

PART 3.
CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONSOLIDATION
OF THE STATE-UNIFYING FORCES
(FIRST DECADES OF THE XX CENTURY)

During the first decade of the new century, Galician Ukrainians made considerable progress in all areas of social-political, economic and cultural-educational life. Overcoming the obstacles, which the Austrian authorities and the Polish administration had put in their way, the Ukrainian cooperative movement continued to develop. The development of the cooperative enterprises met the material needs of small producers, strengthened rural economy and laid the economic foundation for the national liberation movement¹⁹⁴. It was the community “Vidrodzhennia” (“Renaissance”), founded in 1909 with the help of priests, which became the organizer of the anti-alcohol movement¹⁹⁵.

There could be seen a considerable rise in the reputation of the Ruthenian Pedagogical Society while in between 1902–1910 it was headed by the Greek-Catholic priest Ivan Chapelsky (1858-1918)¹⁹⁶. The Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv took care of national science and culture issues. It managed to unite the scientific and literary as well as artistic elite of Ukraine thanks to the leadership of such people as M. Hrushevsky, I. Franko, V. Hnatiuk¹⁹⁷. It was in the printing house of this society where dozens of religious books appeared to meet their readers. Due to the efforts of the Galician community, particular its priests and clergymen, Ukrainian schooling developed greatly. Before the war, one could find 6 state and

¹⁹⁴ ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 358. Оп. 1. Спр. 112, 125; Історія споживчої кооперації України. Львів, 1996. С. 103-109.

¹⁹⁵ Савчук Б. Корчма: алкогольна політика і рух тверезості в Західній Україні у XIX – 30-х роках XX ст. Івано-Франківськ, 2001. С. 118-122.

¹⁹⁶ Товариство «Рідна школа»: історія і сучасність. Науковий альманах. Ч. 1. Львів, 2001. С. 168-169.

¹⁹⁷ Грицак Я. Нарис історії України. Формування модерної української нації XIX –XX століття. Київ, 1996. С. 207.

15 private grammar schools as well as 3 thousand public schools and 7 Ukrainian departments in the Lviv University in the region¹⁹⁸.

In the first third of the XX century the Metropolitan bishop of the Greek-Catholic Church could be called the central figure of Galicia. His name was Andrey Sheptytsky, and he received his church name Reverend Andrey on August 22, 1892 at the hands of the Bishop Yulian Pelesh. Soon afterwards, on June 22, 1896, he already had a rank of a Doctor of law and a novice master and was appointed an abbot of the Lviv monastery of St. Onuphrius, from where he exercised extensive missionary activity. The following year he was elected a secretary of the protohegumen of the Galician province of the Order of St. Basil, and on May 1, 1897 he together with Reverend Platonid Filias co-founded the first religious monthly magazine “Missionar” (“Missionary”), which was rightly called the Apostle of the Ukrainian People¹⁹⁹. The founders of the magazine did not want to limit it only to religious subjects, they regularly wrote about moral, family and other aspects of secular life²⁰⁰. Later on, this magazine was in a full responsibility of the Metropolitan bishop Andrey Sheptytsky. Not only he assisted the editorial staff financially, but he also published the Pastoral Letters on its pages.

On February 2, 1899 Franz Josef appointed the 34-year-old Andrey Sheptytsky a bishop of the Stanislaviv Eparchy. He began his activities by attending parishes, during such visits he got familiar with the way of life of the peasantry, he taught and blessed people, helped the poor, and won the love and respect of the parishioners. On February 14-15, 1900 A. Sheptytsky visited the Ukrainian grammar school in Kolomyia and received a warm welcome from its pupils²⁰¹. His first pastoral letter to the clergy and the Christ followers concerned urgent problems of the Ukrainian people and the clergy in particular – he urged people to live according to the Christian laws of

¹⁹⁸ Полонська-Василенко Н. Історія України. Т. 2. Київ: Либідь, 1992. С. 434.

¹⁹⁹ ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 358. Оп. 2. Спр. 4. Арк. 1-7; Слуга Божий Митрополит Андрей Шептицький. Календар 2004 р. / Упор. О. Гайова, відп. ред. о. Т. Янків. Львів, 2004. 26 с.

²⁰⁰ Химка І.-П. Греко-католицька церква і національне відродження в Галичині 1772-1918. *Ковчег*. Львів, 1993. Ч. 3. С. 89.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* С. 3-16.

justice, to unite, to care for public education, to educate young people about their duties to society, to value independence and honest work²⁰².

The Greek Catholic clergy used to not only support but also to lead the national movement. This went on until the 90's of the XIX century. However, the radicalization of the national movement and the rise of anti-clericalism in the environment of social democracy and a part of the young intelligentsia were responsible for slowing down of the cleric national movement. Some representatives of the church also contributed to this process. In particular, the new bishop of Stanislaviv Hryhoriy Khomyshyn (who was appointed since June 19, 1904) and his supporters believed that the church should limit its interference into the liberation movement²⁰³.

37-year-old Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn started his activity conducting meetings for the clergy, as well as visiting different parishes. He successfully preached and blessed people during these activities. He was rather functional in removing the Russophiles from the capitol, and he secured the allocation of government funds in order to open a seminary in Stanyslaviv (1907). On his initiative, there were purchased two squares in the city, on the first one there was built a luxurious building, which housed a hotel later (now it is "Dnister"), a cinema hall (now People's House No. 1), and private rented premises. In order to develop national capital, he became a co-sponsor of the Land Mortgage Bank²⁰⁴.

It was clear that at the beginning of the XX century Metropolitan bishop Andrey Sheptytsky opposed such ideas of Hryhoriy Khomyshyn. First of all, he considered them wrong, and then he had strong objections concerning indirect participation of clergymen in the national movement. Of course, in the new political

²⁰² Сапельяк А. Київська церква на слов'янському Сході. Буенос-Айрес; Львів, 1999. С. 107-108.

²⁰³ ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 164. Оп. 1. Спр. 163. Арк. 1 -40; Оп. 2. Спр. 204. Арк. 1-25.

²⁰⁴ Єгрешій О. Єпископ Григорій Хомишин і питання українсько-польського порозуміння 1904-1939 рр. Івано-Франківськ, 2001. 71 с.; Єгрешій О. Взаємовідносини митрополита Андрія Шептицького і єпископа Григорія Хомишина. *Галичина*. 2001. № 5-6. С. 315-321; Пелехатий І. Я згину в тюрмі, а ви мусите жити... *Нова зоря*. 1997. 25 березня.

situation, the church should have remained separated from the national movement, but it had to support it as long as it adhered to the Christian principles of morality. A. Sheptytsky emphasized that, while dealing with national affairs, no one had a right to break Christian ethics, because evil not only remained unhelpful to “the pure and holy case of the people, but also harmed it directly”²⁰⁵. That is why in the Pastoral Epistle of the Metropolitan bishop and Bishops to the People on the murder of the Galician governor, Polish Count Andrzej Potocki, by the Lviv student Myroslav Sichinsky in 1908, this terrorist act was strongly condemned²⁰⁶.

Andrey Sheptytsky took the post of the Metropolitan bishop at a festive celebration on January 17, 1901 at St. George’s Cathedral²⁰⁷. After this event, as many historians noted down, there started a new epoch in the history of the Greek Catholic Church. At that time the Greek Catholic Church had 1 854 parishes and 2 934 thousand of followers²⁰⁸. Metropolitan bishop A. Sheptytsky paid great attention to the problems of the clergy. He saw the low level of education of the parish priests as one of the reasons for the decline of church life at the turn of the century, and, therefore, sought to “shape the personality of the newest Ukrainian priest.., to nurture the Ukrainian clergyman capable of fulfilling the great mission of the Ukrainian Church”²⁰⁹. With this aim, he started building seminaries: in 1901 he reorganized the Lviv Seminary; students of this seminary attended lectures at the University of Lviv before the founding of the Theological Academy in 1928 by the Metropolitan bishop; in

²⁰⁵ Филипович Л. Митрополит Андрей (Шептицький) і Іларіон (Отієнко): проблема національної церкви. *Церква і соціальні проблеми. Енцикліка «Сотий рік»*. Львів, 1993. С. 189.

²⁰⁶ Спільне Пастирське послання митр. Андрея Шептицького та ін. єпископів до народу з приводу вбивства ц.-к. Намісника А. Потоцького з долученою інструкцією до духовенства. *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: Життя і Діяльність. Документи і матеріали 1899-1944. Церква і суспільне питання*. Т. II. Кн. I. Львів: Місіонер, 1998. С. 424.

²⁰⁷ Гайова О. Митрополит Галицький. *Український альманах 2001*. Варшава, 2001. С. 99-103; ЦДДАУЛ. Ф. 358, оп. 2, спр. 4, 10.

²⁰⁸ Химка Іван-Павло. Греко-католицька церква в Галичині в 1772-1918 роках. *Третій міжнародний конгрес українців*. Історія. Ч. I. Харків, 1996. С. 216.

²⁰⁹ Сапеляк А. Київська церква на слов'янському Сході. Буенос-Айрес; Львів, 1999. С. 111.

1906 he established a seminary in Przemyśl, and the following year there was created the Stanislaviv Theological Seminary.

Much work was done for the organizational development of the church. It is worth mentioning that in 1908 Pope Pius X extended the canonical powers of Metropolitan bishop A. Sheptytsky. In addition to the previous Galician Lviv, Przemyśl and Stanislaviv eparchies A. Sheptytsky got under his control the Greek Catholic eparchies of the rest of Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia. That is, he received patriarchal authority with the right to appoint bishops on the vast territories of the east of Ukraine and beyond that. The head of the Ukrainian Church made a lot of efforts to bring Ukraine and Russia together in the light of the church union. He considered it his sacred task to provide church unification on the basis of the Union of Brest. At the end of 1886 he went to Moscow, where he visited the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius. In November 1887 A. Sheptytsky visited Kyiv for the first time. On February 22, 1908 he had a private meeting with Pope Pius X discussing the authority of Catholic priests of the Eastern Rite in the Russian Empire. In October 1908 he secretly went to Ukraine again, he also visited Belarus, Lithuania, and Russia, laying the foundations of communities of Catholics of the Eastern Rite in St. Petersburg and Moscow²¹⁰.

The very fact that a Ukrainian Metropolitan bishop of Galicia was granted the status of patriarch by the Apostolic Capital significantly strengthened the church and weakened the position of Polish Latinism in Galicia. It also meant that the city of Lviv received a new status and was considered as a stronghold of Kyiv Catholic Orthodoxy. Therefore, the role of church in national and cultural progress was still quite important. Led by Metropolitan bishop Andrey Sheptytsky, Galician clergy made a significant contribution while trying to solve the deep-rooted but topical problems, especially in the development of public schools. The clergy collaborated with the so-called “Ridna shkola” (“Native School”). On June 20, 1909 A. Sheptytsky blessed the educational institution of the Ruthenian Pedagogical Society. With the active involvement of the church representatives, there

²¹⁰ ЦДАУЛ. Ф. 358. Оп. 2. Спр. 4. Арк. 1-7; Оп. 2. Спр. 4. Арк. 1-2; Оп. 3р. Спр. 113. Арк. 1-50; Слуга Божий Митрополит Андрей Шептицький. Календар 2004 р. / Упор. О. Гайова, відп. ред. о. Т. Янків. Львів, 2004. С. 2-24.

happened considerable progress in the development of culture, especially in the rural areas. During the period from 1900 to 1914, Galicia opened 2,000 new reading rooms, 430 “Prosvita” houses and People’s Houses (organizations which dealt with education and informing people of current political, social and economic issues, as well as provided them with literature and place for meetings and debate). All in all, there were 2,664 libraries and 2,944 reading rooms in operation all over the region, and they were headed mostly by priests²¹¹. The Greek Catholic Church supported large-scale public actions in order to establish a Ukrainian university. As a Metropolitan bishop, an Ambassador to the Galician Diet and the Austrian Chamber of Lords (since 1903) Andrey Sheptytsky made a report on the necessity of a Ukrainian university at the 22nd session of the Parliament on June 28, 1910²¹². It was in 1913, when there finally was received a permission to establish a university.

It is worth mentioning that the church and the Metropolitan bishop himself contributed to a large scale of the progress of national culture and art. Famous Galician politician Longyn Tsehelsky noted down that Metropolitan bishop A. Sheptytsky was involved in the creation or financing of the following institutions: the National Museum, the People’s Hospital, the Maternity Council, an Orphanage, Dyakiv educational institution, the Theological Academy, the Women’s Grammar School of the Sisterhood of the St. Basil Order, “Ridna shkola” school, an art studio, Hrinchenko School, Prince Lev school and others²¹³.

Metropolitan bishop A. Sheptytsky took great care of the preservation and development of the cultural and artistic heritage in the region, the development of museums, book printing, church construction by common people. The Church Museum, founded in

²¹¹ ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 358. Оп. 2. Спр. 118, 119; Герасимович І., Терлецький О. Шкільництво в Галичині в другій пол. ХІХ і на поч. ХХ ст. *Енциклопедія українознавства*. Загальна частина. Т. 3. Мюнхен ; Нью-Йорк, 1949. С. 928-931; Rzemieniuk F. *Unici Polscy 1596-1946*. Siedlce, 1998. S. 139.

²¹² Промова митрополита гр. А. Шептицького в парламенті вельмож 28 червня 1910 р. *Руслан*. 1910. Ч. 134; Слуга Божий Митрополит Андрей Шептицький. Календар 2004 р. / Упор. О. Гайова, відп. ред. о. Т. Янків. Львів, 2004. С. 2-24.

²¹³ Цегельський Л. Митрополит Андрей Шептицький. Львів: Місіонер, 1995. С. 46-47.

December 1905 in Lviv by Metropolitan bishop Andrey Sheptytsky, was first housed in the ancillary premises of the Cathedral of St. George Cathedral, and since 1911 it was located in the representative palace (the current address is Drahomanov St., 42), which was also purchased by its founder. At the same time, the Metropolitan bishop provided the financial support to all his projects. In particular there was an annual sum of 18,000 crowns (3,600 USD) appointed for maintenance of the museum and, in particular, a unique collection of Carpathian icons (which included works by Ivan Rutkovich and Iov Kondzelevych). A lot of promising and famous scientists and culture activists as well as art appraisers were closely connected to the museum and took interest in its activity, it was the centre for meetings²¹⁴. Until 1939 it housed 80,000 exhibits and a unique library (it contained 30,000 volumes of old printed books, books and albums), the museum managed to organize 70 exhibitions and published 16 volumes of scientific notes²¹⁵.

As a result of the efforts by Metropolitan bishop and the Galician hierarchy, on the eve of the First World War, the Greek Catholic Church was the national-spiritual stronghold of the Ukrainian lands. Its organizational status in June 1914 was as follows²¹⁶:

Eparchies (dioceses)	deaneries	parishes	churches	priests	church followers
Lviv	53	754	1 308	886	1 335 977
Przemysl	41	629	1 320	826	1 252 492
Stanislaviv	21	433	596	838	1 022 000
Total	115	1 816	3 224	2 250	3 610 469

The monastic life was in its prime time during that period. Prominent place in it was occupied by the Order of St. Basil the Great and Metropolitan bishop A. Sheptytsky constantly took care of it. Before the outbreak of World War I, this order had 16 monasteries

²¹⁴ Літопис Національного музею у Львові. 2000. № 1 (6). С. 5-10, 43.

²¹⁵ ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 358. Оп. 2. Спр. 122. Арк. 1-20; Митрополит Андрей Шептицький. Матеріали та документи (1865-1944). 2-ге видання. За ред. Заборовського Я. Ю. Львів; Івано-Франківськ, 1995. С. 21.

²¹⁶ Rzemieniuk F. Unici Polscy 1596-1946. Siedlce, 1998. S. 149.

on the territory of the land as well as two overseas missions, that amounted to the staff of two hierarchs, 85 priest monks, 77 members of the brotherhood, 47 students, i.e. a total of 211 monks and 23 novices²¹⁷. In order to strengthen missionary work and to improve the theoretical level of priests training, Metropolitan bishop revived the ancient Order of Students and personally developed a new monastic charter in 1903. Klymentiy Sheptytsky, who was the brother of Metropolitan bishop, headed the Order. In addition, in August 1913, the head of the church invited priests of the Belgian Order of the Redemptorists, who accepted the Eastern rite, to take part in the missionary work in Galicia, Volyn, Podlachia and Polesia²¹⁸.

Metropolitan bishop Andrey Sheptytsky was clearly concerned about the problem of national and political consolidation of Ukrainians. He did not make any controversial statements concerning one or the other side of the conflict, as he did not want to bring political discord into the church environment. However, it seemed that he sympathizes strongly to the Ukrainian National Democratic Party. Andrey Sheptytsky went so far that he even participated in the meetings of the UNDP's Wide People's Committee, offering mediation in the settlement of the discord between the Ukrainian ambassadors to the Austrian State Council from Galicia and Bukovina. Due to his mediation there were conducted some Polish-Ukrainian negotiations in the first half of 1914 and they concerned the issue of implementation of the Diet electoral reform²¹⁹.

Despite the formally proclaimed equality of all Catholics of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Greek Catholic Church, compared to the Latin one, was in a worse position because it was a spiritual representative of a nation that had deprived of its national state, elite or even self-understanding for centuries. Therefore, the struggle for the equalization of rights with the Latin clergy was an important

²¹⁷ Ваврик М., ЧСВВ. Нарис розвитку і стану Василіанського Чина. XVII – XX ст. Рим, 1979. С. 65.

²¹⁸ Слуга Божий Митрополит Андрей Шептицький. Календар 2004 р. / Упор. О. Гайова, відп. ред. о. Т. Янків. Львів, 2004. С. 17.

²¹⁹ ЦДДАУЛ. Ф. 358. Оп. 1. Спр. 74. Арк. 1-2; Расевич В. Митрополит Андрей (Шептицький) і проблема національно-політичної консолідації українців (1900-1918 роки). *Ковчег*. Ч. 2. Львів, 2000. С. 212-223.

component of the liberation movement of Western Ukrainians, and Greek Catholic priests took the lead in the process of forming their leadership and ideology in the first half of the nineteenth century.

World War I, which began on August 1, 1914, became a turning point in the formation of the self-defining ideas, on the basis of which the Ukrainian liberation movement unfolded in both the Austrian-Hungarian Empire and the Russian Empire. The ideas of state independence and unity penetrated into the national consciousness of Ukrainians deeply, therefore they formed the basis of future programs of action for various political organizations.

Western Ukrainians were quicker to fully assess and apprehend the difficult geopolitical situation, created by the War. Consequently, they made an attempt to use interstate contradictions in order to achieve their own national aspirations. On August 1, 1914, there was created the Supreme Ukrainian Council in Lviv. It was a cross-party political leadership of the Galicia region. In order to implement its state and political intentions, the Council formed the Ukrainian Military Administration, which began the formation of the Ukrainian army, with the official permission from Vienna²²⁰. At the same period, emigrants from the Dnieper region founded the non-partisan Union of Liberation of Ukraine in Lviv, which proclaimed a program of struggle for an independent Ukrainian state, and the implementation of this idea was closely connected with the military defeat of imperial Russia²²¹.

The Greek Catholic Church supported national and political forces since the outbreak of the War. It fully agreed with the prospect of creation of an independent unified Ukraine, which had to be formed on the ruins of the Russian Empire. In a special memorandum to the Austrian government “On the future military legal and ecclesiastical system of the Russian Ukraine in anticipation of its occupation by Austrian troops” from August 15, 1914, Metropolitan bishop Andrey Sheptytsky outlined a plan to solve the Ukrainian problem after Austrian troops would enter the territories of Ukraine, which had been under the Russian rule. Metropolitan bishop intended to separate the Ukrainian church from the Russian church influence, from the

²²⁰ Литвин М., Науменко К. Історія галицького стрілецтва. Львів, 1990.

²²¹ Патер І. Г. Союз визволення України. Львів, 2000.

power of St. Petersburg Synod. There was also a proposal to bring back to life the Hetman institution, while the Austrian laws were still to be introduced (taking into account the territorial proportions). This would make Ukraine a full-scale member of the legal system of Europe²²². The outlined plan of reorganization of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church did not affect the canonical bases of either the Orthodox or Catholic Churches, but it would put the former in the rank of self-governing, autocephalous churches. Unfortunately, socialists from the Dnieper region ignored this state-building plan. It is worth mentioning that this memorial was discovered by the Russian police and presented to Tsar Nicholas the Second by Sturmberg, who was the Minister of Internal Affairs, on July 27, 1916. The Tsar (Emperor) wrote with his own hand on it: "What a scoundrel!"²²³. On August 21, 1914, Metropolitan bishop Andrey Sheptytsky addressed the clergy and the church followers with a Pastoral letter, in which he noted that Russia's goal was to capture Galicia and stifle the Ukrainian national movement²²⁴.

The Greek Catholic Church was loyal to official Vienna and the leadership of the church found themselves in a difficult situation in those days because of the mass repression of the Polish-Austrian authorities against the Ukrainian population of the region. Under the pretext of fighting against Moscowphiles, tens of thousands of Ukrainians were deported to the concentration camps of Thalerhof, Gmünd, Theresienstadt, and Esztergom. In general, from the 6,000 Ukrainians, who were arrested and taken to Thalerhof,

²²² Меморандум митр. А. Шептицького «Про церковну організацію». *Церква і церковна єдність. Документи і матеріали*. Т. 1. Львів: Свічадо, 1995. С. 130-131.

²²³ Гайковський М. Сучасне і майбутнє України: думки і візії митрополита Андрія Шептицького. *Київська церква*. 2000. № 1. С. 43-46; Донесення працівника МВС Росії Штюрмерга. *Церква і церковна єдність*. С. 133.

²²⁴ Мазур О., Патер І. Львів у роки Першої світової війни. *Львів. Історичні нариси*. Львів, 1996. С. 306. Байса Г. Монахи Студитського уставу. *Поступ*. 2000. 22 січня.

1 767 died. The Sknyliv Lavra of students in Lviv was completely destroyed²²⁵.

During the first days of the war, a large-scale battle for Galicia broke out on the Carpathian territories. On September 3, 1914, Russian troops of the Southwestern Front occupied the city of Lviv and they brought on serious losses to the Austrian-Hungarian forces. Later on, they reached the San River and took under siege the mighty fortress of Przemysl, and thus they occupied almost all of the Carpathian region²²⁶.

The new authority of the occupation regime launched a large-scale campaign against the political and social activists of the region. Governor-General O. Bobrynsky issued a decree “on the prohibition of the functioning of various clubs, unions and societies and the temporary closure of educational establishments, boarding schools and courses existing in Galicia, with the exception of educational workshops”. Therefore, Ukrainian societies, publishing houses, newspapers, and schools were closed²²⁷.

The Russian occupational authority sought to neutralize and, if possible, eliminate the Greek Catholic Church as well as convert its followers into the Russian Orthodoxy. Representatives of the united church (i.e. Greek-Catholicism) were regarded as the spiritual pillar of Ukrainian separatism²²⁸. The program of activities of the Russian administration in the field of church policy, prepared by The St. Petersburg “Galician-Ruthenian Charitable Society” prepared the whole program, activities of which were supposed to influence directly the church policy under the Russian administration. The specific proposals outlined there included the following ones: to give to the Orthodox clergy all the churches on the territories, where the majority of people would reject Greek-Catholicism; to shut down Jesuit and Basilian orders; to get rid of Metropolitan bishop Andrey

²²⁵ *Талергофський альманах*. Львів, 1935. Вип. 3. С. 138; Кугутяк М. Пам’яті жертв трагічних подій у Перемишлі і Синевідську восени 1914 року. *Галичина*. 2003. № 9. С. 134-144.

²²⁶ Нагаєвський І. *Історія Української держави ХХ ст.* Київ, 1993. С. 56.

²²⁷ Грушевський М. *Ілюстрована історія України*. Нью-Йорк, 1990. С. 527.

²²⁸ Великий А.Г., ЧСВВ. *Світло і тіні української історії. Причинки до історії української церковної думки*. Рим: вид. оо. Василіян: 1969. С. 34.

Sheptytsky and Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn²²⁹. In order to implement plans to convert Greek Catholics into Orthodoxy, there arrived 200 Orthodox priests, they were headed by Archbishop of Volyn Yevlohiy (Heorhievsky)²³⁰.

Still, Metropolitan bishop Andrey Sheptytsky stood in the way of denationalization of the church, as he was trying to minimize the success of Russian politicians. Their intentions were to launch a great spiritual expansion, and they had been preparing for this for decades, while they had been supporting the Galician Moscowphiles financially²³¹. On September 6, 1914, in the Dormition Church, the Metropolitan bishop delivered a speech after a sermon in which he described the tragedy of the war, and he urged the Lviv inhabitants to defend their faith from the Moscow attacks²³². Metropolitan bishop was consequently arrested on September 18 and on September 19, 1914, he was taken to Russia, mainly because of this evidently anti-Russian speech. After being taken to the Monastery of St. Euthymius in Suzdal on September 17, 1916, Andrey Sheptytsky stayed there until the February Revolution of 1917. Shortly after the deportation of Metropolitan bishop, there were arrested and exiled more people, including bishops Yo. Botsyan and D. Yaremko (died in 1916), prorector of Stanislaviv theological seminary Ye. Lomnytsky (died in exile in 1915) and more than fifty priests of the region²³³. Still, bishops Evlogii and Antoni (who had arrived from Kharkiv) found it really difficult to convert Greek-Catholics into the Russian Orthodoxy²³⁴. During the ten months of the Russian occupation, they

²²⁹ Ibid. С. 35.

²³⁰ Мазур О., Патер І. Львів у роки Першої світової війни. *Львів. Історичні нариси*. Львів, 1996. С. 312; ЦДАУЛ. Ф. 408, оп. 1, спр. 684, арк. 2-88.

²³¹ Москвофільство: документи і матеріали / Вступна стаття, коментарі і матеріали О. Сухого; заг. ред. С. Макарчука. Львів, 2001. 236 с.; Сухий О. Від русофільства до москвофільства. Російський чинник у громадській думці та суспільно-політичному житті галицьких українців у ХІХ столітті. Львів, 2003. С. 176-372.

²³² Проповідь митр. Шептицького. *Церква і церковна єдність. Документи і матеріали*. Т. 1. Львів: Свічадо, 1995. С. 132-133.

²³³ Вивезене росіянами українське духовенство. *Нива*. Львів, 1916. Цвітень. Ч. 4. С. 262-264.

²³⁴ Великий А.Г., ЧСВВ. Світло і тіні української історії. Причинки до історії української церковної думки. Рим: вид. оо. Василян: 1969. С. 36.

were only 81 out of the 1 784 Greek-Catholic parishes that had fully or partially converted to Orthodoxy, and that amounted to four percent²³⁵.

On the eve of the Russian occupation, one of the proto-abbots of the province called Platon Filias evacuated most of the monks to the west, namely to Croatia, Moravia and Austria. Afterwards the Holy See appointed him the Apostolic Administrator for Ukrainian Catholics who were exiled or deprived of their homeland because of the military conflict²³⁶. The proto-hegumen succeeded in placing the Galician monks of the Order of St. Basil in Croatian monasteries, he managed to release Ukrainian priests from the Austrian concentration camps of Thalerhof, Gmund and Dabie, he also succeeded in gathering of the 75 dispersed students of spiritual seminaries, and establishing a Basilian religious seminary for them in the Moravian city of Kromeriz. Reverend Yosafat Kotsylovsky became its rector. He also managed to reopen the publication of the “Missionary” in Zagreb.

In the first days of the war, the proto-hegumen gathered 62 monks and placed them in the Krekhiv Monastery, which was situated in the mountain corner of Lviv’s Roztochia. However, by the end of 1914 there remained only seven monks, while majority of them was mobilized to the Austrian-Hungarian army, some went to the West, and some were deported by Russians²³⁷.

While the new regime was preparing for the visit of Nikolai II, they carried out brutal limiting actions against the so-called “mazepyntsi” (i.e. people who had Ukrainian nationality and were eager to defend their national rights) in Przemysl and nearby villages. Bishop Konstiantyn Chekhovych of Przemysl passed away, after being seriously pressured by Russian officers, who demanded a conversion to the Orthodox rite and even sealed a part of the Episcopal Chamber on April 15, 1915. At the same, the corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences Ye. Shrumylo sent to Petrograd the Przemysl crown of Daniel of

²³⁵ Ibid.C. 36-37.

²³⁶ Назарко І. Київські і галицькі митрополити. Торонто: Вид-во ОО. Василян, 1962. С. 174.

²³⁷ Місіонар. Ч. 3.1920. С. 56-58.

Galicia and the flag of the Przemyśl “Sokil”; this was done on the pretext of the possible destruction of the city, allegedly to preserve the ancient artifacts from being lost forever.

All the negative actions of the new regime, which included destruction of Ukrainian cultural and educational institutions, persecution of Catholics of the Eastern rite, and the forcible conversion of them to Orthodoxy, as well as repressions and deportation actions (over 12,000 people were taken to Siberia alone, though they first had to go through Kyiv prisons), provoked protest of the local Christian public. The Supreme Ukrainian Council, Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation, the Union of Liberation of Ukraine informed European society about violent actions of Russian occupying power, and their gross violation of international law²³⁸. A. Sheptytsky was well informed about the foundation of the Union of Liberation of Ukraine (which took place on August 4, 1914) and he promised to help and support this organization²³⁹. Occupation policy of Russia in Galicia was condemned even by well-known Russian state and church figures, including the State Duma deputies P. Miliukov, O. Kerensky, writer V. Korolenko, and Krasnoyarsk bishop Nikon²⁴⁰.

It is well-known that the Russian army left the fortress of Przemyśl, Lviv and almost all of Galicia as the result of the Gorlice offensive operation of the Austro-German troops in May-June 1915²⁴¹. Immediately after the territory was freed, the activity of Ukrainian institutions, especially public-political organizations, publishing houses, cooperatives, scientific and educational institutions resumed.

The Greek Catholic Church, which was headed by Stanislaviv Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn after the deportation of A. Sheptytsky, started to gradually get rid of the negative results of the Russian rule.

²³⁸ Патер І. Перемишль і Перемищина під час російської окупації у березні-червні 1915 року (за матеріалами ЦДІА України у Львові). *Перемишль і Перемиська земля протягом віків*. Перемишль; Львів, 1996. С. 166-167.

²³⁹ Литвин В. Україна: доба війн і революцій (1914-1920). Київ, 2003. С. 46-47.

²⁴⁰ Федорів Ю. Історія церкви в Україні. Торонто, 1967. С. 350; Русские ведомости. Москва, 1916. 11 сентября.

²⁴¹ Мазур О., Патер І. Львів у роки Першої світової війни. *Львів. Історичні нариси*. Львів, 1996. С. 315.

The main problem was the huge lack of priests. According to the calculations of the Polish historian of the United Church (Greek-Catholic), F. Rzhemenyuk, a lot of priests irrevocably lost their parishes in the course of the Russian occupation of Galicia, among the 2 483 active Greek Catholic priests 350 ones were interned by the Austrian authorities, 350 moved to the Western countries just before the Russians came, 61 people left for Russia, and 120 either converted to Orthodoxy or collaborated with Orthodox structures. As the result, there were 1 572 priests and clergy representatives left²⁴². It is worth mentioning that several dozen priests as chaplains were part of the front Ukrainian regiments and the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen.

As it was already noted down, the newest era of national liberation was started by the legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen. The Greek Catholic Church made a significant contribution to the formation of national-patriotic feelings and the high morale of the riflemen and their commanders. The Greek Catholic Church took care of the legion and their spiritual life from the first days of its existence. In the ranks of the army, there were active the following field priests: Reverend A. Przepiursky, M. Yizhak, Yu. Fatsievych, and Reverend P. Bodnar who was working in the hospital. Metropolitan bishop Andrey Sheptytsky visited the regiments of the Legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen called “Kish” and “Vyshkil” on October 27-28, 1917, which were stationed in the village Rozvydiv in the Lviv region. There he blessed the flag of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, which was embroidered with the emblems of Kyiv and Galicia²⁴³.

Only in 1915, Greek Catholic chaplains created 226 field chapels on the front. They went on with their missionary work and their efforts brought results. The religious magazine “Missionary” was much popular among the soldiers, as it published messages from the hierarchs of the church, articles of spiritual and intellectual content, as well as world and regional messages, in particular, about the founding of the orphanage in Lviv under the name “Ukrainian Orphans Protection” or about the release of disabled military

²⁴² Rzemieniuk F. *Unici Polscy 1596-1946*. Siedlce, 1998. S. 143-144, 151-152.

²⁴³ Якимович Б. *Збройні Сили України. Нарис історії*. Львів: Інститут українознавства НАНУ, 1996. С. 84; ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 408. Оп. 1. Спр. 566. Арк. 1-3.

prisoners from the Russian captivity, which had been possible due to the interference of Pope Benedict XV²⁴⁴.

The release of Andrey Sheptytsky from exile in March 1917 gave a powerful boost to the national and organizational strengthening of the church. Just after his release, Metropolitan bishop arrived in the city of Petrograd to meet with O. Kerensky, P. Miliukov, as well as members of the Ukrainian National Council to clarify the political, religious, and church-relevant situation after the fall of the tsar and change of the rule. He managed to achieve an official recognition of the Greek Catholic Church and get the same rights for it comparing to the Catholic Church in Russia as a result of his meeting with G. Lvov, the Head of the Russian Provisional Government. At the end of April in 1917, in Kyiv, he held negotiations with the leaders of the Central Council, M. Hrushevsky and S. Rusova, on the problems of the church and national-state prospects. This visit of Metropolitan bishop brought back to life the issue of the Greek Catholic Church and its activity under the rule of the Ukrainian People's Republic, as well as the issue of its contribution into the liberation process.

It should be noted that the religious and ecclesiastical activities of Metropolitan bishop were constantly directed at the expansion of the sphere of influence of the Greek Catholic Church in Russia, as there were hundreds of thousands of displaced people and prisoners of war from Galicia. This activity had to lay the foundation for unification of the churches of the West and the East. The ideas of ecumenism became the basis of his work in the city of Petrograd, where on May 19-31, 1917, he held the synod of the Russian Greek Catholic Church and during this synod Leonid Fedorov, the monk-student, was granted the title of the exarch. At the same time, Metropolitan bishop managed to establish a Catholic Apostolic Vicariate for all Ukraine in Kyiv, it was headed by Reverend Mykhailo Tsehelsky.

After his unsuccessful attempt to get to Rome bypassing the front lines, Metropolitan bishop Andrey Sheptytsky returned to Lviv on September 10, 1917, where he was greeted by the parishioners. Metropolitan bishop continued his work as a spiritual leader, and in his Pastoral Letters, which resumed to be published

²⁴⁴ Місіонар. 1918. Ч. 5. С. 67-68; ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 408. Оп. 1. Спр. 321. Арк. 2-30.

after his return, he addressed the clergy and urge them to work even more selflessly in order to restore the church structures destroyed by war, he also talked about the necessity of national upbringing and the need to nurture a feeling of patriotism, love for the people of the native land and their mother tongue²⁴⁵.

A. Sheptytsky openly revealed his national and state positions by the fact that he manifested his support of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk from 9 February 1918. Later he manifested the right for national self-defining of Ukrainians in the speech from 28 February 1918, which he delivered in the city of Vienna in the Chamber of Ambassadors while he was defending the right of peoples to their own political state. A. Sheptytsky thanked the Austrian Government for understanding of Ukrainian aspirations, and then he supported Eastern Galicia in its wish to become independent²⁴⁶. As well as the rest of Ukrainian ambassadors, he wanted the Austrian Parliament to ratify the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and recognize the separation of Ukrainian lands from the Polish lands as well as granting them (i.e. Ukrainians) national and cultural autonomy. After official Vienna had ignored the demands of Ukrainians, Metropolitan bishop supported a parliamentary representation with the idea to convene a representative constitutional assembly in Lviv, as it was supposed to make decision on the political prospects of the Ukrainian lands within the Habsburg multi-ethnic empire.

In the autumn of 1918, powerful national liberation movements destroyed the Austrian-Hungarian Empire from within, and its fragments became the following independent states: Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia. On October 18-19, a representative assembly of about 500 Ukrainian political and religious figures was held in Lviv, and they managed to elect the Ukrainian National

²⁴⁵ ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 408. Оп. 1. Спр. 572. Арк. 1; Місіонар. 1918. Ч. 5. С. 68; Ульяновський В. Церква в Українській державі 1917-1920 рр. (доба Української Центральної Ради). Київ: Либідь, 1997. С. 85-89; Дорошенко Д. Арест и ссылка митрополита А. Шептицького. *На чужой стороне*. Прага, 1925. Вып. XII. С. 160-166; Лотоцький О. Сторінки минулого. Т. 3. С. 376-379; Грушевський М. Споми́ни. Київ. 1989. № 9. С. 131; Шевців Іван, о. Збірник. Статті, доповіді, промови. Львів: «Свічадо», 1996. С. 67.

²⁴⁶ Красівський О. За українську державу і церкву. Львів: Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАНУ, 1995. С. 8-9.

Council and proclaim the revival of an independent Ukrainian state on the Ukrainian ethnic lands of the former Austrian-Hungarian state. A massive rally on the square near the St. George's Cathedral in Lviv was held on October 20, and it unanimously approved the proclamation of the sovereignty of the Ukrainian lands²⁴⁷. The Greek Catholic Church strongly supported the state-forming decrees of the assembly. Metropolitan bishop A. Sheptytsky, bishops H. Khomyshyn and Yo. Kotsylovsky, as well as nearly two dozen priests were elected to the National Council and became active participants of its legislative process.

The Greek Catholic clergy welcomed the proclamation of the independent Ukrainian People's Republic in January 1918, they took an active part in the November National Democratic Revolution of 1918 and development of the West Ukrainian People's Republic, the latter one was created by the Provisional Basic Law from November 13, 1918²⁴⁸.

Pope Benedict XV followed the national-democratic revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe closely. It was at the beginning of November 1918, when he ordered the Nuncio to Vienna to form "friendly relations with the various nations of the former Austrian-Hungarian Empire that managed to create independent states"²⁴⁹. In general, the state building process of the young republic had a rapid pace. On November 9, 1918, there was formed a government and Oleksandr Barvinsky was appointed the state secretary of religious issues. In accordance with the Provisional Basic Laws of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic, county commissioners, who were chosen from the county National councils, became the local authority. It is worth mentioning that many priests were members of the county National councils²⁵⁰.

²⁴⁷ Західно-Українська Народна Республіка. 1918-1923. Т. 1. Івано-Франківськ, 2001. С. 184-203; Литвин М., Науменко К. Історія ЗУНР. Львів: Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАНУ, 1995. С. 28-29.

²⁴⁸ Лебедович І. Полеві духовники Української Галицької Армії. Вінніпег, 1963. С. 31.

²⁴⁹ Хома І. Апостольський престіл і Україна 1919-1922. Рим, 1987. С. 6-7.

²⁵⁰ Лужницький Г. Українська церква між Сходом і Заходом. Філадельфія: Провідіння, 1954. С. 544; Павлишин О. Організація цивільної влади ЗУНР

During the first half of November 1918, Greek-Catholic priests became a part of the local executive and representative bodies of the Ukrainian administration. There was a fair share of clergy in county councils as well. In particular, there were four priests in the Kosiv district council, which consisted of 25 members in total, and out of five members of the Radekhiv council there were 2 priests. It is also worth mentioning that one in seven members of the National Council of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic was also a priest (that amounts to 14%)²⁵¹.

There was also a great involvement of priests in party and political activity. In particular, many priests shared the state-political views of the ruling Ukrainian National Democratic Party, therefore there were 20 priests among the 139 delegates at an extraordinary congress of the party on March 28-29, 1919, in Stanislaviv. That Congress declared that the state was in need of freedom of conscience and religion, equality of religious denominations and their internal self-government²⁵².

That is no secret that A. Sheptytsky had a great reputation and influence in Ukraine (the so-called Great Ukraine). The Directorate of the Ukrainian People's Republic was interested not only in the unification of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the West Ukrainian People's Republic, but they also discussed the project of forming a new Kyiv Patriarchate, which, according to V. Vynnychenko, could have been headed by A. Sheptytsky. In fact, on December 19, 1918 the Foreign Minister of the West Ukrainian People's Republic Longyn Tsehelsky met the head of the Directorate of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Kyiv, and they discussed the

у повітах Галичини (листопад-грудень 1918 року). *Україна модерна*. Львів, 1999. Число 2-3. С. 132-193.

²⁵¹ Павлишин О. Соціально-політичний портрет українського проводу Галичини та Буковини в революції 1918-1919 років. *Україна модерна*. Вип. 4-5. Львів, 2000. С. 187-245; Західно-Українська Народна Республіка. 1918-1923. Т. 1. С. 286-366, 410-411, 466-516, 445-550.

²⁵² Кугутяк М. Історія української націонал-демократії 1918-1929. Т. 1. С. 120-122; Т. 2. С. 105-116; Нагаєвський І. Історія Української держави двадцятого століття. Київ: Український письменник, 1993. С. 381.

fate and place of the Metropolitan bishop of Galicia, who had been practically held captive by Poles in the St. George Cathedral²⁵³.

Despite the fact that after Lviv had been captured on November 22-23, 1918, Andrey Sheptytsky was confined to his Metropolitan Chamber (in fact, he was held captive there); he continued to defend the interests of the West Ukrainian People's Republic and the church. It was on his behalf that Bishop of Stanislav Hryhoriy Khomyshyn addressed the church followers with a Pastoral Letter from Metropolitan bishop. That letter urged all priests to pray in their sermons and Holy Liturgies for the President of the National Council of the West Ukrainian People's Republic Yevhen Petrushevych, for the Ukrainian state, its government and the Galician army²⁵⁴. The Metropolitan bishop refused to maintain any relations with the Occupation Administration of Lviv, and soon afterwards, he refused from collaboration with Jozef Bilczewski, the Archbishop of Latin Rite, because of the latter's chauvinism and support of militaristic actions in the country²⁵⁵.

Dozens of patriotic priests joined the Galician Army, its combat groups and district military crews either as volunteers or by the invitation from the army commanders; they became field priests (chaplains). Other priests voluntarily served on the battlefields or at different institutions, primarily in hospitals. Field priests of the Galicia Army adopted and enhanced the traditions of chaplains of the Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen and Ukrainian regiments of the World War period²⁵⁶.

It should be emphasized that it was only the Galician army, which introduced the institute of field priests in its structure, the only one of all military formations during the liberation events of Ukraine from 1914 to 1923. It also should be noted that its contemporaries

²⁵³ Цегельський Л. Від легенд до правди. Львів, 2003. С. 181-186; Володимир Винниченко та ідея українського патріархату. *Нова Зоря*. 1993. Жовтень. Ч. 35-36.

²⁵⁴ Цвенгрош Густав. Національно-державницькі погляди митрополита Андрія Шептицького й польсько-українська війна 1918-1919 рр. *Україна-Польща: Історична спадщина й суспільна свідомість*. Матеріали конференції. Київ: Либідь, 1993. С. 178.

²⁵⁵ Футулуйчук В. Служба преподобництва УГА. *Українські варіанти*. 1999. № 1-2. С. 70-73.

²⁵⁶ Литвин М. Українсько-польська війна 1918-1919 рр. Львів, 1998. С. 188-189.

considered the Galician army to be the most efficient one in terms of fighting. Its personnel had distinguishingly high moral and combat qualities as well as discipline. This was largely caused by the military clergy and the fact that the personnel of the army were highly religious. There was a clear organizational system of field clergy in the army; it was headed by the Reverend of the military ministry, the recent Chaplain of the Legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, Reverend Mykola Yizhak. There was a clear hierarchy within the clergy staff of the military organization, there were main offices in the headquarters of the army and corps, which subordinated the departments of the clergy serving with the smaller military units²⁵⁷.

Among the significant events of the time for the Greek-Catholic clergy there was one of a paramount importance. It was the congress in Stanislaviv on May 7-8, 1919, which was convened by Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn on the instructions of the Metropolitan bishop (who remained in the blocked city of Lviv). The Congress called on to the clergy and the church followers and encouraged them to work hard and defend the independence of the West Ukrainian People's Republic from its enemies. It also sent greetings to the soldiers of the Galician army²⁵⁸. The clergy also addressed a memorial to the Apostolic Capital, in which they condemned the "behavior of the Roman Catholic (Polish) clergy in Volyn, Kholmshchyna and the occupied parts of the West Ukrainian People's Republic"²⁵⁹.

The Ukrainian-Polish war ended with the defeat of the West Ukrainian People's Republic, whose government and army retreated beyond the Zbruch River and united their forces with the Ukrainian People's Republic. On June 25, 1919, the Supreme Council of the Paris Peace Conference authorized the occupation of Eastern Galicia by Poland. It marked the beginning of the diplomatic struggle for restoration of independence of the republic. At the same time, the Greek Catholic clergy in the province face massive repressions. The Polish occupation authorities continued to keep A. Sheptytsky in

²⁵⁷ Вісник Державного Секретаріату Військових Справ. 1919. Ч. 6. С. 6.

²⁵⁸ Шах С. Вступне слово. Лебедович І. Полеві духовники Української Галицької Армії. Вінніпег, 1963. С. 19.

²⁵⁹ Кугутяк М. Історія української націонал-демократії 1918-1929. Т. 1. Київ; Івано-Франківськ, 2002. С. 132-133.

isolation and prevented him from meeting J. Pilsudski, the head of the Second Commonwealth, when he visited Lviv in June 1919. In the end, Metropolitan bishop managed to send J. Pilsudski a letter requesting a release of about a thousand arrested and detained priests²⁶⁰.

In August 1919 bishops Hryhoriy Khomyshyn and Josaphat Kotsylovsky together with A. Sheptytsky held a joint meeting in Przemyśl and addressed a pastoral letter to the clergy and the church followers condemning the war, expressing condolences to those who had sacrificed their lives defending Ukraine, and expressed their hope for the future victory. Still the situation in the region was very difficult. The wrath of the war caused grief and brought enormous damage to the Ukrainian people and their church²⁶¹.

Andrey Sheptytsky was kept under arrest in his Metropolitan Chambers until December 1919. The Polish authorities were aware of his great authority among people of the country and in the Vatican, therefore they tried to remove him from the metropolitan throne and get him away from Lviv in general. Warsaw suggested Pope to recall A. Sheptytsky to Rome, or transfer him to the North America. At the same time, Polish priests and the press inspired a large-scale action to compromise the Metropolitan bishop and ruin his reputation. In particular, head of the Stanislav Voivodeship Yuristovsky issued an order according to which all county constables were to collect materials that would help “to accuse Metropolitan bishop Sheptytsky of anti-Polish activity”²⁶².

Following the Treaty of Riga, large territories inhabited by Ukrainians were included into the Second Commonwealth. According to calculations of Lviv ethnologist Stepan Makarchuk, there lived 4 million 686 thousand Ukrainians in Poland in the early 1920's. Most of them inhabited Lviv, Ternopil, Stanislav

²⁶⁰ Кривава книга. Дрогобич: Відродження, 1994. С. 75; Делятинський Р. І. Становище та діяльність духовенства станіславівської єпархії УГКЦ в 1919-1920 рр. *Вісник Прикарпатського університету*. Історія. Вип. VII. Івано-Франківськ, 2003. С. 69-77.

²⁶¹ Хома І. Апостольський престіл і Україна 1919-1922. Рим, 1987. С. 51.

²⁶² ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 358. Оп. 1. Спр. 32. Арк. 154; Ф. 408. Оп. 1. Спр. 7. Арк. 1-7; Спр. 49. Арк. 1-3. Спр. 579. Арк. 2-20.

Voivodeship and Volyn (3 million 920 thousand)²⁶³. Contrary to the international agreements on Galicia, the Polish government pursued a rigid occupation policy on its lands, as they sought to destroy Ukrainian institutions, and assimilate its population through the Polish influence. About 200,000 Polish colonists were relocated to Eastern Galicia, most of them former soldiers. These colonists were ousting Ukrainians from the border areas as well as many towns of the county²⁶⁴.

The post-war years prepared another challenge for the Greek Catholic Church. After his return from a three-year trip around Europe and America, during which Metropolitan bishop Andrey Sheptytsky had been trying to defend the rights of Western Ukrainians to have a national state and self-defining as a nation, he saw the total loss of faith by clergy and church goers as well as the destruction of spiritual shrines, which was all the result of military hostilities. Under these circumstances, he made a decision to bet on consolidation of national patriotic forces in order to revive and develop the church and to rebuild national life, and that became his main task. His Pastoral Epistle to the clergy and the faithful from July 12, 1923, called out for unity and solidarity²⁶⁵.

The Polish administration was extremely hostile when Metropolitan bishop wanted to return, they even tried not to let him get to Lviv, having detained him in Poznan for two months. He was considered capable of destabilizing political and religious life, and therefore he was thought to be an implacable enemy of the reborn Poland. A. Sheptytsky was supposed to promote “chauvinistic Ukrainian nationalism” and to exacerbate relations between Ukrainians and Poles, so he was really a persona non grata in the eyes of the Polish authorities²⁶⁶.

²⁶³ Макаруч С.А. Этносоциальное развитие и национальные отношения на западноукраинских землях в период империализма. Львов: Вища школа, 1983. С. 111.

²⁶⁴ Заборовський Я. Ю. Митрополит Андрей Шептицький. Нарис про життя і служіння церкві та народів 1865-1944. *Митрополит Андрій Шептицький. Матеріали та документи*. 2-ге вид. Львів; Івано-Франківськ: Олір, 1995. С. 42.

²⁶⁵ Шептицький А. Пастирське послання. *Церква і суспільне питання*. Т. 2. К. 1. Львів: Місіонер, 1998. С. 212-215.

²⁶⁶ Rzemieniuk F. Unici Polscy 1596-1946. Siedlce, 1998. S. 195-203.

After the events of 1923, many Galician politicians and public figures started to understand that, under the circumstances, Ukrainians should fight for their national interests, taking the Polish political and legal system as a basis. It should be mentioned that the governmental decree from September 26, 1922 on self-government of the Lviv, Ternopil and Stanislav provinces declared certain rights for Ukrainians: it envisaged the creation of plenipotentiary Ukrainian local councils, it guaranteed access of Ukrainians to the administrative structures, it also promised equality of the Greek-Catholic and Latin Catholic churches and an opening of the Ukrainian university. This decree was not the only one of its kind, similar documents used to be released from time to time, but they were not usually enforced, as it happened with the Concordat between the Holy See and Poland regarding the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, which was adopted in 1925²⁶⁷.

The majority of scholars, who studied the modern Ukrainian history, pointed out that the national character of the Greek Catholic Church was finally crystallized in the interwar period of the twentieth century. There were 16 bishops under the leadership of Metropolitan bishop A. Sheptytsky. The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Galicia had 128 deaneries and 1 907 parishes in the 1920's, and that was where 2 298 priests worked²⁶⁸. In addition, the Greek-Catholic church had its eparchies in the Transcarpathian region and overseas. However, on February 10, 1934, the Vatican Congregation for the Oriental Churches established the Apostolic Administration for the Lemkiv region. It was done without informing A. Sheptytsky, but by the agreement with Belvedere. This new structure was fully subordinated to the Vatican directly, and this fact strengthened the position of the Roman Catholic Church there and halted the process of ethnic identification of the Lemkos²⁶⁹.

²⁶⁷ ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 358. Оп. 3. Спр. 63. Арк. 2-8; Стемпень С. Поляки і українці в П Речі Посполитій і спроба діалогу. *Україна-Польща: історична спадщина і суспільна свідомість*. Київ: Либідь, 1993. С. 212; Історія релігії в Україні. Т. 4. Католицизм. С. 403.

²⁶⁸ Prus Edward. *Wtadyka Świętojurski*. Warszawa, 1985. S. 76-77.

²⁶⁹ Стоколос Н. Проблема етнічної і конфесійної ідентифікації лемків. *Етнос і релігія: теорія і контекст сьогодення*. Збірник наукових праць. Київ, 1998. С. 18-19.

Activities of Metropolitan bishop A. Sheptytsky and the clergy were focused on developing the influence of the church in the spheres of social, political, cultural and educational life of the region. The church maintained its parish libraries, folk choirs, amateur theaters, folk groups. Greek Catholic priests worked in different community organizations and societies, such as “Prosvita” (“Enlightenment”), “Ridna shkola” (“Native School”). The monastic orders also launched their missionary apostolic work, primarily the Basilians. They tried to strengthen ties with cooperatives²⁷⁰.

Being aware of the great influence Christian literature could have on people, church hierarchs led by A. Sheptytsky paid much attention to the works of religious publishers. The largest publishing center was the Basilian Publishing House, where the popular magazine “Missioner” (“Missionary”) was published (with the circulation of 50,000 copies)²⁷¹. Each eparchy published its own editions, the popular magazines were “Nyva” (“Field”), “Bohoslovia” (“Theology”), “Dzvony” (“Bells”), “Pravda” (“Truth”), “Meta” (“Aim”), “Nova Zorya” (“New Star”), “Beskyd”, “Khrystos – nasha syla” (“Christ is our Might”) and many others²⁷².

Although in some of his speeches Metropolitan bishop A. Sheptytsky stated that the church should not interfere in politics, the situation forced the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic church to cooperate with the national-democratic political stratum, in particular the Ukrainian National Labour Party, and subsequently the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance, and eventually it was forced to create their own parties²⁷³.

On August 4, 1925, there appeared the Ukrainian Christian Organization. Its creation was an initiative of H. Khomyshyn, S. Tomashivsky, O. Nazaruk, Reverend T. Halushchynsky, and

²⁷⁰ Крутий-Вігоринський І. Друкарня оо. Василян. *Жовківщина*. Т. 2. Жовква; Львів; Балтимор. 1995. С. 195; Дрогомирецька Л. Греко-католицьке духовенство Галичини в українському кооперативному русі (1920-1939 рр.). *Вісник Прикарпатського університету*. Вип. VII. Історія. С. 77-89.

²⁷¹ Жовківщина. Жовква; Львів; Балтимор. 1994. Т. 1. С. 155, 167-169; Т. 2. С. 56-61, 190-197; Т. 3. 1997. С. 320-324.

²⁷² Діло. 1926. 6 жовтня.

²⁷³ Федунків Зеновій-Роман. Греко-католицьке духовенство в просвітніх змаганнях галицьких українців. *Нова зоря*. 1993. Грудень. Ч. 40.

Reverend V. Skruten. This Ukrainian Christian Organization stood on the positions of national democracy and was defending the autonomy of Galicia, promoting the concept of the monarchy, proposed by V. Lypynskyi. The main task of the organization was to popularize culture and education and to “bring up people on the religious and moral principles of the Catholic Church”²⁷⁴. However, people joined the ranks of the new structure rather slowly: in 1927 there were only 600 people in the Ukrainian Christian Union, and 381 of them were priests²⁷⁵. Under the auspices of the organization in the summer of 1934, there was founded a network of reading rooms “Skala” (“Rock”), this network included some 14.3 thousand members and had 289 reading rooms in 1937²⁷⁶. The party had its printed edition starting from 1926, it was the magazine “Nova Zoria” (“New Dawn”). Being loyal to the Polish state, the party advocated the autonomy of Ukrainian lands and for some time it cooperated with Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance. However, the National Democrats constantly criticized the ritual innovations borrowed from the Latin rite (in particular, the introduction of celibacy) and introduced to the masses on the initiative of H. Khomyshyn and J. Kotsylovskyi; and this fact cooled down their relations with the bishops as well as the relations between the Ukrainian Christian Union and the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance²⁷⁷.

In the course of the Catholic Action there was founded another clerical-conservative party in the fall of 1930. It was the Ukrainian Catholic People’s Party (since 1932 it was called the Ukrainian People’s Renewal), and it was the result of efforts of A. Sheptytsky. The party was headed by I. Volyanskiy, while its unofficial guardian

²⁷⁴ Нарис історії Станіславівської дієцезії. *Нова Зоря*. 1926. 28 квітня.

²⁷⁵ Єгрешій О. Григорій Хомишин і український націоналізм. *Питання історії України*: Зб. наук, статей. Чернівці, 2002. Т. 5. С. 101-104; Єгрешій О. Суспільно-політична та культурно-просвітницька діяльність єпископа Григорія Хомишина (1904-1945 рр.) Автореферат дис. на здобуття наук, ступеня канд. іст. наук. Івано-Франківськ, 2003. С. 11.

²⁷⁶ ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 201. Оп. 46. Спр. 2626. Арк. 59; Ф. 358. Оп. 1. Спр. 42. Арк. 1-7.

²⁷⁷ УХО та її завдання. *Наші вісті*. 1925. Ч. 1. С. 5-6; ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 408, оп. 1, спр. 592, арк. 1-20; Степень С. Між окциденталізацією та візинтинізацією: проблема обрядової ідентичності Греко-католицької церкви в Речі Посполитій міжвоєнного періоду. *Ковчег*. Львів, 2003. Ч. 4. С. 86-99.

was H. Khomyshyn. The new party demanded national-territorial autonomy for Ukrainian lands under the Polish rule. However, the party failed to establish its network and did not hold any party congresses. At the same time, party leaders took active part in consolidation efforts to unite Ukrainian nationalism during the All-Ukrainian National Congress meetings (1933-1936). In the elections to the highest legislative bodies of Poland (1935, 1938), this party made an agreement with the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance and nominated a candidate for an ambassador to the Parliament and for a senator, having the consent of the government²⁷⁸. At the same time, namely on January 1, 1931, in opposition to H. Khomyshyn, Metropolitan bishop A. Sheptytsky initiated creation of the Ukrainian Catholic Union²⁷⁹. In this way, the hierarch of the church actually expressed his disagreement with the policies of the certain leaders of the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance. In particular, there was some dissatisfaction with compromise of the Ukrainian Social-Radical Party and the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party. He also was seeking to strengthen his own political role. There were also published the weekly magazine “Meta” (“Purpose”) with the supplement “Hrystos – nasha syla” (“Christ is Our Might”), the literary and scientific monthly magazine “Dzvony” (“Bells”) (1931-1939, J. Slipyj was the editor-in-chief)²⁸⁰.

The large-scale Catholic Action of the 1930s contributed to the strengthening of church structures and their connection with the most remote parishes. As it is known, the encyclical of Pope Pius XI in 1922 was the impulse of the Action, as it was written because of the influence the world war and social revolutions had left, together with the manifestations of chauvinism and militant atheist communism. It defined the great potential of the common people in the pursuit of peace and freedom.

²⁷⁸ Швагуляк М. Українська католицька народна партія. *Довідник з історії України*. Київ, 2002. С. 921.

²⁷⁹ Роль і місце мирян в церкві. *Інформаційний бюлетень*. Львів, 1998. С. 21; Діло. 1930. 26 квітня.

²⁸⁰ Швагуляк М. Християнський католицький союз. *Довідник з історії України*. Київ, 2002. С. 964-965.

The course of the Catholic Action took place in rather unfavorable conditions. In the summer of 1930, a large-scale sabotage campaign was carried out by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. In the course of the campaign, at least 2,200 terrorist attacks happened as well as arsons of landlords' mansions and police positions, and "Strzeltsi" centers²⁸¹. As a reaction to these actions, the authorities sent gendarmerie units and military units to Ukrainian villages. There was the principle of collective responsibility, which was exploited as a main principle of this "pacification".

Police reports were full of information about the "anti-Polish" publications, press and leaflets of the Ukrainian Military Organization – Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists, which were confiscated from priests, and many parishioners were deprived of weapons²⁸². The hierarchs of the Greek Catholic Church condemned both sabotage actions and mass military and political repressions on the side of the authorities. Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky went to Warsaw, but Polish leadership, in particular J. Pilsudski, refused to meet him. Therefore, A. Sheptytsky appealed to Pope Pius XI together with the bishops. It was even in the League of Nations that the Galicia's case was discussed²⁸³.

The international feedback on the "pacification" contributed to the Ukraine's desire to unite its national forces. This should have been facilitated by the Catholic Action, which was headed by a committee led by Bishop Ivan Buchko. First of all, the activity of mass religious congregations became more evident. Within a year, the Apostleship of Prayer managed to unite more than 100,000 Galicians, while the 229 Marian organizations managed to gather 17,000. A significant event of the Action was the formation of the Catholic Action of Ukrainian Youth (CAUY) on the initiative of Metropolitan bishop. It was supposed to educate youth in the Christian and national-patriotic

²⁸¹ Кугутяк М. Галичина: сторінки історії. Івано-Франківськ, 1993. С. 183.

²⁸² ДАЛО. Ф. 121. Оп. 3. Спр. 630. Арк. 11-15; ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 358. Оп. 8. Спр. 44. Арк. 34; Rzemieniuk F. Unici Polscy 1596-1946. Siedlce, 1998. S. 208-209; Швагуляк М. «Пацифікація». Польська репресивна акція у Галичині 1930 р. і українське суспільство. Львів, 1993. С. 10-33.

²⁸³ Два документи Ватикану в справі пацифікації. *Діло*. 1931. 4 червня.

spirit²⁸⁴. The formation of CAUY was proclaimed on May 7, 1933, at a festive assembly of 60,000 boys and girls from all over Galicia in Lviv. Metropolitan bishop A. Sheptytsky was also present there²⁸⁵. The ranks of the youth organization included “Luhy” (about 47,000 members; 1937), “Plast” (6,000; 1930), the League of Ukrainian Students, and other communities influenced by the Greek Catholic Church²⁸⁶. In 1934 the General Institute became the governing body of the Catholic Action, and it published the magazine “Katolytska aktsia” (“Catholic Action”).

The leadership of the Greek Catholic Church kept a close eye on the events in the Soviet Ukraine, where patriotic Ukrainians faced mass repression and terror. Religious magazines constantly informed readers about the terrible destruction of the church in the Stalin empire, arrests and exile of Metropolitan bishop V. Lypkivsky together with twelve bishops and several hundred priests to Solovetsky concentration camps²⁸⁷. The press pointed out the crimes of the Stalinist regime against its own people, emphasizing that Bolshevism and communism were the greatest enemies of society. The issue of Famine in the Soviet Ukraine gained a lot of attention. In December 1932, in Lviv, political and ecclesiastical officials considered the problem of famine in Ukraine and had an intention to send a special commission there. On July 24, 1933, Metropolitan bishop A. Sheptytsky, together with all the bishops of the church, issued an alarming note “In the cause of events in Great Ukraine to all people of good will”, which was full of concern for Ukrainian people’s fate²⁸⁸. In those days the magazine “Missionary” published an editorial by Reverend R. Krynytsky called “No Words...”, which stated that the Kremlin leaders were “exterminating the 40 million nation by means of famine”²⁸⁹. It is worth mentioning that the leaders

²⁸⁴ Роль і місце мирян в церкві. Інформаційний бюлетень. Львів, 1998. С. 23.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Трофим’як Б. Фізичне виховання і спортивний рух у Західній Україні (з поч. 30-х рр. XIX ст. до 1939 р.). Київ, 1997. С. 162-164, 250-256; Вацеба О. Нариси з історії західноукраїнського спортивного руху. Івано-Франківськ, 1997. С. 124-130.

²⁸⁷ Місіонар. 1926. Ч. 11. С. 242; ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 408, оп. 1, спр. 13, арк. 1-4.

²⁸⁸ Місіонар. 1937. Ч. 9. С. 203.

²⁸⁹ Ibid. С. 202.

of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic church joined the Public Rescue Committee of Ukraine created together with the public and political figures of Galicia. Their task was to collect donations for the starving, but those donations were not accepted by the Soviet government.

The Galician political elite were anxiously watching as the confessional and ethnic transformations in Transcarpathia took place. At that moment, Transcarpathia was a part of Czechoslovakia, and in the 1920s there was an active campaign for people to convert to Orthodoxy, which was, in fact, initiated by the active Russian emigrants of the empire period, and which was supported by the Czech government. For purely political reasons official Prague tried to weaken the influence of the Greek Catholic Church, to separate local population religiously and nationally, to get them lost in the multiethnic (Hungarian, Romanians, Slovaks, etc.) environment²⁹⁰.

Metropolitan bishop A. Sheptytsky paid great attention to the development and spread of culture and education. He was particularly serious about the organizational patronage over public structures of public trusteeship – trustee societies, orphans protections and burial committees. He tried to support financially and morally the underprivileged Western Ukrainian population. It was at the end of the First World War, on March 23, 1918, when the first meeting of the charitable society took place in the St. George Cathedral in Lviv, with the participation of H. Khomyshyn, S. Fedak, and K. Studynsky. Shortly afterwards this society got the name “Protection of Metropolitan bishop Andrey Sheptytskyi for Orphans in Lviv”. Its material basis was the “honorary gift” of its patron after he had returned from the Russian captivity. The Society purchased lands for charity purposes in Zarvanytsya, some real estate in the village Korshiv, a forest in Bohorodchany region. It looked after hundreds of children²⁹¹. In 1924, there were more than 1,300 children in the

²⁹⁰ Столокос Н. Після Ужгородської унії. Етноконфесійні трансформації та адаптація греко-католиків Закарпаття. *Людина і світ*. 2001. № 5. С. 2-7.

²⁹¹ Савчук Б. Просвітницька та соціально-економічна діяльність українських громадських товариств у Галичині (остання третина XIX – кінець 30-х рр. XX ст.). Івано-Франківськ, 1999. С. 81.

similar ecclesiastical institutions of the Lviv Diocese, Stanislav and Przemysl Eparchies²⁹².

In order to organize the collection of donations, the Metropolitan ordinance allocated specific counties to concrete societies²⁹³. It was also important that they were not only various church structures (diocesan committees of orphans' care, St. Josaphat Institute in Lviv, Mary's Ladies' Associations, etc.) that took part in charitable events. Some local community organizations like "Ridna shkola" ("Native School"), "Ukrainska zakhoronka" ("Ukrainian Burial Community"), Ukrainian Regional Society on Care for Disabled and others were also much involved.

In order to socially support the widows and orphans of priests, there was set up an Aid Committee in Lviv in 1926 under the protection of the Metropolitan bishop. It dealt with voluntary donations of priests and secular individuals; priests had a recommendation to pay 3 zloty's (since 1936 – 5) to the deceased's heir. In 1929 the Committee bought a two-storey house on the street Sheptytsky, 38, with the financial support of the Institute of Widows and Orphans²⁹⁴. There were also some donations from Diaspora and the Metropolitan ordinariate forwarded some of this money to the Ukrainian Fund for Military Widows and Orphans in Lviv. In 1930 this fund took care of 130 people, all of whom received the sum of 10 zloty's five times a year²⁹⁵. The community "Ukrainska zakhoronka" ("Ukrainian Burial Community", which was established in 1933) was also subsidized by the Metropolis, in the mid-1930s these communities cared about 500 children in 8 institutions around the city of Lviv, they also had two free canteens for the under aged. There was also functioning a number of other

²⁹² Гнот С. Греко-католицька церква і організація суспільної опіки Галичини (1921-1939). *Актуальні проблеми державного управління*. Вип. 6. Львів, 2001. С. 300.

²⁹³ Львівські архієпархальні відомості. 1925. 1 жовтня.

²⁹⁴ Нова Зоря. 1926. 31 грудня; Ibid.1932. 15 червня; Ibid.1936. Червень.

²⁹⁵ ЦДАУЛ. Ф. 358. Оп. 1. Спр. 115. Арк. 68; Ibid.Спр. 108. Арк. 8; Діло. 1931. 8 травня; Ibid.1939. 9 червня.

clerical and philanthropic societies (“Dolia”/“Fate”, “Buduchnist”/“Future”, etc.)²⁹⁶.

There was also constant financial and organizational assistance provided to the Ukrainian Regional Society on Care for Disabled (created in 1921-1922, the chairman was D. Paliyiv, since 1932 it was headed by doctor S. Hyzha), which took care of the sick veterans of the Ukrainian Galician Army. Traditional fundraising events were held on the Green Holidays, November 1, and during various social, cultural and religious events²⁹⁷.

The majority of listed above public organizations founded the Ukrainian Council of Public Trustees. They did it together with bishop ordinariates on March 17, 1933. The council coordinated activity of Ukrainian organizations, promoted the idea of public custody among people, as well as the legal framework for this type of social work²⁹⁸.

With the participation of the priesthood, they revived the work of the anti-alcohol and anti-nicotine society “Vidrodzhennia” (“Renaissance”) (created in 1909 on the basis of church sobriety fraternities). In 1931 Galician priests actively participated in the organization of local plebiscites on the problem of existence of taverns in the villages²⁹⁹. The largest public action of the society was the holiday of the ascetic sobriety movement, which was organized in honor of Metropolitan bishop Yosyf Sembratovych. It took place on May 23, 1937 in Lviv at the square called “Sokil-Batko” (“Father-Falcon”). March of several thousands and the celebration, in which Metropolitan Bishop A. Sheptytskyi and high clergy took part, proved

²⁹⁶ Гнот С. Греко-католицька церква і організація суспільної опіки Галичини (1921-1939). *Актуальні проблеми державного управління*. Вип. 6. Львів, 2001. С. 303; Дугчак П. Клерикально-філантропічні товариства в Західній Україні (20-30-ті рр. XX ст.). *Питання історії України*. Т. 6. Чернівці, 2003. С. 154-157.

²⁹⁷ ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 358. Оп. 1. Спр. 131. Арк. 2-30; Савчук Б. Просвітницька та соціально-економічна діяльність українських громадських товариств у Галичині (остання третина XIX – кінець 30-х рр. XX ст.). Івано-Франківськ, 1999. С. 78-79; *Нова Зоря*. 1927. 13 лютого; *Діло*. 1932. 26 березня.

²⁹⁸ *Діло*. 1933. 6 травня.

²⁹⁹ ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 358. Оп. 1. Спр. 136. Арк. 1-20; Федунків З.-Р. Протиалкогольне товариство «Відродження». *Нова зоря*. 1993. Жовтень. Ч. 37; Каховський І. За тверезість. Короткий історичний огляд Українського протиалкогольного й протинікотинного руху. Львів, 1934. 48 с.

that anti-alcohol and anti-nicotine ideas were supported by Galicians³⁰⁰.

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky was one of the initiators of the conservation of the nature of the Carpathian region. He became the sponsor of the cedar reservation in the vicinity of Mount Yaitse. Purchased in 1936 by Metropolitan bishop, the steppe reservation “Devil’s Mountain” in the Rohatyn region was given into the scientific care of Shevchenko Scientific Society. In general, in the Carpathian Gorgans, a lot of forest land was owned by the Greek Catholic Consistory, which enabled the Ukrainian naturalists to develop effective conservation activities³⁰¹.

After World War I, the archives and library of the Metropolitan Ordinariate were refitted and supplemented. The library catalog consisted of 32 sections, including archives, manuscripts, Ukrainian-Polish and Ukrainian-Moscow cases, dictionaries and encyclopedias, maps and plans. The library also included works by the Ukrainian People’s Republic and the West Ukrainian People’s Republic activists, “Red Guelder Rose Chronicle”, books of the national-patriotic publishing house “Chervona Kalyna” (“Red Guelder Rose”) on the history of Cossacks period and Liberation struggle of the first third of the XX century³⁰².

The Archives of the Metropolitan Ordinary consisted of two large sections: old acts and new acts. The search and analytical work of the archive was coordinated by Professor Ivan Shendryk, who prepared “Materials for bibliography of the Sich Riflemen” (Lviv, 1937, 61 p.). It was later published in the series of the Bibliographic Commission of the Shevchenko Scientific Society “Materials to the Ukrainian bibliography”³⁰³.

³⁰⁰ Савчук Б. Корчма: алкогольна політика і рух тверезості в Західній Україні у XIX – 30-х роках XX ст. Івано-Франківськ, 2001. С. 168-171.

³⁰¹ ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 358. Оп. 1. Спр. 78. Арк. 1.

³⁰² Васьків А. Бібліотека і архів Митрополичого ординариату Греко-католицької церкви після Першої світової війни. *Республіканець*. 1994. № 5-9. С. 85-88; ЦДІА України у Львові. Ф. 408. Оп. 1. Спр. 686. Арк. 3; *Ibid.* Спр. 711. Арк. 54.

³⁰³ *Ibid.* Спр. 688. Арк. 6-10, 63; *Ibid.* Спр. 705. Арк. 1, 56; Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Львів. Путівник. Львів; Київ, 2001. С. 231-232.

The personal library of A. Sheptytsky was also well-completed and stuffed. In the late 1930s it included 4 thousands of items to be preserved (its inventory manuscripts were well-preserved in the Department of V. Stefanyk Lviv National Academic Library). They included ancient books and books printed in the 16th century, literature on church history (in Ukrainian, Russian, German, Serbian and Croatian, Polish, French); there was also a large collection of editions on the history of Ukraine, local history, country study and folklore³⁰⁴.

Before the beginning of World War II, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was one of the most respected institutions in Poland, it was an important element of the Universal Church and played a prominent role in the socio-political and national life of the Western Ukraine. It consisted of five dioceses (eparchies), the Apostolic Administration for Lemkivshchyna, the Apostolic Visitation Office of Volyn, and there worked 10 bishops, 2 950 priests, 520 hieromonks, 1 090 nuns, 540 students of theology³⁰⁵. 4.3 million Greek Catholics were members of 3 040 parishes, 4 440 churches and 195 monasteries³⁰⁶. There were 40 religious congregations in the Carpathian region and they carried out their purposeful pastoral work. 35 publishers prepared and printed out thousands of books and 38 periodicals. In particular, a bi-weekly magazine of the Ukrainian Catholic organization “Nova Zoria” (“New Dawn”), which was first published on January 7, 1926, stood on the “defense of the Catholic worldview... before the onslaught of Bolshevism” and “modern sectarianism”³⁰⁷.

In October 1929, on the basis of a seminary, there was established the Theological Academy. Its work was seriously favoured by Metropolitan bishop A. Sheptytsky, and it made a significant

³⁰⁴ Дзьобан О. Бібліотека митрополита Андрея Шептицького у Львові. *Записки Львівської наукової бібліотеки ім. В. Стефаника*. Львів, 2002. Вип. 9/10. С. 141-151; Львівська наукова бібліотека ім. В. Стефаника НАН України. Відділ рукописів. Ф. 9, спр. 5002.

³⁰⁵ Гордієнко В. Сталінізм і Українська греко-католицька церква. *Матеріали наук. конференції*. Львів, 1990. С. 43.

³⁰⁶ Великий А.Г., ЧСВВ. Світло і тіні української історії. Причинки до історії української церковної думки. Рим: вид. оо. Василіян: 1969. С. 163.

³⁰⁷ Мельничук П. З історії «Нової зорі». *Нова зоря*. 1991. Червень. Ч. 11-12.

contribution to the development of national education, preservation of historical and cultural monuments. The rector of the Academy Josyf Slipyj hired well-known representatives of science, culture and clergy to the professorial and pedagogical staff of the institution, in particular the headmaster of the Museum of Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society Yaroslav Pasternak, historians Ivan Krypiakievych³⁰⁸ and Mykola Chubatyi, archaeologist Yurii Poliansky and others. There was established a special church museum which was situated in five halls of the Academy, and it was a well-known researcher of church architecture, Mykhailo Drahan³⁰⁹, who headed it.

There were five seminaries, which prepared the future priests. The Ukrainian clergy carried out their catechetical and educational work in 8 thousand national, 380 secondary and several higher schools, and they had 520 national, 20 secondary and higher educational institutions under their rule³¹⁰.

During that period it was the Ukrainian Theological Society (UBT, founded in 1923), which managed to become an important center of scientific, historical and theological studies. Its members were purposefully working on the information about the church history; they were especially interested in studying Episcopal visits. The “Archive of the Union History”, which was founded in 1928 by A. Sheptytsky, was also very functional while conducting analytical and archeographic activity. Its staff organized a large archeographic corpus and worked on a series of explorations that were to summarize the process of historical transformation of the Eastern Church of the early modern period on the Ukrainian-Belarusian territories³¹¹.

³⁰⁸ Іван Крип'якевич у родинній традиції, науці, суспільстві. Львів, 2001. С. 7-16, 569-571.

³⁰⁹ ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 408. Оп. 1. Спр. 24. Арк. 1-3; Коваль І. Ярослав Пастернак – основоположник української церковної археології. *Нова зоря*. 1999. 26 травня; Бандрівський М. Пам'яткоохоронна діяльність Церкви в контексті національно-культурного руху в Галичині (кінець ХІХ – ХХ ст.). Автореферат дис. на здобуття наук, ступеня канд. іст. наук. Львів, 2001. С. 11.

³¹⁰ ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 408. Оп. 1. Спр. 606. Арк. 1-7; Ibid. Спр. 608. Арк. 1; Ibid. Спр. 615 Арк. 1-3.

³¹¹ ЦДІАУЛ. Ф. 408. Оп. 1. Спр. 816. Арк. 1-4; Ibid. Спр. 825. Арк. 2-6; Ibid. Спр. 824. Арк. 2-56; Скочиляс І. Дослідження візитатійної документації

Metropolitan bishop Andrey Sheptytsky remained the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church for the total of 44 years, under the Austrian-Hungarian, Russian, Polish rules, and German and Soviet occupations. He proved to be an experienced religious, social and political figure, acting under extremely difficult conditions. The great majority of historians, political scientists, religious scholars, his advocates and foes cannot deny, but acknowledge his tremendous contribution into the strengthening of the church, protection of the national and religious needs of the church followers, and the political consolidation of Ukrainians.

It was thanks to the diplomatic talent of Andrey Sheptytsky that the magnificent organization of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was preserved in the turmoil of World War II, as well as during the epochs of Soviet and German totalitarianism. It was in 1944, after the death of Metropolitan bishop that the authorities decided to implement their long-standing intention to wipe the church away from the earth's face.

Львівської єпархії у Галичині в другій половині XIX – першій половині XX століття. *Ковчег*. Ч. 3. Львів, 2001. С. 483-488.