

**CROSS ON THE TRIDENT: THE RELIGIOUS PATRIOTISM OF
THE MONASTIC ORDER OF ST BASIL THE GREAT IN THE
CONTEXT OF NATION-BUILDING IN UKRAINE, 1897-1914**

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Abstract

The research deals with the religious and patriotic discourses produced by the Order of St Basil the Great of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church at the turn of the 20th century in Galicia. The internal reform of the Basilian Order at the beginning of the 19th century enabled the Basilian Fathers to become a distinct force in the national movement. Combining the religious and patriotic components in their educational, pastoral, and editorial work the Basilian Fathers fostered the national idea.

Christian patriotism cultivated by the Order was further developed by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in his attempt to unite Eastern and Western Christianity. Through a comparison of the editorial work of the Basilian Order and Letters of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky the attempt is made to show the correlation between the ecumenical and nation-building processes on the local Galician and the all-Ukrainian national levels.

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Introduction

Social and national discourses that were entering the public sphere in the course of the 18th century introduced the alternative to religion ideologies and initiated the process that contemporary theoreticians of secularization define as “a scenario in which mankind shifted from the religious mode to the secular.”¹ However, the processes of formation of the Ukrainian nation that took place in the first half of the 20th century included both modes which worked as complementary and competing all at the same time. This thesis deals with the participation of the religious community in the process of nation-building and the development of the religious-patriotic ideology.

The involvement of the Monastic Order of St Basil the Great in the national awakening cannot be easily explained not only because of the secular nature of nationalism versus religious basis of monasticism, but also because the transformations that occurred within the Order supposedly were to enforce the religious zest rather than foster nationalistic spirit. Therefore, the research attempts not only to find *how* the Basilians participated in the national movement, or *how* this engagement was perceived by the political parties that represented the movement, but also to explain *what* the consequences of the incorporation of the religious elements into the formation of the national idea were.

There is no exact date of the establishment of the Order of St Basil the Great. The Basilian Fathers trace the history of their Order back to one of the Fathers of the Church – Basil the Great (c.329-379), who compiled the rules that laid the foundation for the Eastern and Western monasticism. In Kyivan Rus', monasticism was established by the missionaries from Byzantium before the baptism of Rus' (988 A.D.), and the greatest influence on its development had Anthony and Theodosius of Pechersk. In the 17th century, monasticism

¹ David Martin, *On Secularization: Towards a Revised General Theory* (Aldershot, England, Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), p. 18.

was reorganized by the champions of the Union of Brest² – Josafat Kuntsevych and Metropolitan Venjamyn Rutsky, who centralized Basilian monasteries following the structure of contemporary Western monasteries. The schism in the Kyiv Metropolis between the Orthodox and Uniate factions and the subsequent partitions of Poland isolated the Greek Catholic Church³ and the Basilian Order from the Eastern Christian tradition, making it prone to the Latin influences. After the liquidation of the eparchy of Kholm in 1864, which was the last Greek Catholic jurisdiction on the territories of the Russian Empire, the Basilian Order was confined to the Austrian crown-land – Galicia.

In the 19th century, Eastern Galicia⁴ became a cultural piedmont for all nationalities that inhabited it and was regarded by Ukrainians⁵ and Poles – two most numerous ethnic groups⁶ – as a basis for the establishment of their independent states in the future, which only exacerbated the struggle for a control over Galicia. This struggle developed after the revolution of 1848 which weakened the absolutism and endowed both national groups with certain political rights. The period before the First World War in Galicia is characterized by an increased politicization of public life, development of economic relations,

² The Union of Brest (1596) was the unification of the Kyiv Orthodox Church with the Holy See in Rome with the preservation of the traditions of the Eastern Orthodoxy. The weakening of Constantinople as a center of Eastern Christianity in the second half of 15th century, internal decline and unprivileged position of Kyiv Orthodoxy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the erection of the patriarchate of Moscow and the advancement of the Protestant and Counter-Reformation Catholic Church were the main reasons why the Bishops of the Kyivan Church sought the support from Rome. The Union was based on the consensus achieved at the Council of Florence (1431-1445), but was not accepted by a part of the Kyiv Church. For further reading see Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

³ The title Greek-Catholic Church was given to the Uniate Church in Galicia by Empress Maria Theresa in 1774 to equalize it with the Roman Catholic Church.

⁴ After 1815 the historic Galicia included territories west of the San River and south of the Vistula, which were inhabited by Poles. This distinction used to represent a rough ethnic division between the two peoples. Paul Robert Magocsi, "Galicia: A European Land" in Christopher Hann, Paul Robert Magocsi eds., *Galicia: a Multicultural Land* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2005), p. 5.

⁵ In this paper, when referring to the population of Galicia, along with the term "Ukrainian" and "Galician Ukrainian" I use the term "Ruthenian" which refers to a Galician who had not yet adopted the consciousness associated with the Ukrainian national identity. Since that process was gradual and finished with the end of the First World War, both terms "Ruthenian" and "Ukrainian" will signify the same people with a different national identity.

⁶ In 1910 Galicia had 7.9 million inhabitants: 45.4 percent were Poles, 42.9 percent Ruthenians and 10.9 percent Jews. Within Eastern Galicia, Ruthenians were the majority (62 percent). Paul Robert Magocsi, "Galicia: A European Land," pp. 7-8.

transformations in social and cultural spheres, demographic shifts, and labor migration.⁷ These factors determined the course of the national maturing of the Galician population and resulted in the Ukrainian-Polish war of 1918-1919.

This thesis consists of the Introduction, four chapters, and Conclusion. The first part lays out the theoretical framework and provides a historiographic review of the relevant literature. In Chapter 2, I trace the entrance of the Basilian Order into the national movement in the context of the reform of Dobromyl (1882-1904). In the second half of the 19th century the Church authorities implemented a reform of the Basilian order, which was to renew the declining order. The causes, outcomes and reaction of the national movement to the events that had a great significance for the development of the Order in the 20th century are discussed in this chapter.

The following chapter focuses on the editorial activities of the Basilian fathers, namely the establishment of the printing house in Zhovkva and the launching of the popular periodical for peasantry *Misionar* (*Missionary*). The analysis of the religious and nationalistic discourse that appears in the periodical edited by the Basilian Fathers makes the central part of the chapter. Namely I will show how the Basilians fostered the patriotism towards the Greek Catholic Church and towards the native land.

In Chapter 4, I focus on the connection between the religious patriotism promoted by the Basilian Fathers and the policy of the revival of the Byzantine tradition in the Greek-Catholic Church, initiated by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. As a representative of the reformed Basilians and, at the same time, a proponent of ecumenism between the Eastern and Western Christianity, the phenomenon of Metropolitan Sheptytsky could be regarded as a unique case of a religious and a national leader. In his numerous letters, he addresses numerous issues, all of which cannot be covered in this work, therefore I focus on the

⁷ John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine* (Montreal, Kingston, London, Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), p. 13.

ecumenical views that conceive of the inclusion of the whole Ukraine into one religious community and of the departure from the local Galician identity of Ruthenians in favor of a larger national project.

The research is based on two approaches – an analysis of the discourse of the popular periodical *Misionar*, compiled and printed by the Basilian Fathers since 1897 until 1914, and the pastoral letters to the faithful and clergy of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, followed by the comparison of the two discourses. This perspective allows creating a multi-dimensional picture of the activities of the Basilian Order and its influence on different social strata.

The position of Galicia between the Eastern and Western Christianity, the historical development of the Church union, the specific ethno-cultural composition of the Eastern Galicia, and the exceptional period of national formation make this study particularly complicated and challenging but all the more necessary.

1. Theoretical Framework and Historiographic Trends

This chapter consists of two sections that create theoretical framework, outline the existing scholarship, formulate hypotheses, and suggest possible directions for the continuation of the study. The project that focuses on the nationalistic activities of the Monastic Order of St Basil the Great presupposes an investigation of the correlation between religion and theories of nationalism, therefore, in the first part of this chapter, an attempt is made to create such a connection. The second part of the chapter, which deals with the historiographic overview of existing literature about the Basilian Order, is followed by the methodology applied in the research.

1.1. Nationalism and Religion: Points of Reference

The Collins Dictionary defines nationalism as “a sentiment based on common cultural characteristics that binds population and often produces a policy of national independence of separatism.”⁸ That sentiment is based on a set of certain characteristics, such as similarity of the language, historical tradition, religion, and continuity of the territory which allows drawing the distinction enemy-friend. On the other hand, a world religion, namely Christianity, is by definition inclusive. With the only criterion of faith, it is supposed to unite people on the basis of common values, rather than create borderlines. Monasticism, on its part, is not supposed to correlate with nationalism, since seclusion and withdrawal from the worldly affairs firstly serves the purpose of personal salvation rather than attends to the interests of a state or a nation. The history of the most influential monastic order of the Greek Catholic Church makes a perfect case to find the point of reference between the contemporary theories of nationalisms and religion.

⁸ “Nationalism,” *Collins English Thesaurus*, HarperCollins Publishers, Fifth Edition 2000.

Theories of nationalism developed from sociological perspectives allowed connecting the modernization of a society with nation-building. Ernest Gellner focused on the economic factors and the educational system in his discussions of the rise of national movements. For him, nationalism is “indeed necessary in certain conditions (to be specified), but these conditions themselves are not universal.”⁹ Such a chain of conditions emerges in the modern period with the evolution of technology and growth of productivity that enhances professional mobility and professional training, which in its turn leads to the formation of a high culture.

However, one of the features of Galicia is that it has always been a predominantly agrarian territory. Ukrainian historian Jaroslav Hrytsak draws attention to the fact that when applying the quantitative norms of the theoreticians of the modernist theory of nationalism, Galicia cannot be regarded a modern territory – according to the census of 1989, the urban population composed only 47.1 per cent of the total population. “The paradox,” continues the scholar, “lies in the fact that exactly this, the least “modernized” and “socially mobilized” historical region is at the same time the region where the modern Ukrainian nationalism is most popular.”¹⁰

To explain this, one may refer to the typology of the development of mankind, offered by Ernest Gellner. The social conditions in the second half of the 18th century Galicia shared many features of the “agrarian age” of his “human history.” According to Gellner, during this period, the political centralization (the state) and the hierarchical structure of the society emerge – all factors necessary, as defined by the modernist conception, for the emergence of the nationalism proper. Being in its essence modernist, Gellner’s “short history of mankind” reconciles the modernist theory with the too numerous nationalist “exceptions” that existed in Europe, one of which was Galicia.

⁹ Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism*, (Phoenix, 1998), p. 12.

¹⁰ Jaroslav Hrytsak, *Strasti za natsionalizmom. Istorychni essei (Passions for Nationalism. Historical Essays)* (Kyiv, 2004), p. 41. Translation is mine.

Another trait of the modernist school is that its representatives emphasize the supposedly secular quality of early European nationalisms. Benedict Anderson stresses the importance of printed literature and capitalism in publishing for the creation of imagined community and modern perception of time – main components of the nation-building.¹¹ For him, the modern revolution is connected with the decline of the language of religion (such as Latin), the weakening of the idea of the divine status of the monarch, and the separation of cosmology and history in the human mind.¹² He also connects the eighteenth century with the dusk of religious modes of thought that were substituted by nationalism.¹³

In other cases, scholars noticed similarities between the nationalist self sacrifice and devotional elements and the religious piety, regarding former as a symbolic system that could take a form of a religion.¹⁴ Anthony D. Smith, who generally criticizes modernist approach, regards nationalism to be a cultural and symbolic phenomenon, which is not created or imported, but reshaped by the intelligentsia. Religion, in that case, was an important element of the consolidation of a nation in the early modern period, but afterwards it was only a supplementary means of legitimization used for the unification of the state through an authorization of nationalistic ideas. In his view, the priestly hierarchies and traditional ruling classes reject the science of the modern state since “religious worldview could not be reconciled with science and rationalism.”¹⁵ Thus nationalism and religion are most often seen as alternative ideologies.

¹¹ Christophe Jaffrelot, “For a Theory of Nationalism,” p. 15.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Robert E. Alvis, *Religion and the Rise of Nationalism. A Profile of an East-Central European City* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2005), p. xv.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: A Trend Report and Bibliography* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973), p. 93 as cited in Robert E. Alvis, *Religion and the Rise of Nationalism. A Profile of an East-Central European City*, p. xv.

Sharing the ideas of Ivan L. Rudnytsky about the importance of elites for the completeness of nations,¹⁶ John-Paul Himka believes that it was the national leadership of the Greek-Catholic Church which became the main agent of the national movement.¹⁷ The monastic Order of St Basil the Great, emerging as the elite of the Greek Catholic Church in the first part of the 20th century, engages in the national struggles to create nationalism based on religious precepts, which correlates with the ideas of the instrumentalist school (Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm).

It is hard to overestimate the role of language for the nation-building processes. The codification of the modern literary language often provoked a struggle between the national movement and the clergy. While the former supported vernacular languages, the latter promoted the historical or liturgical language. This was the case with the Greek language (Byzantine (classical) language vs. with demotic), Vuk Karadžić (vernacular vs. Church Slavonic), and Yiddish-Hebrew.¹⁸ Basilian Fathers, instead, were staunch proponents of the usage of the Ukrainian language in schooling, preaching, and editorial work. They were the first to introduce the phonetic orthography in their works (1897), which raised a storm of criticism from the Russophile clergy,¹⁹ who favored the artificial dialect coined by the Russophiles that resembled Church Slavonic.

The fact that the Basilians used press in their pastoral work, which was the most modern means of mass media of the time, organized schools that were raising nationally aware elites, and were themselves involved in political polemics comply with the modernist vision of Anthony D. Smith, except for their status of the most Latinized monastic order of the Greek Catholic Church.

¹⁶ Peter L. Rudnytsky ed., *Essays in modern Ukrainian history by Ivan L. Rudnytsky* (Edmonton, Alberta, Canada: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1987), p. 40.

¹⁷ John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 204.

¹⁸ John Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in the Western Ukraine*, pp. 144, 211.

¹⁹ Isydor Patrylo, OSBM, *Dzherela i bibliohrafiia istorii Ukrainskoi Tserkvy* (*Sources and Bibliography of the History of the Ukrainian Church*), *Analecta OSBM, Series II, Section I: Opera*, vol. XXXIII (Rome, 1975), p. 370.

1.2. Historiographic Trends: Past and Present

The earliest works on the Basilian Order were often completed by its members or the representatives of the rival religious camps and therefore were ideologically charged. Russophile and radical writers of the time (Panteleimon Kulish, Ivan Franko, and Ambrose Andrukhovych) present the Basilians as agents of Latinization of the Church and people – the idea that is still upheld by some modern critics. Kost Panas, for example, in his *History of Ukrainian Church*,²⁰ compares the Basilian Order with the Trojan horse in the Greek-Catholic Church that was responsible for the liquidation of the Uniate church by the Russian tsar. On the other hand, historians affiliated with the Order (Sebastian Sabol, Meletiy Soloviy, Athanasiiy Pekar, Porphyry Pidruchny, Isydor Patrylo) state that the Basilians initiated national awakening in Galicia being proponents of the Ukrainian language and schooling, successful editors, and active participants in the Ukrainian Galician Army.

A number of books on general history of the Church and Ukraine, written by Ukrainian secular authors, give the general perspective on the history and functioning of the Order. Among such works, probably the most voluminous is the *History of Ukraine-Rus*²¹ by Mykhailo Hrushevsky, which includes information about Basilian monasteries and the internal organization of their life in the fifth volume of this monumental work. Among other Ukrainian historians – Hryhir Luzhnytsky writes about the reform of Dobromyl,²² Vasyl Marchuk mentions the editorial work of the Basilians and their participation in the First World War.²³ These authors do not try to evaluate the role of the Basilians in historical events. John Paul Himka dedicated many pages to the development of the Order in the

²⁰ Kost Panas, *Istoria Ukrainskoi Tserkvy (History of the Ukrainian Church)* (Lviv: Transinteh, 1992).

²¹ Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *Istoria Ykrainy-Rusy (History of Ukraine-Rus)* vol. V (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1994).

²² Hryhir Luzhnytsky, *Ukrainska Tserkva mizh shodom i zahodom. Narys istorii Ukrainskoi Tserkvy (Ukrainian Church Between East and West. Short History of the Ukrainian Church)* (Lviv: Svichado, 2008).

²³ Vasyl Marchuk, *Ukrainska Hreko-Katolytska Tserkva. Istorychni narys (Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church: Short History)* (Ivano-Frankivsk: Plai, 2001).

second half of the 18th century in his book *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*,²⁴ and Bohdan Bociurkiw mentions them in the context of liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church.²⁵ Their studies cover the periods that precede and succeed the period studied in this thesis, thus leaving some gaps to be filled in

Bibliography of the works on the general Church history is too extended to include it in this research. The bibliographic review by Paul Robert Magocsi, concerning the writings about Galicia, includes 14 references to the works on general Church History, such as documents from the archives of Vatican and the Propaganda Fidei (Misionary Congregation) whose publication was sponsored by the Basilian Order.²⁶

Not many contemporary works have been specifically dedicated to the Basilian Order. The monograph by Petro Shkarabiuk *Monastic Order of Basilian Fathers in the National Life of Ukraine*²⁷ is a unique work of its kind because it is entirely dedicated to the history of the Order where the author tries to cover the period from the establishment of the Basilian Order until present. A series of conferences that discussed the history of the Basilian Order were conducted, such as the series of lectures dedicated to the 400 anniversary of the Union of Brest²⁸ and the conference dedicated to the 120 anniversary since the beginning of the reform of Dobromyl.²⁹

The greatest corpus of studies was compiled by the Basilians themselves. Starting from 1924, they were publishing the materials stored in their libraries and archives. Today,

²⁴ John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*, pp. 79-84.

²⁵ Bohdan Bociurkiw, *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Soviet State, 1939-1950* (Edmonton, Toronto, 1996).

²⁶ Paul Robert Magocsi, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1983), p. 33.

²⁷ Petro Shkarabiuk, *Monashyi Chyn Otsiv Vasylian u natsionalnomy zhytti Ukrainy (Monastic Order of Basilian Fathers in the National Life of Ukraine)* (Lviv: Misioner, 2005).

²⁸ Porphyry V. Pidruchny, "Pochatky Vasylianskoho chynu i Beresteiska Unia" ("The Beginnings of the Basilian Order and the Union of Brest") in Borys Gudziak, Oleh Turii eds., *Beresteiska unia ta vnutrishnie zhyttia Tserkvy v XVII stolitti (Union of Brest and the Internal Life of the Church in the 17th century)* (Lviv, 1997), pp. 79-124.

²⁹ Josafat Romanyk, OSBM, Josyf Budai, OSBM, Myhailo Haikovsky et al eds., *Dobromylska reforma i vidrozhennia Ukrainskoi Tserkvy (Reform of Dobromyl and Revival of the Ukrainian Church)* (Lviv: Misioner, 2003).

the selected works called *Analecta OSBM* include 52 volumes written in Ukrainian, English, Latin, Italian, and French, considerable part of which (section II) is dedicated to the history of the Basilian Order in general,³⁰ biographies of some Basilians,³¹ histories of separate monasteries, quantitative number of monasteries in Galicia and abroad, bibliographic reviews,³² etc. Isydor Patrylo, OSBM, in his *Sources and Bibliography of the History of Ukrainian Church*, enumerates 49 works on monasticism among which 24 are dedicated to the Basilian Order. The most consistent among these are the works by N. Kossak and N. Petrov that were written in the nineteenth century. Among the other works of the Basilian Order, which will be the basis of this research, is a serial publication *Missionar* (1897-1914), which can be accessed in the libraries of the Ukrainian Catholic University and St Onufrii monastery in Lviv.

In his bibliographic review, Paul Robert Magocsi mentions that most of the existing literature in the period of 1848-1918 is devoted to Rev. Andrei Sheptytsky (1865-1944), who became the Greek Catholic Metropolitan of Lviv in 1900.³³ Among the published works he mentions the pastoral letters of the Metropolitan from 1899 to 1901 and some of his ascetic and ethical works and biographies by Stepan Baran, Kyrylo Korolevsky, and others.

The works about Andrey Sheptytsky written abroad include rather critical study by a Polish author Edward Prus³⁴ and a collection of articles edited by Andrzej A. Zięba.³⁵

³⁰ Myhailo Vavryk, OSBM, *Narys rozvytku i stanu Vasylijanskoho Chyna (Outline of the Development and State of the Basilian Order)*, Analecta OSBM, Series II, Section I: Opera, vol. XL (Rome, 1979); Athanasius Pekar et al, *Sketch of the History of Basilian Order – of Saint Josaphat*, Analecta OSBM Series II, Section I: Opera, vol. 48 (Rome, 1992).

³¹ Irynei Nazarko, OSBM, *Kyivski i Halytski Mytropolyty (Kyivan and Galician Metropolitans)*, Analecta OSBM, Series II, Section I: Opera, vol. XIII (Rome, 1962).

³² Isydor Patrylo, OSBM, *Dzherela i bibliohrafiia istorii Ukrainskoi Tserkvy (Sources and Bibliography of the History of the Ukrainian Church)*, Analecta OSBM, Series II, Section I: Opera, vol. XXXIII (Rome, 1975).

³³ Paul Robert Magocsi, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide*, p. 160.

³⁴ Edward Prus, *Władysław Świątojurski: Rzecz o arcybiskupie Andrzeju Szeptyckim (1865-1944) (Archbishop from St. Georges Cathedral. About the Archbishop Andrey Sheptytsky, 1865-1944)* (Warszawa, 1985).

³⁵ Andrzej A. Zięba ed., *Metropolita Andrzej Szeptycki. Studia i materiały (Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. Study and Materials)*.

Despite the existence of the voluminous literature on Andrey Sheptytsky, the collection of papers edited by Paul Robert Magocsi *Morality and Reality*³⁶ remains to be the most prominent for already two decades. Recently, a considerable corpus of the pastoral letters by Andrey Sheptytsky was edited in a two-volume collection that comprises the vast majority of his writings³⁷ which enables scholars to draw a more finished picture of his religious views.

The above review shows that despite the considerable quantity of works on the Basilian Order, most of them were completed by the Basilians themselves or still carry confessional prejudices. Another conclusion can be made about the study of the activities of the Basilian Order in the first half of the 20th century (after the reform of Dobromyl) – compared to the previous period it appears understudied. Therefore, a possible extension of this research would be a study of the development of the Order in Ukraine and abroad immediately before and after the abolition of the Greek Catholic Church in the USSR in 1946. Such a project would allow drawing a complete history of the Basilian Order in the 20th century and connecting it with the contemporary religious situation in Ukraine.

³⁶ Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1989).

³⁷ Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, Vol. 1,2 edited by Myhail Hrynchyshyn, Bohdan Dziurak, Rafail Turkoniak et al eds., (Lviv: Artos, 2007).

2. Basilian Order in the Context of the Reform of Dobromyl

Chapter 2 outlines the activities of the Basilian Order during and after the controversial reform of Dobromyl. Before and at the beginning of the reform of Dobromyl, the Basilians were predominantly a subject of the ideological struggle between the Church and the national movement, and my task is to show the transition of the Basilian Order to an independent standing.

The first part of the chapter introduces the historical context of the religious life in Galicia and the relations between the Greek Catholic Church and the national movement during its secularization. The second part describes the state of the Basilian Order before the reform, during its implementation, and the reaction of the society and political forces after its completion. In the third part, I will focus on the consequences of the reform of Dobromyl for the Order through the assessment of their pastoral, missionary, and educational activities.

2.1. Church and the National Movement in Galicia

The Ruthenian awakening coincided in time with the national movements in Eastern Europe and is generally connected with the names of Markian Shashkevych, Ivan Vahylevych, and Jakiv Holovatsky. In 1831, these three Lviv seminarians formed a literary circle which was named the Ruthenian Triad, and their history illustrates the development of the national movement in Galicia in the 19th century. Since the Ruthenian nobility converted to the Roman Catholicism and assumed Polish identity in the 17th -18th centuries, the national awakening was dominated by the Greek Catholic clergy, who were among the few ethnic

Ukrainians that had an access to education.³⁸ The fierce opposition to national sentiments from the Polish side split the Ruthenian movement – some were looking for a compromise with Poles, others were supported by Russia, and some relied on their own forces. A similar fate befell the Triad – Ivan Vahylevych joined the Polonophile camp, Jakiv Holovatsky – the Russophiles, and Markian Shashkevych retained independent views.

In the revolutionary year of 1848, the Ruthenian leadership was represented by the Supreme Ruthenian Council (Holovna Rus'ka Rada 1848-1859) which was mainly composed of the representatives of the Greek Catholic clergy and did not come forward with separatist ideas. The main demands of this body to Emperor Ferdinand were the introduction of the Ruthenian language in schooling and administration and the division of Galicia into the Ruthenian and Polish administrative units.³⁹

The attitude of the Greek Catholic hierarchy towards the monarchy was favorable. Maria Theresa (1740-80) and Joseph II (1780-90) reformed the Greek Catholic Church – it acquired (formally) equal rights with the Roman Catholic Church, cathedral chapters (*krylosy*) that helped to administer the eparchy were established, and in 1808, the office of the Metropolitan of Halych, also known as archbishop of Lviv, was restored.⁴⁰

Despite the loyalty of Ruthenians to the empire and the Polish insurrection of 1863, Poles regained their political dominance in Galicia as certified by the treaty between the Poles and Austrians (1867), the governor of Galicia was to be appointed from the Polish aristocracy. The Ruthenian deputies in the Galician diet had only 15 percent of mandates

³⁸ In 1774 in Vienna a Theological Institute was established for the Ruthenian clergy. Greek Catholics also could study on the theological faculty of the University of Vienna. In 1783 Central Greek-Catholic Seminary (Studium Ruthenum) was established in Lviv as the department of Lviv University. N. Polonska-Vasylenko and M. Chubaty, "Ukrainska Tserkva vid kintsia XVIII st." ("Ukrainian Church from the End of the 18th c.") in *Entsyklopedia Ukrainoznavstva. Zahalna chastyna. (Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies. General Part)*, (Kyiv, 1995), p. 615.

³⁹ Kost Levytsky, *Istoria politychnoi dumky Halytskyh Ukraintsv, 1848-1914 (The History of Political Thought of the Galician Ukrainians, 1848-1914)* (Lviv, 1926), pp. 17, 46.

⁴⁰ John Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in the Western Ukraine*, p. 7.

and the social and economic policy was controlled by Poles.⁴¹ Polish politicians calumniated Ruthenians as the enemies of Austrian monarchy and allies of Russian Tsar, pointing at the Galician Russophiles.

The leaders of the Russophile movement, which dominated in the Ruthenian politics from the 60s, realized the importance of religion in the region, and as a result, one of their main stances was the purification of the Greek Catholic Church from the Latin elements. They relied on the Russian Orthodox Church and claimed that Ruthenians were Russians and stood for the political unity with the Russians.⁴² While Russophiles attached importance to religion, national populists (narodovtsi) were a political movement in the first place. In 1868, they established the Prosvita (Enlightenment) society and the antagonism between the two parties became obvious in the titles of their main periodical – Russophile *Slovo* (*The Word*) was often challenged by the national populist *Dilo* (*The Deed*). The latter part of the national movement was more favorable to the Church and in their essence they were Ukrainophiles.⁴³

With the growth of the Ukrainophile tendencies in the national movement, the influence of Russophiles and the Greek Catholic Church on the political struggle in Galicia was losing its prominence. In 1890, the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party under the guidance of Ivan Franko came with the motto of secularization of the political life in Galicia. The National Democrat party, which was more favorable to the Church, split from the Radical Party in 1899. This is how the historian John-Paul Himka assessed the relations between the clergy and national populists, “[...] the national populists counted on the priests

⁴¹ Jaroslav Hrytsak, *Narys istorii Ukrainy. Formuvannia modernoi Ukrainskoi natsii XIX-XX stolittia. (Sketch of the History of Ukraine. Formation of the Modern Ukrainian Nation, 19th-20th century)* (Kyiv: Henesa, 1996), pp. 73-74.

⁴² Michael Yaremko, *Galicia – Halychyna. From Separation to Unity* (Toronto, New York, Paris, 1967), p. 148.

⁴³ John Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in the Western Ukraine*, p. 140.

to organize reading clubs and other national associations in villages and to campaign for national populist candidates during elections.”⁴⁴

The great Austrian reforms of the 1860s that brought the restoration of the parliament, the introduction of compulsory education, and the guarantee of basic civil liberties such as freedom of the press and freedom of association hastened the penetration of the national movement in villages.⁴⁵ In their quest for the votes of the peasantry, national activists appealed to the collective memory of serfdom by organizing annual celebrations in villages, which in the 20th century became nationally charged.⁴⁶ Villages became increasingly politicized and nationalized during the agrarian strikes of 1902 and 1906, during the campaigns for the election reform in the middle of that decade, and through the introduction of universal suffrage for the 1907 elections to the imperial parliament.⁴⁷ This work was supplemented with an anti-clerical agitation and often antagonized people against priesthood, playing on the “sore issue in the priest-peasant relationship” – the fees for sacramental rites (*jura solae*).⁴⁸

With the growth of the confrontation between Russia and Austria, the question of a religious affiliation became more important. The conversion of Galician village Hlynchky from Greek Catholicism to Orthodoxy in 1881 became another chance to accuse the Greek Catholic Church in disloyalty to the monarchy and the Vatican. A revision of the activities of Russophiles revealed their subversive work and lead to the trial of over a dozen of the

⁴⁴ John-Paul Himka *Religion and Nationality in the Western Ukraine*, p. 148.

⁴⁵ John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 220-221.

⁴⁶ Kai Struve, “Peasants and Patriotic Celebrations in Habsburg Galicia” in Christopher Hann, Paul Robert Magocsi eds., *Galicia: a Multicultured Land* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2005), p. 115.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

⁴⁸ John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 108.

Russophile leaders and a subsequent weakening of the movement.⁴⁹ The scandal induced the deposition of Metropolitan Joseph Sembratovych.⁵⁰

In the last two decades of the 19th century the political life of Galicia was undergoing secularization and the Greek Catholic Church was slowly losing its influence in the political affairs to the growing national movement. The fear of the spread of Russophilism among the Ruthenians made Vatican intrude into the affairs, which was criticized by the secular part of the national movement. The culmination of such trends was in the reform of the Basilian Order by the Jesuit Fathers.

2.2. The Controversy of the Reform of Dobromyl

Out of 36 monasteries and 314 monks in 1780, when the Galician province of the Most Holy Redeemer was created, only 26 monasteries and c. 200 monks were left at the beginning of the 19th century.⁵¹ The decline of monasticism in Galicia is generally connected with the name of Joseph II. During his reign, the Galician province was isolated from other provinces in Lithuania and Russia and many monasteries were closed on the pretext that they were not engaged in any social work.⁵²

In the second half of the 19th century, Basilian Order consisted of only 50 monks and 10 novices that abode in 14 monasteries. According to Isydor Patrylo, OSBM, such a decline was caused by the abolition of the schools that belonged to the Order.⁵³ Metropolitan Joseph Sembratovych reported to Rome not only about the small number of monks, but also about the moral decline and loss of discipline. In particular, there was

⁴⁹ John-Paul Himka *Religion and Nationality in the Western Ukraine*, pp. 77-78.

⁵⁰ Kost Levytsky, *The History of Political Thought of the Galician Ukrainians, 1848-1914*, pp. 197-198.

⁵¹ Isydor Patrylo "Narys istorii Halytskoi provintsii ChSVV" ("Sketch of the History of the Galician Province OSBM") in Athanasius Pekar et al, *Sketch of the History of Basilian Order – of Saint Josaphat*, Analecta OSBM Series II, Section I: Opera, vol. 48 (Rome, 1992), p. 316.

⁵² Petro Shkarabiuk, *Monastic Order of St Basil the Great in National Life of Ukraine*, p. 23

⁵³ Isydor Patrylo "Sketch of the History of the Galician Province OSBM", p. 316.

neither day rules nor spiritual exercises (rogations, recollections) in the monasteries, monks confessed once or at most 3 times a year, and very seldom took Holy Communion.⁵⁴ Some of Basilians converted to Orthodoxy.⁵⁵

It was the initiative of the protohegumen OSBM, Father Sarnytsky, to invite Jesuit Fathers to conduct the reform.⁵⁶ Jesuits have already taken part in the reform of the Order at the beginning of the 17th century on the initiative of Metropolitan Veniamyn Rutsky. In 1605, he planned that the reform would yield many well-educated and reverent monks, that they “will establish many schools which will raise well bred eparchial priests and statesmen, too.”⁵⁷

In the 19th century, even the best intentions could not prevent protests in the Ruthenian society over the engagement of the Polish Jesuits, so the plans of reform were kept secret. During that time, intensive negotiations of the Austrian government with the Apostolic See took place. The Minister of Religion and Education commissioned the governor of Galicia, Count Alfred Potocki, to take the issue under his control.⁵⁸ He summoned the meeting of the Church leaders, and although everyone agreed that the Order had to be reorganized, not everyone believed that the Ruthenian society would accept the participation of Jesuits. Therefore the meeting decided that the Jesuits were to embrace the Greek rite to take the guidance over the monastery of Dobromyl for the period of the reform.⁵⁹

On May 12, 1882, the Papal bull “Singularare Praesidium” was made public. According to it, the Basilian Order was to be taken from the jurisdiction of the bishops and the metropolitan was subordinated to the Holy See for the time of the reform. The

⁵⁴ Makarii Karovets, *Velyka reforma Chyna Sv. Vasylya V. 1882 (The Great Reform of the Order of St Basil the Great, 1882)*, Part I (Lviv, 1933), p. 33.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 39.

⁵⁶ John-Paul Himka *Religion and Nationality in the Western Ukraine*, p. 80.

⁵⁷ Porphyry V. Pidruchny, “The Beginnings of the Basilian Order and the Union of Brest,” p. 83.

⁵⁸ Ibid, pp. 32-34.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 44-48.

monastery in Dobromyl was given to Jesuits. Dobromyl became the only place for the entry of novices for the whole Galicia, so that the new generation could replace the older, unreformed monks. Jesuits did not have to change their rite, but they could not conduct services for the young Basilians.⁶⁰ The bull also summarized:

[...] we hope that the Basilian Order of the Ruthenians in Galicia, with the help of God, in the hope of the glory of old times will revive and strengthened in every virtue will easily achieve the aim of its founder Basil and its renovator Josafat: namely, that among some the Catholic name was preserved and among others spread; assuring the ancient union with the Roman Church [...].⁶¹

The protests against the reform united the camps of Russophiles, national populists, and clergy. The national populist print organ *Dilo* condemned the reform as “a new plan for the conquest of Rus’ by Jesuitism.”⁶² Other periodicals, such as Russophile *Prolom* (*Breakthrough*) and *Kievlanin* (Citizen of Kyiv) stigmatized it as “violence,” “injustice towards the nation.”⁶³ Ukrainian writer, critic, translator, and folklorist Panteleimon Kulish edited the popular scientific brochure *Outrage of the Jesuits Upon the Basilians in Galicia*, which, however, was confiscated by Austrian police.⁶⁴ In May 1884, two people’s meetings (viche) of Galician Ruthenians gathered 2000 signatures under the memorandum against the reform and delegated representatives to Vienna where they had audience with the Emperor.⁶⁵

It is probably this public outcry of the Ruthenian press against the reform which may account for the growth of the vocations to the monastic life. On June 15, 1882, when the Jesuit Fathers took charge over the monastery of Dobromyl, there were only three novices there, but by the end of October of the same year there were already thirteen novices.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Makarii Karovets, *The Great Reform of the Order of St Basil the Great*, 1882, Part II, p. 158-161.

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 163.

⁶² “Chy se poslidne slovo?” (“Is that the Last Word?”), *Dilo* No. 35, (20 May, 1882), p. 1 in John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*, p. 82.

⁶³ *Almanah Vasylianskyh bohosloviv*, (*Almanac of Basilian Theologians*) in Isydor Patrylo “Sketch of the History of the Galician Province OSBM,” p. 322-323.

⁶⁴ Petro Shkarabiuk, *Monastic Order of St Basil the Great in National Life of Ukraine*, p. 24.

⁶⁵ Kost Levytsky, *The History of Political Thought of the Galician Ukrainians, 1848-1914*, pp. 214-215.

⁶⁶ Isydor Patrylo “Sketch of the History of the Galician Province OSBM,” pp. 325, 328.

After the initial six months, novices passed the first monastic vows and continued studies – one year of rhetoric, two years of philosophy, and two or three years of theology. The studies were usually conducted in the monasteries of Galicia or in sacred colleges in Kraków and Innsbruck.⁶⁷ The sound education was among the main achievements of the reform, at the same time, Jesuits introduced such practices as supplications, missions, holy hours, cross procession, rogations, and religious fraternities.⁶⁸

2.3. The Aftermath of the Reform of Dobromyl

The supervision over the Basilian Order was gradually given to the young generation of the reformed Basilians. Probably this was the main point that persuaded national activist Kost Levytsky to say, “In the final account, the reform of our Basilian Fathers by Jesuits did not cause any national loss because the reformers found the progressive forces in our people, capable of an independent renovation of the Basilian Order.”⁶⁹ In 1893, the position of master of novices was taken by the reformed Basilian and the future Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. In 1897, the first provincial curia was formed that included Jesuits and the young Basilians until 1904 when the session of Congregation and Propaganda discharged the reform.⁷⁰

Apart from the quantitative growth of the Basilian Order,⁷¹ the reform brought new approaches in the pastoral work. In 1889, the first seven ordained priests initiated the first people’s mission. By 1905, the Basilian fathers conducted over 200 missions for the people

⁶⁷ *Almanac of Basilian Theologians* in Isydor Patrylo “Sketch of the History of the Galician Province OSBM,” p. 329.

⁶⁸ Josafat Romanyk, OSBM “Stan Chynu sviatoho Vasylia Velykoho u druhij polovyni XIX stolittia” (“The State of the Order of Saint Basil the Great in the Second Half of the 19th century”) in *Reform of Dobromyl and Revival of the Ukrainian Church*, p. 92.

⁶⁹ Kost Levytsky, *The History of Political Thought of the Galician Ukrainians, 1848-1914*, p. 215.

⁷⁰ Isydor Patrylo “Sketch of the History of the Galician Province OSBM,” p. 340.

⁷¹ In 1897 there were 47 hieromonks, 40 students, 50 lay brothers. On the eve of the World War One the Order in Galician Province had 16 monasteries and 2 oversees missions with the 234 monks. Isydor Patrylo “Sketch of the History of the Galician Province OSBM,” p. 341, 347.

and the same number of recollections for the priests, seminarians, students, and intelligentsia.⁷² Recollections consisted of discussions of theological and moral problems or questions concerning the dogma or catechism. These missions and recollections were conducted in Ukrainian rather than Polish or the artificial dialect propagated by the Russophiles. One of such missions took place in the native village of Andrey Sheptytsky – Prylbychi in 1892. It was described by the mother of the future Metropolitan Sophia, who quoted the words of a peasant, “It was the first time that we understood everything.”⁷³

One of the main tasks of the Order was its pastoral activities. Probably the most popular practices became – Rogation to Virgin Mary and the Holy Heart of Jesus (maivky), which collected many people especially in the first Friday and Sunday of the month. The greater interest towards the spiritual and monastic life was reflected in the establishment of new religious communities and fraternities supervised by the Basilian Fathers. Apostolic Prayer was established in 1884, and in 25 years it had over 100,000 members. The organization was well structured in three eparchies and usually it was headed by a Basilian Father, and its periodicals (among which was the popular monthly *Misionar*).⁷⁴ The Basilian Order took part in establishing the monastic communities of Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate (1892) and Sisters Myrrh Bearers (1910).

From the first years of the reform, the Basilians organized their own studies in the monasteries of Dobromyl, Krystynopil, Lavriv, and Krehiv. In October 1904, the Basilians took over the administration of the Sacred College of St Josaphat in Rome and in 1906 the seminary of Stanislaviv. However, they also supervised the parish schools for the lay people, such as the Gymnasium in Buchach, where in 1911 they established the Missionary

⁷² Isydor Patrylo “Sketch of the History of the Galician Province OSBM,” p. 337.

⁷³ Sheptytska Sofia Fredro, *Molodist i poklykannia o. Romana Sheptytskoho (Youth and Vocation of the F. Roman Sheptytsky)* (Lviv 1994), p. 138 in Petro Shkarabiuk, *Monashyi chyn Otsiv Vasylian u natsionalnomy zhytti Ukrainy*, p. 70.

⁷⁴ Isydor Patrylo “Sketch of the History of the Galician Province OSBM,” p. 364

Institute of St Josaphat.⁷⁵ This establishment yielded such intellectuals as archbishop Vasyl Ladyka, artist Kornylo Ustyianovych, composer Porfyrii Bazhansky, lawyer and editor of the *Bulletin of State Laws* in Ukrainian Oleksandr Kulachkovsky.⁷⁶ Among the pupils of the Basilian school in Lavriv were Vasyl Javorsky – a philanthropist, depute to the Austrian parliament (1900-1906), Zahar Pavliuh – the founder of the journals *Ukrainische Revue* (Wien, 1903-1905) and *Ukrainische Rundschau* (Wien, 1906-1907), and Ivan Kopach – a painter and the member of the government of West Ukrainian Peoples Republic and national activist.⁷⁷ Ivan Franko received his primary education in the school of Sviatotoitsky monastery in Drohobych, and though his autobiographic novels about those years (*The Pencil*, *Schönschreiben*, *Father-Humorist*) display Basilian teacher in a negative light, he admitted that “[t]he reformed Order bears a number of people, who, despite their utter Catholicism, not only did not lose the feeling of national dignity, but also became ardent national populists.”⁷⁸

With the beginning of the First World War 35 Basilian Fathers and 37 lay brothers were enlisted to the Austrian army, three of them died. Others were exiled to Russia or stationed in Croatian monasteries.⁷⁹ According to one of the instructions of the Russian occupation government, “[f]or the last decade it was the younger uniatic clergy that had the main role in mazepynskyi⁸⁰ movement [...]. The great proponents and propagandists of

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 335.

⁷⁶ Petro Shkarabiuk, *Monastic Order of St Basil the Great in National Life of Ukraine*, pp. 187-188.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 172-173.

⁷⁸ Ivan Franko, *Narys istorii ukrainsko-ruskoi literatury do 1890*, (*Sketch of the History of the Ukrainian-Ruthenian Literature until 1890*) (Kyiv, 1910), pp. 307-308 in Isydor Patrylo “Sketch of the History of the Galician Province OSBM,” pp. 323-324.

⁷⁹ Isydor Patrylo “Sketch of the History of the Galician Province OSBM,” p. 348.

⁸⁰ This term is derived from the name of Hetman Ivan Mazepa, who, in 1708, led an unsuccessful Cossack rebellion against the Russian rule and sided with King Charles XII of Sweden in the war against Peter the Great. The label used by the Russian government and the Russian Orthodox Church was endowed with the referential meaning “traitor” and was applied to all the manifestations of Ukrainian separatism i.e. nationalism.

mazepynstvo among Galician peasants were uniate Basilian monks. Not only did they spread mazepinstvo with a spoken, but also through the printed, word.”⁸¹

Among the Basilians, enlisted into the Austrian army, there were the editors of *Misionar* for 1910-1914 Jakym Feshchak and Fr. Josaphat Zhan. In 1910, Josaphat Zhan came from Quebec to Galicia, adopted the Greek Catholic rite and entered the Basilian Order. After the First World War, he was the translator and secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the government of the West Ukrainian People’s Republic. The first Protohegumen of the Order Plaonid Filias together with Bishop Joseph Kotsylovsky and Andrey Sheptytsky were members of the Ukrainian Parliament.⁸²

The brief overview of the consequences of the reform of Dobromyl shows that, contrary to all expectations, it brought the flourishing of the Basilian Order raising a nationally-minded generation which was ready to work for the good of their people. Despite a comparatively small number of Basilians, they managed to mobilize great masses of people through missions, recollections, and pilgrimages. Supervising colleges and parish schools they educated thousands well educated citizens. The following chapter turns to the editorial activities of the Basilian Fathers, which was probably the most efficient aspect of their work.

⁸¹ Velykyi A. H., OSBM, *Svitlo I tini ukrainskoi istorii*. (Lights and Shades of the Ukrainian Hisroty)(Rome, Basilians: 1969), p. 34 as cited in Vasyl Marchuk, *Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. Historical Survey*, p. 75.

⁸² Petro Shkarabiuk, “Vplyv Chynu Otsiv Vasylijan na natsionalno-politychne zhyttia Ukrainy” (“Influence of the Order of Basilian Fathers on the National and Political Life of Ukraine”) in *Reform of Dobromyl and Revival of the Ukrainian Church*, pp. 156-157.

3. Editorial Work of the Basilian Fathers

This chapter moves the discussion of the involvement of the Greek Catholic Church in the formation of the Ukrainian national idea and identity from the general assessment of national movement to the analysis of the role of the Basilians in the national awakening in Galicia. I will look into the ways the Basilian Order built the community of Ruthenians/Ukrainians around the ideas of social, national, and religious unity in their main printed periodical *Misionar*.

I will start by outlining the history of the main printing house of the Basilian Order at the turn of the 20th century, which can be seen as one of the results of the reform of Dobromyl. A brief history of *Misionar* will be followed by a discussion of its peculiarities compared to other periodicals in Galicia. In the last section, I will deliberate on the main topics raised in *Misionar*, illustrating how they helped to establish the image of a unified patriotic nation. The discussion in this chapter is based on the analysis of the articles published in *Misionar* between 1897 and 1914.

3.1. Rise and Fall of Printing of the Basilian Order

Although the Greek-Catholic Church had lost the leading position in the national movement to Radicals and National democrats by the end of the 19th century, it still remained an important actor in the formation of organized and conscious peasantry through the network of cultural, educational, and economic entities.⁸³ The lasting presence of the Greek-Catholic Church in the process of the political maturing of the society can be explained through the traditional proximity of the Church to the people. Such ties became especially strong after the abolition of serfdom and formation of the Supreme Ruthenian Council (1848-1859) –

⁸³ Jaroslav Hrytsak, *Study of the History of Ukraine*, p. 78.

the priests would read aloud to the peasants the appeals for the Council and encourage them to sign petitions for the division of Galicia.⁸⁴

The congruence of social and ethnic groups the remained largely unchanged in the post-feudal eastern Galicia – the nobility was largely Polish, Jews represented money economy and trade, and the peasantry was largely Ukrainian.⁸⁵ However, after the penetration of the national movement into the villages – the main reserve of votes required to enter the parliament – it was trying to turn the social tension into the national field. The mass agrarian strike of 1902, though social in its essence, due to the efforts of Ukrainian activists was colored with the national idea.⁸⁶ The Basilians made a similar appeal to the social, national, and religious sentiments of the population, and it can be traced in their main publication *Misionar*.

In Chapter 2 the schooling, priesthood, and missionary activities of the Basilian Fathers were reviewed. Among other results of the reform of Dobromyl, one can note the expansion of the printing houses and publishing activities undertaken by the Basilian Fathers, which enabled a comparatively small number of Basilians⁸⁷ to encompass a large number of people and to embrace the mission of raising religious and national awareness. Taking into account the considerable quantity of publications issued by the printing center of the Basilians in Zhovkva and the popularity of their own brainchild – the religious monthly *Misionar* – those activities were particularly successful. The choice in favor of a religious monthly with national content, which was made by a great number of readers,

⁸⁴ John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 121.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 205.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 79.

⁸⁷ In 1904 there was 153 Basilian Fathers in the whole Galician Province and abroad, including Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, 65 hieromonks, 29 students, 57 lay brothers and 21 novices. *Catalogus OSBM reformationis Dobromilensis sub regimine PP. e. Soc. Jesu pro a. 1891*, (Staravesiae, 1891) in Myhailo M. Vavryk, *Study of Development and the State of the Basilian Order, 18th-20th cc.*, p. 65. In the same year the number of OSBM priests, and lay brothers in the Archeparchy of Livv was only 32. Dmytro Blazejowskyj, *Historical Šematism of the Archeparchy of Lviv (1832-1944)* (Kyiv: KM Akademia, 2004), p. 569.

attests that the professional produce of the Basilian editors corresponded to the demand for such press.

The printing tradition of the Basilian Order dates back to the 16th century, however, after the transfer of Pochaiv monastery to the Russian Orthodox Church in 1832, the Order did not have any printing center until the end of the 19th century. In a letter to his hegumen, Jesuit Father Henryh Jatskovsky mentioned the lack of “decent spiritual literature in Ruthenian language”⁸⁸ among the factors that necessitated the reform of the Basilians. A printing house was eventually established at the initiative of the architect of the Dobromyl reform, protohegumen of the Basilians Klym Sarnytsky, and the hegumen of the monastery of Zhovkva, Kyprian Kozlovsky, in 1895.

The elegance of the former residency of King Jan Sobieski and the comparative proximity to Lviv were not the only reasons for the choice of the town of Zhovkva as the place for the printing house. Zhovkva monastery of the Nativity of the Mother of God joined the Dobromyl reform rather early – in 1891, after the monasteries of Lavriv (1884), Lviv (1887), and Krystynopil (1888).⁸⁹ The same year, a nearby cloister in Krehiv came under the jurisdiction of Zhovkva monastery, strengthening it materially and quantitatively, which was only amplified by the presence of the holy remains of the martyred boy St Partenius that continued to draw thousands of pilgrims.⁹⁰

The printing house found its first abode on the territory of the monastery, but in 1901, it was transferred to a new building and in 1903 became a separate entity with its own statute.⁹¹ The old printing equipment, which “constantly went out of order and the moving

⁸⁸ Isydor Patrylo, “Sketch of the History of the Galician Province OSBM,” p. 319.

⁸⁹ *Catalogus OSBM reformationis Dobromilensis sub regimine PP. e. Soc. Jesu pro a. 1891*, (Staravesiae, 1891) in Myhailo M. Vavryk, OSBM, *Study of Development and the State of the Basilian Order, 18th-20th cc.*, pp. 64-65.

⁹⁰ Petro Shkarabiuk, *Monastic Order of Basilian Fathers in the National Life of Ukraine*, pp. 103-104.

⁹¹ Ibid.

force were only the hands of young monks, who worked in turns all night,”⁹² was replaced with a new machine.⁹³ During the first year, the Basilians managed to print out over 25,000 copies of religious literature and orders, and by 1904 this number rose to 1,157,000, making the Zhovkva printing house into the most powerful one in Galicia. In 1909, it was awarded the golden medal at the First Ukrainian agricultural exhibition in Stryi as the best organization of its kind.⁹⁴

The printing house attended to the demand of the Order in basic religious literature, reediting the service book *Hostynets* (1892) eight times with the total output reaching 190,000 issues.⁹⁵ At the same time, the Basilians deserved praise for the thematic variety of editions they produced – Father Roman Lukan in the “List of the books of the publishing house of the OSBM in Zhovkva” enumerated 495 titles.⁹⁶ Another publishing center that appeared in Uzhhorod in 1911 only contributed to this variety.

The First World War seriously damaged the Galician province of the Order of St Basil the Great. Its 35 hieromonks and 27 brothers were mobilized into the Austro-Hungarian army. Before the Russian occupation, protohegumen of the province Platonid Filias evacuated the majority of the brothers to the west – Croatia, Moravia, and Austria. The Apostolic See appointed him the Apostolic Administrator for the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics who found themselves abroad because of the hostilities. On this post, the protohegumen managed to lodge the Galician Basilians in Croatian monasteries, to release priests from Austrian concentration camps of Talergof, Hmindu, and Dombie, to gather 75 dispersed students of seminaries and establish for them a Basilian seminary in Moravian

⁹² Myhailo M. Vavryk, *Po Vasylianskyh monastyriah (Through the Basilian Monasteries)* in Petro Shkarabiuk, *Monastic Order of Basilian Fathers in the National Life of Ukraine*, p. 104.

⁹³ Marian Lozynskyi, “Vydavnycha dialnist Vasylijanskoho Chynu v umovah Dobromylskoi reformy i v suchasnyi period” (“Editorial activity of the Basilian Order during the Dobromyl Reform and in Present Time”) in *The Reform of Dobromyl and Revival of the Ukrainian Church*, p. 134.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁹⁵ Isydor Patrylo, “Sketch of the History of the Galician Province OSBM,” p.368.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

Kromeryzh headed by the rector, father Josaphat Kotsylovsky, to reestablish the edition of *Misionar* in Zagreb.⁹⁷

During the first days of war, the protohegumen gathered 62 brothers and housed them in the mountainous part of Roztochia – in the monastery of Krehiv.⁹⁸ But in the end of 1914, there were only seven monks left, the majority were drafted into the Austrian army, some went to the west and several were deported by Russians.⁹⁹ As it turned out, the enlightening activity of the Basilian publishing house in Zhovkva was well known in Russia. Therefore, in the first half of October, officials from Petersburg conducted an inspection in the closed publishing house to confiscate “harmful” literature. If the religious life on the occupied territory, owing to the efforts of patriotic-minded Greek-Catholic priests, overcame the obstacles and continued to exist, the monastic life as well as their printing died away for the period of the war.¹⁰⁰

3.2. Making to Every Household and Library: The Popularity of *Misionar*

Despite the populated missions and recollections practiced by the Basilians in villages from 1889, the desire to work with an even greater audience, inspired then still a hegumen of Lviv monastery of St. Onufrii, Andrey Sheptytsky, to “borrow and improve upon the methods of the national movement in order to initiate a religious revival among the spiritually endangered Ruthenian peasantry.”¹⁰¹ The spiritual danger came from the anti-Catholic propaganda of the Russophiles and anti-clerical rhetoric of radicals that fought for

⁹⁷ Vasyl Marchuk, *Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. Historical Survey*, p. 77.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77-78.

⁹⁹ *Misionar*, N3, 1920, pp. 56-58.

¹⁰⁰ Vasyl Marchuk, *Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. Historical Survey*, p. 78.

¹⁰¹ John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*, p. 161.

the votes of peasantry in elections to the parliament.¹⁰² This propaganda was disseminated by means of printed word through the dozens of daily and monthly periodicals that were issued particularly for the peasants.¹⁰³ On April 29, 1897, Andrey Sheptytsky conducted a meeting in the new Basilian printing house in Zhovkva, where it was decided to start issuing the religious periodical *Misionar*¹⁰⁴ that would become the mouthpiece of the Order and of the Greek Catholic Church.

The first editor of the *Misionar*, Platonid Filias (1897-1898, 1921-1926), who in 1904 became also the first protohegumen of the reformed Order, mentioned that “when we started our monastic life, we did not have a single religious book for reading in our language.”¹⁰⁵ Another reason for the new magazine is provided by John Paul Himka, who characterizes *Misionar* as “a popular religious periodical [...] whose “mission” was to provide a Christian alternative to the radical periodicals in the countryside.”¹⁰⁶ The success of *Misionar* can be partly explained by its low price – two kreuzers for an issue plus the cost of postage, which encouraged group subscriptions.¹⁰⁷ As Metropolitan Sylvestr Sembratovyh noted in his letter to clergy, “Recently a writing titled *Misionar* appeared in Lviv. The rich content of that writing, its spirit and themes deserve full approval, and because the price for it is very fair, it suits well for reading and teaching of the youth and adults, and it has to be in every house, all the more so in every library.”¹⁰⁸

Before the first edition of *Misionar* appeared in 1897, the religious press on the Ukrainian ethnic territory included 15 religious periodicals, which were often short-living

¹⁰² See Chapter 2, p. 16.

¹⁰³ Among 20 titles issued in Galicia in 1897 it's worth mentioning periodicals of National Democrats, Radicals and Russophiles: *Dilo*, *Zoria*, *Narodna Chasopys*, *Pratsia*, *Svoboda*, *Sovist*. V. Ihnatieno, *Bibliohrafiia ukrainskoi presy* (*Bibliography of the Ukrainian Press, 1816-1916*), 1816-1916 (Kyiv, Harkiv, 1930), pp. 108-111.

¹⁰⁴ Markian Lozynsky, “Editorial activity of the Basilian Order during the Dobromyl Reform and in Present Time,” p. 148.

¹⁰⁵ Isydor Patrylo, “Sketch of the History of the Galician Province OSBM,” p. 388.

¹⁰⁶ John-Paul Himka, “Sheptyts’kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement before 1914” in Paul Robert Magocsi ed., *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts’kyi*, (Edmonton, 1989), p. 36.

¹⁰⁷ John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*, p. 161.

¹⁰⁸ *Misionar* N5, (Zhovkva, 1897), p. 7.

Russophile editions.¹⁰⁹ The only exception – *The Galician Zion* – appeared as early as 1871, but was a magazine for clergy edited by the white priesthood. Among the publications that competed with *Misionar* were the Russophile *Dushpasyir* (1887-1898) and *Drug Naroda* (1896) and the Ukrainophile Christian daily *Ruslan* that was printed in Lviv since 1897. Nonetheless, they were far behind the popularity of the Basilian monthly – the circulation of the first issue of *Misionar* was 10,000 while national populist *Batkivshchyna* came out in 855-1,500 copies in 1885 and radical *Khliborob* came out in 1,000 copies in 1895.¹¹⁰ Before the First World War the total number of subscribers for *Misionar* attained 48 thousand.¹¹¹

In addition to the above mentioned Platonid Filias, among the editors of *Misionar* one finds Lazar Berezovskyi (1898-1908, 1916-1918), who was also the editor of the annual magazine *Calendar of the Misionar* (1901-1908). The third editor was a preacher, publicist and chronicler of Krehiv monastery Epiphaniy Teodorovych (1909-1911).¹¹² The last editor before the First World War was Yakym Feshchak (1911-1914) – an uncompromising opponent of Russophiles and radicals; under his supervision, the magazine included “not only critical, polemical, and religious articles, but also the ones on so-called national-populist or even government issues.”¹¹³

Unlike the periodicals of Russophiles, which used the mix of the Church Slavonic with Ruthenian, *Misionar* was written in simple vernacular Ukrainian language. The Basilians were ready to break with the Church Slavonic script and introduce the phonetic orthography favored by the Ukrainophiles while some representatives of the Greek Catholic clergy were reluctant to abandon Russophile organizations in the end of the 19th century

¹⁰⁹ Among these Pouchenia Tserkovnia (1853-1854), Tserkovnaia Gazeta (1856-1858) and Sion. Tserkov. Shkola (1858-1859). See Petro Skarabiuk, *Monastic Order of Basilian Fathers in the National Life of Ukraine*, p. 111.

¹¹⁰ John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*, p. 162.

¹¹¹ Irynei Nazarko, “Pressa v Ukraini” (“Press in Ukraine”), *Svitlo* (April, 1950) in Petro Shkarabiuk, *Monastic Order of Basilian Fathers in the National Life of Ukraine*, p. 106.

¹¹² Petro Shkarabiuk, *Monastic Order of Basilian Fathers in the National Life of Ukraine*, pp. 112-114.

¹¹³ Irynei Nazarko, “Vasyliany Lytsar” Otets’ Yakym Feshchak, OSBM (1881-1920)” (“A Basilian Knight.” Father Yakym Feshchak, OSBM (1881-1920)), *Analecta OSBM*, Section II, Vol. 8, Series 1-4. (Rome, 1971) in *Monastic Order of Basilian Fathers in the National Life of Ukraine*, p. 113.

because the vocabulary of the Russophile literary language had much in common with the Church Slavonic and could be seen as a continuation of the tradition.¹¹⁴ The leading Ukrainian newspaper *Dilo* started using phonetic script in 1902, but it was done by the editor of *Misionar* Lazar Baranovsky, OSBM, even earlier – in 1901, he published the first *Calendar of Misionar* using phonetic orthography.¹¹⁵ Therefore, just like in the schooling activities and preaching, the Basilian Order followed the firm position to promote Ukrainian language as one of the crucial factor of nation-building.

3.3. The Mission behind Misionar

The issue of *Misionar*, which was called “a sheet” (*lyst*), consisted of an editorial article, most often on a topical event in religious or political life of the region, letters of gratitude from the readers for the accepted prayers, and a number of short stories and articles on biblical topics, teachings about the Catholic Church, lives of Saints, and religious novels, news from religious world or articles about the history of the Ukrainian Church, lists of the people that entered missionary fraternity and donated money for charity, announcements about pilgrimages, songs, poems and other. Usually articles were not signed by the authors. The numeration of pages was continued through the year, so that in the end of the year all issues could be bound into one.

The aim of *Misionar* was stated in the first issue through the letter from the most holy Ordinate in Stanislaviv.

It is known that the enemies to religion fiercely oppose the Church and Christ and entice people with different periodicals that they scatter among the people and that way mislead people. Thus, since a long time, there was a need for a periodical that could promote among

¹¹⁴ John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*, p. 144.

¹¹⁵ Petro Shkarabiuk, “Vplyv Chynu Otsiv Vasylian na natsionalno-politychne zhyttia Ukrainy”, p. 153.

the people the spirit of Christ, warn them against the enemies and because of this would be a great aid to all the priests, working on the salvation of the souls.¹¹⁶

However, besides “promoting the spirit of Christ,” it considered many other social and political issues, such as emigration and spread of the Russophile, atheist and socialist views.

The main part of the periodical was composed of theological articles, which could be roughly divided into the teachings about Christ, Virgin Mary, the Church and variety of moral topics. In the introductory article of the first issue of 1901 entitled “What *Misionar* will Teach” the authors specify their aims:

[it] will show how the saints here on earth were happy, although endured great sufferings; [...] Will teach how to pray, that is to analyze prayers word by word. [...] Will teach the service, so that everyone when coming to the church understood everything.¹¹⁷

Separate columns were created to teach about Christ – the prophecies of the Old Testament about the coming of Christ,¹¹⁸ Christological teaching about the divine and human nature of Jesus, which, in particular, included the information about heresies of the first centuries,¹¹⁹ and the introduction of the Catholic elements of spirituality, such as honoring of the Most Holy Heart of Jesus. The editors could not omit the call to join the consecration of all Christians to the Holy Heart of Jesus proclaimed by Pope Leo XIII in 1899¹²⁰ but at the same time had to defend this Catholic practice from the Russophile and Eastern Orthodox criticism.¹²¹ It should be also noted that the full title of the monthly is *Missionary of the Most Holy Heart of Jesus* that is why this topic reappears until the beginning of the First World War.

¹¹⁶ *Misionar* N. 1, Lviv 1897 p. 1.

¹¹⁷ “Choho bude vchyty *Misionar*” (“What *Misionar* will Teach”), *Misionar* No. 1 (Zhovkva, 1901), pp. 6-7.

¹¹⁸ “Mesia proobrazovanyi” (“Prototype of Messiah”), *Misionar* No. 5 (Zhovkva, 1905); “Isus Hrystos predskazanyi prorokamy” (“Jesus Christ Foretold by the Prophets”), *Misionar* No. 6 (Zhovkva, 1905).

¹¹⁹ “O Taini Voplochennia” (“About the Mystery of Incarnation”), *Misionar* No. 8 (Zhovkva, 1905), “Isus Hrystos je Bohom” (“Jesus Christ is God”), *Misionar* No. 7 (Zhovkva, 1905).

¹²⁰ “Posviachennia vsih hrystyian Sviatomu Sertsiu Isusovomy” (“Consecration of all Christians to the Holy Heart of Jesus”), *Misionar* No. 13 (1899), p. 1.

¹²¹ “Nabozhenstvo do Presviatoho Setsia Isusovoho i Rus” (“Devotion to the Most Holy Heart of Jesus and Rus”) *Misionar* No. 13 (Zhovkva, 1899), p. 1.

Articles about Virgin Mary appeared in the very first issue of the periodical and included the teachings about the Annunciation,¹²² prayer “Hail Mary,”¹²³ dogma about the Immaculate Conception.¹²⁴ The periodical included a series of articles on moral topics about the aim of life,¹²⁵ Christian faith,¹²⁶ and the attributes of God.¹²⁷

The formation of the historical memory was achieved through a number of articles that emphasized the national character of the Church. In the article about the Kyivan Church and its relations with other Churches, the divided people of Galicia and Russian Ukraine are represented as “two bonny children” of the mother Rus’, who fell prey of vicious people that want to blind them and make them into Poles and Muscovites.¹²⁸ In the history of the great schism, the role of the Patriarchs of Constantinople Photius and Cerularius is presented in a negative key. The authors also mention the relations of King Danylo of Halych with Pope Innocent IV and the elections of Kyivan Metropolitan Gregory against the will of Moscow and Constantinople.¹²⁹

To address and approach the Christian ideal, the authors also undertook the task to raise social standards of living. They alarm that among the Ruthenians, 62 people out of 100 are illiterate, while for Poles this number is 33 and for Czechs – 3.¹³⁰ It is interesting to note

¹²² “Blahovishchennia” (“Annunciation”), *Misionar* No. 1 (Lviv, 1897) pp. 11-14.

¹²³ “Molytva shchodenna. Shcho znachyt ‘Bohorodytse Divo’” (“Everyday Prayer. What ‘Hail Mary’ Means”), *Misionar* No. 19 (Zhovkva, 1902), p. 294.

¹²⁴ “Neporochno Zachata” (“Immaculately Conceived”), *Misionar*, No. 1 (Zhovkva, 1904); “Neporochno Zachata u nehrystyian” (“Immaculately Conceived among Non-Christians”), *Misionar* No. 5 (Zhovkva, 1904); “Neporochno Zachata I papa Pij IX” (“Immaculate Conception and Pope Pius IX”) *Misionar*, No. 6, (Zhovkva, 1904).

¹²⁵ “Narodyvsia – zhyv – i vmer! Na shcho? Po shcho?” (“Was Born – Lived – and Died! Why for? What for?”), *Misionar* No. 5 (Lviv, 1897); “Ostannia tsil zhyttia liudskoho” (“The Last Aim of Human Life”), *Misionar* No. 6 (Lviv, 1897), pp. 83-90; “De nashe pravdyve shchastia” (“Where our True Happiness is”), *Misionar* No. 4-5 (Zhovkva, 1902), pp. 49, 71.

¹²⁶ “Shcho to znachyt viryty” (“What it Means to Believe”), *Misionar* No. 14 (Zhovkva, 1902), p. 209; “Nasha vira maie buty zahalna” (“Our Faith Has to Be Complete”), *Misionar* No. 12 (Zhovkva, 1906), p. 357.

¹²⁷ “Viruiu v jedynoho Boha” (“I Believe in One God”), *Misionar* No. 1 (Zhovkva, 1903), p. 37; “Boh je duhom” (“God is Spirit”), *Misionar* No. 4 (Zhovkva, 1903), p. 102.

¹²⁸ “Lukavyi zarobitok” (“Unjust Earning”), *Misionar*, No. 12 (Zhovkva, 1902), p. 365.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ “Temnota” (“Ignorance”), *Misionar*, No. 4 (Zhovkva, 1904), p. 111.

that findings of the recent studies of analphabetism in Austria-Hungary give very similar statistics.¹³¹

The editors of *Misionar* often introduced theological or moral teachings publishing the pastoral letters of the Bishop of Stanislaviv and from 1900, of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. The article “Care about the Welfare,” which is a part of one of his pastoral letters to the faithful, discusses the importance of the education for the people – people that gain knowledge gain respect among other peoples.¹³²

Apart from religious articles, *Misionar* was informative about the international situation in the religious sphere – about events that happened abroad and could serve as a good example or warning for the Galicians against vices. Special attention was paid to the development of laïcité in France, exemption of priests and nuns,¹³³ and to breaking off the diplomatic relations with the Vatican.¹³⁴ A special common prayer for the protection of France was announced for March 1901. In the article “The Elections to the French Parliament”, the main editor, Lazar Berezovsky describes the antireligious situation in this country but concludes that the problem of elections is even more topical for Galicia, explaining what a general, immediate, and secret vote is, and insisting that such a law would be fair. These articles were used as a warning against socialist ideas that were spreading in Galicia at that time.

The problem of bribery of peasants by the landowners, which were most often Poles, during the elections to the diet and the parliament, was a matter of interest in the article by Lazar Baranovsky “Unity and Solidarity”. Solidarity and unity, according to the author, are

¹³¹ Ruthenians – 61.03, Poles – 27.36, Czechs – 2.38. Conference at CEU from February 25, 2010. *Disputed Cultures, Nation-Building and Cultural Institutions in the Cities of the Habsburg Monarchy*. Lecturer – Catharine Horel.

¹³² “O starannia o bohatstva” (“Care about the Welfare”), *Misionar*, No. 22 (Zhovkva, 1899), p. 340.

¹³³ “Prohnani z Frantsii chentsi i chernytsi” (“Monks and Nuns from France were Expelled”), *Misionar*, No. 2 (Zhovkva, 1904), p. 57.

¹³⁴ “Bachnist – vorohy jdut” (“Take Heed – Enemies are Coming”), *Misionar*, No. 4 (Zhovkva, 1906), p. 98.

the basis of any progress in community.¹³⁵ A continuation of the theme of spiritual unity is discussed in his article “How the Peoples Stand” where he states, “[...] the answer to this question is essential for the Ruthenians, because it is us, who is deprived of this spiritual strength.” Further, he compares the stateless Galician Ruthenians and Ukrainians of the Great Ukraine with the Israel in Egypt, which being deprived of leaders was liberated by the faith in God.¹³⁶ In his article “Christ is being Born”, Lazar Baranovsky also makes a comparison of the expectation of the Messiah by the Jewish people with the long-awaited resurrection of Ukrainian people. The work towards personal revival that lies in religion and education is connected with the salvation of all the people of Rus’-Ukraine.¹³⁷

The emigration that was caused both by objective factors of the weak economy of the region and the increase in the number of poor peasants, and by subjective ones, such as extended network of agitators that promoted the happy life overseas, was another topic reviewed in *Misionar*. In order to counter such tendencies, the Basilians were active in missionary activity supported with descriptions in their magazine of the miseries of compatriots that left native lands.¹³⁸

In the context of statelessness, the work of *Misionar* to provide a truthful information made people think, protect themselves, and what may be more important, realize that they were a specific nation in a multicultural world – in Anderson’s words, “imagine themselves as one community,”¹³⁹ for which the role of printing has been recognized to be crucial.

Another issue discussed in the periodical was the Radical and socialist influence on Galician society, which appears early in the periodical, but reach its height towards the

¹³⁵ “Iednist ta solidarnist” (“Unity and Solidarity”), *Misionar* No. 8 (Zhovkva, 1905), p. 227.

¹³⁶ “Chym stoiat narody” (“How the Peoples Stand”), *Misionar* No. 2 (Zhovkva, 1905), p. 33-34.

¹³⁷ “Hrystos Rozhdaetsia” (“Christ is Being Born”), *Misionar*, No. 12 (Zhovkva, 1906), p. 355.

¹³⁸ “Z Brazylii” (“News from Brazil”), *Misionar*, No. 7-8, (Zhovkva, 1900); “Hei, liudy dobri, shamenitsia” (“Hey, People, Come to your Senses”), *Misionar*, N. 8 (Zhovkva, 1900); “Jak zhyvut-biduiut nashi liudy na chuzhyni” (“How our People Live in Sorrows in Foreign Land”, *Misionar*, No. 11 (Zhovkva, 1903).

¹³⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Rise of Nationalism* (London, 1982).

beginning of the First World War. In the article “Radicals in their Own Shirt, but in a Stolen Coat,” the author analyzes the program of the Radical party from 1897. One of the elements – promotion of the idea of the unification of the territories within the independent Ukraine is said to be put forward by the radicals “because they know that such an article is admired by every Ruthenian,”¹⁴⁰ while this idea belongs to all Ruthenians since 1848, not radicals alone. To a greater denunciation of radicals, it was mentioned that a radical edited a book which acknowledged that they cooperated with Polish and German socialists, creating the conspiracy of the European scale.¹⁴¹

Another article focuses on liberal and socialist teachings, which under the slogans of equality propagated indulgence, held that the Church was outdated, taught not to obey the priests, and renounced confession, heaven, and hell.¹⁴² The authors of the periodical stressed that the teaching of Radicals was godless and deceptive, therefore the Church denounced it, and those who followed it were being weaned from the holy sacraments.

A considerable number of articles were dedicated to Russophiles that regarded Galician Ukrainians to be an ethnographic breed of Russian people. The article “One Story and then Another” reads:

The Russian Word does not know, neither you, good people, do that we are not bribed either by Russian, like some of our home-bred traitors from some newspapers, or by Poles: first and foremost we serve God and our native Ruthenian people.¹⁴³

The outline of the criticism of the Russophile periodicals against the Catholic Church was given in the article “Beware of the Moscovophile Leaders.” The article consists of polemics against the criticism of certain Eastern Orthodox Father Durkot against the Catholic

¹⁴⁰ “Radykaly v svoij sorochtsi, ale v chuzhomu kozhusi” (“Radicals in their Own Shirt, but in Stolen Coat”), *Misionar*, No. 11 (Zhovkva, 1899), p. 172.

¹⁴¹ “Krutarstvo radykaliv” (“Radical Hypocrisy”), *Misionar*, No. 7 (Zhovkva, 1899), pp. 121-123; “Radykalski taiemnytsi” (“Mysteries of Radicals”), *Misionar*, No.8 (Zhovkva, 1899), pp. 121-123.

¹⁴² “Viut vitry. A ne znaty zvidky” (“The Winds Blow. No one Knows Where from”), *Misionar*, No. 3 (Zhovkva, 1899), pp. 39-45.

¹⁴³ “Odna istoriika ta shche odna” (“One Story and Another One”), *Misionar*, No. 5 (Zhovkva, 1903), p. 174.

religious practices, the primacy of Pope and missionary work abroad. The list of pernicious periodicals included Russophile *Russkoe Slovo* (*Russian Word*), *Holos Naroda* (*Voice of People*), *Izдание obshchestva imeni Kachkovskoho* (*Edition of the Kachkovsky Society*), *Lemko*.¹⁴⁴ In later editions, that list enumerates not only the Russophile but also newspapers of National Democrats and Radicals *Dilo* (*Deed*) and *Hromadskyi holos* (*Public Voice*) because they “cannot write anything but blasphemous words, false accusations against the Church [...]”¹⁴⁵

In the article from 1911, the authors analyze an article from the Russophile newspaper *Subcarpathian Rus. Misionar* gives a sample text of one of the articles, which is written in Russian with some Ukrainian elements. Further Basilian editors ask the reader: “Do you understand what is written? You cannot, can you? And why? Because it’s in muscovite language?”¹⁴⁶ Further they give the translation of the text and explanation that the Russophile newspapers promote religious schism.

On the whole, in its publications *Misionar* held to national positions, fostered patriotism, separateness and distinctiveness of the Ukrainian people, unity with the people of the Great Ukraine, its language, and the Church that is united with the Apostolic See and preserves the Byzantine Christian tradition. “If we are Ruthenians, let us be them, do not be ashamed of our language, and do not say that the Muscovite language is better than ours, do not ruin it, do not abandon it.”¹⁴⁷ The usage of Ukrainian language was a question of a special concern. The Basilians regarded it as the key for the national and religious identity in Galicia and a point that distinguished them from Russian Orthodoxy.

¹⁴⁴ “Sterezhitsia moskvofil'skykh povodyriv” (“Beware of Moskvofile Leaders”), *Misionar*, No. 5 (Zhovkva, 1914), p. 131.

¹⁴⁵ “Ne chytajte bezbozhnykh hazet” (“Do not Read Godless Newspapers”), *Misionar*, No. 11 (Zhovkva, 1911), pp. 333-335; “Ne daimo svoi sv. viry katolytskoi” (“Let us not Forsake our Catholic Faith”), *Misionar*, No. 12 (Zhovkva, 1911), pp. 355-358; “Poboriuvanie bezbozhnykh pysm” (“Fighting Godless Writings”), *Misionar*, No. 12 (Zhovkva, 1911), pp. 372-376.

¹⁴⁶ “Azh do seho diishlo” (“It came to this”), *Misionar*, No. 11 (Zhovkva, 1911), p. 321-327.

¹⁴⁷ “Beware of Moskvofile Leaders,” p. 131.

Despite the similar social and national appeals developed in the press of the Basilian Fathers and the main representatives of the national movement – National Populists and Radicals, it was the approach to religion that differentiated those forces. The opposition against the national movement and against Russophiles lies in the religious sphere, but while in the former case it is the religion-secularism, in the latter (Greek) Catholicism-Eastern Orthodoxy. The concentration of the nationally charged articles towards the end of the researched period indicates the reinforcement of the struggle against Russophiles and Radicals.

The concept of Basilian religious patriotism was built up on the absolute loyalty to the Vatican, which was apparently one of the effects of the Jesuit supervision. The fierce rejection of any Russian Orthodox or Russophile ideas narrowed this type of national ideology to the local territory. It was not until a new era in the history of the Galician Ruthenian church that a metropolitan of Halych, Andrei Sheptytsky, was able to formulate a vision of the Greek Catholic heritage that disentangled the easternizing tendency from Russophilism and laid the foundations for a “neo-Byzantine” approach to Ukrainian Catholicism.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*, p. 146.

4. National Ecumenism in the Pastoral Letters of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky

Traditionally, the works on the history of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church that are concerned with the first half of the 20th century cannot omit the life and activities of the Archbishop of Lviv-Halych – Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. A teacher of morality and a proponent of ecumenism, a philanthropist and a patron of arts, a scholar and a polyglot – the scale and diversity of the undertakings of Andrey Sheptytsky are really impressive and most often get analyzed in the context of his position as a Church leader and his noble descent. While building on previous research, this chapter tries to shed light on particular aspects of his early career, namely the role in the national movement of this prominent Basilian Father, who, according to the memoirs of his contemporaries, even in his final years retained much of the manner and appearance of a monk.¹⁴⁹

The chapter is based on the pastoral letters of the Metropolitan to his flock – clergy, peasantry, and intelligentsia. I will try to trace the connection between the religious and national issues in the open pastoral letters of Andrey Sheptytsky and compare them with the thematic of the Basilian periodical *Misionar*. Another part of the analysis will include a study of the oppositions in theological and political spheres – the correlation between the loyalty to the Catholicism and the adherence to the national Kyivan rite, on the one hand, and newly conceived pan-Ukrainian patriotism and loyalty to the Habsburg crown, on the other.

¹⁴⁹ Jaroslav Pelican, *Confessor between east and West: a portrait of Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slipyj* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1990), p. 84.

4.1. From a Basilian to the Metropolitan – Roots of Andrey Sheptytsky

Just like the unpredictable results of the reform of Dobromyl, the phenomenon of “conversion” of Andrey Sheptytsky from the Roman Catholicism to the Greek Catholicism remains the fact that one can merely acknowledge but cannot easily explain. In the case of Andrey Sheptytsky, the change of religious identity was also connected with a change of national identity. A sporadic return of certain representatives of Polonized nobility (*szlachta*) to the Ruthenian identity was not a unique phenomenon – in the 19th century such adherence was declared by Volodymyr Antonovych, Tadei Rylsky, Kost Myhalchuk, Borys Poznansky, Viacheslav Lypynsky and other intellectual and spiritual leaders of the national awakening. However, what makes the example of Count Sheptytsky particular is that his first and the main “conversion” started with the choice between the secular aristocratic and the spiritual monastic life in favor of the latter.

Born on July 29, 1865, in a noble family with Ruthenian roots, Count Roman Olexander Maria Sheptytsky could have been expected to become anything but a metropolitan of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church. Tall and handsome young man had all chances to pursue a military career, had all capacity to become a good scholar, and, due to his noble descent – a statesman. He completed an abbreviated tour of duty in Austrian imperial army (1883-1884), which was interrupted by the scarlet fever that had adverse effects on his health throughout his life. Having studied law in Kraków, Breslau, and Munich, Roman obtained a degree of the Doctor of Law in 1888, which he later supplemented with the doctoral degrees in theology and philosophy.¹⁵⁰

The choice of the Ukrainian identity was not predetermined either – although his father Jan took pride in the fact that their family yielded prominent bishops and

¹⁵⁰ Irynei Nazarko, *The Metropolitans of Kyiv and Halych. Biographical Essays, 1590-1960*, p. 223.

metropolitans of the Ruthenian church,¹⁵¹ the Sheptytskys were a Polonized Ruthenian aristocrat family. Roman's mother, who was a devout Catholic and ultramontane, came from the Polish nobility and Roman was baptized in the Latin Rite.¹⁵² One of his brothers, Count Stanislaw-Maria Sheptytsky (1867-1950), at the beginning of 1920, became a Minister of Defense in the government of the Polish Republic.¹⁵³ In the case of the five Sheptytsky brothers it was the change of the ritual that determined the national identification, since only Roman and Kazymyr, who became Greek Catholic monks, connected their lives with the Ukrainian cause.

In 1888 Sheptytsky enters the monastery in Dobromyl adopting the name Andrey. This event was noticed by the Galician press – the national populist periodical *Batktivshchyna* noted among the other that “it is obvious that now, too, the Jesuits are preparing a Polish nobleman for us as a bishop.”¹⁵⁴ The distrust toward Andrey Sheptytsky was connected with the fact that in the second half of the 19th century the Vatican made efforts to tighten control over the Greek Catholic Church, which resulted in the reform of the Basilian Order and the loss of the influence on the appointment of their Church hierarchy to the Poles.¹⁵⁵ The suspicion that Andrey Sheptytsky was a Polish agent were supported by his impressive advancement in the church hierarchy – in less than one decade after taking his monastic vows and his ordination in 1892 he became a Bishop of Stanislaviv (1899) and the Metropolitan of Halych (1900).

¹⁵¹ Varlaam – the Bishop of Lviv (1700-1715), Athanasii – the Bishop of Peremyshl (1762-1779), Athanasii – the Metropolitan of Kyiv (1729-1746), Lev – the Metropolitan of Kyiv (1778-1779). Irynei Nazarko, *The Metropolitans of Kyiv and Halych. Biographical Essays (1590-1960)*, p. 222.

¹⁵² Jaroslav Pelican, *Confessor between east and West: a portrait of Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slipyj*, p. 74.

¹⁵³ Iulian Busgang, *Mytropolyt Sheptytsky. Shche odyh pohliad na zhyttia I dialnist (Metropolitan Sheptytsky. Yet Another Look at the Life and Activities)* (Lviv: Drukarski kunshty, 2009), p. 17.

¹⁵⁴ “Graf Sheptytsky,” *Batktivshchyna* 10, N 47 (Nov. 1888) in John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*, p. 129. Compare with Irynei Nazarko, *The Metropolitans of Kyiv and Halych. Biographical Essays (1590-1960)*, p. 224.

¹⁵⁵ John-Paul Himka, “Sheptyts’kyi and the Ukrainian National Movement before 1914,” in Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts’kyi*, pp. 30-32.

Some scholars see in this promotion the support of the Vatican, namely of Pope Leo XIII, who was known for his pro-Union activities – in 1894 he issued the encyclical *Orientalium dignitas ecclesiarum*, where he secured the inviolability of the Eastern rite from the Latin rite.¹⁵⁶ However, the promotion of Andrey Sheptytsky cannot be merely explained by the patronage of Poles or the Vatican – from the moment of entering the monastery Sheptytsky was noted for the energy with which he engaged into the pastoral activity that included recollections for the priests and monks, preaching and confessional work, supervision over fraternities and brotherhoods.¹⁵⁷ His early travels to Moscow (1887) Kyiv (1887), Rome (1886, 1888), visitations of Old Believers in Bukovyna (1891) still as a Basilian monk, shows his firm belief in the ecumenical mission of his Church and the Basilian Order.

The appointment of Andrey Sheptytsky to the position of the Bishop of Stanislaviv in 1899 split the public opinion in Galicia along the existing ethnic divides. As the Vienna liberal daily *Neue freie Presse* from January 26th 1899 put it, Count Sheptytsky was “persona gratissima – among the Poles.”¹⁵⁸ The newspaper of the Radical party *Public Voice* warned its readers concerning his candidacy for the seat of the metropolitan “we will continue to watch his every step because it is a very active man and as a metropolitan can be very dangerous for the Ruthenians.”¹⁵⁹ Very early, however, Sheptytsky started dissipating the image of a Jesuit insider.

¹⁵⁶ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Confessor between east and West: a portrait of Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slipyj*, p. 58, 83; See also Hryhir Luzhnytsky, *Ukrainian Church Between East and West. Short History of the Ukrainian Church*, p. 486, Edward Prus, *Achbishop from St. Georges Cathedral. About the Archbishop Andrey Sheptytsky, 1865-1944*, pp. 25-26.

¹⁵⁷ Irynei Nazarko, *The Metropolitans of Kyiv and Halych. Biographical Essays (1590-1960)*, p. 225.

¹⁵⁸ *Neue freie Presse*, 26 January 1899, cited in John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*, p. 130.

¹⁵⁹ *Hromadsky Holos (Public Voice)*, N 10, (May, 1900) in Petro Shkarabiuk, “Ivan Franko i Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytsky na tli vzaiemyn arystokratychnoi ta demokratychnoi elit” (“Ivan Franko and Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in the Context of Relations of Aristocratic and Democratic Elites”), *Visnyk of Lviv University*, No. 30, 2007, p. 117.

The sincerity of his pro-Ukrainian position became apparent through a number of activities. As a philanthropist he tended to support educational establishments – he purchased land for a construction of an eparchial seminary in Stanislaviv (1899). Sheptytsky established funds for orphanages, supported kindergartens run by the Basilian nuns, gave his patrimonial lands for summer camps for children in Mlyniv and Pidlute, and allotted personal stipends for gifted artists and poets, such as M. Fediuk, M. Sosenko, O. Novakivsky, and I. Severyn¹⁶⁰. He was also the founder of the free “people’s” clinic (1903) and the Ukrainian museum in Lviv (1905).

Despite his high position, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky remained a Basilian and took care of the development of other monastic branches. When he was appointed Metropolitan in 1900, the Greek Catholic Church had only three religious communities; by the time of his decease in 1944, there were ten such communities.¹⁶¹ For the Basilian Order, the Metropolitan purchased land in the suburbs of Lviv for a construction of a memorial church of St Josaphat with the holy remains of this martyr of the Greek Catholic Church for the cause of the Church union. He also bought a large building on Pototsky Street for the Basilian Sisters and helped them to build a gymnasium for girls.¹⁶²

During his journeys to Canada in 1910-1911, Andrey Sheptytsky made contacts with the Fathers of a Latin Monastic Order – the Redemptorists – and invited them to establish their Order in Galicia. Several Fathers adapted the Eastern rite and began their work among the Ukrainian emigrants in Canada; in August 1913, a group of Redemptorists arrived to Galicia and the Metropolitan granted them his summer residence in Univ. Later, with the

¹⁶⁰ Vita Susak, “Lysty Mykoly Fediuka ta inshyh korespondentiv u spravah M. Fediuka do mytropolyta Andreia Sheptytskoho” (“The Letters of Mykola Fediuk and Other Correspondents in the Case of Mykola Fediuk to the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky”), *Zapysky naukovohto tovarystva imeni Shevchenka*, Vol. 227, Section of Fine Arts (Lviv, 1994), p. 421.

¹⁶¹ Michael Hrynchyshyn, “Western Historiography and Future Research”, in *ibid.*, p. 430.

¹⁶² Irynei Nazarko, *The Metropolitans of Kyiv and Halych. Biographical Essays (1590-1960)*, p. 237.

growth of the community, he gave to the Order his other patrimonies, so that before the Second World War, the Redemptorists had four monasteries in Lviv archeparchy.¹⁶³

The question of the unification of the Ukrainian Church was one of the primary concerns in the life of the Metropolitan. Therefore, he was interested in restoring the Eastern religious tradition in the Greek Catholic Church by veneration of the saints of Kyivan Rus – Cyril, Methodius, and Apostle Andrew, preservation of the Julian Calendar, and development of the iconic tradition. The establishment of the Studite Order in 1901-1902 that cherished the eastern monasticism in its intact form was a part of his aspirations to unify the Eastern Churches with the Holy See in Rome. In 1905, Andrey Sheptytsky edited *typikon* – the rules regulating the life of the Order. It was his brother Kazymyr (monastic name Klymentii, today blessed), who became an archimandrite of the Studite Order.¹⁶⁴

The entrance of Andrey Sheptytsky into the Basilian Order, which was regarded as a Polonized formation after the reform of Dobromyl, did not hamper the Polish Count from becoming a favorite Ukrainian hierarch of the Greek Catholic Church. Moreover, through his pro-Ukrainian activities, he started changing the image of the Basilian Order. The phenomenon of the conversion of Andrey Sheptytsky shows the great role of religion in determining nationality in Galicia. Although Andrey Sheptytsky was primarily interested in the development of the Greek Catholic Church, the interconnection between national and religious identity made him support the national cause as the inherent part of his Church. Ecumenism, which was one of the main goals of his work, was limited by the state borders until the end of the First World War.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 230.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

4.2. Religion and Nation in the Letters of Andrey Sheptytsky

The literary works of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky can be divided into the following groups: pastoral letters, writings about the church unity and concerning rite and tradition, works on history, sociology, art, speeches and addresses on different occasions, correspondence, reports to the Apostolic See and administrative instructions.¹⁶⁵ In this mass of writings, the open pastoral letters have a special function – similarly to the epistles of the New Testament, they were the medium to teach and admonish people from the position of the authority. This chapter will be based on the writings of Andrey Sheptytsky that clearly present his views on religion and the national question. This will help to see whether these views were different from those championed by the Basilian Fathers, which can help to understand the role of the Basilians in this period of national awakening.

The total number of the writings has not been determined, as they have not yet been collected, but usually it is considered that Andrey Sheptytsky composed between 170 and 180 pastoral letters during his life.¹⁶⁶ This study deals with the letters written during fifteen years, from his assumption of the office of the Bishop in Stanislaviv in 1899 till his arrest and exile by the Russian government in 1914.

A brief overview of the titles of the letters shows that a division according to the main topics discussed in the letters is problematic due to their diversity. The main themes of the letters vary in the content from catechistic explanations of the basics of the faith (*Our Faith*, 1902), to Christian family (*About Marriage and Family*, 1900), social problems (*Social Question*, 1904; *Against the introduction of the Civilian Divorces*, 1906), and church-administrative questions (*About the Canonical Visitation*, 1902). Furthermore, the

¹⁶⁵ Andrei Sheptytsky, *Tvory Sluhy Bozhoho Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptytskoho. Pastyrski Lysty* (2. VIII. 1899 – 7. IX. 1901) (*Works of the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky. Pastoral Letters*), Vol. I, Ukrainian Theological Scientific Society – Vol. XV (Toronto, 1965), p. B-22.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

main theme does not restrict the author to only one topic, even if the above topics reappear most often.

Some of the analyzed letters were dedicated to important events (*About the appointment of Doctor Hryhorii Homyshyn a Bishop*, 1904) and others correlated with the liturgical year (*On the Lent*, 1907 and 1910). Sheptytsky also addresses separate groups and stratum of people – the local ethnic groups (*To my Beloved Hutsuls*, 1900), local intelligentsia (*To the Ruthenian Intelligentsia*, 1901), Ruthenian immigrants abroad (*To the Ruthenians Settled in Canada*, 1901), non-Ruthenian Galicians (*Poles of Greek Catholic Rite*, 1904), monastic communities (*To the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate*, 1905; *To the Basilian Sisters*, 1906).

Generally, the letters to the faithful have a very clear structure and are divided into sections for easy reading. The scholastic structure apparently was learned by Sheptytsky during his studies in the Basilian novitiate. The question-answer structure and numerous questions in the text and in subtitles make such writings more readable and persuasive. The narrative is often interrupted to give a comparison or an example.

In one of his first letters, Andrey Sheptytsky disclosed his approach to their composition – “[...] having moved away from my everyday work for two days I am writing this letter to You.”¹⁶⁷ Such a diligent attitude to the matter of pastoral letters accounts for the emotive force that was noted by some scholars.¹⁶⁸ The introductory appeal of the first letter *The First Word of the Pastor* (1899) includes very strong stances, which became characteristic of his other letters to clergy and the faithful:

From this moment on, at the command of Christ, I have to be not only your brother, but your pastor, and your father; I have to live only for you, with all my heart and soul I am to work for you, devote all to you, for you, if necessary, I am to give my life.

¹⁶⁷ Andrey Sheptytsky, “Pravdyva vira” (“The True Faith”), *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 27.

¹⁶⁸ John Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*, p. 132.

I would like to wipe away the tears from those who weep; comfort everyone who is sad; give strength to everyone who is weak; enlighten everyone who is ignorant; I would like to become all things to everyone in order to save all.¹⁶⁹

With this letter Sheptytsky tried to win the trust of his flock and to combat the image of a Polish insider, which was created for him in the Ruthenian nationalist press – the image alive not only because of his descend, but also because he was a Basilian.

Although Andrey Sheptytsky is primarily concerned with the spiritual salvation, he associates it with the earthly problems of his flock, such as economic well-being and physical health.

You have not expected such words from me. Am I a doctor, or a farmer or a politician to ask about health, about wellbeing and education? No! I am neither a doctor, nor a farmer, nor a politician – I am a father! And for a father nothing that concerns his sons and children is irrelevant.¹⁷⁰

The interest in the social welfare was one of the main parts of the letter to the Carpathian ethnic group of Hutsuls, written in their dialect. Such attitude found favor in the eyes of the Galician writer and publicist Ivan Franko. In his article from 1904 where he analyzes the Metropolitan's social policy, Franko notes:

“instead of molded pseudo-clerical language – mixture of church Slavonic with modern morphology, spoken by his predecessors, he writes his letters with clear folk Galician-Ruthenian and sometimes, as in the famous message to Hutsuls, is not ashamed to use even dialect – something inconceivable for our clergymen [...]”¹⁷¹

Another peculiar part of the first letter includes the endorsement of reading clubs and day care centers in villages,¹⁷² which, according to John-Paul Himka, was the point “that marked

¹⁶⁹ Andrey Sheptytsky, “Pershe slovo pastyria” (“The First Word of the Pastor”), *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 3.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁷¹ Ivan Franko, “Sotsialna aktsia, sotsialne pytannia i sotsializm. Uvahy nad Pastyrskym poslaniem Mytrop. A. Sheptytskoho ‘O kvestii sotsialnii’” (“Social Action, Social Question and Socialism. Considering the Pastoral Letter of the Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky ‘About the Social Question’”), in Andrey Sheptytsky, *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 838.

¹⁷² Andrey Sheptytsky, “The First Word of the Pastor,” *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 12.

him off clearly from his predecessors in the See of Stanislaviv.”¹⁷³ In the letter to another ethnic group Bukovynians, *The True Faith* (1900), Sheptytsky encourages them to read his letter to their neighbors, “I want to establish a reading club in every village – you should not think it is a difficult thing. Only one faithful, who can read and has a good heart, will suffice.”¹⁷⁴ A similar advice – to read his letter to others, already Metropolitan Sheptytsky gives in his other addresses,¹⁷⁵ which becomes a part of the constant concern for the enlightenment of the people.

Similarly to the editors of *Misionar*, one of the aims of Andrey Sheptytsky is to teach the doctrinal basis of the faith and the Church. Using simplified vocabulary and avoiding religious terminology Sheptytsky tries “to preach in such a way that not a single truth of God’s revelation was omitted,”¹⁷⁶ touching upon the whole aspects of theology. Sheptytsky follows the logical presentation of the Western theology and introduces the new theological doctrines of the Catholic Church relying predominantly on the Bible, namely on the Pauline teaching.

The authority of the Church is based on the apostolic continuity with the papal primacy derived through Apostle Peter from Jesus Christ.¹⁷⁷ Therefore the Catholic Church is the only teacher of the true faith. Almost in every letter to the faithful Andrey Sheptytsky emphasizes that the papacy is the main sign of the true Church.¹⁷⁸ This adherence is characteristic to the Basilian monasticism, which, during the reform of Dobromyl, was under a direct Papal supervision. Most often Sheptytsky mentions the contemporary Pope Leo XIII (20 times), Pius IX (10 times), Pius X (7 times) and Pope Urban VIII (5 times), whose name is connected with the Union of Brest.

¹⁷³ John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine*, p. 131.

¹⁷⁴ Andrey Sheptytsky, “The True Faith,” *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 28.

¹⁷⁵ Andrey Sheptytsky, “O Tserkvi” (“About the Church”), *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, pp. 144-145.

¹⁷⁶ Andrey Sheptytsky, “Na Velykyi pist” (“On the Lent”), *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 623.

¹⁷⁷ Andrey Sheptytsky, “The True Faith,” *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40; Andrey Sheptytsky, “About the Church,” *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, pp. 153-155; Andrey Sheptytsky, “Rusynam Osilym v Kanadi” (“To the Ruthenians Settled in Canada”), p. 242.

Another feature of the Catholic Church is that it is an institution both international and specific for each nation. As a catholic entity, it leads all humanity to the universal good while national church “becomes a tool to sustain the dissention, promotes national outbursts, and conduces to the oppression of other nations.”¹⁷⁹ On the other hand, Catholicism does not eliminate the difference among the peoples and does not promote internationalism.

“[...] our Church preaches with native Ukrainian language, brings up our children in the national Ukrainian spirit, teaches us to love our Motherland, commands us to keep to our Eastern rite, in the Church Slavonic language, enlightens our people bringing it education even in the most drawback village, teaches sobriety and moral, concord and love, rescues people from lawsuits, in every village supports any good cause, whether the educational or economic, everywhere cares about the good of our people. In a word, in every step it is our real mother.”¹⁸⁰

The Trinitarian doctrine completes his theological views. The main aim of a human is to unite with God, but due to the corrupt nature and imperfection of the human mind and will, man cannot achieve this unity.¹⁸¹ Christ – the deliverer from the original sin – sends Holy Ghost from Father that enables man to reconcile with God. Presence of Holy Ghost in the Church accounts for the infallibility of the Church and the Pope.¹⁸² The unity of man and God is achieved through the unity of man and the Catholic and Apostolic Church and on the national scale presupposes a reconciliation of the Eastern and Western Christianity. It is love that unites the Trinity and has to unite Christians.

According to Sheptytsky, unlike Greek or Jewish patriotism, the patriotism of Christ, who was sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Math 15:24), did not contain any trace of hatred towards the aliens.¹⁸³ The love to everyone, however, does not contradict the love to one’s motherland. Real patriots are those who carefully fulfill their duty and work for the good of the people rather than talk much about patriotism.

¹⁷⁹ Andrey Sheptytsky, “The True Faith,” *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 41.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁸¹ Andrey Sheptytsky, “Naibilsha Zapovid” (“The Greatest Commandment”), *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, pp. 117, 115.

¹⁸² Andrey Sheptytsky, “The True Faith,” *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, pp. 35-36.

¹⁸³ Andrey Sheptytsky, “The First Word of the Pastor,” *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 16

Christianity obliges to love motherland and to care about the good of one's people, there is only one thing one cannot do. One cannot, even under the pretext of patriotism, hate and especially hurt another person.¹⁸⁴

Sheptytsky combines the Eastern and Western traditions to show the distinctive character of the Ukrainian Church. In one of the first letters, he calls Peter “the brother of Andrew,”¹⁸⁵ stressing implicitly the kinship relations between the patrons of Rome and Kyiv. Andrey Sheptytsky writes openly that “[w]e, Catholics of the Ruthenian rite, were put as if by the providence of God, to draw to the true Catholic faith those brothers that do not belong to our Church,”¹⁸⁶ and reminds the words of Pope Urban VII, “You, Ruthenians, will draw some day all Eastern Churches to the unity.”¹⁸⁷ In the letter to the faithful of Lviv eparchy, *The Truths of Faith* (1901), where Sheptytsky mentions that the great schism began after the baptism of Kyivan Rus’ and the Ukrainian Church has been separated from Rome until the Council of Florence and its outcome – the Union of Brest. The Metropolitan also reminds about the martyrdom of the Greek Catholic Church caused by the Russian stardom. Often he gives an example of Archbishop of Polotsk Josafat Kuntsevych.¹⁸⁸

The ecumenical mission of the Greek Catholic Church was to be achieved through the mutual rapprochement of the Eastern Churches with Catholicism. Therefore in different letters Andrey Sheptytsky praises Pope Leo XIII for appointing a celebration day for “our great saints Cyril and Methodius.”¹⁸⁹ The steps to the purification of the rite of the Greek Catholic Church were also a part of unification. The peculiar point is that he leaves the possibility for the Eastern Orthodox for a reunion as well, because “the one that does not

¹⁸⁴ Andrey Sheptytsky, “Do Poliakiv Hreko-Katolytskoho obriadu” (“To the Poles of the Greek-Catholic Rite”), *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, pp. 494.

¹⁸⁵ Andrey Sheptytsky, “Nasha prohrama” (“Our Program”), *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, 36.

¹⁸⁶ Andrey Sheptytsky, “The First Word of the Pastor,” *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 17.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Andrey Sheptytsky, “The Truths of the Faith,” *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 322.

¹⁸⁹ Andrey Sheptytsky, “O Papskim iuvileiu” (“About the Papal Jubilee”), *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, pp. 439, 452.

know the Catholic faith, but living in another faith follows all its prescripts, [...] by the grace of Jesus Christ can be saved.”¹⁹⁰

The ecumenical unification of Eastern and Western Christianity was brought up by Sheptytsky also in his first speech in the Austrian parliament in 1910, where he supported idea about the establishment of the separate Ukrainian university in Lviv.

This religious union of Orient with Rome, Catholic faith with the Greek rite, has become for us, so to speak, a national tradition, a national religion. Therefore all actions taken to elevation of our cultural life are also the promotion of this great and important issue.¹⁹¹

Although the dominant issue in his letters is the moral side of human life that leads to the salvation, Andrey Sheptytsky talks about the nation in different contexts, too. He regards a family to be a primary unit and basis of a strong and healthy nation. As a preacher of morality, he characterizes a family through “a moral obligation” that regulates rights and duties in it and is based on love. A family has a clear connection to the welfare of the whole nation, “The future belongs to those peoples for whom the family is a holy thing, where family life is clean and holy.”¹⁹² Even in his admonishing against uncleanness and drunkenness, Andrey Sheptytsky connects them with the general benefits for a nation. He calls those vices a “horrible physical suicide”¹⁹³ and connects the personal salvation with the welfare of the whole nation, stressing the inevitable influence of “immorality of every man on the family and the whole nation.”¹⁹⁴ The Christian ethic “teaches work, economy, and mutual help,”¹⁹⁵ and these qualities unite the people.

¹⁹⁰ Andrey Sheptytsky, “The True Faith,” *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 45.

¹⁹¹ “Promova Mytropolyta Andreya v Avstrijskij Palati Paniv pro potrebu ukrainskoho universytetu u Lvovi” (“The Speech of Metropolitan Andrey in the Austrian House of Lords about the Necessity of the Ukrainian university in Lviv”), *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)* p. 721.

¹⁹² Andrey Sheptytsky, “Hrystyianska rodyna” (“Christian Family”), p. 58.

¹⁹³ Andrey Sheptytsky, “The First Word of the Pastor,” *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 5.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

The letter *The Greatest Commandment* (1901), apart from the strong emotional appeal to love each other, reveals another trait of the monastic nature of Andrey Sheptytsky. It combines the desire of a monk to render his spirituality and, at the same time, to control the order of the faith against any heresies. Such is the Pauline demand of Sheptytsky to obey to every power, “only when somebody ordered you something opposite to the Law of God, do not obey to it! Because one has to obey to God rather than to a man.”¹⁹⁶ Similarly, he incites people to obey priests who possess two powers – to bring the mystery of the Eucharist and to give absolution.¹⁹⁷ The Metropolitan also explains to clergy that the Church has lost its leading position in the national movement to intelligentsia, but it has to keep the moral lead:

The times when Ruthenian intelligentsia was represented only by priests are gone forever.

And we have no reason to regret it. On the contrary, we are happy that we can put the work, which does not belong to us, in more appropriate hands.

However, according to our given right, we do not cease to hold [...] the lead in activities that are the most important in social life – faith and morality.

And we are convinced that both people and secular intelligentsia will follow us in this work if there is solidarity among us.¹⁹⁸

Metropolitan Andrey makes his agenda “to bring all under the banner of Christ”¹⁹⁹ clear in a separate letter – *To the Ruthenian Intelligentsia* (1901). The Metropolitan touches upon the issues of authority:

Christ has a personal influence on the humanity for nineteen centuries after his death like no other man can even dream to have during the life. Even his rivals have to admit this.²⁰⁰

By this letter he, first of all, addresses the skeptics of religion. By explaining the basics of the critical method, he shows that there is no conflict between faith and real science.

¹⁹⁶ Andrey Sheptytsky, “The Greatest Commandment,” *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 141.

¹⁹⁷ Andrey Sheptytsky, “About the Church,” *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, pp. 157-158.

¹⁹⁸ Andrey Sheptytsky, “Our Program,” *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 21.

¹⁹⁹ Andrey Sheptytsky, “Do Rus’ koi intelihentsii” (“To the Ruthenian Intelligentsia”), *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 176.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 178.

Moreover, before criticizing Christianity one has to learn it. The third part of the work affirms the authority of the Church, which is free from influences:

The Church always leads and never allows to be commanded. It supports the power, protects the individuals, and brings order into the societies.²⁰¹

In the first part of his pastoral letters, Sheptytsky avoids political polemics. The only enemies he mentions are the enemies of Christ and associates with them Socialists and Radicals. The criticism of the Socialists takes up a great part of the letter *About the Jubilee* (1902), where the author describes the tenure of Pope Leo XIII. The abolition of private property would cause a rejection of the Law of God that commands not to steal. Hence, such people would steal easily. Another difficulty would be with functionaries, who were supposed to distribute the goods – they would be a privileged class in a classless society. Only those who do not want to work would enjoy such an order of things.²⁰²

Such criticism is continued in the main letter on social issues *Social Question* (1904). For Sheptytsky, the social problem lies in the adjustment of working class to the conditions of the scientific revolution, pauperization of masses, and emergence of the large capital. The utopian nature of socialism that lies on the principle that a human being can be satisfied with some minimum and be productive without a drive to earn more is supplemented by the criticism of liberalism, which caused the oppression of the weak.²⁰³ Communism had been in fact attained in monasteries and is not possible in a society without obedience.²⁰⁴

With the beginning of the First World War, Metropolitan Andrey became more actively involved in political life. In the letter on the occasion of the beginning of the war he

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 189.

²⁰² Andrey Sheptytsky, “O juvileiu” (“About the Jubilee”), *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 449.

²⁰³ Andrey Sheptytsky, “O kvestii sotsialnij” (“About the Social Question”), *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 518.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 524.

notes “The time has come, when with the sacrifice of our belongings and blood we have to prove our loyalty to His sanctified person, to the dynasty and the throne.”²⁰⁵ In another address, Sheptytsky condemns the Russian military propaganda to break the oath to the Austrian Emperor:

By the will of God we are united with the Austrian state and the dynasty of Habsburgs; we have common fortune and misfortune; when the army of our Kaiser wins, and with the grace of God it will, we will have a better fate.²⁰⁶

On the other hand, in his *Memorandum to the Austrian Government about the Future Order in the Ukrainian State* from August 15, 1914, Sheptytsky draws a clear map of necessary actions in the Russian Ukraine after the hoped victory of the Austrian army. In order to overcome the triplet problem of the military, legal and church reorganization it would be necessary “to renew all traditions of Ukraine suppressed by Russia, install them so deeply in the consciousness of the nation, so that no political combination could destroy the victory.”²⁰⁷ In particular, the military organization was to be established on the traditions of Zaporozhian Cossacks with the preservation of the military hierarchy with the national commander hetman on the top.²⁰⁸ In the legal sphere, first of all “[i]t is necessary to pay attention to those spheres of social and legal life, where the Ukrainian population feels most oppressed.”²⁰⁹ As for the reformation of the Church, its main task would be “alienate the Ukrainian Church from the Russian to the greatest possible extent” by its release from the power of the Synod in Petersburg, abolition of prayers for the tsar, elimination of Muscovite

²⁰⁵ Andrey Sheptytsky, “Pastyrskie poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia z pryvodu pochatku Pershoi Svitovoi Vijnny” (“Pastoral Letter of the Metropolitan Andrey on the Occasion of the Beginning of the World War One”), p. 822.

²⁰⁶ Andrey Sheptytsky, “Vidozva Mytropolyta Andreya do naselennia prykordonnyh sil z pryvodu pochatku viiny” (“The Address of the Metropolitan Andrey to the Citizens of the Villages at the Border on the Occasion of the Beginning of the War”), *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 827.

²⁰⁷ Andrey Sheptytsky, “Memorandum Mytropolyta Andreya do Avstriiskoho uiradu pro maibutnii ustrii Ukrainskoi derzhavy” (“Memorandum to the Austrian Government about the Future Order in the Ukrainian State”), *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 824.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 825.

saints from the calendar. Sheptytsky also reminded that he as a Metropolitan of Halych and the whole Ukraine had the authority from Rome to head the Ukrainian Church.²¹⁰ The Metropolitan recognized that it would be necessary to remove the bishops loyal to the Russian Church, but was sure that such canonical provisions for this break were favorable. He concluded his manifest by the statement:

The [Eastern] Orthodoxy would not be destroyed. It has to be preserved in its completeness. It would only be necessary to purge it in a radical way from the Muscovite influences.²¹¹

It is remarkable that the request to preserve the Eastern Orthodox tradition can be found not only in his pastoral letters, but also in the secret appeal to the Austrian government.

Metropolitan Sheptytsky preserved his hopes for the Church union even when it was obvious that the Russian army would prevail. In his sermon proclaimed before Lviv was captured, Andrey Sheptytsky does not fall into despair in this situation. Now that Ukraine and Galicia were no longer separated by the borders, both peoples and both Churches could learn and share their best traits. “They, for example, [can render] us their religiosity, piousness [...]” But he preserves the devotion to the Catholic Church:

[...] they call themselves Orthodox, and we are Orthodox. Our Orthodoxy comes from the Church, theirs – from the state [...], they base their Orthodoxy on the power of the state, we take our strength from the unity with the one and holy Catholic Church [...]. We can give it to them, and I am, on my part, and I am saying in front of some of them, ready to any sacrifices, and, if they want, they will find a loyal pastor in me, even with a dedication of my own life.²¹²

The sermon was one of the last public addresses before his exile to Russia that removed him from the guidance over the Greek Catholic Church until 1917.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 826.

²¹² Andrey Sheptytsky, “Propovid Mytropolyta Andreia, vyholoshena v tserkvi Uspennia Boshoi Materi naperedodni vstupu do Lvova tsarskyh rosiiskyh viisk” (“The Sermon, Delivered by the Metropolitan Andrei on the Eve of the Entrance of the Russian Tsarist Troops to Lviv”), *Pastoral Letters (1899-1914)*, p. 830.

The general overview of the letters of Andrey Sheptytsky shows that the first letters are marked by a socio-practical approach. In the further letters, the tendency to the theological-ascetical topics could be noticed. The national component surfaces not only in his theological and ecumenical program, but also in moral and ethical teachings as well as in the program of social Catholicism. The letters also include purely political discourse, which becomes clear with the beginning of the First World War.

Conclusion

The overlapping confessional and social divisions between the ethnic groups in the 19th-20th century Galicia fractioned the society along clear-cut boundaries and prevented the assimilation of Ukrainians and Poles. This created the situation where the national question was transcending many aspects of social life, including religion, giving way to an unexpected and somewhat uneasy phenomenon of “religious patriotism” promoted by the Basilians and their most outstanding apprentice Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. The multitude of reactions stirred by the implementation of the reform of Dobromyl is only one of the examples that show the importance of the religious issues for the national movement in Galicia. This does not mean, however, that the choice of the Basilians in favor of the Ukrainian national cause was predetermined – it is doubtful that the Jesuit Fathers cultivated Ukrainian patriotism, on the contrary, they were suspected of endowing the Basilians with the spirit of Polonophile. However, as this study clearly shows, the Monastic Order of St Basil the Great became an agent of the nation-building processes that took place at the turn of the 20th century in the Eastern Galicia.

This research also allows concluding that the reform of Dobromyl, conducted by the Jesuit Fathers, did not cause the Polonization of the Basilians but rather revived the Order raising the level of education and imposing firm discipline. The introduction and restoration of such religious practices as missions and recollections, pilgrimages and rogations services, holy hours and preaching, account for the successful pastoral work of the Basilians. Despite the comparatively small number of Basilians, such religious events as missions or pilgrimages enabled them to gather more people than the Radical party could summon for their manifestations. The Order established and supervised different religious communities

and fraternities, which also helped them to spread their ideas to masses; for example, the Apostolic Prayer in 1901 included 100,000 members.

The analysis of the educational work of the Basilians shows that it also yielded successful results. It was not limited to the education their own members and teaching in the spiritual seminaries, through supervision of colleges and parish schools, the Basilians took part in raising thousands well educated citizens. Apart from the influence of the Jesuits, this may have roots in the older tradition of schooling, which flourished in the 18th century.

However, it was the restoration of the printing tradition that proved to be most influential for shaping the national idea. The monthly periodical *Misionar* far surpassed similar printed media of Russophiles and Radicals by the turnover and popularity in villages. Just like in their pastoral and educational work, the Basilian Order promoted the Ukrainian language, taking the lead in introducing the phonetic script in their periodicals. The analysis of *Misionar* shows that it enabled the Basilian Fathers to appeal to both religious and national sentiments of the population. The religious articles were the most numerous in the periodical, propagating adherence to the Catholicism which, due to the recognition and independence of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, was presented as a unique space that allowed the Ruthenian/Ukrainian identity to develop and thrive – free of Tsarist Moscow or Polish influences. The Basilians went beyond the local Galician national aspirations and started writing the national religious history of the whole of Ukraine, stressing the historical independence of the Church of Kyiv from Constantinople and Moscow – the efforts further advanced by Metropolitan Sheptytsky. They created the feeling of a national community living among other nations in the articles about the Ukrainian emigrants in the foreign lands and about the current religious situation abroad. The research also showed that the Basilians were critical of their ideological rivals – Russophiles and Radical Socialists, but also of the national-populists, with whom they

shared similar views on the development of the nation and who were the least critical towards the religion.

Another part of the research constituted the analysis of the religious and national ideas of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. The success of *Misionar* and the Pastoral letters by Andrey Sheptytsky have a common reason – despite the priority given to the spiritual questions, both writings remain conscious of temporal problems of the people. Therefore the social(ist) propaganda – one of the main assets of the national movement at its start, was taken by the Metropolitan and the Basilians as the initial point for their religious discourse.

In their content, *Misionar* and the pastoral letters carry a similar underlying stance of the importance of the adherence to the Catholicism and express criticism of national movement when it opposes religious principles. There are numerous points that distinguish the letters of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, however, starting with the different levels of complexity of discourse and the greater variety of issues discussed, which was conditioned by the greater variety of his addressees (peasantry, clergy, and intelligentsia). One of the notable aspects of his letters was the vision of the Greek Catholic Church as a messianic one. While the Basilians still primarily defended and promoted the loyalty to the local Greek Catholic Church, Sheptytsky tries to create the national Ukrainian religious identity.

For Sheptytsky, the unification of the Eastern and Western Christianity overlaps with the political division of the Ukrainian nation. Therefore one union should bring on another. The ecumenical mission of the Greek Catholic Church was to be achieved through the mutual rapprochement of the Eastern Orthodox Churches with Catholicism. In order to meet this ecumenical goal, the Metropolitan promotes the idea of returning to the Byzantine tradition within the Greek Catholic Church. This way not only does he take the main argument from the Russophiles, but also tries to draw together the two Churches. Even in his Memorandum to the Austrian Government detailing the plan for the future organization

of the Ukrainian Church he stresses that the Eastern Orthodoxy has to be preserved in its completeness, which is the essence of his understanding of the concept of the Union. Taken together with his promotion of loyalty to the Catholicism, it creates a certain paradox, which is only one of the many paradoxes Metropolitan Andrey left us with.

Being caught between the religious and political East and West, the Basilians strived to be the bridge between the two powers rather than a hostage to them. They could not fail to see their future was tied to the future of the Ukrainian nation, which if dissolved among their neighbours, would most likely terminate the existence of the Greek Catholic Church altogether. Thus the Basilian Fathers faced a challenging task of fostering a distinct Ukrainian identity – the task they tried to embrace without compromising their religious dogmas. If successful, the project of the unified Ukrainian nation, put forward by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, would imply a unification of the Eastern and Western Churches in Ukraine, which would mean dissolution of the Greek Catholics in the Ukrainian Orthodoxy. Unlike the threat of the dissolution between the Polish Catholicism and Moscow Orthodoxy, such a development would be seen as a desirable outcome – which raises new questions about the intersection of the religious and secular, particularly when dealing with “national” churches.

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