups. Also, it is important to mention that Fr. Paul's first language is English and according to his words, he can serve the Divine Liturgy in Ukrainian, but his Ukrainian is not good enough to deliver the homily.

On the one hand, the adoption of Ukrainian by St. Jude's Mission symbolizes Ukrainian Orthodox roots and its connection to the mother Church. Using Ukrainian as a liturgy language also supports language maintenance among the Ukrainian immigrants and reinforces their emotional and cultural links to Ukraine. On the other hand, using Japanese helps to involve Japanese adults, Ukrainian migrant children raised in Japan, and half Ukrainian and half Japanese children into the life of the Mission. The members of the Mission who are culturally and linguistically diverse could benefit from a better understanding of a liturgy when it is held in both languages. In addition, English enables engagement with a globalized world. Fr. Paul says that the Mission has become a meeting place across ethnic and cultural boundaries that consciously seeks to demonstrate the universality of the faith through its activities (The Ukrainian Weekly 2013). As we can understand, the Mission is trying to balance its Ukrainian Orthodox traditions, cultural diversity and Christian universality.

Nowadays, one of the significant tasks of the Mission is also to support the religious identity of the Ukrainian children raised in Japan and children born in mixed-race families. In the first case, some Ukrainians who moved to Japan having

integrated into Japanese culture and non-Christian environment consciously or unconsciously drifted away from Christianity. Thus, their children who were not actively involved in any religious practices, recognize their Ukrainian identity but do not feel a strong connection to Christian faith. In the second case, children of Ukrainians whose parents married out of the community are likely to assimilate into Japanese culture and religion. The results of the interviews show that the majority of Japanese-Ukrainian children cannot speak Ukrainian fluently and are practically raised as Japanese. Therefore, in both cases, conceptualizations of the Ukrainian language, religion and ethnicity do resonate with children's personal experiences in Japan.

According to Fr. Paul, very few Ukrainians of a younger generation attend the church today. He says, "In some cases, there is a Japanese parent who is suspicious of religion and keeps the children away from the Church, but in most cases, it is just the choice of the parents not to make the Church part of their children's lives". Since religion is a core part of Ukrainian national identity, the priest worries that the future generations of Ukrainians in Japan will lose their Ukrainian ethnic identity.

As Edwards (2009: 19) notices, "The heart of individual identity and 'groupness' is continuity. At a personal level, this is what reassures me of my own on-going integrity; at the level of the group, is a connectivity born in history and carried forward through tradition". For this, since ethnicity is negotiated and fluid, the Church could be instrumental in the formation of language-and-identity-settings of Ukrainians living in Japan.

Therefore, the goal of the Ukrainian congregation is not only to gather for spiritual nourishment but to continue to preserve Ukrainian cultural heritage. Practicing Christian tradition in the Ukrainian language can help to raise ethnic consciousness and thus elicit the understanding of the ethnic identity of the future generations of Ukrainians raised and born in Japan.

Conclusion

The Church has been an important element in supporting Ukrainian culture and heritage throughout history. Rooted in Byzantine and Kyivan Rus tradition, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Japan helps the Ukrainian immigrants to sustain their religious identity, and provide additional spiritual needs and emotional security. Like Ukrainian Orthodox Christian parishes elsewhere, St. Jude Mission is committed to the Ukrainian national roots and traditions of its mother Church, yet it is open to people of all cultures and backgrounds. Supporting Ukrainian Orthodox faithful in Japan by nurturing Ukrainian culture and language as identity markers, it is a church community that promotes openness and welcomes everyone who is ready to share the universality of the faith.

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在日ウクライナ人における言語、宗教とナショナル・アイデンティティ

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言語と宗教はアイデンティティのマーカールであると考えられており、エスニック・アイデンティティやナショナル・アイデンティティに関する最近の研究では、宗教行動と言語使用によって、どのように移民コミュニティのアイデンティティが形成されるかが取り上げられている。歴史的にもキリスト教はウクライナの文化と伝統を支援する要因の一つであるため、本研究では、在日ウクライナ人のナショナル・アイデンティティの形成過程における宗教の役割や、言語態度への宗教の影響について考察した。初めに、ビザンティン帝国とキーウ・ルシのルーツを持つウクライナ正教会の歴史を概観し、次に、2004年に設立された日本における唯一のウクライナ正教会 (St. Jude Ukrainian Orthodox Mission) の活動について説明した。最後に、在日ウクライナ人のアイデンティティのマーカールとして言語とキリスト教がどのような役割を果たしているかについて分析を行った。